The Transformation of the Traditional Tongan Polity: A Genealogical Consideration of Tonga's Past

By

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Declaration

Except where otherwise indicated

this thesis is my own work.

Phyllis S. Herda

March 1988

Preface

The decision to write a history of early Tonga arose out of my M.A. thesis submitted to the University of Auckland in 1983[1]. It was concerned with the Spanish expedition under the command of Alexandro Malaspina which visited the northern Tongan archipelago of Vava'u in 1793. The data collected by the Spaniards was important particularly because of the different light it threw on accepted Tongan history at several points. The material (and the expedition itself) was virtually unknown in the history of Pacific voyages made by Europeans during the Age of the Enlightenment. Malaspina, who fell out of favour at the Spanish court of Carlos IV, was arrested two years after the expedition returned to Spain and incarcerated for seven years. During this period the expedition papers, which were numerous because a publication was planned from the moment of the expedition's inception, were seized and placed in the Spanish Hydrographic Archives under a publication and communication ban of 100 years. Adding to the unavailability of the material was the difficulty, especially for non-native speakers, of the Spanish presented in the comprehensive publication of the expedition[2]. Consequently, the material from the expedition was not incorporated into the early written histories and accounts of Tonga, especially those produced in the last century and, hence, was often ignored by modern scholars.

Despite the fact that the major part of the ethnographic and genealogical details in the Malaspina material were in keeping with accepted Tongan traditions and were easily substantiated in other sources, there were several historical claims and accounts which did not coalesce with the accepted published version of Tongan history[3]. The investigation of these perplexing enigmas was the basis of the present study. In addition to setting me on a particular path of inquiry, the Malaspina material provided me with many contacts in Tonga and, more specifically, in Vava'u. As many of my informants are from the northern Tongan archipelago, it should not come as a surprise that parts of my work reflect a Vava'uan point of view. The individuals that the Spaniards met, the events that they witnessed and the historical circumstances that they were told in the

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1. Herda 1983
2. Novo y Colson 1885
3. See, for example, Collocott 1924; Gifford 1929; Wood 1932; Blanc 1934; Claessen 1968; Rutherford 1977; Bott 1982

eighteenth century were reiterated to me in 1985. These traditions represent the history of a chiefly lineage in Tonga which was unable to sustain its authority in the nineteenth century. Their version of the past is, not surprisingly, different to that of the politically successful lineages in Tonga. The 'truth' of the Tongan past unquestionably lies in the dialectic of these versions in combination with the accounts of other competing factions and differing geographical locations.

A study of this kind inevitably incurs many debts of both a professional and personal nature. I would like to thank the government of H.M. King Tāufa'āhau Tupou IV and the Tonga Traditions Committee for permission to undertake research in Tonga for four months in 1985. This thesis was financed by the Australian National University which provided me with facilities in Canberra, fieldwork in Great Britain, Spain, Tonga, New Zealand and Australia as well as other resources. I would also like to thank the University for travel grants so that I could attend conferences in Suva (1985) and Adelaide (1986). I am also grateful for their and others' support of the Tongan History Workshop in Canberra (1987).

Numerous libraries, museums and archives provided assistance in my research and I would like to acknowledge the permission of trustees and help of the staff in using their collections: in England, the British Library in London and the Hydrographic Archives of the Ministry of Defense in Taunton; in Madrid the Real Jardin Botanico and the Museo Naval where Maria Dolores Higueras was especially helpful; in Nuku'alofa the Palace Records Office where Maketi, 'Eseta Fusitu'a and her staff went out of their way to assist me and the Catholic Archives at Vaololo where Sister Ann made my visits a pleasure; in Suva the National Archives and the Fiji Museum where Fergus Clunie was very helpful; in New Zealand the New Zealand and Pacific collection at the University of Auckland Library and the Alexander Turnbull Library in Wellington; in Sydney the Mitchell Library and in Canberra the Menzies Library and Records Room of the Department of Pacific and S.E. Asian History at the Australian National University and the National Library of Australia.

Many individuals assisted in the production of this work in a variety of ways including lengthy discussions, patient interviews, thoughtful encouragement or generous hospitality. I would like to acknowledge specifically: Emiliana Afeaki, Ana Afungia, the Reverend 'Ahokava, Aletta Biersack, Marion Blake, Matthew Ciolek, Na'a Fiefia, Jo Francis, Julia Gresson, Limu Havea, Futa Helu, Kerry James Clarke, Sione Koloamatangi, his sister Siniva and his son Father Tevita, Pepa Koloamatangi, Pam and Ing Macfarlane, Pat Matheson, Bonnie Maywald, Caroline Ralston, A.C. Reid, Garth Rogers, Dorothy Shineberg, Giles Tanner, 'Alisi Tonga, Fifitaloa Tupou, the Honourable Ma'afu Tupou, Tu'ifua, the late and Honourable Ve'ehala, Elizabeth Wood Ellem and John Young.

In the Pacific and S.E. Asian History department at the Australian National University I would first like to thank my supervisor, Niel Gunson for his encouragement and constructive advice. Thanks are also due to my advisers Gavan Daws and Roger Keesing for their help during the writing process. I acknowledge my debt to Sione Lātūkefu who patiently answered my queries and filled in as supervisor during Dr. Gunson's absence. I am also grateful to Deryck Scarr who gave freely of his time and knowledge. Mention must be made of the help of department members Julie Gordon, Karen Haines, Ruurdje Laarhoven, Bob Langdon, Sally Anne Leigh, David Marr, Dorothy McIntosh, Tony Reid, Michael Reilly and Jenny Terrell.

Special thanks are due to Kerrie Radford who drew the maps and genealogical figures, helped with proof reading and provided support and friendship throughout the thesis.

Finally, I wish to thank my parents, Irene and Tony, for their patience, guidance and support. Although my father did not live to see the completion of this thesis, his memory remains part of it and me.

Abstract

This study of traditional Tongan political history focuses on how Tongan genealogies and succession lists structure, and are structured by, cultural ideals and political processes. Their fluid nature as legitimizing charters of rank, authority and power is embraced in order to appreciate differing, and often contradictory, versions of Tongan history. The place of genealogies and succession lists in a Tongan construction of the past is explored and is incorporated in a history of not only individuals and events, but also of transformations of cultural processes, especially as they relate to Tongan notions of hereditary rank and chieftainship. The enduring and sacred nature of these notions is juxtaposed against the dynamics of status rivalry and the exercise of power. The record of both the enduring and dynamic forces, it is argued, is embedded in the genealogical traditions of Tonga. Consequently, the traditions are used as a focus point of the study: methodologically, in that they form a significant part of the source material, and stylistically, by providing a central structural theme to the thesis.

The Prologue provides a geographical introduction to the Tongan archipelago, as well as Tonga's relationship to the larger region of western Polynesia. Temporally, the study begins with the beginning of the Tongan universe and the divine chieftainship (Tu'i Tonga) as expressed in the Tongan creation myth cycle (Chapter Two). Chapter Three chronicles the reigns of the early *kau* Tu'i Tonga and considers the successful challenge of their absolute authority by a 'younger' collateral lineage. This resulted in the creation of a bipartisan chieftainship of a sacred ruler (Tu'i Tonga) and a secular ruler (Tu'i Ha'atakalaua). The existence of early Tongan imperialism in western Polynesia is also investigated. Chapter Four explores the possibility of an extended period of exile for the Tu'i Tonga in Samoa and the re-establishment of the title within Tonga. In addition, the successful challenge of the ruling secular title (Tu'i Ha'atakalaua) by a 'younger' collateral lineage, the establishment of the Tu'i Kanokupolu title as well as the proliferation of other chiefly titles which accompanied this challenge are considered. Internal rivalry between holders of the Tu'i Kanokupolu title and their ambitions to abolish the authority and status of the Tu'i Tonga are dealt with in Chapter Five. Chapter Six focuses on the consolidation of secular rule, including the emergence of internal political struggles, after the denigration of the sacred ruler. Chapter Seven moves to a final consideration of the enduring nature of a sacred and hereditary Tongan chieftainship and its transformation rather than ultimate abolition.

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Prologue

The modern kingdom of Tonga consists of approximately 150 islands scattered across 32,000 square kilometres of the central Pacific Ocean[1]. Situated between 15° and 23° 30' south latitude and between 170° and 177° west longitude, the Tongan islands are virtually in the centre of western Polynesia (see Map A). Although the distance between island groups appears large, there was considerable, regular interaction between their inhabitants, so much in fact, that the history of each individual group had to take into account the larger, regional configuration as well.

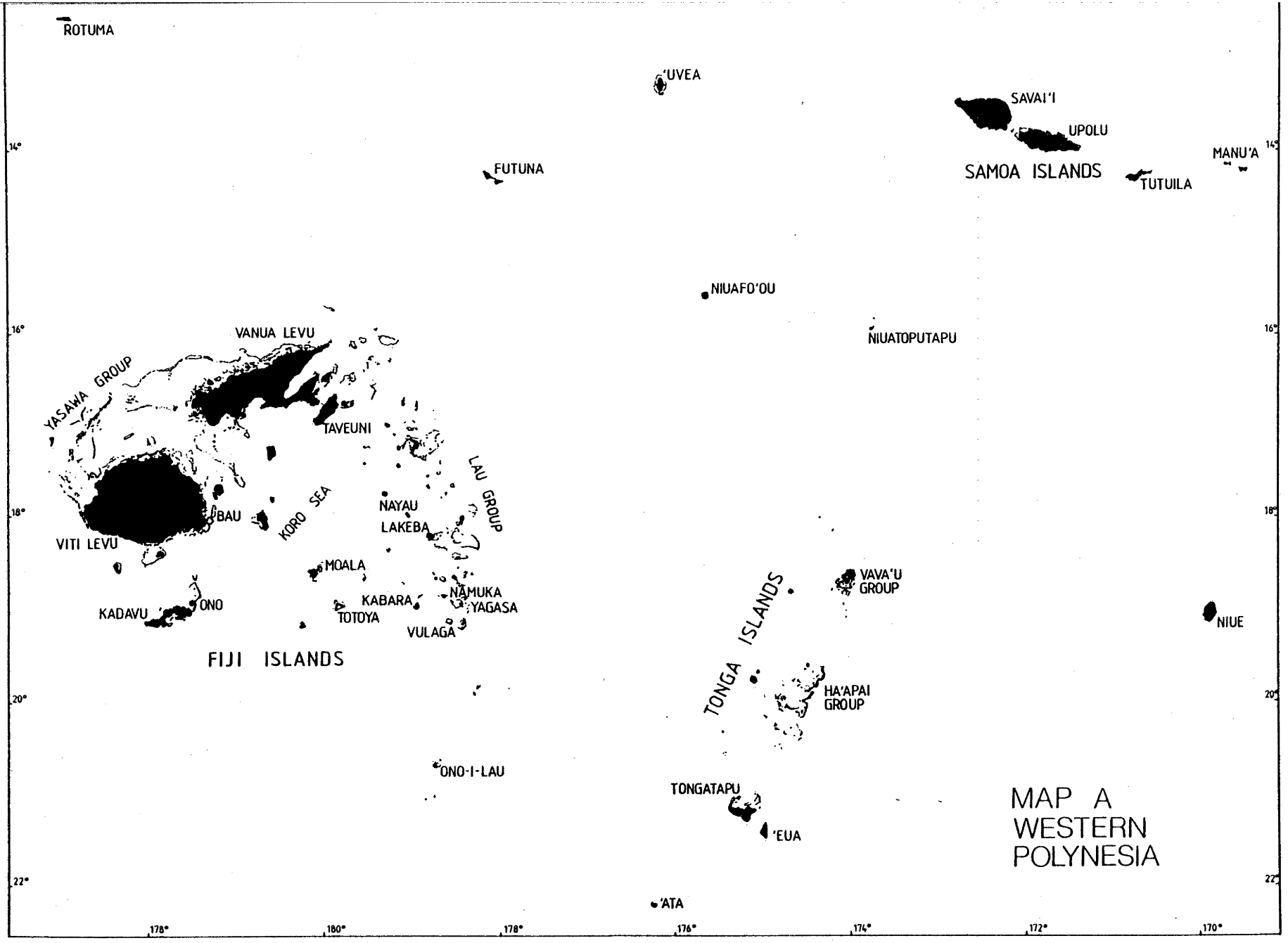
Geographically and historically the Tongan islands are grouped into three archipelagoes (see Maps B,C,D,E): the Tongatapu-'Eua group in the south, the Ha'apai group 175 kilometres north and slightly east of Tongatapu, and the Vava'u group approximately 100 kilometres northeast of Ha'apai. The outliers of Niuatoputapu and Niuafo'ou lie to the north and northwest of Vava'u and the now uninhabited island of 'Ata southwest of 'Eua. The cultural and linguistic homogeneity of the islands has long been acknowledged, although the dialect differences of Niuafo'ou suggest that this outlier had, in the distant past, closer ties with the neighbouring islands of Samoa[2]. Since the time of Tu'i Tonga Kau'ulufonuafekai, the three archipelagoes have been loosely grouped into a larger Tongan configuration with the political ties of each island waxing and waning over time, while kin ties remained strong.

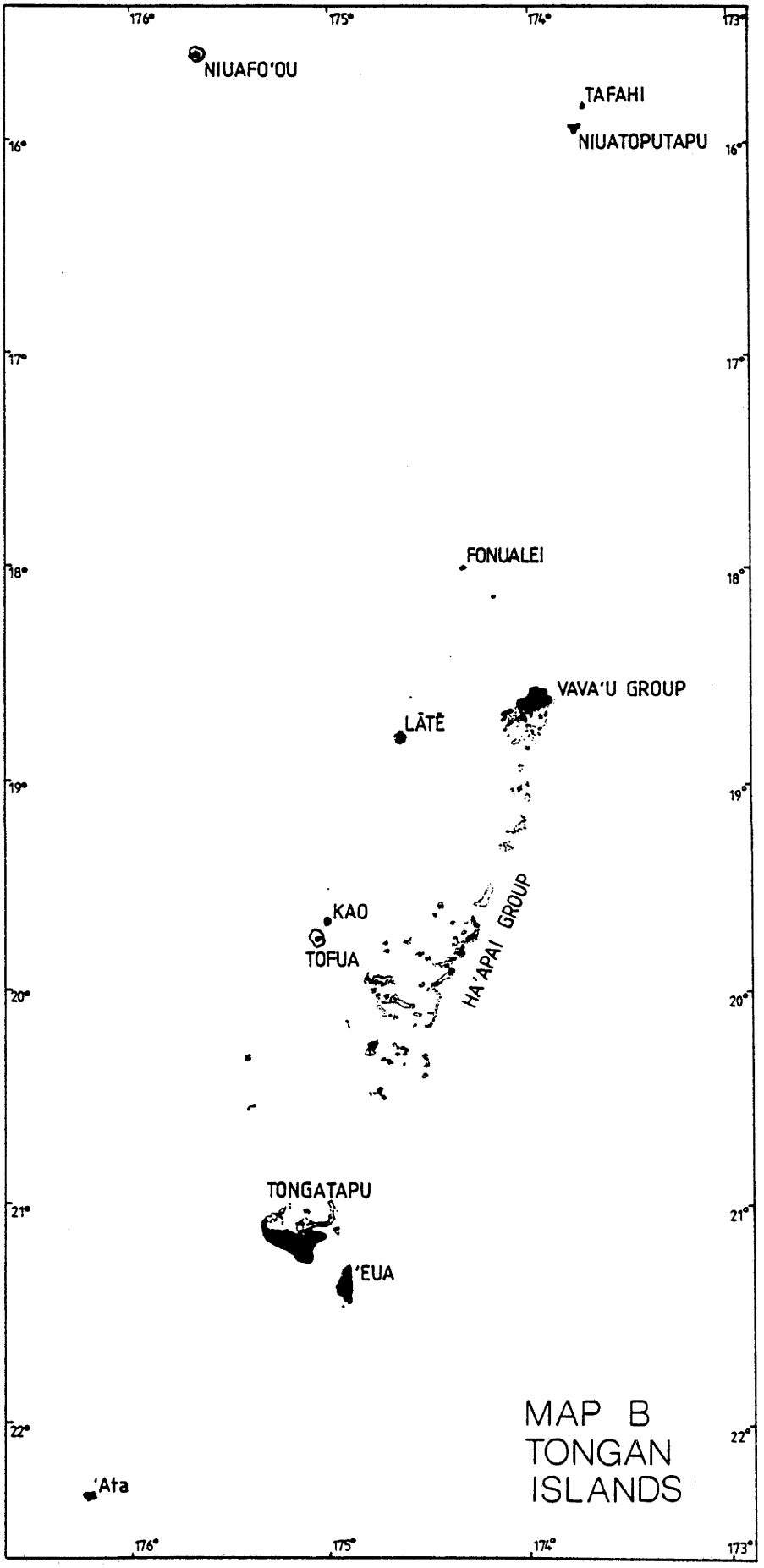
Inter-island and inter-archipelago communication in western Polynesia was extremely important in the maintenance of political and social relations; and in addition to simple geographic location, the wind and sea currents placed the Tongan islands in a favourable position with regard to sailing routes. Situated far south of the great anticyclones and well within the southeast trade wind belt, Tonga experiences steady east southeast winds from May to November, with the winds becoming more southeasterly from July. From December to April the winds are not quite as reliable and are more from the east, although late January to early April usually brings a strong west or northwest wind, known as the western twins, often associated with violent

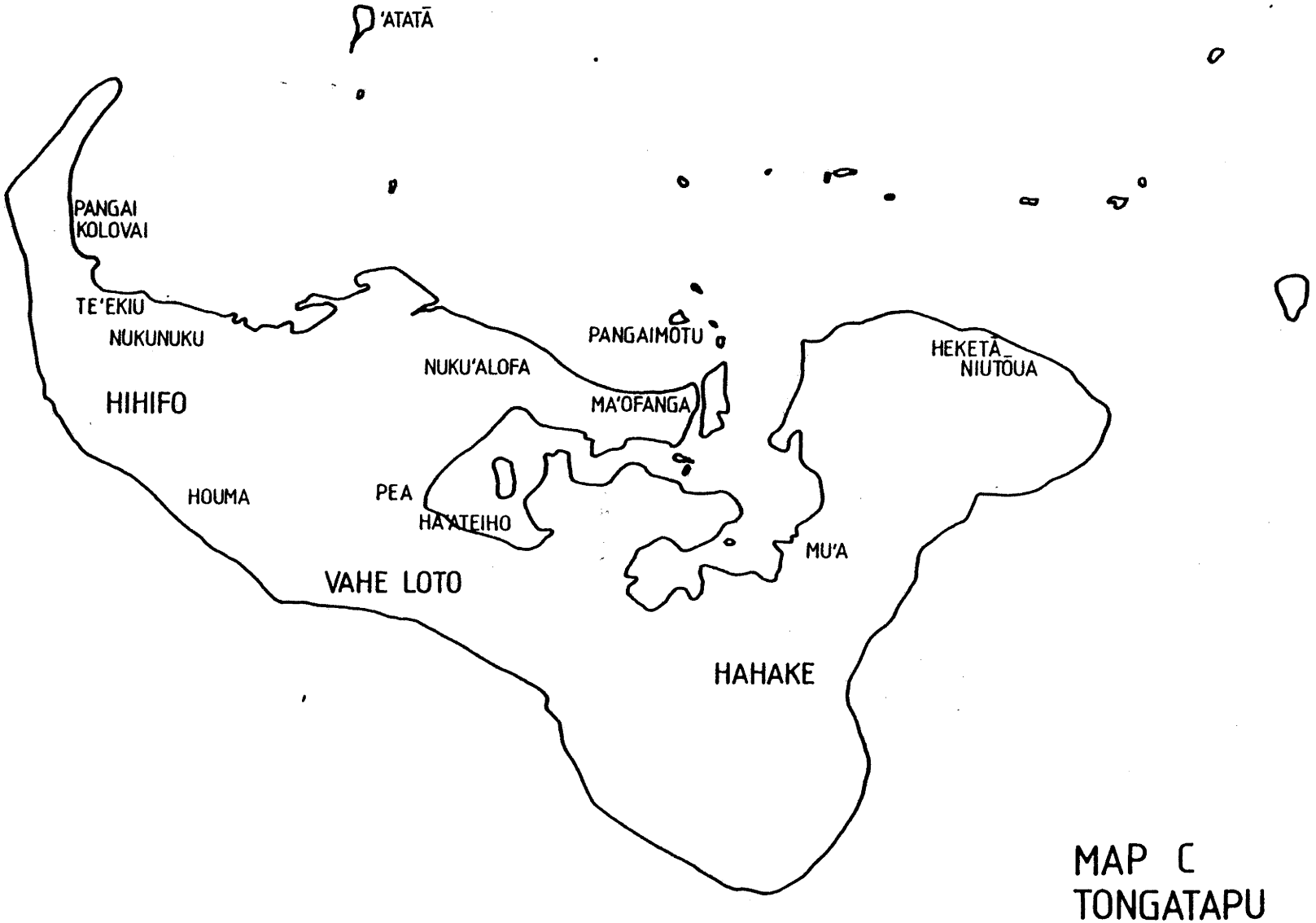
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1. References consulted on western Polynesian geography include British Naval Intelligence Division 1944:14-38; Kennedy 1966:4, 22-24; Anonymous 1800:35-39; Bethune, Remark Book:37-39

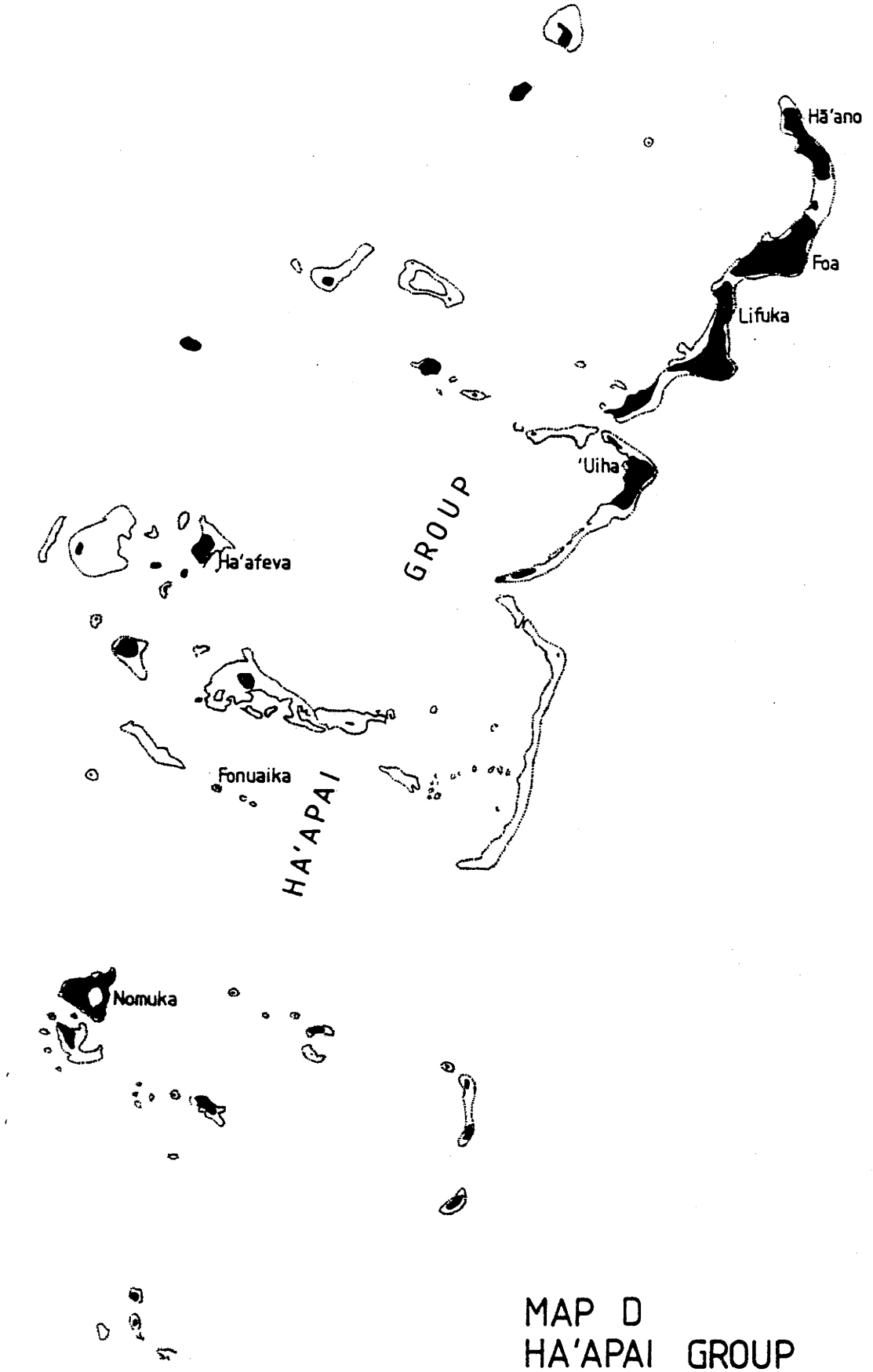
2. Collocott 1922; Dye 1980


ROTUMA
'UVEA
SAVAI'I
UPOLU
MANU'A
FUTUNA
SAMOA ISLANDS
TUTUILA
NIUAFO'OU
NIUATOPUTAPU
VANUA LEVU
YASAWA GROUP
TAVEUNI
LAU GROUP
KORO SEA
NAYAU
LAKEBA
BAU
VITI LEVU
MOALA
VAVA'U GROUP
NAMUKA
YAGASA
KABARA
TOTOYA
VULAGA
KADAVU
ONO
NIUE
FIJI ISLANDS
TONGA ISLANDS
HA'APAI GROUP
ONO-I-LAU
TONGATAPU
'EUA
'ATA
MAP A
WESTERN
POLYNESIA
14°
16°
18°
20°
22°
178°
180°
178°
176°
174°
172°
170°

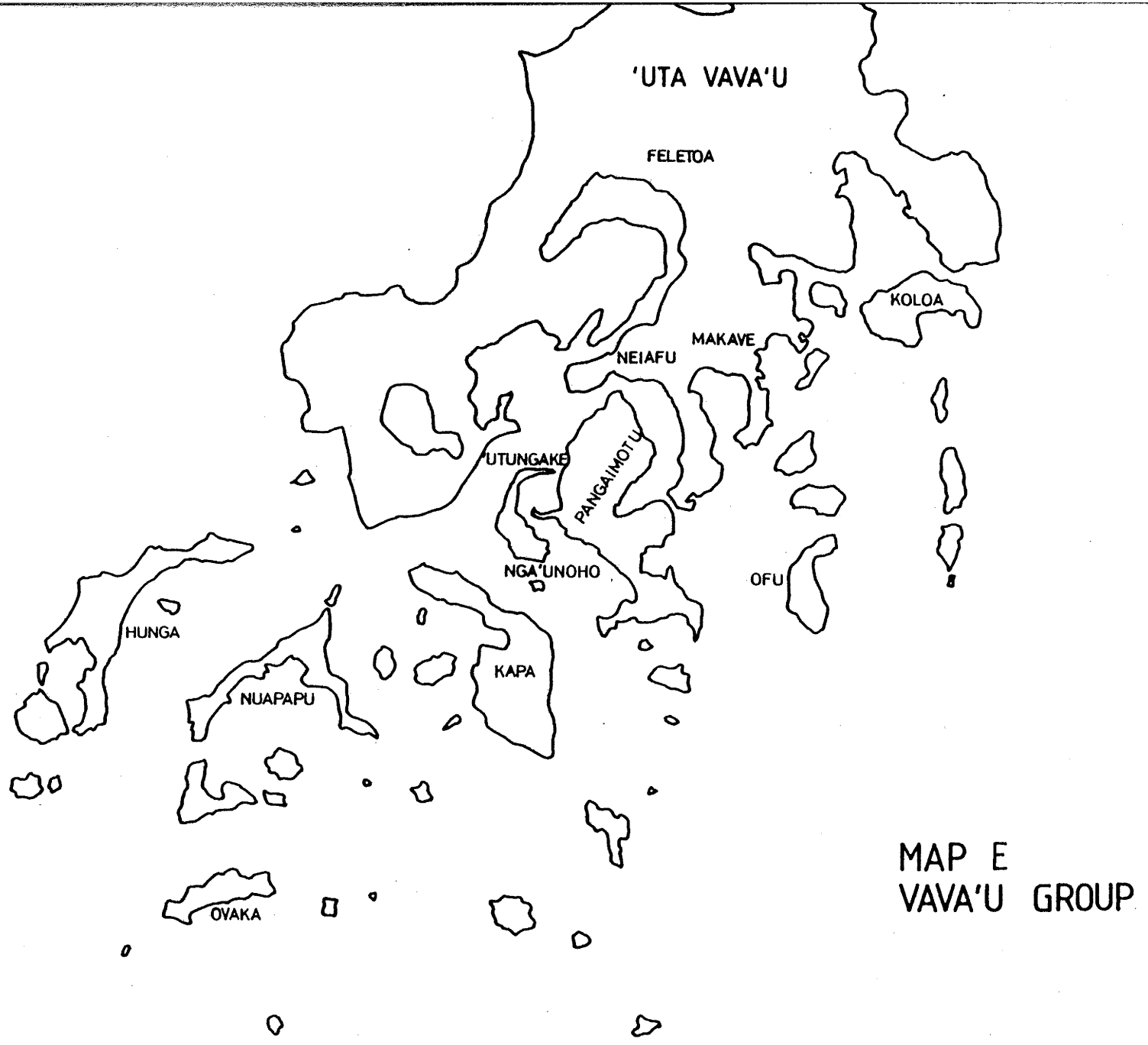

176°
175°
174°
173°
NIUAFO'OU
TAFAHI
NIUATOPUTAPU
16°
17°
18°
FONUALEI
VAVA'U GROUP
LĀTĒ
19°
KAO
TOFUA
HA'APAI GROUP
20°
TONGATAPU
21°
'EUA
22°
'Ata
MAP B
TONGAN
ISLANDS



MAP C
TONGATAPU



MAP D
HA'APAI GROUP



MAP E
VAVA'U GROUP

squalls or the cyclones (*afa*) which occasionally devastate the islands. Although these squalls are often deadly when they do occur, it is important to note that they are by no means constant; many fine days, favourable for sailing, are also experienced in the summer months. The ocean surface currents of the area move in an established, fairly reliable pattern which more or less follows the prevailing wind pattern.

The favoured vessels for long sea voyages were double-hulled canoes. They were of two forms: an equal-hulled variety, and a design often attributed to Fiji in which the much smaller, secondary hull acted as an outrigger[3]. The first type was known in Tonga as a *tongiaki* and was anywhere from 10 to 20 metres in length. The deck consisted of a platform across the two hulls where a shelter and fireplace stood. The major drawback of the *tongiaki* was that it could not beat to windward; if the wind died or changed direction its occupants could do little but change their course or bring the sail down and drift. The second type, called a *kalia* in Tonga, was essentially the same canoe as the Fijian *drua*. In fact, most, if not all, *kalia* were built in Fiji, often by Tongans who went there expressly for that purpose. Early missionary reports describe *drua* of 36 metres long and *kalia* of up to 38 metres in length with room for 150 occupants[4].

The main advantage of the *kalia* over the *tongiaki* was that the *kalia* could be sailed with either end forward; this was possible because of a changed sail system and the ends of the canoe being identically shaped, with no definite bow and stern. This meant that the *kalia* was much quicker and more maneuverable in a variety of winds and was, therefore, much safer[5]. It is estimated that the *kalia* was twice as fast as the *tongiaki*. Not surprisingly, these canoes soon replaced the *tongiaki*, especially on the Tongans' long voyages to Samoa, Fiji and elsewhere in the Pacific. It has even been suggested that the introduction of the revolutionary *drua* design was responsible for a dramatic increase in Tongan - Fijian communication[6].

It was only the Tongan elite who were able to build and command these magnificent vessels, since the investment in building them was immense. A lesser chief or non-elite might be employed or transported in them, but it was only high-ranking individuals who were able to commission them. As there was no adequate wood supply in the Tongan islands, the prospective owner was forced to support a colony of Tongan artisans in Fiji[7] for up to six or seven years while the canoe was under construction.

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3. Haddon and Hornell 1936:253-257, 265, 271-272

4. Williams 1858:75; Blanc 1934:13

5. Garth Rogers, personal communication 10 September 1986; see also Bethune, Remark Book:38; West 1865:236; Horridge 1986:98-99

6. Clunie 1986:14-15; however, see also Horridge 1986:98-99 who contends that the two canoe types were contemporaneous and simply represent two designs for different uses.

7. The Fijian woods used for *kalia/drua* construction were varieties of hardwood, one known locally as *vesi* (Sayes 1982:261)

This was usually done by presentations to the resident Fijian chief, who would supply food and shelter to the Tongan craftsmen as well as provide Fijian labour for certain tasks, such as tree felling[8]. The usual objects used in such presentations were the much sought after whale's teeth, *ngatu* (painted bark cloth), *kie hingoa* (fine mats) and other luxury trade items which have been identified as part of a great prestige goods system[9]. In addition to the outlay of material goods, the would-be canoe owner was obliged to make a twice yearly trip to Fiji to ensure that the work was proceeding satisfactorily and also to make his presentations.

Voyaging between the Tongan islands was a relatively easy task for an experienced sailor, especially when the southeast trade winds were blowing (May to November). Even the awkward *tongiaki* made the trip with little difficulty and continued to be used in Tongan waters long after the *kalia* was adopted for long ocean voyages. Ha'apai was one half to a full day's sail from Tongatapu with Vava'u a similar distance beyond Ha'apai. The return trip took approximately the same amount of time. The voyage from Vava'u to Niuatoputapu (293 kilometres) took one day and to Niuafo'ou (340 kilometres) was usually one and a half days. The latter was especially difficult to sail, consequently regular travel between the islands was sporadic. The return trip from either of the Niuas to Vava'u was much more difficult and required a considerable amount of manuveuring to obtain a favourable wind.

It should be noted that these time approximations relate to favourable sailing conditions. If the wind dropped or changed suddenly -- a frequent occurrence in the summer months -- or if a storm blew up, the voyage could become much longer and, of course, much more dangerous. Twenty-two people lost their lives on a trip from Tongatapu to Vava'u in 1832, due to an unexpected storm at sea[10]. A year later, attempting the Niuatoputapu to Vava'u crossing, a *tongiaki* encountered contrary winds and the crew were forced to pull down their sails and drift. They made Ha'apai after eight days[11]. A Vava'u canoe heading home from Lifuka, one of the Ha'apai islands, was reported to have encountered unfavourable winds and was forced to wait several weeks on one of the outer Ha'apai islands before being able to continue[12].

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8. Diapea 1928:114

9. Williams 1858:94; Martin 1817:298-303; Kaeppler 1978:248, 252, footnote 4; Hjarno 1979/1980; Friedman 1981:282,285-287; Kirch 1984:238-240. The Tongans seemed to have a large supply of whale's teeth, apparently due to the fact that whales preferred Tongan to Fijian waters. Langdon (1978(III):2) includes a map which shows that the Europeans searching for sperm whales in the South Pacific Ocean concentrated their efforts in and around Tonga. The whalers were not slow in appreciating the value of the teeth in the central Pacific and the Tongans appear to have held the monopoloy of the trade (Clunie 1986:176-177).

10. Peter Turner, Journal:112

11. Peter Turner, Journal:138-139

12. Thomas, Papers:110

Fortunately the dangerous incidents, although not isolated, were not frequent and the Tongans appear to have had little trouble in their inter-island sailing. Communication was frequent and visits were often of a long duration and for a variety of reasons: weddings, funerals, canoe races, *'inasi* ('first fruit ceremony') and other presentations, family visits, battles, in European times when ships anchored and, one would imagine, just for the sheer sake of social pleasure. In fact, the amount of travelling done, especially by chiefly people in the nineteenth century, was to become a source of irritation to the Wesleyan missionaries, who encouraged the travellers to remain at home and to occupy themselves with pursuits more 'profitable to the Soul'[13].

Voyages to Samoa and Fiji, although much longer and much more dangerous than those within Tongan waters, were a common occurrence. The voyage to Samoa involved sailing to Niuatoputapu with a stop there for refreshment, and then another 270 kilometres northeast to Savai'i (see Map A). The prevailing wind and sea currents made it more difficult to navigate to Samoa from Vava'u than the return from Samoa to Vava'u. This was especially so from December to February when the strong south subtropical current moves from northeast to southwest. In June, July and August the voyage from Vava'u is somewhat easier due to the southern ocean current.

Similarly, contact with Fiji, especially between the Vava'u and Lau archipelagoes, was frequent and sustained, many Tongans spending several years at a time there[14]. With a favourable wind, the Lau islands were approximately three days' sail from either the Ha'apai or Vava'u archipelagoes (a distance of approximately 335 kilometres). May to November usually brought the best currents to get to Fiji, although, generally, they ran favourably all year. In fact, many canoes attempting voyages to Samoa or in between the Tongan islands were often blown or drifted to Fiji[15]. The return voyage, however, was much more difficult and involved sailing due north, crossing the wind and making landfall at Vava'u. The route was made somewhat easier with the introduction of the *drua* canoe design and this, undoubtedly, was a primary reason for its popularity in Tonga[16].

The question of how and when the Tongan islands were first settled is not a relevant matter in the autochthonous Tongan oral tradition (see Chapter Two). Considerations by archaeologists and linguists, however, have closely linked Tonga's settlement to the broader question of the origin and movements of the Ancestral

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13. Lyth, Reminiscenccs:7; Williams and Barff, Journal:84; Peter Turner, Journal:70; Nathaniel Turner, Personal Narrative:265

14. See Herda 1986

15. West 1865:221-223; Martin 1827 (1):256-277

16. Fergus Clunie, personal communication; Garth Rogers, personal communication, 10 September 1986; John Young, personal communication

Polynesian population. The details of this origin and movements have long been under debate, but their connection with Southeast Asia and the dispersal of the Lapita Cultural Complex cannot be dismissed. The cultural complex and pottery for which Lapita is renowned were first excavated in 1909 on Watom Island in New Britain and were called 'Lapita' in 1956 after a site in New Caledonia. As other localities containing the distinctive dentate stamp pottery were surveyed and excavated, it became apparent that Lapita was a cultural horizon which spanned a good deal of the Pacific and probably held the key to the origin of Polynesian culture[17]. The origin of the Lapita complex, itself, is currently under debate with some scholars asserting that it was an indigenous Melanesian complex, and others contending that it came with a Southeast Asian migration[18]. What seems clear, however, is that during the period 1000-1500 B.C. some of the Lapita people left their East Melanesian islands and migrated east across the Pacific. They colonized what is today referred to as the eastern Lapita area -- that is the archipelagoes of Fiji, Tonga and Samoa[19].

Current archaeological and linguistic evidence suggests that after their initial settlement the inhabitants of these archipelagoes were isolated from Melanesia, although they appear to have maintained some contact with each other. It is difficult to ascertain the degree of contact sustained between the archipelagoes during the next millennium. Some communication is evident in a similar ceramic tradition, as well as the actual importation of pottery and other materials[20]. Linguistic evidence, however, points to some degree of isolation with the differentiation of the Proto-Central Pacific language into Proto-Fijian and Proto-Polynesian and the further branching of Proto-Polynesian into Tongic and Nuclear Polynesian subgroups[21]. What does seem certain is that the first thousand years after the Lapita settlement of the central Pacific saw an adaptation of culture and language which resulted in a tradition now identified as Ancestral Polynesian[22]. This hypothesis concurs with the oral traditions of Tonga and Samoa which narrate the location of the origins of humankind in each archipelago, in contrast to other Polynesian islands which recount intentional and unintentional migratory voyages as the determinant of the peopling of the islands.

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17. See Gifford and Shutler 1956; Green 1978, 1979
18. See, for example, Guiart 1982, Kirch 1984:41-44; Allen 1984; Spriggs 1984
19. Groube 1971; Davidson 1978:383; Kirch 1979:44
20. Poulsen 1967:185
21. See, among others, Pawley 1966; Clark 1979:257-258.
22. Green 1974:258; Davidson 1977:86

CHAPTER 1
Introduction

> The genealogies are the key that opens the door.
> To try to do anything without knowing the genealogies
> is like scratching around the door without the key.
> H.M. Queen Sālote[1]

This study of the *longue durèe* in Tongan political history focuses on how Tongan genealogies structure, and are structured by, cultural ideals and political processes. Tongan genealogies, it is argued, like genealogies elsewhere in pre-Chrisitian, pre-colonial Polynesia, encapsulate Tongan notions of rank, seniority and status, and these are articulated with power and authority structures. Tongan genealogies are, in Mauss's terms, 'total social facts', that embody and express fundamental ideas about the cultural past and present, human beings and gods, and the codes and structures of Tongan social relationships. However, in Tonga, as in other societies, genealogies can act as charters which legitimize power, status and political ascendancy. As such, they reflect much of the nature of the politics of their time. In times of relative stability, for example, genealogies tend to coalesce and support one another, whereas unstable periods are characterized by competing and often contradictory details.

Tongan genealogical representations of the past are fundamentally cultural constructions of Tongan history. As such, they pose theoretical issues for both history and anthropology concerning the analysis of differing temporal and chronological constructions of the past, differing versions of one culture's history and the existence of a ruling ideology to which both factional elite and non-elite were ostensibly committed. A genealogical construction of Tonga's past, when coalesced with the corpus of indigenous oral tradition and informed foreign accounts, provides not only an understanding of individuals and events, but also a history of cultural process and transformation.

The markedly hierarchical nature of aboriginal Tongan society and the centrality of hereditary chieftainship to that hierarchy is by now well established[2]. As is true of most of Polynesia, relations within the Tongan hierarchy can be characterized in terms

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1. Quoted in Spillius (Bott), Discussions (2):310

2. See, for example, Gifford 1929; Sahlins 1958; Goldman 1970; Kaeppler 1971b; Marcus 1975, 1976-1977, 1980; Bott 1981, 1982; Kirch 1984

of encompassment[3] because the notion of sacred chieftainship (*'eiki*) abstracted and epitomized the entire Tongan social entity by enveloping the other social orders (*matāpule, mu'a, tu'a, pōpula*) as parts or facets of itself.

Since the second half of the nineteenth century the strongest political power in Tonga has been the dynasty established by King Sioasi (George) Tupou I, who received the traditional Tongan title of Tu'i Kanokupolu in 1845. Not surprisingly, the currently accepted version of Tongan history[4] relates to the ascendancy of this line. This study, however, is structured around the succession list of the *kau*[5] Tu'i Tonga who were regarded originally as the sole rulers of Tonga. The absolute authority of the Tu'i Tonga was successfully challenged in the reign of Tu'i Tonga Kau'ulufonuafekai, resulting in the creation of a bipartisan chieftainship of a sacred ruler (Tu'i Tonga) and a secular ruler who received the title Tu'i Ha'atakalaua. The Tu'i Tonga, retaining his sacred distinctions, continued in his encompassing role in Tongan society with the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua portrayed as his *tehina* ('younger brother') in his service. The Tu'i Ha'atakalaua was eventually supplanted as secular ruler by another *tehina* titleholder, the Tu'i Kanokupolu, who, through the establishment of a new religious and political order was ultimately able to supersede the Tu'i Tonga in his central structuring role.

This study examines the history of Tonga and the transformation of its polity by juxtaposing the sacred and enduring notions of Tongan chieftainship and hierarchy against the dynamics of status rivalry and the exercise of power[6]. In Tonga the relationship between power and status was complex and ever-changing, as notions of rank (*tu'unga*), sacredness (*tapu*) and potency (*mana*) articulated with the actualities of power and authority (*pule*). Gender relations, especially between sister and brother, and the significance of one's mother's people, are important facets of this articulation which have often been overlooked. The present analysis aims at an understanding not only of a chronology of individuals and their actions, but also of the underlying cultural forms from which these actions derived their meaning and relevance.

Decktor Korn has called for an equalizing of the 'noble view of Tongan society', her argument being that studies of Tongan society and history have a predominantly aristocratic perspective[7]. While her appeal for concentrated research into 'commoner' Tonga is reasonable as it relates to current anthropological research or to historical studies since the establishment of the Constitution of 1875 which guarantees the rights

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3. Dumont 1970:91, 106-107, *passim*

4. See, for example, Collocott 1924; Gifford 1929; Wood 1932; Blanc 1934; Claessen 1968; Lātūkefu 1974; Rutherford 1977; Bott 1982

5. '*Kau*' is a marker of plurality in the Tongan language.

6. See Appendix A for a discussion of the sources used in this study.

7. Decktor Korn 1974:5-13;1977:8-9

of the common people, it must be remembered that traditional Tongan society, with its encompassing hierarchical nature, valued strength, power and, above all, high rank. As such, it is hardly surprising that the traditional Tongan construction of the past was concerned with only those things which were connected with the *hou 'eiki*[8] (aristocracy). Most of the historical myths, stories and legends told in Tonga take as their themes the activities of chiefly people and the depiction of the momentous events in which they were involved; the non-chiefly view is sparsely recorded indeed. Sahlins has labelled this kind of history as 'the heroic mode of historical production' for it historically externalizes the social encompassment of the sacred chieftainship[9]. To represent traditional Tongan history as anything else would be to distort the Tongan conception and construction of their past. This is not to suggest that non-elite Tongans do not have their own history, just that in an indigenous framework, their history is embedded in the historical hegemony of the elite.

The contrast between the elite and non-elite was projected after death. When the *hou 'eiki* died, they made their way to the afterworld (*Pulotu*) or if an individual was illustrious as well as high ranking, became a star in the sky. On the other hand, the *kau tu'a* (non-elite), -- referred to as *kai fonua*[10] which translates as 'eaters of the soil' -- were believed to become insects ('earth-eaters') eventually returning to the earth and to oblivion[11]. It was not appropriate for *kau tu'a* to be concerned with things of the past, nor for them to recount their genealogies past two generations. This lack of continuity and the tenuous claim of the *tu'a* to their own ancestral past were also emphasized by the lack of value placed on their marital arrangements, which were not marked by ceremony nor actually deemed marriages at all, for these things were reserved for the chiefs only[12]. To step out of this context was to risk much. Today, someone so inclined is simply labelled '*fie 'eiki*' ('to aspire to higher rank'); in the past it is more likely that such a person would have been killed for the transgression.

As Wood Ellem so succinctly states about Tonga, 'truth is what the chief says, and history is what the highest chief says'[13]. The cultural value of loyalty to one's chief, not to mention political expediency, has enhanced the perception that all things seen as historically important and legitimate are related to the ruling lineage. Sahlins

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8. '*Hou*' is a marker of plurality in the Tongan language.

9. Sahlins 1983:518-525

10. *Kai fonua* is probably derived from *kainanga 'ae fonua* = 'the people of the land', Sione Lātūkefu, personal communication.

11. Thomas, Mythology:282; Novo y Colson 1885:381-2; Sione Lātūkefu, personal communication

12. Interview, 31 August 1985; interview, 12 September 1985. See Appendix A for a discussion of the referencing of interviews.

13. Wood Ellem 1981:9

acknowledges the predominance of the significant individual in the construction of 'heroic history' and his or her predilection to appropriate history[14], but does not consider the wider issue this raises in the general production of the past: namely, that because lineages were competing for social and political preeminence, there are potentially competing authoritative accounts of the past. Darnton writes of obscurities and equivocations as 'loose threads' in the historical fabric which, when pulled, unravel the contentions and justifications as well as the preoccupations of the past[15]. To understand Tongan history fully it is necessary to acknowledge and appreciate the diversity of Tongan accounts. It is within the ambiguities of the various versions that a comprehension of what was historically significant for Tongans can be achieved.

Genealogies were, and still are, a strong but fluid political idiom in Tonga, as throughout Polynesia. By virtue of the desirable quality of rank through primogeniture, which embodied all social relationships in Tongan society whether they were cast in terms of politics, religion or kinship, genealogies provided the ideological framework within which status was claimed and validated. Genealogical charters were often called upon to justify or legitimize contentious issues or decisions and their preoccupation with hereditary sacred preeminence meant that the non-elite members of society were encompassed in its ideological hegemony. The fluid nature of genealogical information has led some historians and anthropologists, many of whom have worked in Africa, to denigrate genealogies as reliable historical sources[16]. Much of the dissatisfaction of these scholars with oral traditions as historical sources rests on the inability of the oral material to be placed in a chronological context[17].

Unfortunately, it appears that what constitutes a 'chronological context' is very narrowly defined, even in standard English usage. Henige, consulting the Oxford English Dictionary, defines chronology as 'the science of computing time or periods of time and of assigning events to their true dates'[18]. This is, unquestionably, an appropriate English definition of 'chronology'; there are, however, others which are equally

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14. Sahlins 1983:523

15. Darnton 1985:13; Borofsky (1987:2,40, *passim*) also recognized the importance of differing accounts in a general understanding of Pukapukan history.

16. See, for example, Barnes 1967:118; Bohannan 1952; Vansina 1973:78, 103, 153; although Vansina's later work (1978) does make historical use of genealogical material; Henige 1971, 1974. Pacific references which claim a historical inadequacy of genealogies include Malinowski 1948:95-101; Piddington 1951:117, 119; Sharp 1958; Barrère 1961, 1967. However, see also, Fox 1971, who demonstrates that the dynastic genealogies of Roti in East Indonesia coalesce, to a large degree, with the Dutch archival records.

17. See, especially, Henige 1971:388-389; 1974:v, 190-191 on this point. One Western solution to this problem has been to translate genealogical generations into calendar years by means of an agreed upon allowance of years per generation; see, among others, Henige 1974:86-89,121-130, Spear 1981:145 and Herda 1987a for a discussion of the inherent difficulties of such an approach.

18. Henige 1974:190

acceptable. The Webster dictionary, for example, includes this entry in its definition: 'an arrangement (as of data, events) in the order of time of occurrence or appearance'. Prehistorians acknowledge these different aspects of 'chronology' by distinguishing between 'absolute chronology' (fitted on a calendrical time scale) and 'relative chronology' (fitted into a sequence). While this kind of distinction may appear as pedantic quibbling, it is important to the general point in question because Tongan genealogies are not chronological in the sense of being datable on a Western calendrical system, but they are chronological in that they are organized sequentially and, thus, do provide a temporal perspective on the Tongan construction of the past[19].

There is no doubt that Tongan genealogies were vehicles for political rhetoric and, as such, often contained contradictory or ambiguous statements, but the overall agreement of the various genealogical versions is exceedingly high[20]. In addition, the contradictory or ambiguous statements in the genealogies frequently depict contentious events or situtations in Tongan history. Careful delineation of the different genealogical versions can often lead to a deeper understanding of the contention or ambiguity, if they are integrated with the accompanying historical narrative. The contentious genealogies can point to discrepancies which might not be spontaneously narrated. Much of the genealogical evidence presented by scholars to establish the lack of consistency, reliablity and, hence, unhistorical nature of the material actually demonstrates the persistence of competing versions and interpretations in the oral traditions, a persistence so strong that the discrepancies are obvious to foreign analysts a century or more after the event[21]. It is significant that the discrepancies and contentious issues are generally uncovered through a detailed examination of relevant genealogies and accounts; for it is here, in the dialectic of genealogy and narrative, that oral histories and the complexities of their construction are to be appreciated. Instead of trying to force the indigenous material into a Western perspective of history, it seems more productive to adopt the indigenous chronology and 'listen' closely to it in order to understand what is relevant for different groups of Tongans in the construction of their past[22].

Significantly, much of the oral historical material that was recorded during this study was related in a genealogical fashion. Informants would often begin an account by

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19. It is probable that this is the case for most, if not all, of Polynesia; see, for example, Buck 1932:20; Freeman 1947:306; Roberton 1956:47; Te Hurinui 1958:162; Firth 1961:4-5; Kuschel and Monberg 1977:88, 93; Sahlins 1983:523

20. Herda 1987a

21. See, for example, Barrère (1961) who writes of nineteenth century manipulations of Hawaiian genealogies in order that they more closely resemble biblical teachings.

22. This is not to imply that this study is an indigenous history for it was written by a *papālangi* ('European'). Although my informants would probably agree with most, if not all, that has been written, its final organization, analysis and production is undoubtedly European in both style and scope.

placing it within a genealogy or would demonstrate its relevance to the subject under discussion by elaborating the genealogical connections of the individuals involved. It became clear that genealogies were an integral part of the structuring of the Tongan past and provided a framework for those who were knowledgeable in genealogical matters to comprehend the significance of the account. As Kuschel and Monberg[23] point out, there may be several layers of significance in any one account with implicit meanings often encoded in a seemingly straightforward tradition. This point is particularly significant for the history of a hierarchical society such as Tonga because it allows differing opinions or protests to be included in the traditional record without overtly upsetting the *status quo*.

The timespan selected in this study seems a natural one, from the traditional origins of the islands until the abolition of the Tu'i Tonga title by Fīnau 'Ulukālala (Moengangongo). This was also the time in which the ambitions of Tāufa'āhau (later King Sioasi Tupou I) were first felt. Today, Tongans refer to the time before Tāufa'āhau as the 'dark days'[24] indicating a time before the coming of Christianity. But more than just a metaphor for old gods and a traditional religion, the expression 'dark days' expresses the profound intellectual and social changes which accompanied the introduction of a foreign religious order into Tonga. No less significant is the fact that a new political dynasty also emerged at this time; although rooted in the traditional system, Tupou I unquestionably incorporated much that was foreign in his reign[25]. Through sustained European contact and a newly emergent indigenous political elite committed to a religious, social and political conversion, Tonga began the transformation which saw it eventually become a nation-state in the modern global community[26]. For these reasons, this study ends its detailed look at Tonga's past before the rise of the Tupou dynasty and the death of the last sacred ruler Tu'i Tonga Laufilitonga; although, not surprisingly, the antecedents of this pervasive change are apparent in the historical record.

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23. Kuschel and Monberg 1977:92-94

24. This use of the term 'dark days' should not be confused with the archaeological use which has come to signify the period of Tongan prehistory between the end of the Lapita pottery tradition and the oral traditions associated with Tu'i Tonga Tu'itātui in both archaeological and government literature (see Davidson 1978:386).

25. See Rutherford 1971, Lātūkefu 1974

26. See Cummins 1977b, Marcus 1976-1977:229, Powles 1979:230-350

CHAPTER 2
The Creation Myth Cycle

Kae fai pe ha vavaku
mo sia fa'ala
Kia Touia 'o Futuna,
koe 'uluaki maka
Nae fai mei
ai hotau kamata'anga.
Kehe koe talatupu'a
ia mo fananga,
'Oku 'utu'utu mei
ai si'i kau fa'a.

The search will be made
at any rate
For Touia 'o Futuna,
the first rock
Where our beginning
was.
Though these are traditions
and stories,
It is here that inquirers
will draw their facts.

Tāfolo[1]

Any examination of Tonga's past must confront the polemics of oral tradition as a representation of history. Unfortunately, it is often the case that some members of the Western academic tradition expect the intellectual categories and historical genres of other cultures to fit their own preconceived notions. Mention has already been made of this with regard to genealogies in the construction of the Tongan past and a similar case needs to be stated for indigenous oral narratives, especially in the form of mythology which is often defined in opposition to history[2].

By and large, Tongan oral tradition has been incorporated into the published histories of the islands[3]. An impediment to this approach, however, has been that the entire corpus of oral traditions has been read literally with those accounts which seem to contain historical informatio being analyzed and incorporated into the written histories, while scant attention has been paid to those traditions rich in metaphor, symbolism or underlying structure. There has also been little attempt at synthesizing or coalescing differing versions of indigenous traditions, whether or not the accounts are regarded as myth or history, or the provenience of the tradition is known[4]. This is particularly unsatisfactory in the case of 'heroic histories' (see Chapter One) where the fluid nature of traditions can easily subsume differing accounts into the ideology of the ruling lineage.

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1. Gifford 1924:6; translation assisted by Sione Lātūkefu

2. See, for example, Malinowski 1948:100-101; Leach 1962:274; Finnegan 1970:196-197

3. See, for example, Collocott 1924; Gifford 1929; Wood 1932; Blanc 1934; Claessen 1968; Rutherford 1977

4. Recent efforts to coalesce local traditions and archaeological remains have been promising (see, for example, Kirch 1980; Kirch and Yen 1982:340-342, 362-368).

Tongans make a distinction between 'stories' (*fananga*) and 'traditions' (*talanoa, talatupu'a*); the former are regarded as fictitious and fanciful while the latter are seen as based in reality[5]. The category 'tradition' is further divisible in Tonga according to the substance of the individuals about whom they are related. Stories of the divine (of which the creation myth cycle is a part) are considered *talatupu'a* or 'ancient traditions', 'myths' or 'accounts of the gods'; *talanoa*, on the other hand, represent historical tales based on the actions of actual individuals[6]. Information about the past is also transmitted in Tongan chants (*hiva*), poems (*lave, maau*), songs (*ta'anga*) and the dances they accompany (*me'e*)[7].

There are more than one creation cycle in Tongan mythology. The various cycles are not perceived as contradicting or negating each other; rather they are explained as co-existing accounts of the origin of the Tongan universe[8]. Myth does not seek to merely reproduce what is experienced in reality; it expresses central themes which are culturally valued and, as such, it provides insight into the structures of Tongan society which are meaningful for historical interpretation of events and the individuals involved in them. As such, it is not surprising that there are more than one account of circumstances which create the social order. It is irrelevant whether the actions related in the myth 'actually happened' (and irrelevant if another myth cycle tells a different story); if the myths are meaningful to a Tongan construction of the past, they are meaningful to an academic analysis of that construction. The Tongan myth cycle of creation analyzed here is the one most commonly cited as the creation myth cycle of Tonga[9].

As with all myth cycles, the Tongan creation cycle consists of various episodes linked together through a dominant cohesive theme: in this case, it is the recitation of the genealogy of the gods responsible for the creation of the world (see Figure 2.1). The stylistic use of genealogy provides a narrative vehicle to establish 'kinship' links between episodes, as well as an overall sequential framework expressed through 'generations'. In addition, the use of genealogy extends a sense of legitimacy to the cycle, for the veracity of a situation can often be validated by its placement in a genealogical sequence.

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5. Interview, 11 September 1985; Sione Lātūkefu, personal communication; see also Collocott 1928:5; Gifford 1929:318; Fanua 1975:7

6. The translation of categories should not be seen as absolute, they merely represent approximations of Tongan classifications. These classifications have been further confused by the nineteenth century introduction of the word '*hisitōlia*', a transliteration of the English 'history', for those accounts which are deemed verifiable.

7. Collocott 1928:64; Kaeppler 1967:503, 527-535

8. Interview, 12 September 1985

9. Various episodes and versions of the Tongan creation myth cycles can be found in *Koe Fafangu* 1906(4):122-127; *Koe Makasini a Kolisi* 1881-1883(4):22-26,51-55,74-78,109-111; Thomas, Tongatabu:44-48,52-54,54- 59; Thomas, History (1879):126-139; Whitcombe, Notes:1-3; Martin 1827(1):228-229, (2):112-114,120-121; Farmer 1855:133-134; Novo y Colson 1885:380-381; Reiter 1907:230-240,438-448,743-754; Martin 1911:165-166; Collocott 1919a:234-238; Collocott 1919b:154; Gifford 1924:14-29; Reiter 1933:355-362; Rutherford 1977:1-2; Bott 1982:89-91.

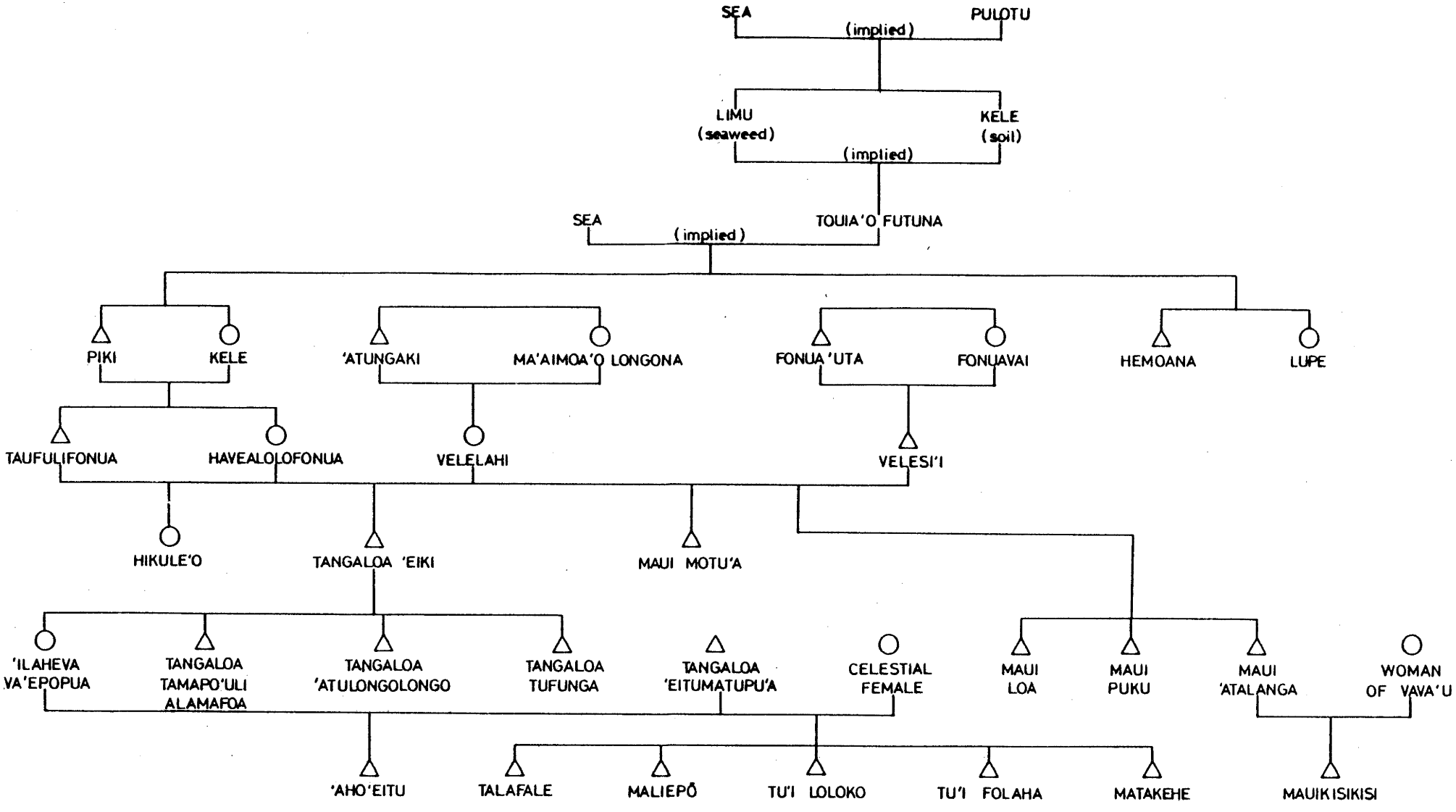

SEA
(implied)
PULOTU
LIMU
(seaweed)
KELE
(soil)
(implied)
SEA
(implied)
TOUIA'O FUTUNA
PIKI
KELE
'ATUNGAKI
MA'AIMOA'O LONGONA
FONUA'UTA
FONUAVAI
HEMOANA
LUPE
TAUFULIFONUA
HAVEALOLOFONUA
VELELAHI
VELESI'I
HIKULE'O
TANGALOA 'EIKI
MAUI MOTU'A
'ILAHEVA
VA'EPOPUA
TANGALOA
TAMAPO'ULI
ALAMAFOA
TANGALOA
'ATULONGOLONGO
TANGALOA
TUFUNGA
TANGALOA
'EITUMATUPU'A
CELESTIAL
FEMALE
MAUI
LOA
MAUI
PUKU
MAUI
'ATALANGA
WOMAN
OF VAVA'U
'AHO'EITU
TALAFALE
MALIEPŌ
TU'I LOLOKO
TU'I FOLAHA
MATAKEHE
MAUIKISIKISI

FIGURE 2·1

The entire creation cycle, like renderings of genealogies, need not be recounted at each narrative event. Indeed, it is almost inconceivable that this would ever occur. Because each episode or unit stands as an individual entity, it may be recounted as a complete myth in itself, or may be combined with other units to construct a discrete narrative. Although one episode may be presented and appreciated as a complete and separate unit, it is, at the same time, recognized as an integral part of the greater cycle. In fact, a Tongan narrator often depends on the audience's knowledge of the entire myth cycle to understand the subtleties of his or her individual rendition of a particular episode. These devices of Tongan narrative give the teller freedom in choosing episodes according to the appropriateness of the thematic content of the particular narrative event. It is not only inclusion which is affected by this freedom: a narrator can skillfully highlight a point by omitting an episode, or part thereof, with full confidence that its omission will not go unnoticed.

The first episode of the *talatupu'a* establishes the exordial categories of water and land and emphasizes the primary theme of the unity of the sibling relationship within the *kāinga*.

In the beginning there was only the sea and Pulotu, the home of the spirits. On the surface of the sea drifted seaweed and soil[10] which, at last, came together and floated away to Pulotu. But they were soon separated and between them sprung up a rock (*'ukamea*), and it was called Touia 'o Futuna ('to be caught at Futuna'). After a time, a series of strange tremors shook the rock and from it sprang a pair of twins, male and female, brother and sister, Piki and Kele. Again the strange tremors occurred and another pair of twins, male and female, brother and sister sprang forth, 'Atungaki and Ma'aimoa 'o Longona. The rock trembled again and another pair of twins, male and female brother and sister, named Fonua'uta and Fonuavai[11] leapt forth. The rock then trembled for a fourth and final time and the last pair of twins, male and female, brother and sister, bounded forth. They were Hemoana and Lupe[12].

This introductory section presents the fundamental dichotomy as perceived by

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10. Reiter, 1907:231, personifies these elements with Seaweed (Limu) and Soil (Kele) used as names; other accounts (see Collocott 1919a:234; Rutherford 1977:1) as well as informants treat them solely as elements of nature.

11. Reiter 1907:231 records their names as Tonuta and Tonutai but this appears to be one of the many printing errors in the Tongan text.

12. The appearance of Lupe and Hemoana, the fourth set of twins, is anomalous in the myth structure in that it breaks up its triadic nature. It may represent an addition or transformation of the myth. Some writers argue that the triadic nature of Polynesian god myths represents a Christian influence, while others contend that the form is indigenous (see, for example, Buck 1938: 246-248; Luomala 1951:195, 239; Barrère 1961:422,424-425; Yzendoorn in Barrère 1969:8; Valeri 1985:13, 18). The Tongan creation *talatupu'a* lends credence to the triadic view because Lupe and Hemoana do not play a significant role in the myth content or structure, although it is conceivable their significance was extricated after the influence of Christianity.

Tongans in their conception of the universe: sea/water:Pulotu[13]/land. The categories are presented as being mutually exclusive and as the primordial forces of Nature from which stem all things of this world. The significance of this maximal exogamous separation is emphasized, although weakened, by its repetition in the second statement as seaweed (matter of the sea):soil (matter of the land). The creation of the world depends not only on their joining together, but also on their separation. Indeed, it is through their separation that creation occurs, in this case that Touia 'o Futuna, the rock, is 'born'. The act of separation accentuates the segregative and opposed nature of the categories and is a common theme in Polynesian origin myths[14]. As binary oppositions they represent non-reducible categories of the world; they represent Nature itself. There is also the suggestion that the unity of the seaweed and soil which eventually produces the world is, itself, the result of the joining and separating of the sea (water) and Pulotu (land). The unity/separation theme is further expressed by the fact that the seaweed and soil are joined in the sea, while they are separated at Pulotu.

From this unity and separation of the primordial forces of water and land is thrust the island of Touia 'o Futuna. The island, itself land, now mingles with the sea, as the tides lap its shore and, eventually, the first truly anthropomorphic creatures are thrust upon the world. These children definitely were of a divine nature for, unlike human beings and animals, they explode onto the world in leaps and bounds. Significantly, these deities appear as four sets of sibling pairs. Obviously all eight individuals are siblings, but the emphasis on ordered pairs establishes the significant theme: the relationship of brother and sister. Their reproduction as four successive pairs establishes, if it is allowed that repetition signifies centrality, the primary nature of this theme in the structure of the myth.

The opening section also suggests that the deities are seen as intermediaries between the oppositions of land/water. This is especially so with regard to the female deities and is clearly shown in the etymologies of the names assigned to each twin. The names of the female siblings represent intermediate categories which are neither exclusively one quality nor the other. 'Kele' is defined by Churchward[15] as 'mud, dirt, or clay, in water or left behind as a sediment'; in other words, neither totally land nor totally water. Ma'aimoa 'o Longona defies literal translation. Whitcombe translates it as 'Playing of Longona', but *ma'aimoa* can also mean any activity such as as building, farming, fishing or playing[16]. Fonuavai carries connotations of land and water (*fonua* =

13. Pulotu is portrayed as an island in Tongan mythology and cosmology, see, for example, Ma'afu in Fison 1904:139-140; Gifford 1924:153; Collocott 1928:12.

14. See, for example, Barrère 1967; Schrempp 1985:22-24; and Sahlins 1985:196, 198, 200

15. Churchward, 1959:260

16. Whitcombe, Notes:1; Sione Lātūkefu, personal communication

'land', *vai* = 'water') and provides a literal expression of an intermediary category; it is used to describe coastal land in Tongan[17] . Similarly, Lupe ('pigeon'), is a symbol of both earth and sky and represents the movement between the two categories. The male sibling names, on the other hand, are solely associated with one or another exclusive category, if they can be seen to represent any clear value. The meaning of Piki is uncertain except in its usage as a verb which translates 'to cling'[18]. 'Atungaki defies translation, although it does carry a connotation of fish[19]. Fonua'uta means 'inland; not sea or coast'[20], while Hemoana translates as 'the deep sea'[21].

The first episode continues:

Each pair of twins produced children. Piki and Kele had sexual intercourse and she bore first a son, Taufulifonua and then a daughter, Havealolofonua. 'Atungaki and Ma'aimoa 'o Longona had intercourse and she bore a daughter named Velelahi ('Great Temptation'). Fonua'uta and Fonuavai had intercourse and a daughter, Velesi'i ('Little Temptation'), was born. As their children were lacking a home, Piki and Kele created land for them called Tonga-mama'o[22] ('Distant Tonga').

The pervasive theme of brother-sister incest in the preceeding passage is striking at several levels of analysis. First, it represents the ultimate anti-social act in Tongan society which advocates a strong brother-sister avoidance pattern, especially after the onset of puberty. It is significant that it was this very anti-social act which assisted in the creation of the world and society as it is known. The inversion in the myth of the exogamous marriage pattern found in Tongan society is probably reversing the situation for deities in order to draw attention to the need for a strict brother-sister *tapu* among human beings. For while sibling incest was inevitable and unavoidable for the deities because there were no other beings, there is no such necessity for human beings. Thinly veiled behind the notion that the world and society was created by divine sibling incest is the fear that human sibling incest could destroy it.

On another level, as Howard[23] suggested in his analysis of Rotuman myths, the reversal of brother-sister and husband-wife relationships presents an arena for the

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17. Sione Lātūkefu, personal communication; Churchward 1959:196, 529

18. Churchward 1959:410

19. Interview, 11 September 1985; *'atu* = 'bonito fish', Churchward 1959:553

20. *fonua* = 'land', *'uta* = 'land (not sea); interior or inland (not coast)', Churchward 1959:196,573

21. *He* = the, *moana* = 'deep sea, sea beyond the reef' Churchward 1959:217, 359

22. Reiter 1907:233 claims that it was Taufulifonua and Havealolofonua who created Tonga-mama'o for their children.

23. Howard 1985:50. In the myth Howard analyzes brother-sister incest is only hinted at with the result that some of Howard's remarks appear presumptuous with regards to Rotuman society. When they are applied to the Tongan case, however, they are illuminating.

continuation of the unity/separation theme. Howard sees the brother-sister relationship as one of 'like' categories; they are of the same substance, whereas the husband-wife relationship represents 'unlike' categories; not of the same substance and, in this sense, oppositions. The action, therefore, of a brother and sister assuming the roles of a husband and wife represents an inversion of the accepted notion of unity and separation being essential for reproduction as in the case of sea/water:Pulotu/land. In this instance of sibling incest, there is no separation. Unity is, therefore, expressed not only by the existence of twins, the nearest thing to identical beings, but also by the fact that like produces (or in this case re-produces) like; in Howard's analysis 'undifferentiated nature reproducing itself'[24].

Taufulifonua and Havealolofonua went to live at Tonga-mama'o. At this point they were not having sexual intercourse. However, one day when they were lying on the beach with their feet in the sea and the waves gently washing their bodies, a large land crab ('ū'ū) entered Havealolofonua's vagina and began biting her, causing her immense pain. Neither she nor her brother knew how to stop the crab's biting. Finally, Taufulifonua inserted his penis into Havealolofonua's vagina which stopped the crab and relieved Havealolofonua of her agony[25]. After this introduction, they had intercourse regularly. Soon a daughter named Hikule'o was born.

Havealolofonua then went and found Velelahi and brought her as a secondary wife (*fokonofo*) to Taufulifonua. From this union was born a son, named Tangaloa. Havealolofonua then went and found Velesi'i and brought her as *fokonofo* to Taufulifonua. From their union was born a son named Maui. Taufulifonua and Havealolofonua then set about dividing the world among their children. To Hikule'o went Pulotu, to Tangaloa went the sky, while Maui was given the Underworld.

The pervasive theme of brother-sister incest is continued in this section, although its cohesion is weakened as the creation myth draws closer to the appearance of humanity. Whereas Piki and Kele, 'Atungaki and Ma'aimoa 'o Longona, and Fonua'uta and Fonuavai innately understood sexual intercourse, Taufulifonua and Havealolofonua were drawn to it through a crisis which was not of their creation. The opposition of sea and land is mediated in the narrative by several actions. Significantly, Taufulifonua and Havealolofonua straddle the boundary between sea and land: their bodies lay on land with their feet in the water when the 'ū'ū, an anomalous creature which should live in

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24. Howard 1985:50

25. The 'ū'ū is a very large land crab that has a long body that looks like an over-sized penis which may account for this species inclusion in the myth. Tongans also appreciate that Havealolofonua's 'immense pain' may, in fact, be a desire awakened in her by the 'ū'ū and his phallic-looking body (Sione Lātūkefu, personal communication). Interestingly, Gifford (1924:15) recorded that it was a small fish ('oo') which entered Havealolofonua's vagina.

water but in fact survives on land, enters Havealolofonua's body. As the waves flow over their bodies on the beach, like the sea which lapped at the island of Touia 'o Futuna, the incestuous act is initiated which will lead to the birth of the principal deity, Hikule'o. Thus, again, the intersection of the exclusive categories water:land and the anti-social act of sibling incest leads to the creation of the world as it is known.

The structural theme of 'like' reproducing 'like' can be seen to be weakened for although Taufulifonua and Havealolofonua are siblings they are not twins. Similarly, Taufulifonua and Velelahi and Velesi'i while they are parallel cousins (*tokoua*, ie. brother-sister) which dictates a brother-sister avoidance pattern, they are, at the same time, cross-cousins (*kitetama*) which is a desirable Tongan marriage relationship for chiefly people. This move towards the exogamous marriage pattern sanctioned by society is further asserted by the fact that it is Havealolofonua, the principal wife who seeks out the secondary wives[26] The charter for this social form is clearly set, as is the primary status of the principal wife and her offspring, because the very existence of the secondary wives and her offspring is contingent on the action of the principal wife. Similarly, Havealolofonua's act in assuming responsibility for the children of Velelahi and Velesi'i when dividing the world among them, emphasizes her senior relationship to the children as the principal wife of Taufulifonua, as well as her senior relation to their mothers as *ta'okete* or (classificatory) elder sister (see Figure 2.1) which dictates that Tangaloa and Maui are to be regarded as her own children.

The name Taufulifonua translates as the 'earth overturner', while Havealolofonua carries connotations of 'pressing down' or 'submerging' the land[27]. In addition to the apparent connotation of a brother and sister performing opposite labours, the etymology also has political significance, in that the brother overthrows political authority, while the sister is perceived as the restrainer of rebellion and, hence, a guardian of continuity and tradition[28]. The significance of the brother as the politically active protagonist and the sister as the politically conservative force has been examined by Wood Ellem[29] in

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26. Significantly, modern informants (Interview, 26 August 1985; Interview, 11 September 1985) spoke of the marital units between the deities in the terms used for the principal and secondary wives of the Tu'i Tonga (ie. Havealolofonua as principal wife *moheofo*, Velelahi and Velesi'i as secondary wives *kau fokonofo*), earlier versions (see, for example, Reiter 1907:232-233) render the unions as *'unoho* which translates simply as 'spouse'. It seems clear, however, that a charter for principal and secondary wives is implied in the myth (see Collocott 1923:226-227), although the substitution of terminology may indicate that 'marriages', *per se*, did not exist until the establishment of the human order. Interestingly, *'unoho* carries a connotation of a sexually active couple which is regarded as slightly derogatory in modern usage; although there is no indication that this was the case in former times (Interview, 12 September1985).

27. *Tau* = 'fight', *fuli* = 'turn over', *fonua* = 'the land and also its people'; Havea = chiefly name, *lolo* = 'press down' or 'submerge', (Churchward 1959:461, 201, 196, 299, Sione Lātūkefu, personal communication).

28. Caroline Ralston and Sione Lātūkef u, personal communication

29. Wood Ellem 1981

her thesis on the first half of the reign of Queen Sālote Tupou III and is an important theme in Tongan political ideology.

Although the first episode of the Tongan creation myth cycle can be broken up into smaller units, it is usually told as a complete entity with particular details being highlighted or ignored at any one narrative session. For example, the detailed account of the first sexual encounter of Taufulifonua and Havealolofonua is not often recounted in its entirety. Gifford[30] incorporates it in his collection of myths and many Tongans will recite it, if asked, although they will not usually include the detailed section when asked about the *talatupu'a* in general. The creation cycle continues with its recitation of the genealogy of the gods with the relationships of the children of Taufulifonua and his three wives, Havealolofonua, Velelahi and Velesi'i.

The myths concerning Hikule'o, the child of Havealolofonua, are not as numerous as those which portray the deeds of her younger brothers, Tangaloa and Maui, who are credited with the formation of the Tongan islands. The *mana* of Hikule'o was said to be so great that they would destroy the world of human beings if she was to enter it[31]. She is, therefore, compelled to remain in Pulotu, the spirit island home and strong metaphor for the creation of the world. To ensure that she does not enter the human world, Tangaloa in the sky and Maui in the underworld (Lolofonua) each hold the end of a cord which anchors Hikule'o in Pulotu. She is sometimes represented as the goddess with the tail; an allusion to her name which, in addition to its more frequent translation as 'echo', also carries the connotation of 'tail' or 'end of a rope' which, as mentioned above, has also been incorporated into her mythic character. Aside from these references and allusions, Hikule'o does not appear as an important character in the *talatupu'a*. Reference to the principal deity is found in tales (*fananga*) which are set in Pulotu and, therefore, include Hikule'o as a corroborating detail of location rather than as an integral part of the myth[32].

Tangaloa, the son of Taufulifonua and Velelahi, had several sons, Tangaloa Tamapo'uli'alamafoa, Tangaloa 'Atulongolongo, Tangaloa Tufunga ('Tangaloa the carpenter') and Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a[33]. As time went on Tangaloa 'Atulongolongo

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30. Gifford 1924:15

31. Hikule'o is reputed to be the origin of many of the darker aspects of the universe, including war, famine and death (see Lawry, Diary:278; Reiter 1907:235) but is not considered a wholly malevolent being. Rather she is perceived as the most potent of deities who is, like the most potent of Tongan chiefs, imbued with the most potent of forces which are simultaneously positive and negative (Interview, 12 September 1985).

32. See, for example, Ma'afu in Fison 1904:139-140; *Koe Fafangu* 1906 (4):48-53, 65-68, 73-76, 86-88, 98-100

33. Some accounts (see, for example, Collocott 1924:276; Reiter 1907:438) list a fifth son, Tangaloa 'Eiki. It seems, however, that Tangaloa 'Eiki was, in fact, an elaborated name of the father of the *kau* Tangaloa; son of Taufulifonua and Velelahi (Interview, 12 September 1985).

decided to leave his home in the sky for a visit to the earth. Taking the form of a bird, he descended to the earth, but he could find no land, only water, although he did see a shallow reef near the surface of the water. Upon returning to the sky, he approached his father, Tangaloa, and reported what he had found. Whereupon, Tangaloa told 'Atulongolongo to speak to Tangaloa Tufunga ('the carpenter') about throwing his dust and chips from his workshop into the sea[34]. Tangaloa Tufunga happily agreed to the request, and after some time, the island of 'Ata appeared. Tufunga continued to pour out his dust and, eventually, the island of 'Eua was formed. Later, Tangaloa Tufunga threw down more dust and chips and the islands of Tofua and Kao were formed.

Maui, the son of Taufulifonua and Velesi'i, also had several sons. They were Maui Loa ('Long Maui'), Maui Puku ('Short Maui') and Maui 'Atalanga ('Maui the Shadow Raiser' or 'Maui the Creator of 'Ata'). While Tangaloa was directing his sons to make islands from the sky, Maui, also known as Maui Motu'a ('Old Maui') sent his sons to the island of Manuka to obtain from Tonga Fusifonua ('Tonga the Fisher of Lands') a fishhook which would snare islands from the bottom of the sea[35]. Tonga Fusifonua's only request of the *kau* Maui, as he handed over his most precious fishhook, was that they name the first island that they pulled from the sea after him. The *kau* Maui set about fishing and soon pulled up the islands of Tongatapu, Ha'apai, Vava'u, Samoa and the Tokelaus.

As the island of 'Ata was, as yet, without vegetation, Tangaloa gave his son Tangaloa 'Atulongolongo a seed to plant. 'Atulongolongo assumed the form of a bird and descended to 'Ata and planted the seed. Soon a creeper covered the whole island. Tangaloa directed 'Atulongolongo to go down and break the stem of the creeper with his beak, which he did. After some time, 'Atulongolongo returned to find the creeper decayed and with a large maggot (*'uanga*) on it. He pecked the maggot into two pieces, as Tangaloa had told him. From the head was formed a man called Kohai ('Who') and from the tail was formed a man called Koau ('I am'). Before 'Atulongolongo left the island he felt a bit of the maggot left on his beak. He shook it off and it, too, became a man called Momo ('Fragment'). At about this time the *kau* Maui were returning from their land fishing expedition and saw that the three men had no wives with them, so they went to Pulotu and brought back wives for them.

The essential theme of sibling relationship asserts itself again in this episode of the *talatupu'a*. Hikule'o, who occupies the most senior status, embodies all three principles

34. Thomas, (Tongatapu:52) claims that Hikule'o performed the duties which created the land.
35. Mariner (Martin 1827(1):228-229) contends that Tangaloa fished up the Tongan islands.

of high Tongan rank. She is physically the first born, she is female[36] and her mother is the highest ranking of Taufulifonua's wives. Her position in the myth accords well with the eldest sister's position in society where she is accorded the greatest respect (*faka'apa'apa*), while her brothers hold the political authority (*pule*). It is significant that it is her younger brothers who are employed with establishing the physical world, while she, in her preeminent position, has no task to accomplish. She just is, and is accorded the greatest respect for just being. In fact, her being is too potent for the world and the responsibility for containing her powers in Pulotu falls on her brothers in yet another symbolic display of the *faka'apa'apa* due to the sister and the *pule* of the brother.

Hikule'o remains spouseless and childless throughout the *talatupu'a*, in direct opposition to her brothers, whose progeny are all male. The mothers of the *kau* Tangaloa and the *kau* Maui are not named, nor is their origin known. All that can be deduced from the configuration is that sibling incest is no longer the norm. It is important to note that this fundamental change in arrangement occurs in the generation which establishes the physical world as it is known. The incestuous sexual experience which was innate to the pairs of twins that sprang from Touia 'o Futuna and was learned by the siblings at Tonga-mama'o is no longer enacted. Although the myth is still concerned with the deeds of the gods, not the actions of mortals, the environment is no longer a mythical one unrestrained by physical or social reality, but rather the known world where such social contradictions are more difficult to mediate. However, despite the deduction that sibling incest did not occur, the underlying implication still remains that, as in the generations before, it must have occurred for there was no other possible spouse to produce such divine beings.

This conflict between the symbolic union of the *kāinga* through sibling union (Howard's 'undifferentiated nature reproducing itself'[37]) and the notion that it is the union and separation of discrete oppositions (sea/water:Pulotu/land) which causes creation remains in Tongan ideology. It is clearly shown in the problematic marital status of the sister of the sacred ruler of Tonga. The similarity between the mythic configuration of Hikule'o and that of the early Tu'i Tonga Fefine ('Female Tu'i Tonga'), who was the elder sister of the Tu'i Tonga, is striking. The Tu'i Tonga Fefine was said

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36. The gender of Hikule'o is debated in the traditions. My informants were almost equally divided in their opinions of her sex as were writers on the subject. Whitcombe (Notes:1) and Gifford (1929:291-292) discuss the possiblities, Whitcombe favouring female, Gifford remaining neutral. Gunson (1987a) contends that Hikule'o's sex, like that of Tangaloa and Maui, was ambivalent and of no consequence in the shamanic cosmogony of pre-dynastic Tonga. This, however, seems highly unlikely for Tongan mythology is very gender specific, especially with regards to the *talatupu'a*. In fact, Hikule'o is the only deity of the creation myth cycle for which gender is a question.

37. Howard 1985:50

to remain spouseless because there was no Tongan male of high enough rank to marry her. The highest ranking Tongan male was, of course, her brother, the Tu'i Tonga and, as such, he alone possessed sufficient rank to marry and reproduce with his sister. But for Tongan aristocrats, unlike the chiefs of Hawai'i, sibling incest was not to become socially acceptable, except at a symbolic level[38].

The theme of brother - sister incest is not incorporated in the next episode of the *talatupu'a* which relates the sexual encounters of Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a and Maui 'Atalanga with earthly women.

There was a large *toa* tree (*Causarina*) on the island of Tu'ungangakava in the lagoon of Tongatapu. The tree was so large that it reached high up into the sky (*langi*), the domain of the *kau* Tangaloa. Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a was in the habit of climbing down the *toa* to the earth below. One day he saw a woman whose name was 'Ilaheva, also called Va'epopua (the fringe of Popua, the village where she lived). She was so beautiful that 'Eitumatupu'a slept with her. He, then, returned to the sky, but would often descend the tree to visit 'Ilaheva Va'epopua. She soon became pregnant and gave birth to a boy. The woman tended the child on earth, while the god remained in the sky.

After some time, 'Eitumatupu'a returned to earth and asked, "Ilaheva, what is the child?'. 'Ilaheva replied, 'the child is a man!'[39] To which 'Eitumatupu'a responded, 'His name will be 'Aho'eitu'. 'Eitumatupu'a then asked, "Ilaheva, what is your soil like?'. 'Ilaheva answered, 'sandy'. 'Eitumatupu'a then dropped some soil down from the sky and gave 'Ilaheva a yam plant of the *heketala* variety for her son. 'Eitumatupu'a returned to the sky, while 'Ilaheva and 'Aho'eitu lived on earth at Popua near Ma'ofanga.

After some time 'Aho'eitu desired to see his father. He asked his mother about him and was told that he was a god of the sky. 'Ilaheva rubbed 'Aho'eitu with fine coconut oil, gave him a new *tapa* and instructed him to climb the *toa* tree, where he would find his father, Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a.

'Aho'eitu climbed the tree and found a path leading across the sky. He followed the path and soon came across 'Eitumatupu'a snaring pigeons[40]. Upon the arrival of 'Aho'eitu, 'Eitumatupu'a sensed his divinity and sat down, unaware that this was his own son. 'Aho'eitu asked 'Eitumatupu'a to stand and told him why he had come. When 'Aho'eitu spoke, 'Eitumatupu'a embraced him. Overcome with the realization that this

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38. There is one account (Gifford 1924:46) of a Tu'i Tonga who committed incest with his sister, although no issue was known to have come from the act. Leach (1972:259,266,272) argues that the *kau* Tu'i Tonga are the descended progeny of a Tu'i Tonga and a Tu'i Tonga Fefine. See also Wood Ellem (1981:36) for a discussion of this theme as a latent political charter in Tonga.

39. *'Koe tamasi'i tangata!'* Interview, 14 August 1985.

40. A chiefly recreational activity for which special mounds were built.

beautiful man was his son, 'Eitumatupu'a cried. They then went to the house of 'Eitumatupu'a where food and *kava* were prepared.

'Eitumatupu'a had other sons, by divine mothers, who were involved in a festival (*kātoanga*) that day. 'Eitumatupu'a sent 'Aho'eitu to meet them at the *mala'e* where they were playing *sika'ulutoa* (a dart game reserved for chiefs). All those present were astounded at the beauty of 'Aho'eitu and the skill he displayed playing *sika'ulutoa*. Some surmised that he was the earthly son of 'Eitumatupu'a. When 'Aho'eitu's elder, celestial brothers learned of his true identity they immediately became jealous of him. They seized and ate 'Aho'eitu, except for his head which was thrown into a *hoi* vine (Dioscorea sativa) which has since been poisonous.

After some time, 'Eitumatupu'a sent a woman to fetch 'Aho'eitu. She could not find him anywhere and returned to 'Eitumatupu'a and reported her news. 'Eitumatupu'a immediately suspected that 'Aho'eitu's brothers had killed him and he called them before him. They denied knowing the whereabouts of 'Aho'eitu, but 'Eitumatupu'a insisted that they vomit into a large wooden bowl (*kumete*)[41] which had been brought. The bowl was soon filled with the remains of 'Aho'eitu. The head was retrieved from the *hoi* vine and the bones were also placed in the bowl. Water was poured over its contents, and then leaves from the *nonu* tree (Nonufiafia, eugenia malaccensis) known for their medicinal purposes were placed on top. The elder brothers of 'Aho'eitu were ordered to remain with the bowl throughout the night. When the next day dawned, 'Aho'eitu sat up, alive, in the bowl. 'Aho'eitu's brothers reported the news to 'Eitumatupu'a who gave the following orders: 'Aho'eitu was to return to earth and become the first Tu'i Tonga (ruler of Tonga), while his five elder brothers were to accompany him and, for their crime, they and their descendants were to serve him. The names of the five brothers were Talafale, Maliepō who are now known as Lauaki[42], Tu'iloloko, Tu'i Folaha and Matakehe. The descendants of Talafale were known as Tu'i Ha'atalafale[43], while the descendants of the other four became the falefā, or attendants of the Tu'i Tonga.

Maui 'Atalanga was also fond of visiting the earth. One day he met a beautiful woman from Koloa in Vava'u and, in exchange for a drink of water[44], he lifted the sky to its present position. Until that time it had been very low[45] and the people had to

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41. Kerry James (personal communication, 20 January 1988) has suggested that the *kumete* belonged to the sister of 'Eitumatupu'a and that she was regarded as a Tu'i Tonga Fefine. It seems more likely that it was Hikule'o, the *mehekitanga* (father's sister) of 'Eitumatupu'a, who would possess a *kumete* capable of giving life (see Rogers 1977).

42. Gifford 1924:29

43. They are now know as the Tu'ipelehake (Gifford 1924:29; Ve'ehala and Fanua 1977:28).

44. A conventional Tongan allusion for sexual intercourse (Interview, 18 July 1985)

45. A reason given for why the *toa* tree which 'Eitumatupu'a descended reached the sky (Interview, 1 August 1985).

walk stooped to the ground. As time went on the woman from Koloa discovered she was pregnant and gave birth to the deity Maui Kisikisi known as the trickster[46]. Rather than living with his mother in Koloa, Maui Kisikisi lived with his father in Lolofonua (the underworld) and took part in a series of fantastic adventures which, among other things, brought fire to the world and rid it of several horrible monsters. The myths of Maui are very numerous and will not be recounted here, for Luomala, among others, has demonstrated that, aside from the earth fishing myth, the Polynesian myths of Maui belong to their own hero myth cycle rather than any creation myth cycle[47].

This episode of the *talatupu'a* focuses on the sibling relation between brothers through thematic exegeses of seniority and usurpation. The notion of the first born as a sacred category was valued in Tonga, as it was throughout Polynesia, and it was asserted that the right to rule was inherited through male primogeniture. In the 'Aho'eitu myth, however, it is the youngest son of 'Eitumatupu'a who is appointed as ruler. Bott[48] has suggested that 'Eitumatupu'a's choice of ruler emphasized the importance of the support of the mother's people in effective governing. 'Aho'eitu was chosen as an earthly king because his mother was of the earth and, as is the Tongan custom, he could expect her people's political support. While the importance of the mother's people is, undoubtedly, one thematic dimension of the episode, the primary configuration is of sibling rivalry and usurpation of rank, a theme which is common to all Polynesia[49].

In the myth, 'Aho'eitu's success over his celestial half-brothers was due to his innate superiority over them. 'Eitumatupu'a recognized this transcendence even before he knew the identity of 'Aho'eitu by sitting in his presence, thus acknowledging that 'Aho'eitu was *'eiki* (superior) to him. This recognition of supremacy is further highlighted in the myth by 'Aho'eitu eating in the presence of his father; an act which signifies that 'Aho'eitu was not considered inferior to 'Eitumatupu'a. His superiority was also expressed in his remarkable beauty and his unmatched skill at the game of *sika'ulutoa* because outstanding ability or great beauty is the mark of sacredness in Tonga. In opposition to the apparent advantages of 'Aho'eitu, was the inferior action of his murder by his elder brothers, who were supposedly possessed of higher divinity. The apparent anomaly of rank is, however, rectified in the myth by the younger, more competent brother being appointed as ruler. Hence a charter is set for the possibility of

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46. The trickster motif in Tongan mythology is either associated with Maui or in myths from Ha'apai with a character named Muni.

47. Luomala 1949:195, *passim*; see also Reiter 1917-1918:1026-1046; Reiter 1919-1920:125-142

48. Bott 1982:91

49. See Goldman 1955, 1970; Sahlins 1981a:56; Kirch 1984a:197. Luomala (1949:114) examines this theme in relation to Polynesian myths portraying Maui, the trickster, who is usually characterized as 'the youngest of many brothers'.

junior succession. This mythic statement of junior succession does not represent a true political usurpation in the sense of assuming power by force or without right, although junior succession in the real world might include both. But even in the mythical account there is a sense of usurpation of the principle of rank which denotes first born being high (*'eiki*) and all others being low (*tu'a*) in comparison. The notion is therefore one of usurpation in Tongan ideology, even though the action is sanctioned by society.

Significantly, the sibling rivalry occurs between half-brothers who share a father, but have different mothers. This relationship is known as *uho tau* in Tonga and is, traditionally regarded as an antagonistic relationship, as the siblings compete for the title of the father. *'Uho tau* translates as 'fighting umbilical cords' -- a vivid metaphor reflecting the likelihood of dissension between the siblings. The reverse of the relationship where siblings have the same mother but different fathers, is known as *uho taha* ('one umbilical cord'), and is characterized by a supportive sibling relationship. It is said that they are of the same substance, hence bound by the principles of kinship rank[50]. That 'Aho'eitu's murderers should be his *uho tau* is logical in the myth given the tenets of the Tongan social order.

This episode also explores the theme of relativity of the ranking system in Tonga. While 'Aho'eitu is seen as *tu'a* ('low') to his celestial half-brothers, he is, at the same time, *'eiki* ('high') to Mauikisikisi, the other half-divine, half-human great-grandchild of Taufulifonua. Since Tangaloa was the eldest son of Taufulifonua and the son of a more senior wife of Taufulifonua than Maui's mother, he and all of his descendants stand as *fanga*[51] *ta'okete* ('elder brothers') to Maui and all his descendants. In this sense, 'Aho'eitu's appointment as ruler is in keeping with the ranking principles of primogeniture. He also occupies the sacred position of being the firstborn of 'Ilaheva Va'epopua by a divine father[52]. This places him high in relation to all of 'Ilaheva's brother's children and any other sons she may have, as well as high in relation to other earthly people. This relativity of rank is the source of much of the apparent fluidity of traditional Tongan society.

Implied in this section of the myth is the significant kinship configuration of 'Aho'eitu's relationship to the principal deity Hikule'o, on whose behalf the Tu'i Tonga accepts the *'inasi* or first fruits presentation. Hikule'o was the *mehekitanga* (father's sister) of Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a (see Figure 2.1). In Tonga the position of father's sister demands an inordinate amount of respect (*faka'apa'apa*) and duty (*fatongia*) on

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50. Interview, 30 July 1985; see also Rogers 1977:171-173; Wood Ellem 1981:46-47

51. *'Fanga'* denotes plurality in the Tongan language.

52. This theme of a divine father impregnating a local woman is analogous to Sahlins' (1981a:64; 1981b:112-114) analysis of the myth of the foreign chiefly male marrying the indigneous chiefly female.

the part of the *fakafotu* (brother's child), and could only be enhanced by generation[53]. As such, Hikule'o stood as *mehekitanga* to 'Aho'eitu, the first Tu'i Tonga, and to all subsequent *kau* Tu'i Tonga. The presentation of the *'inasi* to Hikule'o by the incumbent Tu'i Tonga can be viewed as the *fatongia* (duty) of a *fakafotu* to his *mehekitanga*. The significance of the *mehekitanga-fakafotu* relationship is further emphasized in the myth by the implication of Hikule'o as the agent of the regeneration of 'Aho'eitu. The nomination of Hikule'o as the initiator of the rebirth of 'Aho'eitu as a divine ruler is in keeping with Tongan notions of the relationship because it is the *mehekitanga* who is thought to hold mystical powers over her brother's children[54]. This notion is also enacted in the *'inasi* ceremony when Hikule'o, the *mehekitanga* of 'Aho'eitu, is also identified as the provider of the harvest, and hence the giver of life, to the Tongan people. The dialectical notion of the divine ruler in Tongan ideology is presented in the ceremony where the Tu'i Tonga is perceived as an intermediary and agent[55]. He is simultaneously conceptualized as the embodiment of the gods for the Tongan people who, consequently, must *tauhi* ('present an offering' and 'look after') him and also as the subservient *fakafotu* who must *tauhi* to his *mehekitanga*. Both facets have important ramifications in the ideology of Tongan chieftainship.

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53. See Gifford 1929:331,344; Beaglehole 1967-1969 (3):178; Rogers 1977
54. See Rogers 1977:170-172, 180
55. Farmer 1855:129-130; Collocott 1928:78-79; Gifford 1929:76,103

CHAPTER 3

The Early Tu'i Tonga Succession
and the Appearance of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua

Across the bowl we nod our understanding of the line
that is also our cord brought by Tangaloa from above,
and the professor does not know.
He sees the line but not the cord
for he drinks the *kava* not tasting its blood.

Epeli Hau'ofa[1]

The succession list of the Tu'i Tonga expresses a Tongan chronology of the past. Events are expressed in terms of particular dynasties, not in years or generations. The early history of Tonga is the story of the rule of successive *kau* Tu'i Tonga. This remains true despite the fact that there are several competing 'authoritative' versions of the Tu'i Tonga succession. In reality, the differences are minimal and, not surprisingly, most of them occur in the early sections of the lists when few correlated events are attached to the rulers[2].

The Reverend Father Francis Xavier Reiter[3], in a presentation commonly referred to as the 'Catholic List', counts 39 Tu'i Tonga. Gifford[4] claims that Reiter received the list from Tongavalevale, presumably in Tonga. Bishop Joseph Felix Blanc[5] also published this list and cites Father Francis Roulleaux Dubignon as having collected it from a Tongan (Tāufa Pulotu) living in Lakeba, Fiji. A list attributed to Tāufa'āhau Tupou II[6] claims that 38 individuals held the title and in other respects is virtually identical to the 'Catholic List'. The most unusual rendering is one known as the 'Baker List', named after Shirley W. Baker who was the editor of the magazine in which it appeared[7] which lists 48 Tu'i Tonga; no source for the list is cited. Queen Sālote maintained that it originated with the Tamahā, but was corrected by Lupepau'u, wife of Tāufa'āhau Tupou I, Veale'ovale, her brother, and Hepisipa, a daughter of Tu'i Tonga

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1. Hau'ofa 1980:223
2. The various lists which follow appear juxtaposed in Appendix B. See also Lyth (Reminiscences:45) and Malupō (Ancient Tradition:8). Thomas (Tongatabu:59-69) also presents a list of Tu'i Tonga, although they are not in successive order.
3. *Koe Fafangu* 1907(5)1:6-12,2:26-32,3:45-46,4:60-64; Reiter 1933:374
4. Gifford 1929:49
5. Blanc 1934:6
6. *Koe Tohi Fononogo* 1916:8; see also Collocott 1924:166
7. *Koe Boobooi*:84

Laufilitonga, who was adopted by Tāufa'āhau[8]. Dr Egan Moulton[9] presented a similar list which listed only 25 Tu'i Tonga titleholders. Interestingly, he cited the Tamahā, Kelekele, Tokemoana and Tongavalevale as his sources.

Significant in both Baker's and Moulton's lists are their presentations of Kohai and Koau, two of the three men created from the maggot pecked by Tangaloa 'Atulongolongo (see Chapter Two). Moulton, in his version, contends that 'Kohai and his descendants were first to rule, then these were dispossessed, and there came to rule: Ahoeitu'. The possibility that the first Tu'i Tonga overthrew an earlier dynasty is notable and receives limited support from Tongan and Samoan traditions and archaeological hypothesis. Several historians[10] contend that 'Aho'eitu was the younger son of a Samoan chief who was sent to rule Tonga during an early Samoan empire and that he settled permanently among the local people and established an independent rule -- a not infrequent occurrence in the later Tongan empire. The recent hypotheses of two archaeologists, working independently, suggests waves of settlement and displacements of people which indirectly support the theory. Kirch contends that the notion of Polynesian chieftainship is part of an ancestral Polynesian complex and is expressed by the Proto-Polynesian *ariki (rendered *'eiki* in Tongan), while *tu'i* represents 'a second level of chiefly hierarchy, that of the district paramount' which took control of the island of Tongatapu[11] . Groube[12] also postulates a political reorganization in his two wave theory of the settlement of Tonga. It is not difficult to read a Kohai/Koau dynasty as the first group and a later group headed by a foreigner ('Aho'eitu) as the '*tu'i*' people.

While such postulations are interesting, their highly speculative nature needs to be emphasized. To date, no archaeological field evidence has been discovered that suggests an early, forceful takeover of Tonga. Nor do any traditional sources make any claim of conquest aside from the succession lists published by Moulton and *Koe Boobooi*. In fact, there is a Samoan tradition that names 'Aho'eitu as the first Tu'i Tonga to rule Samoa[13]. Sahlins[14] points out that the theme of the sacred king as a foreign impregnator of local women is common in Pacific mythology and it may not necessarily represent a foreign invasion. In addition, the sources of the various Tu'i Tonga succession lists should be taken into consideration, for their partisan nature may be relevant to the differences contained in the lists. The Catholic missionaries were

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8. Bott 1982:92; Ve'ehala and Fanua 1977:29

9. *Koe Makasini a Kolisi* 1881-1883; see also Tregear 1891:670

10. Fetuani 1970:5-6; Wood 1932:5-6; Māhina 1986:35-6

11. Kirch 1984a:223; see also Pawley 1982:39-42 who suggests that *qadiki may be Proto-Oceanic

12. Groube 1971

13. Henry, History:17

14. Sahlins 1981b:112-114, *passim*

supported by (and, in turn, supported) the Tu'i Tonga and his people, while the Wesleyans, of which denomination both Moulton and Baker were missionaries, favoured the Tu'i Kanokupolu titleholders who abolished the power and title of the Tu'i Tonga[15]. That the Kanokupolu line would favour a succession list which implied that their rivals were, in fact, ancient interlopers and not the indigenous rulers makes perfect political sense. By the same token, the Tu'i Tonga line might well choose to ignore any earlier displaced dynasties in order to support the divine and preeminent nature of their rule. A final point worth noting on this subject is that Kohai, Koau and Momo are represented in Tongan mythology as small, black men; a factor which might suggest a Tongan variant of the wider Polynesian mythological concept elaborated most fully in the Hawaiian menehune myths, wherein the original inhabitants of the islands are portrayed as small, black people imbued with magical powers who are overrun by later, larger and lighter skinned arrivals[16]. How all of these ideas may relate to an ancestral Polynesian complex remains to be seen, but the suggestion that the Tu'i Tonga line represented conquerors of an earlier ruling lineage must be regarded with great care. Caution, too, must be exercised in reading the myths literally, for, as demonstrated in the previous chapter, myths can express valued themes as well as represent historical events.

Most historians and traditionalists favour the so-called 'Catholic List' or a close semblance of it[17] on the grounds that it concurs with known traditions and omits extraneous nicknames of the *kau* Tu'i Tonga, thereby preventing duplication. Lacking any additional or contradictory evidence, the 'Catholic List' appears the most acceptable of the versions. The early portion of the Tu'i Tonga succession list reads as follows:

1) 'Aho'eitu
2) Lolofakangalo
3) Fanga'one'one
4) Līhau
5) Kofutu
6) Kaloa
7) Ma'uhau
8) 'Apuanea
9) 'Afulunga
10) Momo
11) Tu'itātui

Very little is known about the reigns of the second to ninth *kau* Tu'i Tonga, and the era has been dubbed the 'Tongan Dark Ages'[18] by archaeologists, due to the paucity

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15. Lātūkefu (1974) provides an excellent account of the interplay of the two groups in nineteenth century Tonga.

16. Luomala 1951:4, 68-72; Poulsen 1977:8; but also see Barrēre 1969:34-37; 41-42 who claims that the essence of the menehune myths have been misunderstood.

17. See, among others, Collocott 1924:166; Gifford 1929:50-51; Ve'ehala and Fanua 1977:29; Interview, 11 September 1985.

18. There has been a move in Tongan archaeology to rename this the'New Formative Period' (Davidson 1978:386; Spennemann 1986:2,6), as the 'Dark Ages' carries Eurocentric connotations.

of oral traditions and excavated sites from this period. The first nine Tu'i Tonga are said to have resided in the Vahe Loto district near Toloa on Tongatapu and succession is said to have been from father to son, although there is no elaboration on the genealogical information[19]. It is probably this lack of information which has led some writers[20] to postulate them as mythical figures.

From the time of Momo there are known traditions, and those which commemorate the deeds of his son Tu'itātui, are even more numerous. The apparent reasons for the father's and son's notoriety are the great changes they brought to Tonga. Tu'i Tonga Momo is said to have married a woman named Nua of Ha'amea in Tongatapu, daughter of Lo'au[21]. In Tongan traditions Lo'au is an important symbol for revolutionary social change. He appears several times in Tongan history and in each case a major social or political reform is afoot and Lo'au is credited with the change. After the innovation, Lo'au is said to disappear over the horizon. Among other things Lo'au is credited with initiating the *kava* ceremony, two re-organizations of the *falefā*, and the sending out of governors to outlying areas of the Tongan empire[22]. He was said to be able to see into the future and also to know what was occurring throughout the Tongan empire at any given time -- hence the wisdom of his instructions and the profundity of the changes he brought about. The significance of the role he plays in Tongan historical narrative is shown in the metaphorical designations associated with him, he is known as the *tufunga fonua* ('carpenter of the land') and the 'law-giver'[23]. Gifford[24] published an account featuring Lo'au, a portion of which demonstrates the essence of his nature in Tongan traditions:

Kae toki faka osi e Loau,	Then Lo'au spoke last, and he
mo ne fakatonutonu, one	corrected everything, and
pehe; oku hala ae mea niihi,	said that some things were
ka oku tonu ae mea niihi.	wrong and some things were right.

Some writers have read the Lo'au traditions literally and assumed that there was a lineage of chiefs in Tonga bearing the name Lo'au who were always involved in revolutionary change. Māhina[25], for example, contends that Lo'au was of 'East

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19. *Koe Fafangu* 1909(7):81-83; Reiter 1933:363-373; Bott 1982:92; Interview, 14 August 1985

20. Wood 1932:5; Kirch 1984a:224.

21. This myth is well known; see Gifford 1924:43; Fanua 1975:61-63; Bott 1982:92; among others. Ve'ehala and Fanua (1977:27) and Māhina (1986:35-36) maintain that she was a woman of Niuatoputapu. It should be noted that neither Lo'au nor Nua appear in any of the available genealogies, except in direct correlation with the stated traditions. As genealogical knowledge for this period is scanty at best, this may or may not be relevant.

22. Gifford 1924:71-74; Gifford 1929:101, 131,162; Bott 1982:97

23. Interview, 12 September 1985; Bott 1982:92

24. Gifford 1929:68; Sione Lātūkefu, personal communication

25. Māhina 1986:41,74,79

Polynesian descent' and 'a political adviser'. Cummins[26] also believes that Lo'au was a foreigner and both Fanua and Bott state that he was the holder of the Tu'i Ha'amea title[27]. While it is possible that there was a line of chiefs in Tongan history named Lo'au, it seems more likely that he is a metaphorical figure for revolutionary change which may have been applied to persons or actions which embodied this essence.

Gunson[28] contends that he was part of the early Tongan shamanic complex which explains his association with custom and changes to it. His nickname of 'Lo'au the Clairvoyant' or 'Lo'au the Seer' lends credence to this view. It is also possible to read a shamanic connection into his ability to see into the future and his pervasive knowledge of occurrences in Tonga, as well as his predilection for speaking 'in poetry' and his frequent disappearance over the horizon[29]. It is, perhaps, this last characteristic which has influenced Cummins and Māhina in regarding Lo'au as a foreigner. It should, however, be remembered that Pulotu, the island of the spirits, is also said to be over the horizon, and certain traditions featuring Lo'au tell of his voyage there[30].

Perhaps the best indicator of how Lo'au may have been perceived in historical Tongan narrative can be gleaned from a modern manifestation. The late Queen Sālote was regarded as embodying Lo'au, and so were the *kava* ceremonies she held with her *matāpule* ('chief's ceremonial attendant') in which she explained and interpreted the complexities of Tonga custom. In fact, Lo'au is employed as a metaphor for the *kava* ceremony because in the past any ceremony headed by a powerful individual could introduce change; the metaphor also commemorates Lo'au's inauguration of the ritual[31]. Bott[32] was told in the late 1950s that 'the Queen is our Lo'au today'. Similarly it has been said that 'every dynasty had its . . . Lo'au'[33]. What is common in the various descriptions and accounts of Lo'au is that he embodies change and, as such, he should be regarded as a marker of discontinuity in Tongan historical narrative.

In addition to marrying the daughter of Lo'au, Tu'i Tonga Momo is credited with moving the court of the Tu'i Tonga to the coastal site of Heketā, reportedly because of aggressive action by the Tu'ifaleua people, descendants of Talafale, the eldest divine

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26. Cummins 1977a:68

27. Fanua 1975:59; Bott 1982:92, 131. Gifford (1929:68) recorded that Lo'au was not associated with the Tu'i Ha'amea title until the time of Tu'i Tonga Kau'ulufonuafekai. Any earlier association, such as Ha'amea as the village of Nua mentioned above or Bott's blanket statement, could conceivably be anachronistic.

28. Gunson 1987a; personal communication

29. Gifford 1929:52; Collocott 1928:54; Bott 1982:93

30. Gifford 1924:139-143; Collocott 1924:177-178; see also Ve'ehala and Fanua 1977:31-32

31. Sione Lātūkefu, personal communication

32. Bott 1982:92

33. Fetuani 1970:12

brother of 'Aho'eitu, and member of the Tu'i Tonga's *falefā*[34]. Tu'i Tonga Momo is also said to have inaugurated the *kava* ceremony on the instruction of Lo'au. The account[35] of the discovery of the effects of the root of the *kava* plant (Piper methysticum) relates how Momo visited the small island of 'Euaiki while on a fishing expedition. The only inhabitants were a man(Fevanga) and a woman (Fefafa) and their leprous daughter. As it was a time of famine, they had no food to cook for the Tu'i Tonga except for a large *kape* (Alocasia macrorrhiza), a large *taro*-like tuber, which they were unable to use because the Tu'i Tonga was sitting against it. Instead, they killed and cooked their leprous daughter. When the Tu'i Tonga was made aware of their sacrifice, he was deeply moved and instructed them to bury their daughter in a proper manner. Lo'au appeared and told them to take the plants which grew from her body to the Tu'i Tonga. The one which grew from her head was *kava* and should, he said, be made into a drink. The plant which grew from her feet was *to* or sugarcane (Saccharum officinarum) and Lo'au instructed that it was to be eaten with the *kava*. The couple did as Lo'au said. Tu'i Tonga Momo received the *kava* and *to* and had the *kava* made into a drink as Lo'au had directed. He was, however, suspicious of being poisoned, perhaps because the couple had tried to feed him with a diseased body, so he had his *matāpule* drink the first cup, and the *kava* ceremony was begun.

This myth has been extensively analyzed elsewhere[36] and the main points of the argument need only be outlined here. Bott, in a masterful analysis of the *kava* ceremony as a conservative representation of the Tongan socio-political order, has demonstrated that the myth reflects, on the one hand, the fundamental contradiction and ambivalence in the *'eiki/tu'a* relationship by the obedience (*talangofua*) and duty (*fatongia*) of the *tu'a* to their *'eiki* (the sacrifice of their daughter) and, on the other, the hostility and bitterness which is often suppressed in such an enactment (represented by the Tu'i Tonga having his *matāpule* drink the first cup). Māhina[37] translates the name of the man (Fevanga) as 'to desire' and the woman's name (Fefafa) as 'to carry a burden'. He then uses these translations to signify that a man's rightful arena is in the 'public place', while a woman's place is in the 'domestic sphere'. His analysis appears faulty on two counts. Firstly, there is no evidence that the traditional Tongan conception of the world comprised a 'domestic' and a 'public' sphere. Rather, as James[38] argues, this concept seems to arise within a Western bourgeois ideology. Secondly, according to Lātūkefu[39],

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34. *Koe Fafangu* 1909(7):81-83. This aggressive action may be an anachronistic reason for Talafale being identified as the actual killer of 'Aho'eitu in the creation myth (see Chapter Two).

35. Interview, 23 July 1985; see also Gifford 1924:71-74; Bott 1972:215-217

36. Bott 1972:205-237, 276-282; Leach 1972:239-275, 283-284; see also Māhina 1986:43-69

37. Māhina 1986:68

38. James 1987

39. Sione Lātūkefu, personal communication

Fevanga carries no other connotation or meaning aside from its use as a name in the myth; it is not, it seems, even commonly used as a name in Tongan. Fefafa, which Māhina translates as 'to carry a burden', presumably from the verb *fafa* ('to carry on the back'), has an indubitable meaning of the secondary yams on the root of the plant used for planting rather than eating[40] -- a metaphor which probably emphasizes the fertility of women rather than any limiting spatial or labour ethic.

The son of Tu'i Tonga Momo and Nua was Tu'itātui, a ruler remembered for his strength of character and his ability to govern[41]. His name means 'king strike the knee'[42], an allusion to his practice of carrying a sizable stick to keep his *matāpule* at a reasonable distance. His motive appears to have been fear of assassination by ambitious *matāpule* and, on the advice of Lo'au, Tu'itātui is said to have re-organized the *falefā*[43]. Although the first Tu'i Tonga said to have been assassinated was Havea I (eight succeeding *kau* Tu'i Tonga from Tu'itātui) his apprehensions about his *matāpule* were not without grounds for, as mentioned above, the same concerns motivated his father, Tu'i Tonga Momo, to move the capital to Heketā.

There is a tradition which tells how Tu'itātui seduced his sister in the loft of his house (*fale fatataki*)[44]. The interesting point of the account is that there are no moral consequences attached to the socially prohibited action. Some writers[45] contend that Tu'itātui was driven out of Tongatapu and had to seek refuge in 'Eua because of his incestuous act; although it has also been asserted that this represented a later Christian influence upon the myth and that the traditional version showed how cunning Tu'itātui was in luring his sister to the loft and how great he was since nothing happened to him because of the event[46].

Tu'itātui is most noted for the monumental earth and stone works on Tongatapu which were initiated at his command. These included the building of Langi Heketā and Langi Mo'ungalafa, the first stone-faced, terraced burial vaults for the *kau* Tu'i Tonga (*langi*) and the trilithon, Ha'amonga a Maui ('Burden of Maui'), traditionally reputed to symbolize the two sons of Tu'itātui in its columns and their support for each other in their joining through the beam[47]. In addition to commanding labour and resources from Tongatapu and the outlying Tongan islands ('Eua, Ha'apai, Vava'u, Niuafo'ou and Niuatoputapu), Tu'itātui called upon labour and materials from the islands of Rotuma,

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40. Churchward 1959:18; Sione Lātūkefu, personal communication
41. Interview, 23 July 1985; Interview, 11 September 1985
42. Gifford 1929:272
43. Interview, 11 September 1985; Gifford 1929:101; Bott 1982:97
44. Interview, 11 September 1985; Gifford 1924:46
45. Wood 1932:7; Ve'ehala and Fanua 1977:33
46. Interview, 11 September 1985
47. Malupō, Ancient Tradition:2; McKern 1929:39,45-46,63-66

Niue, 'Uvea, Futuna and Samoa for the construction of these monumental works[48]. Although archaeologists are convinced that the quarrying for these and later monuments was accomplished on Tongatapu or its immediate surrounding islets, tradition still maintains that the stones for the Ha'amonga came from 'Uvea, as did the labour which was a form of tribute from islands under the political subjugation of the Tu'i Tonga[49].

The geographic and temporal extent of an early Tongan empire is difficult to ascertain; although traditions from various islands do suggest that such an empire probably did exist and that it may have been extensive. There is agreement in the traditions of Tonga, Samoa and 'Uvea that Tonga subjugated and ruled these islands during an early period[50]. Traditions from Tuvalu, especially the islands of Nanumea and Nanumanga[51], suggest that Tonga and/or Samoa were involved in early migrations to those islands, followed by a period of isolation and, then, intermittent forays by Tongans to reconquer the islands and extract tribute. As a result of these or later subjugations there are many Tongan place names on some Tuvaluan islands, such as Hahake, Hatonga, Houma, Ha'apai and Tongatapu. Tongan tradition also mentions that the Tokelau islands sent tribute to the Tu'i Tonga during this time and it seems probable that Niue was also under Tongan political rule[52]. Simon Best's archaeological work in Lau suggests that Lakeba may also have been part of this vast Tongan empire and there is some suggestion of an early Tongan influence in Rotuma and Anuta[53].

While the idea of extensive Tongan domination around the time of Tu'i Tonga Tu'itātui is intriguing, the evidence for it is problematic on several counts. Firstly, dating is difficult, if not impossible. Most publishers of the abovementioned traditions assign dates to the Tongan invasions. For the most part, however, these must be regarded as speculative for they often involve a Eurocentric imputation of what a genealogy or succession list entailed and a projected calculation of generation span. Often it is uncertain whether the lists presented are, in fact, genealogies or if they are actually succession lists[54]. While either can present a good local chronology, inter-island

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48. Dillon 1829(2):295; Collocott 1924:173; Ve'ehala and Fanua 1977:33; see also Thomas, History (1879):157; Gifford 1929:349

49. McKern 1929:5-6; Collocott 1924:173-174; Burrows 1937:18; Bott 1982:94; Spennemann 1986:52-56

50. Henry, History:20-23; Kramer, The Samoan Islands:108; Burrows 1937:18-19,170; Gifford 1929:14; see Kirch 1976:49-50, 59 for archaeological evidence of contact.

51. Hedley 1896:8,43; Roberts 1958:397,400,405,406; Chambers, Chambers and Munro 1978:32-35; Munro 1982:11-14; Laracy 1983:15,48,50-51,70, 86-92

52. Interview, 13 August 1985; Thomson 1902:19-21; Loeb 1926:26-29

53. Best 1984:644,658; Eason 1951:2,4,116,119,124,125; Bayard 1976:84, but see also Green (1971); Biggs (1979-1980) and Kirch (1984b:230-231,236-238) for contradictory Anutan evidence

54. See Herda 1987a for a more extensive consideration of the problems of dating genealogies and succession lists and their application to history.

correlations are not usually possible for this early period[55]. Perhaps future work will be able to establish links between the home and host genealogies of the early travellers and conquerors. But, owing to the fragmentary state of evidence for this period, it seems highly unlikely that any firm associations, aside from those already mentioned, will be possible. Archaeology, while providing some hope with independent dates for sites, such as Best's[56] work on a possible Tongan occupation in Lakeba, still suffers from the problem of linking the information gained with genealogies or succession lists of more than one island group.

A second area of difficulty which limits comprehension of the extent of early Tongan voyages is a linguistic one. While many of the abovementioned traditions specifically name Tonga as the home of the conquerors, in many of these languages the name 'tonga' often signifies a geographical direction rather than a place name; hence the dilemma of whether its designation actually refers to the Tongan islands or, simply, names the direction the conquerors came from. Such is the case with Tikopian evidence of a later invasion which the Tikopians attribute to Tonga[57]. 'Tonga' designates a steady, seasonal wind from the N.E.-S.E. quadrant -- the reported direction from which the conquerers' canoes came[58]. It is tempting to argue that the word in Tikopian may have derived its meaning from the name of the homeland of the conquering people which, incidentally, is the direction a Tongan canoe would have to take in order to reach Tikopia. But evidence of this remains circumstantial, at best conjectural[59]. As Bayard points out, many of the invasion legends may be anachronistic attributions derived from Tongan travellers on European vessels who visited Tikopia in the early nineteenth century. The point is that simple designation, alone, is not enough to indicate wayward canoes blown off course, much less foreign subjugation. What does, however, seem clear from a Tongan perspective is that ocean voyages were being made with some foreign islands being subjugated. The question which remains unanswered is exactly when did it begin?

Once it occurred, the subjugation seemed to take one of two forms. The first involved periodic aggressive forays in which tribute was extracted almost as booty and

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55. It should be pointed out that the Samoan and Tongan genealogies and succession lists do correlate for this period and later genealogies from all of these islands display a high degree of association with a placement on both chronologies possible.

56. Best 1984:644

57. Dillon 1829 (2):112; Firth 1961:160; Niel Gunson, personal communication

58. This seems to be a common phenomena throughout Polynesia. In the Marquesas, for example, 'fiti' (Fiji) was used in a similar manner, connotating direction rather than a specific island group (Jenny Terrell, personal communication).

59. See Bayard 1976 for an excellent summary of the difficulty of systematizing linguistic evidence in the study of the settlement of the Polynesian Outliers. Kirch and Yen (1982:237,337,341-343), however, present archaeological evidence which supports the traditional material.

individuals brought from these islands to Tongatapu can be classified as kidnapped. Such was Tonga's original hold over Nanumea and Funafuti in Tuvalu[60]; where after each foray the Tongan warriors would allegedly take a child back to Tonga with them so that they would know when the next generation would be old enough to fight. Regular tribute in such a case could not have been deemed overly important; although it seems that Tongan warriors were only dispatched to Tokelau when the expected tribute did not appear[61].

The second type of Tongan conquest involved long-term subjugation of the islands with 'governors', usually the younger brothers (*fototehina*) of ruling chiefs, being sent out from Tonga to govern and extract regular tribute which would be forwarded to Tonga. Marriages often occurred between the local people and the Tongan governors, as well as between the daughters of local chiefs and the Tu'i Tonga[62]. Extrapolating from later accounts, it seems likely that these women went to live at the Tu'i Tonga's court, many of them returning home, if they chose to, after they had given birth to a child -- an obvious enduring representation of the formed alliance, the political expediency of which was not lost on the Tongans[63]. Since these women were known, at least in later times, as *sinifu fonua* (women of the land), a term which, today, carries a connotation of concubinage. However, in 'Uvea, a long-time Tongan colony, *sinifu* still meant polygamous marriage early this century, and it seems that in early Tonga such a union was ritually marked and although the *sinifu fonua* were distinguished from the principal wife (*mā'itaki* who was later known as *moheofo*) and her attendants (*fokonofo*), they were accorded high status, and were differentiated from those women who, by the transience of their relationships with the Tu'i Tonga, were referred to as *fe'auaki* or *nonofo*, Tongan equivalents for 'living together' or 'a one night stand'[64]. Bott contends that *fe'auaki* carried connotations of a secret liaison, but informants assert that a sexual liaison between a Tu'i Tonga and a woman of any rank would be welcomed and made public knowledge, by the woman and her family, especially if a child resulted from the liaison[65].

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60. Hedley 1896:8,43; Roberts 1958:410,413; Laracy 1983:51,92

61. Interview, 12 July 1985

62. Existing Tongan genealogical material from this period is solely related to the person of the Tu'i Tonga. It would, therefore, be foolish to suggest any type of assymetrical marriage exchanges for the data is categorically biased. If later practices are any indication other marriage configurations would also have been formed.

63. Thomas, History (1879):12; Watkin, Journal:187; Lawry 1851:49, 81; Spillius (Bott), Discussions (2):280; Collocott 1923:53-54

64. Burrows 1937:63; Interview, 30 July 1985; Interview, 26 August 1985; Interview, 31 August 1985; see also Gifford 1929:122

65. Anonymous, History:53-54; Spillius (Bott), Discussions (2):n.p.,280,347; Interview, 30 July 1985; Interview, 23 July 1986

As Kirch[66] has noted the political strategy of sending *fototehina* to govern islands and the various marriages which resulted from this situation was masterful. For in addition to establishing alliances through kinship links, the central polity was able to rid itself of potential usurpers by sending them out to fairly autonomous positions of authority. Marriages of local chiefly women to the Tu'i Tonga placed the progeny of such unions in a special relation to the people of the outlying islands. Similarly, the ideology of the foreigner, a divine stranger, marrying a woman of the earth (a local woman) would be enacted as expressed in the Tongan creation myth; an ideology Sahlins has identified as powerful in many Pacific islands[67].

Tu'i Tonga Tu'itātui was succeeded by his son Tala'ātama who was known as 'Ali'atama in Samoa[68]. He moved the court of the Tu'i Tonga to Mu'a on the north coast of Tongatapu and the capital became known as Lapaha. The move was motivated by the desire of Tala'ātama and Talaiha'apepe, his younger brother, for a better anchorage for their canoes, because the shoreline at Heketā was rough and not as well suited as that at Mu'a for easy launching and anchoring[69]. Another account[70] of the move states that Tala'ātama and Talaiha'apepe acted upon the request of their elder sister, Fatafehi, who grew tired of the sound of the waves crashing on the reef at Heketā. Current Tongan interpretation of the versions asserts that they are both symbolic representations of an expansion of the Tongan empire[71].

Tala'ātama died without issue. The succession of the Tu'i Tonga was based on a divine origin and was supposed to be directly from father to eldest son. To overcome this Talaiha'apepe, Tala'ātama's younger brother, proclaimed a block of wood as Tala'ātama's son and, by right, the next Tu'i Tonga (see Figure 3.1). In due course the block of wood, known as Tu'i Tonga Nuitamatou, was presented with a *mā'itaki* ('principal wife') who, soon after, was said to be pregnant. Her son was announced as Talaiha'apepe who succeeded Tu'i Tonga Nuitamatou who was said to have died soon after Talaiha'apepe's 'birth'[72]. Gifford recorded another version of the Tu'i Tonga Nuitamatou story from a member of the Tu'i Tonga family which stated that the piece of wood, also known as Tama Tou ('son of a *tou* tree'), was a toy of Talaiha'apepe who was only a small child at the time of his brother's death. When Talaiha'apepe was told he was to be installed as Tu'i Tonga, he demanded that Tama Tou be named instead. As Talaiha'apepe was the rightful Tu'i Tonga, his wishes were obeyed without question.

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66. Kirch 1984a:235
67. Sahlins 1981a:64; 1981b:112-114
68. Kramer, The Samoan Islands:936
69. Gifford 1924:46
70. Gifford 1929:53
71. Interview, 12 August 1985; Interview, 11 September 1985
72. Collocott 1924:175; Ve'ehala and Fanua 1977:34-5.

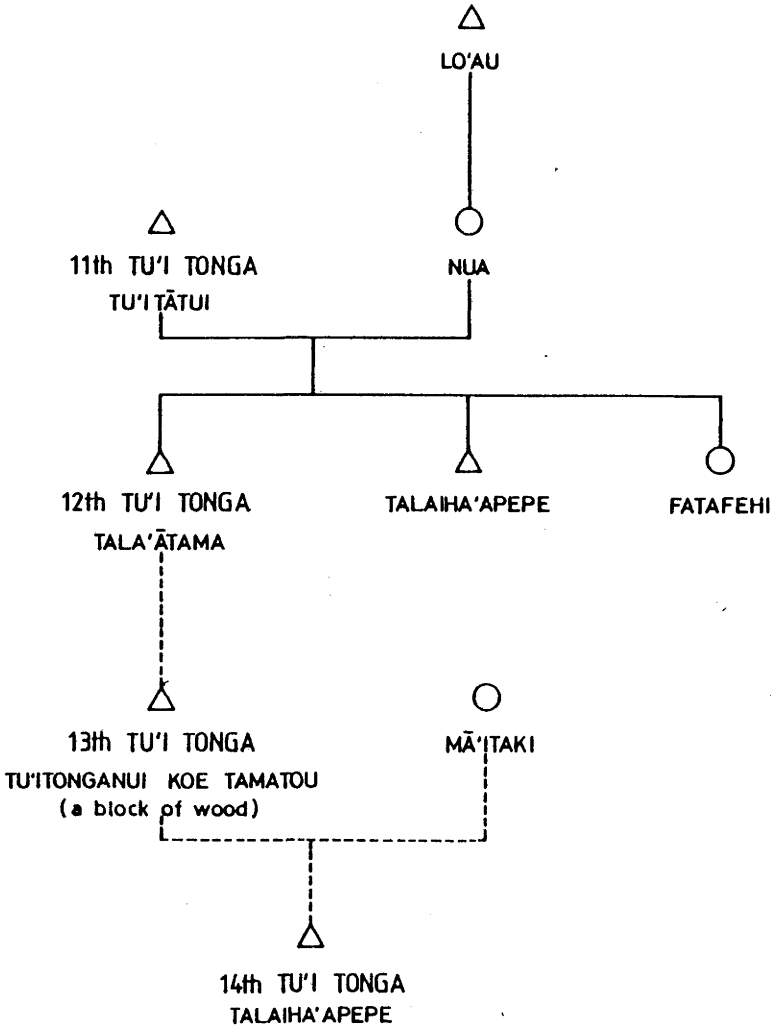

LO'AU
11th TU'I TONGA
TU'I TĀTUI
NUA
12th TU'I TONGA
TALA'ĀTAMA
TALAIHA'APEPE
FATAFEHI
13th TU'I TONGA
TU'ITONGANUI KOE TAMATOU
(a block of wood)
MĀ'ITAKI
14th TU'I TONGA
TALAIHA'APEPE

FIGURE 3·1

When Talaiha'apepe became an adult, Tama Tou was declared to have died and was buried with full ceremony, after which, Talaiha'apepe was installed as Tu'i Tonga[73]. This kind of variance in explication of events is fairly common in Tongan history. Often, as in the case of the move of the capital to Mu'a, it may involve elaboration of one or another cultural theme which has very little or nothing to do with the event (the theme of the second version of the Heketā to Mu'a account being the culturally valued deference of brothers to an elder sister). In other instances the versions appear to represent competition between rivals, such as the Tu'i Tonga versus the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, or, more usually, the Tu'i Kanokupolu. As will become clear, the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu versions usually emphasize the degrading or profaning of the Tu'i Tonga's divine essence (in which case Talaiha'apepe represents a serious breach in Tu'i Tonga succession), while the Tu'i Tonga version assumes the succession is true and the divinity intact.

Talaiha'apepe was succeeded by his son Talakaifaiki, who is remembered because Tonga's early domination of Samoa was said to have ended during his reign[74]. Samoan tradition records that Talaaifei'i, as he was known in Samoa, had come to Samoa to 'go round Samoa and have his Sovereignty proclaimed'[75], a customary practice for a new ruler in order to assure the allegiance of his subjects, as well as to receive his first tribute from them. During Talakaifaiki's procession a rebellion took place, initiated by two brothers, Tuna and Fata. The Tongans were defeated and as they were sailing away from the shore to return to Tonga, Talakaifaiki was reported to have called out to the Samoan brothers: 'Malietoa! (beautiful warrior), splendid war. I will not come again with a war party; but should I come to Samoa with a travelling party, it will not be to raise a war against Samoa. This is our covenant (*mavaenga*).'[76].

This incident is not well known in Tonga, except from the Tongan knowledge of the Samoan traditions. Interestingly, in Tonga, *mavae'anga* means a 'place or cause of parting'[77], rather than the reconciliatory meaning attributed by the Samoans; perhaps a poignant distinction between a victorious and a vanquished perspective. Despite this

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73. Gifford 1924:55; Kramer (The Samoan Islands:936; see also Henry, History:40) states that Tu'i Tonga 'Tamatou', whom he also identified as Tu'i Tonga 'Amanaia, married Nafanua from Savai'i. There daughter was 'Laufafa e toga'. Kramer's identification is, most likely, in error. In both Tongan and Samoan *mana'ia* signifies a beautiful young man who is sexually attractive to women. No Tu'i Tonga is known to have been called by that name in Tonga; although it is an apt description of any Tu'i Tonga, owing to their divine origin and exalted rank, and, conceivably, could identify any Tu'i Tonga.

74. See Ella 1899:231-233; Henry, History:22; Collocott, King Taufa:37; Fetuani 1970; Koe Tohi Hohoko 'a Sepiuta Hala'api'api:n.p.; Kramer, The Samoan Islands:108 for accounts of this incident.

75. Ella 1899:231

76. Ella 1899:233

77. Churchward 1959:347

disagreement in detail, the Tongan and Samoan genealogies are consistent for this period[78]. It seems likely that some kind of treaty was negotiated, for the next three *kau* Tu'i Tonga are said to have married high-ranking Samoan women[79]. Talafapite's Samoan wife came from Salelologa, although her name has not been remembered. His successor, Ma'akatoe, was reported to have married two daughters of Tui Atua, Popoa'i and Tau'akito'a, from eastern 'Upolu. Ma'akatoe's sons by Popoa'i were Tu'iavi'i and Tonga'alelei. Tonga'alelei reportedly went to Niue and settled there for a time (perhaps he was sent as a governor), while Tu'iavi'i went to his mother's people in Samoa. While they were away, Puipui, son of Tu'i Tonga Ma'akatoe and Tau'akito'a, was named as Tu'i Tonga. When they learned of the succession, Tu'iavi'i and Tonga'alelei were incensed by this disregard of seniority and engaged Puipui and his people in battle. Tonga'alelei was killed, whereupon Tu'iavi'i relinquished the fight and returned to Samoa, leaving Puipui as Tu'i Tonga. It does not appear that hostilities spread to other Samoan lineages for the daughters of Tu'i Tonga Puipui are said to have married Samoans, including Malietoafaiga Uilamatutu.

Nothing is known of Puipui's successor, Havea I[80], except that he was assassinated while bathing at Alaki[81]. It is assumed that the killer was a foreigner for no Tongan would dare to commit such an act, owing to the *tapu* surrounding the Tu'i Tonga. Havea's body was said to have been cut in half with only the top section being recovered. Upon hearing of this a chief named Lufe, of Havea's mother's people, ordered that he be cut in half so that the lower half of his body could be attached to that of the Tu'i Tonga, and make his body whole when buried. Lufe and his descendants were given the name Tupouleva in remembrance of this special *fatongia* ('obligation', 'duty') to the Tu'i Tonga.

Tatafu'eikimeimu'a was the successor of Havea I. He was reported[82] to have gone to Samoa with his younger brother Nganatatafu, in search of a Samoan wife. Although Nganatatafu won the affections of the beautiful Hina, a well known figure in both Tongan and Samoan myths (where her name is rendered as Sina), Tatafu'eikimeimu'a is said to have married the daughter of Manu'a of Safata and to be represented in the Tui A'ana and Malietoa lines. There are other versions of the myth of Tatafu'eikimeimu'a, Nganatatafu and Hina[83]. One names two sons of Tatafu'eikimeimu'a as the rivals in a

78. See Kramer, The Samoan Islands:935;

79. Fetuani 1970; Kramer, The Samoan Islands:268, 937

80. Kramer, The Samoan Islands:937) claims that Tu'i Tonga Ma'akatoe Puipui and Havea I were the same person. This is not, however, borne out by Tongan traditions nor consistent with Tongan and Samoan genealogies. Puipui's mother is said to have come from Samoa, while Havea's mother was from Folaha on Tongatapu (Fetuani 1970; Bott 1982:94).

81. Blanc 1934:9: Ve'ehala and Fanua 1977:34; Wood 1932:9; Bott 1982:94.

82. Gifford 1924:55-60; Kramer, The Samoan Islands:937

83. Gifford 1923:84; Gifford 1929:34; Ve'ehala and Fanua 1977:34

battle for Hina's affections and states that her descendant by one of them was the first to bear the name Malupō. Gifford, however, claims that the Malupō line descends from a later Tu'i Tonga and the daughter of the Tui Nayau of Fiji. Nganatatafu was also said to have settled on the island of Hā'ano in the Ha'apai group, seemingly without the beautiful Hina, and to have founded the Ha'angana lineage, a name which celebrates his foreign conquests.

Lomi'aetupu'a was the next Tu'i Tonga. Little is remembered of his reign. His son, Tu'i Tonga Havea II, was assassinated with an arrow by a Fijian *matāpule* named Tuluvota[84]. The son and successor of Havea II was Takalaua. His wife was Va'e, a woman reported[85] to have been born with the head of a pigeon. Her parents abandoned her on the island of 'Ata where she was found by a childless couple and raised. As she grew up her head was transformed to that of a very beautiful woman. When Tu'i Tonga Takalaua heard of her beauty, he had a ship sent to 'Ata and Va'e was brought to his court at Mu'a. Her beauty was so great that it continually distracted the Tu'i Tonga and he repeatedly hit himself in the face with a drumstick while he was trying to accompany Va'e's dance. Hence her name became Va'elaveamata ('Va'e, the face-wounder'). She soon became the wife of Takalaua. Their children were Kau'ulufonua, Mo'ungāmotu'a, Lātūtoevave, Melinoatonga and Lotau'ai.

The underlying theme of the myth of Va'elaveamata seems to be demarcation of divinity. This is indicated at several points. The mysterious appearance and disappearance of the girl's parents suggests that they may have been spirits (*fa'ahikehe*), as does the anomaly of her birdlike head. This point is clearly made in the version recorded by Malupō. Then there is her unrivalled beauty which, as mentioned in the previous chapter, characterizes the influence of the gods. Gunson[86] asserts that Va'elaveamata was, in fact, the Tu'i Manu'a of Samoa; her divine attributes would then be explicable by her exalted birth and title. The reason for asserting Va'elaveamata's divinity could also be in recognition of the great changes her sons brought to Tonga. A similar situation was mentioned above concerning Nua, the daughter of Lo'au and mother of Tu'itātui, and this practice of marking as divine the mothers of cultural innovators may represent, like Lo'au, a narrative device for designating and interpreting major transformations in the Tongan socio-political system, especially as mothers are thought to pass their essence and rank through their blood[87].

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84. Gifford 1929:54; Wood 1932:9; Bott 1982:95

85. Interview, 26 August 1985; other accounts can be found in Gifford 1924:60-65; Malupō, Ancient Tradition:6-8 who records that her name was Ulukihelupe, Wood 1932:9. Thomas (Tongatabu:63) states that Takalaua also married Toloa and Hamula.

86. Gunson 1987b:150,153

87. Rogers 1977:171,172,177

Like Havea I and Havea II, Tu'i Tonga Takalaua was assassinated[88], by Tamasia and Malofafa of the Tu'ifaleua people who, like their ancestor, Talafale, had caused much trouble to the Tu'i Tonga people (see Figure 3.2). Perhaps there was ill feeling over past usurpation of seniority among the Tu'ifaleua people, for Talafale was the elder brother of 'Aho'eitu (see Chapter Two). In addition to slaying Takalaua, the assassins mutilated his body and hung it in a tree as a further insult. They were said to have smelled of the 'sorcerery basket'[89]. When the sons of Takalaua found their father so treated, they were enraged and the eldest, Kau'ulufonua, ordered that his father's body was not to be buried until revenge could be exacted. Revenge, however, was neither quick nor easy, and Kau'ulufonua and his brothers chased the assassins from place to place, including the islands of 'Eua, Ha'apai, Vava'u, Niuatoputapu, Niuafo'ou, Niue, Samoa, Fiji and Futuna, before they were caught at 'Uvea. It is said that before Kau'ulufonua allowed the prisoners to be killed, he ordered that their teeth be pulled and they be given *kava* to chew (chewing being the traditional method of preparing *kava*). The scene must have provided a strong and grisly symbol of their submission to Kau'ulufonua. The cruelty which Kau'ulufonua displayed is recalled in the suffix *fekai* ('savage') which was attached to his name. In Samoa he was called Tu'i Tonga Faisautele ('making great cannibal feasts') and was said to have drunk 'the blood of his father's murderer'[90].

Kau'ulufonuafekai's actions are also reminiscent of the murder of 'Aho'eitu by his elder celestial brothers in the creation myth (see Chapter Two) where the victim's blood was placed in the *kumete* of Hikule'o. The allusion in the myth to the *kava* ceremony and its implication in the establishment of rank is implied in Kau'ulufonuafekai's edict that the assassins chew the *kava* root in their bloody, toothless mouths. Vengeance is thus extracted for both the murder of Takalaua by Tamasia and Malofafa, and the murder of 'Aho'eitu by Talafale and his brothers (see Figure 3.2). As Kau'ulufonuafekai and Takalaua are the direct lineal descendants of 'Aho'eitu and Tamasia and Malofafa are the direct lineal descendants of Talafale the actions are interchangeable; in Sahlins' 'metaphors of mythical realities', they are one and the same[91].

There is little doubt that Kau'ulufonuafekai's pursuit of his father's assassins represents a major conquest and overseas expansion of the Tongan empire[92]. Tongan

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88. Accounts of this incident and its consequences are numerous see, among others, Thomas, Tongatabu:63-65; West 1865:55; Gifford 1924:61-62; Collocott 1924:176-177; Wood 1932:9-10; Bott 1982:95; Māhina 1986:113

89. Baker in Gifford 1929:85; an interesting reference -- sorcery was allegedly uncommon in Tonga.

90. Kramer, The Samoan Islands:937

91. Sahlins 1981a:13; 1983:525; see also Bott 1972:228; Bott 1981:23

92. See Blanc 1934:22; Collocott 1924:176; Gifford 1929:349; Kirch 1984a:225,232 on this point.

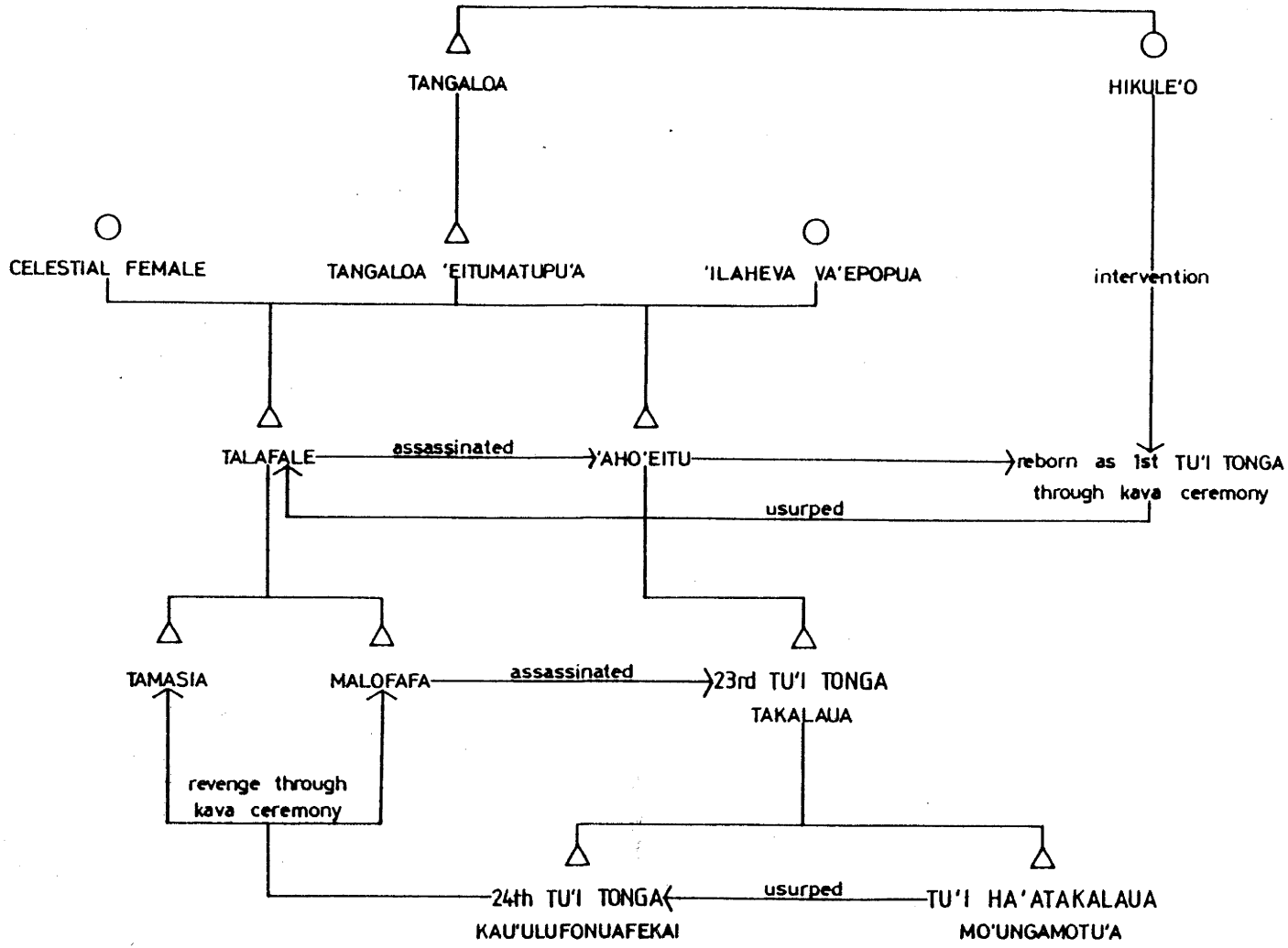

TANGALOA
HIKULE'O
CELESTIAL FEMALE
TANGALOA 'EITUMATUPU'A
'ILAHEVA VA'EPOPUA
intervention
TALAFALE
assassinated
'AHO'EITU
reborn as 1st TU'I TONGA
through kava ceremony
usurped
TAMASIA
MALOFAFA
assassinated
23rd TU'I TONGA
TAKALAUA
revenge through
kava ceremony
24th TU'I TONGA
KAU'ULUFONUAFEKAI
usurped
TU'I HA'ATAKALAUA
MO'UNGAMOTU'A

FIGURE 3·2

and other Pacific islands narratives of the conquest correspond closely. It seems that the islands of Fiji, Samoa and Futuna, though attacked were not conquered, and the traditions from some of these islands reflect this. Samoan tradition chronicles Kau'ulufonuafekai's relentless search for the assassins, but does not mention any fighting or attempted takeovers[93]. In fact, some of the Tongan traditions[94] omit Samoa from the list of islands included in Kau'ulufonua's pursuit, as some omit Fiji. The Fijian narratives do not appear to represent the conquest at all. While Tongan and Futunan myths leave no doubt that Futuna was not subjugated, they provide decidedly different versions of the events. Several Futunan traditions[95] recount a decisive Tongan defeat. Most traditions are straightforward, naming the battle, the heroes and the stratagems, although one account presents the entire foray as a pig belonging to the Tu'i Tonga being killed and butchered with its feet tossed back to Tonga. Valeri[96] points out that the pig is a symbol of strength and virility in Hawaiian mythology and it, seemingly, conveyed a similar meaning to the Futunans. The Tongan version[97], on the other hand, paints a picture of Futunan friendliness and submission, symbolized by their wearing of *ifi* (Inocarpus edulis) leaves, upon which the Tongans left the island. The Futunan account is probably closer to reality because the consequence of the incident was that the contents of any Tongan canoe which came to Futuna should immediately be seized by the Futunans -- a fitting reminder of a convincing defeat, though an uncommon mark of gratitude.

It appears that all of the nuclear Tonga islands ('Eua, Ha'apai, Vava'u) became unified at this time, if this was not already the case and that the northern Tongan outliers, Niuatoputapu and Niuafo'ou, were also brought under Tongan rule. Kau'ulufonuafekai appointed one of his younger brothers as his representative in 'Eua; Mata'uvave and Kolomoe'uto were sent to Ha'apai; Niutongo and Haveatuli to Vava'u; Talapalo to Niuatoputapu; and Makauka and Hakavalu to Niuafo'ou, thus bringing all of what makes up the modern Tongan nation under his direct scrutiny[98]. It is difficult to ascertain the extent of other islands under Tongan domination. It is conceivable that many of the islands listed as belonging to an earlier Tongan empire may, in fact, have been subjugated by Kau'ulufonuafekai. These might include Niue and Nanumea, but traditional and genealogical evidence is too thin to make any sound judgements on the

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93. Kramer, The Samoan Islands:937; Henry, History:53-56

94. Thomas, Tongatabu:63-65

95. Burrows 1936:49-51;52

96. Valeri 1985:354

97. Thomas, Tongatabu:63-65; Gifford 1924:66

98. Tohi Hohoko S. Tu'iketei Pule:n.p.; Interview, 14 August 1985; Interview, 29 May 1987; Gifford 1929:68; Reiter 1933:372; Fetuani 1970; Bott 1982:96. See also Collocott (1922) and Dye (1980) concerning the linguistic shift on the northern outliers and how this related to a Tongatapu subjugation.

matter. Mention has also been made of an alleged Tongan presence in Anuta and Tikopia, but as already stated the evidence for this is problematic; and at present all that can be said with certainty is the possiblity of a Tongan presence. 'Uvea, however, presents a very clear picture of Tongan subjugation. Tongan and 'Uvean traditions, succession lists and genealogies[99] agree that 'Uvea was conquered by force at the time of Kau'ulufonuafekai, in addition to a possible earlier conquest, and that Nga'asi'elili and Fakahenga were sent as the first Tongan 'governors'. Accounts of how long 'Uvea was under Tongan rule vary[100]; although the Catholic records suggest that it may have persisted as late as 1797.

Once Kau'ulufonuafekai had ceased his conquests and had returned to Tonga it is said that he grew weary of the dangers and responsibilities of political rule. He therefore decreed that his younger brother Mo'ungāmotu'a would assume all secular responsibility in the governing of Tonga and its empire, while he retired to a more sedate life, but still retained his preeminent status as sacred ruler of Tonga. Kau'ulufonuafekai created the title of Ha'atakalaua for Mo'ungāmotu'a in memory of their assassinated father (see Appendix C for the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua succession list). In addition, the term '*hau*' was used to describe the new office of secular ruler[101].

As Campbell[102] points out, the above account has all the appearance of an *ex post facto* explanation of political upheaval or, perhaps, even a *coup d'etat*. Kings rarely, if ever, willingly devolve political power; if they are weary or uneasy in their rule they are more likely to abdicate which, incidentally, appears to have been an option available in Tonga in later times[103]. Tongan tradition[104] maintains a peaceful devolution of power based wholly on Kau'ulufonuafekai's choice and it represents the recent spate of Tu'i Tonga assassinations (Havea I, Havea II, Takalaua) as the only pressures influencing that decision. However, there is evidence that a major political upheaval occurred in Tonga during the reign of Kau'ulufonuafekai or, perhaps, at the time of his death.

This upheaval is metaphorically expressed in the narratives of Kau'ulufonuafekai and the establishment of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua title by Kau'ulufonua's insistence that the assassins of Takalaua chew the *kava* root after their teeth had been pulled. The allusion of this to the creation myth has been mentioned in relation to Tamasia's and Malafafa's submission to Kau'ulufonua. This section of the creation myth, however, is

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99. Burrows 1937:26-29; Tohi Hohoko Tu'iketei Pule:n.p.; Thomas, History (1879):45,61; Gifford 1929:55,68,205; Bott 1982:95

100. Guitta, Histoire:62; Burrows 1937:26-29, 163-164; Māhina 1986:113

101. Campbell 1982:191; Bott 1982:109; Kirch 1984a:225

102. Campbell 1982:180-182

103. Thomas, History (1879):26; Watkin, Journal:231

104. See, for example, Tohi Hohoko 'a S. Tu'iketei Pule:n.p.; Thomas, Tongatabu:66; Reiter 1933:367-372

also concerned with the usurpation of a younger brother (*tehina*) over his elder brothers (*fanga ta'okete*). Just as 'Aho'eitu usurped his celestial elder brothers to become the first Tu'i Tonga, so Mo'ungāmotu'a usurped his elder brother, Kau'ulufonuafekai, to become the first Tu'i Ha'atakalaua (see Figure 3.2).

The most startling evidence in favour of a Tu'i Ha'atakalaua takeover is that several Tu'i Tonga resided in Samoa, but appeared to have little or no authority there. It is debatable whether Kau'ulufonuafekai lived there, although he is recorded as marrying two Samoan women named Taufaitoa and Vainulasi[105], not a wholly convincing point considering the practices of earlier Tu'i Tonga. The next four *kau* Tu'i Tonga, however, did marry and live in Samoa. They were Vakafuhu, Puipuifatu, Kau'ulufonua II and Tapu'osi. Gunson[106] has suggested that this, in fact, represented the Tongan occupation of Samoa and that both traditions had pushed the incident back in time. He also contends that the title of Tu'i Ha'atakalaua was originally created as a deputy for the Tu'i Tonga absent in Samoa. This reconstruction receives little support from Samoan or Tongan traditions. As mentioned above, Samoan tradition places the Tongan occupation at a much earlier time (ending with the reign of Talakaifaiki), and while Tongan tradition does not directly substantiate the Samoan timetable of events, it does so indirectly with genealogical details that are consistent with the Samoan version. If the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua acted as a deputy on behalf, and probably by decree, of the Tu'i Tonga, this is more likely to have occurred while Kau'ulufonuafekai was abroad on his conquest of islands in search of his father's assassins. The Tongan accounts agree that Kau'ulufonuafekai's crusade took a very long time and it is conceivable that when he returned home, he found himself usurped by an appointed deputy and younger brother[107]. West's account[108], which was dictated by Tāufa'āhau Tupou I, indicates that a battle was fought and Kau'ulufonuafekai was defeated. Perhaps the vanquished Kau'ulufonuafekai, as well as his descendants, sought asylum with kin in Samoa, a refuge often used by later defeated chiefs.

The designation of the first Tu'i Ha'atakalaua as *hau* also suggests political upheaval. After the establishment of the Tongan monarchy in the nineteenth century, '*hau*' was often glossed by Europeans as 'king' or 'monarch'[109]. This translation, however, seems to the reflect the political circumstances of the time rather than the earlier period when the political situation was much more fluid. At the beginning of the nineteenth century Mariner understood the term to mean 'a king, the supreme chief, not

105. Blanc 1934:19
106. Gunson 1987b:150
107. Thomas, History (1879):27; Burrows 1937:19, 27-29
108. West 1865:55
109. Thomas, History (1879):181

as to rank, but power'; others, similarly, translate it as 'challenger' or 'champion'[110]. '*Hau*' is sometimes defined as the 'working king', but this seems to be in opposition to the designation of the Tu'i Tonga as the sacred ruler[111]. Collocott[112] chronicled an ancient poem which mentions the Tu'i Tonga as *hau*, but it is difficult to ascertain whether the Tu'i Tonga was so-called when he was the sole ruler of Tonga or if this designation was anachronistic in recalling a time when his authority extended to the secular realm. A Tu'i Tonga of the late eighteenth century who had considerable, although not complete secular authority was sometimes called *hau*[113]. In any event, it does seem probable that the designation of Tu'i Ha'atakalaua as *hau* indicates an accession to power and authority by force.

Additional evidence which signifies political and social turmoil is the appearance of the legendary Lo'au in the narratives of this period. He is credited with correcting some of Kau'ulufonuafekai's appointments as 'governors' of the outlying islands: Mata'uvave and Kolomoe'uto replaced Kofe and Afeaki at Ha'apai; Fotu and Afu were superseded by Niutongo and Haveatuli; Talapalo was sent to Niuatoputapu as a substitute for Sika and Kaufanga; and Makauka and Hakavalu replaced Haufano and Masila at Niuafo'ou[114]. It seems probable that Lo'au's suggestions were championed by Mo'ungāmotu'a, the first Tu'i Ha'atakalaua. In addition, the corpus of Tongan genealogical material[115] goes back no further than the inception of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua title, except for the succession lists of the Tu'i Tonga which hardly seems accidental or coincidental. It should be pointed out that although the Tu'i Tonga lists purport to be genealogies in the sense that succession was deemed to be strictly from father to son, the various lists give no additional information, for example, maternal links or sibling associations, aside from that mentioned in the narratives of significant events or valued cultural themes. As such, the lists must be regarded as dynastic or succession lists rather than genealogies in the strict sense.

Another signal that a major change was afoot concerns the Tongan ideology of affinity and the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua's metaphoric separation from the body of the Tu'i Tonga. As the younger brother of the Tu'i Tonga, Mo'ungāmotu'a was also of divine substance, especially because both were born of the same mother and father. Individuals

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110. Martin 1827 (2):lxxii; West 1865:261-262; Gunson 1979:29; D'Urville in Campbell 1982:191

111. Spillius (Bott), Discussions (2):n.p.

112. Collocott 1928:79,140

113. Erskine 1853:129

114. Tohi Hohoko S. Tu'iketei Pule:69; Collocott 1924:177-178; Gifford 1929:68,174; Reiter 1933:372; Interview, 13 August 1985; Interview, 29 May 1987

115. See the Tohi Hohoko collection, Collocott, Royal and Chiefly Genealogies; Gifford, Genealogical Lists

of such divine substance were said to be *sino'i 'eiki* ('of the body of the 'eiki'), a notion of divine blood by direct descent from a Tu'i Tonga, his sister or her child, this group being collectively known as the *fale'alo*[116]. Marcus[117] has indicated that *sino'i 'eiki* had a restricted meaning as well as a general usage in precontact Tonga. In the strict sense, according to Marcus, *sino'i 'eiki* referred to the Tu'i Tonga and his children by his principal wife (*mā'itaki* later known as the *moheofo*). In the general sense it was applied to all people who could trace lineal descent from a Tu'i Tonga. Spillius-Bott's interviews with the late Queen Sālote substantiate this point to a large degree, although the late Queen made it quite clear that the Tu'i Tonga Fefine and her children were of the first order of *sino'i 'eiki* and were preferred to the Tu'i Tonga and his descendants in conferring it to future generations. Marcus's proposed configuration does include the Tu'i Tonga Fefine by default (she was, of course, also a child of a Tu'i Tonga), but it excludes her very sacred children. Significantly, the *kau* Tu'i Ha'atakalaua were not named as being *sino'i 'eiki* in the restricted or the general sense unless their mothers were *fale'alo*.

Further indication of the distancing of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua title from that of the Tu'i Tonga is that they are said to have been from different sides of the path (*hala*), *hala* being a metaphor for kinship connections[118]. The Tu'i Tonga is said to be *kauhala'uta* ('the inland side of the path'), while the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua was deemed to be *kauhalalalo* ('the lower or sea side of the path')[119]. In addition to separating the lineages of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and the Tu'i Tonga, the terms '*kauhala'uta*' and '*kauhalalalo*' describe the changes that were made at Lapaha to accommodate the new secular ruler and his courtly *entourage*. Part of the lagoon was filled in to increase the total land area. The Tu'i Tonga and his people retained their land, known as Tatakamotonga, while the *hau* and his people settled on the reclaimed area which was called Talasiu. Thus, the Tu'i Tonga was on the inland side ('*kauhala'uta*'), while the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua occupied the sea or lower side ('*kauhalalalo*')[120]. This division is reminiscent of the metaphoric opposition expressed in the creation myth where, it was argued, sea and land represent mutually exclusive categories of nature (see Chapter Two). The *kau* Tu'i Ha'atakalaua would have to separate themselves from a divinely ordained kinship system based as it was on primogeniture, if their goal was to rule independently of it. Ideologically, it would have been inconsistent to remain as *tehina*

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116. Gifford 1929:122; Spillius (Bott), Discussions (1):n.p.,253-265

117. Marcus 1980:18

118. Interview, 12 August 1985; Tohi Hohoko S. Tu'iketei Pule:n.p.

119. Collocott 1924:177; Gifford, Genealogical Lists:21-22; Anonymous, Vocabulary:14-15; Bott 1982:79

120. Sione Lātūkefu, personal communication, 10 September 1986; see also Bott 1982:79-80; Kirch 1984a:227

('younger brother') in the relationship while also exercising *pule* ('authority') over a *ta'okete* ('elder brother').

The appearance of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua as a major political force and the concomitant relegation of the Tu'i Tonga to sacred matters represents a crucial point in the transformation of Tongan chieftainship. But the very fact that the Tu'i Tonga title continued despite an apparent political overthrow and foreign exile indicates the central structuring role the Tu'i Tonga played in early Tongan society. As the descendant of Tangaloa he provided the essential link for transferring the bounty of the gods to the whole of Tongan society. For the people, he was the embodiment of the gods. As divine mediator, the Tu'i Tonga also provided the channel for the people to approach the gods to present *polopolo*, their offerings, for when they presented them to him they presented to the gods. The missionaries Thomas and Lyth[121] present lists of gods which include many *kau* Tu'i Tonga among them, and Thomas often complained that the chiefs were considered as gods and goddesses which presented a stumbling block to the mission. Collocott recorded a funeral lament which specifically calls the Tu'i Tonga a god, while his burial vault was known as a *langi* ('sky'), as the Tu'i Tonga, himself, was often called; a metaphor which indicates the divinity of the Tu'i Tonga[122].

Offerings were made to the gods and their embodiment, the Tu'i Tonga, in recognition that their participation was essential to the prosperity of the land. In fact the very existence of the item offered, and, therefore, the existence of society itself, depended on them. An important aspect of this concept was that all of the land and its products were regarded as belonging to the Tu'i Tonga, who was regarded as the 'King of the Land' or 'Lord of the Soil'[123]. In recognition of this a portion of every harvest or catch was consecrated, and in a sense returned, to the gods through the Tu'i Tonga, from the public's point of view they were the same entity. Not surprisingly, the portion deemed 'best' was always reserved and presented. In Tonga and throughout Polynesia, this was the first portion of any crop or catch of fish. Kirch[124] has argued that the designation of first as best, and hence consecrated to the gods, was an attribute of Ancestral Polynesian Society which, consequently, permeates all of Polynesian sacrifice. The Tongan notion culminated annually in the ceremony known as *'inasi* (literally 'share or portion'[125]) in which the first yams of the *kahokaho* harvest, a special variety (Dioscorea alata) reserved for chiefs, were presented to the Tu'i Tonga on behalf of

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121. Thomas, Mythology:248; Lyth, Reminiscences:45-46

122. Collocott 1928:79; Malupō, Ancient Tradition:9; Thomas, History (n.d.):26; Interview, 11 September 1985

123. Watkin, Papers:49; Lawry 1851:35,65; Thomson 1894:291; Lātūkefu 1974:3

124. Kirch 1984a:38-39,161; see also Gifford 1929:103-104 on this point

125. Churchward 1959:56

Hikule'o at a *langi* at Mu'a. The ritual emphasized the Tu'i Tonga's lineal descent from divinity, for the *langi* where the *'inasi* was performed, was supposed to be that of the father of the incumbent Tu'i Tonga[126].

This divine lineal descent of the Tu'i Tonga was also reflected in the special *tapu* state (sacred, but also prohibited)[127] which surrounded the *fale'alo*, as well as their ability to make things *tapu* (*fakatapui* or *ngaohi tapu*). This *tapu* state served to set them apart from the rest of Tongan society and, as elsewhere in Polynesia, sacred regalia were part of that distinction. It is not known if the females of the *fale'alo* were vested in regalia, but the Tu'i Tonga and probably his younger male siblings wore a large headdress composed of red and white feathers which fanned out like a sunburst from ear to ear. They were known in Tonga as *palā tavake* and it appears that the Tu'i Tonga was entitled to more red feathers than his younger brothers[128]. Many modern Tongans deny the presence of these headdresses in their history; but there is little doubt of their former existence. In addition to being consistent with sacred regalia in other parts of Polynesia, they were seen by two European expeditions in the late eighteenth century. Members of the Cook expedition in 1777[129] saw Tu'i Tonga Paulaho wearing one and a portrait done of him includes it (see Figure 3.3[130]). In 1793 a member of the Malaspina expedition[131] recorded seeing a man wearing a *palā tavake* who was said to have killed Paulaho in hand to hand combat.

Besides wearing the *palā tavake*, the Tu'i Tonga was distinguished from his subordinates by not being circumcised or tattooed, customary practices for Tongan males of that time. Also a special language of respect (*tapu mo*) was apparently reserved for the *fale'alo*[132]. These manifestations of divinity, which set the Tu'i Tonga apart from the rest of society, also provided an effective means of social and political survival.

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126. Farmer 1855:129-130; Gifford 1929:76,103,217. There was (and is) an enormous amount of respect (*faka'apa'apa*) accorded to the father (*tamai*) and his sister (*mehekitanga*) in Tongan society. It is conceivable that much of this *faka'apa'apa* derives from the Tu'i Tonga's relation to Tangaloa which is, of course, direct patrilineal succession. The role model dictating appropriate behaviour towards one's *tamai* would, therefore, be divine.

127. *Tapu* was (and is) a complex multi-dimensional Polynesian concept which seems to defy Western definition. Kirch (1984a:63-64) identifies it as part of the Ancestral Polynesian cultural complex and, considering its pervasive quality in Polynesian society, he is probably correct. The simplistic definition of *tapu* is sacred or prohibited, although it fails miserably in expressing the full sense of *tapu*. This thesis examines how *tapu* operates in some Tongan spheres and circumstances, but an analysis of the concept itself is beyond the scope of the present work.

128. Pineda, Diario:243; Kaeppler 1971a:214; Clunie 1986:151. Kaeppler reports that a *palā tavake* survives in Vienna from an early European expedition. Considering its provenience it is probably from the Malaspina expedition.

129. Beaglehole 1967-1969 (3):117; engraving, national Library of Australia; see also Rüdiger and Smith 1987 (catalogue):315

130. Niel Gunson, private collection

131. Pineda, Diario:243; Novo y Colson 1885:382

132. Vason 1810:96; Martin 1817 (2):78-79; Churchward 1953:303-305



Figure 3.3

As long as the Tu'i Tonga was seen as a divine being, separate from the rest, he could not be preempted, especially as his existence was deemed necessary for the health and prosperity of the whole of Tonga. While their authority might be wrested from them, as the only legitimate divinity the Tu'i Tonga could not be wholly usurped. In Sahlins's view[133], even though the *hau* might rule, the Tu'i Tonga was still the 'Significant One', the one who mattered, the central structuring figure, the embodiment of god and society.

133. Sahlins 1983:523-524

CHAPTER 4
The Proliferation of Chiefly Titles

> The title was and still is spoken of as a 'garland' (*kakala*), meaning that it can be taken away whereas the 'blood' (*toto*) is one's own forever.
>
> Elizabeth Spillius Bott[1]

The next four *kau* Tu'i Tonga who succeeded Kau'ulufonuafekai lived in Samoa and appear to have been highly regarded. They are frequently mentioned in the Samoan genealogies although they probably did not have a hand in the direct ruling of Samoa as previous Tu'i Tonga had done (see Chapter Three)[2]. Kau'ulufonuafekai was succeeded by his son Tu'i Tonga Vakafuhu. Kramer identifies Vakafuhu in the Samoan traditions as Aloiva'afulu who, with his brothers and sister, sailed from Fiji (Fiti) to the island of Upolu where they married and settled. Although Fiji is specifically named in the tradition, it seems that the intention was to indicate a foreign land rather than a particular place. This seems to be a common convention in Samoan traditions, and the place of origin of foreigners is often disputed in different versions. Whether Kramer's identification of Aloiva'afulu as Tu'i Tonga Vakafuhu is accepted or not, Vakafuhu is said, in Tongan traditions, to have gone to Samoa. It may be that after suffering defeat from the Ha'atakalaua people in Tonga, Vakafuhu (whose name means 'fighting vessel') and his *kāinga* sought refuge with his mother's people, who seem to have been either from Upolu or Manu'a[3].

Tongan and Samoan traditions for this period are very confusing, especially when they are juxtaposed, because genealogies, myths and narratives from each island group are incomplete and inconsistent in their details. The genealogical connections of Tu'i Tonga Puipuifatu, Vakafuhu's successor, are especially obscure, although it is generally agreed that he lived in Samoa where his daughter was said to have married[4]. Tongan tradition records that he was the son of Tu'i Tonga Vakafuhu who was the son of Kau'ulufonuafekai. These accounts should be regarded as succession lists rather than

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1. Bott 1981:38
2. Kramer, The Samoan Islands:510,937-8; Fetuani 1960, 1970; Blanc 1934:19
3. Blanc 1934:19; Gifford 1929:275; Gunson 1987b:150-152
4. Blanc 1934:19; Kramer, The Samoan Islands:933; Fetuani 1960, 1970; Tu'i'āfitu 1970; Interview, 12 September 1985

genealogies, for no additional genealogical material is given[5]. Samoan tradition, on the other hand, maintains that Tu'i Tonga Kau'ulufonuafekai had three sons by different women and that all three succeeded to the title[6]; they were Vakafuhu, Puipuifatu and Kau'ulufonua II who was also known as Kau'ulufonuahua. Samoan tradition appears to be complicated further by the Tongan predilection for duplicating names. Kramer (see Chapter Three) seems to confuse Tu'i Tonga Puipui with the later Tu'i Tonga Puipuifatu; it is difficult to know whether this confusion was Kramer's or if it actually represented his Samoan informants' views. In either case this initial confusion led to further complication in Kramer's analysis, apparently so that well-known genealogical connections would be consistent in the overall tradition, even if the details were at odds[7]. Tongan traditions are sketchy for this period, probably due to the ruling of Tonga by the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and the concomitant Samoan residence of the Tu'i Tonga. Despite the confusing nature of Kramer's version, Samoan genealogies and traditions may hold the key to the Tu'i Tonga succession at this time. A fraternal succession of Tu'i Tonga is not, therefore, out of the question.

Tu'i Tonga Puipuifatu, or perhaps his successor Kau'ulufonuhua, took control of part, or perhaps all, of the northern Tongan archipelago of Vava'u in an apparent attempt to regain political authority over Tonga. The Tu'i Tonga and his people were, however, defeated on the island of 'Utungake by the Ha'atakalaua people and were forced to retreat to Samoa[8]. The incident is remembered in the tale of a son of a Tu'i Ha'atakalaua who slays and eats a Samoan cannibal god: a probable metaphor for the divine *kau* Tu'i Tonga and their many Samoan wives in virtual political exile in Samoa.

Tu'i Tonga Kau'ulufonuahua is well-known in Samoan traditions because his daughter, Va'etoe'ifanga, was the mother of the illustrious Salamasina, a woman who through her many genealogical connections was the first individual able to combine the four great titles of Samoa in one individual[9]. Va'etoe'ifanga's mother is recorded in Samoan genealogies as Taupomasina, whereas Tongan tradition renders the name of Kau'ulufonuahua's principal wife (*mā'itaki*) as Vainu'ulasi; neither tradition mentions place of birth or genealogical connections[10]. It is likely that both these names refer to

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5. Reiter 1933:373; Tohi Hohoko Losaline Fatafehi:n.p.; Gifford, Genealogical Lists:248.

6. Kramer, The Samoan Islands:933,937; Fetuani 1960; 1970; see also Gifford 1929:60,61 on Kramer's evidence.

7. Kramer (The Samoan Islands:937-938) presents Puipui and Havea I as two additional names of Tu'i Tonga Ma'akatoe, while Tatafu'eikimeimu'a, Lomi'aetupu'a and Havea II are all assumed to be one individual rather than a succession of titleholders.

8. Interview, 31 August 1985; Fonua and Fonua 1981:30; Gifford 1929:30

9. Pratt 1890:660-661; Kramer, The Samoan Islands:155-156; Schoeffel 1987. Fetuani (1960), however, claims that Va'etoe'ifanga was the daughter of Vakafuhu. This genealogical inconsistency may be the result of the above-mentioned succesion controversy.

10. Pratt 1890:661; Kramer, The Samoan Islands:155-156; Interview, 13 August 1985

one and the same individual and that she was from Samoa. Va'etoe'ifanga is said to have been Tu'i Tonga Fefine who like her brother, Tapu'osi, would almost certainly have been born of the *mā'itaki* and the *mā'itaki* seem, at this time, almost exclusively to have come from Samoa. Further indication of this can be seen in the name Taupomasina which can be translated as 'beautiful virgin' or 'virgin of Sina', a beautiful metaphor of her own rank, her daughter's divinity and her granddaughter's preeminent position in Samoan history. The *taupo* was the exalted Samoan girl of high chiefly birth who, as long as she remained a virgin, was the symbol of village fertility. When she was succeeded and did marry it was a celebrated affair and her children, especially by a Tu'i Tonga, would have been very highly regarded. Sina is a favourite female figure in Samoan mythology (she also appears in Tongan mythology where her name is rendered as Hina) who, through her many incarnations embodies valued female characteristics in both island groups[11].

While *kau* Tu'i Tonga Vakafuhu, Puipuifatu and Kau'ulufonuahua lived and made strategic marriages in Samoa, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Mo'ungāmotu'a and his successors consolidated their rule in Tonga. Little is known about these early Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, probably because they were politically displaced by a younger collateral line in later times. Their names, however, have been preserved:

1) **Mo'ungāmotu'a**
2) **Tanekitonga**
3) **Vaeamatoka**
4) **Siulangapō**
5) **Vakalahimohe'uli**

Although accounts agree on the names and on their relative order, there is some disagreement as to whether the succession of these early Tu'i Ha'atakalaua was from father to son or if Tanekitonga, Vaeamatoka, Siulangapō and Vakalahimohe'uli were, in fact, all sons of Mo'ungāmotu'a[12]. As should be apparent by now, both forms of succession were seen as legitimate in Tonga. The sources which claim a direct father-son succession , however, give no maternal, sibling or other genealogical details; this could indicate *ex post facto* reasoning applied to the material, possibly because a direct lineal descent of *kau* Tu'i Ha'atakalaua equates nicely, in terms of later genealogical connections, with a direct lineal descent of *kau* Tu'i Tonga. If, however, the abovementioned fraternal *kau* Tu'i Tonga succession between Kau'ulufonuafekai and Kau'ulufonuahua is accepted, a direct lineal succession of *kau* Tu'i Ha'atakalaua presents an uneven correlation in later genealogical connections. A difference of three or four generations becomes apparent -- an improbable gap when marriage links are

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11. Schoeffel 1979:1:23-27,186; see also Collocott 1928:20-38; Shore 1981:197-203

12. Tohi Hohoko collection, Nuku'alofa; Gifford, Genealogical Lists:23; Wood 1932:66; West 1865:56. See Maywald (1984) for an interesting account of West as a writer and historian.

considered (an individual would have to be marrying the equivalent of a great or great-great grandparent). If the Samoan version of the *kau* Tu'i Tonga succession is accepted, the fraternal *kau* Tu'i Ha'atakalaua succession would obviously be favoured. This genealogical controversy was probably generated by the *kau* Tu'i Tonga's absence in Samoa and remains unresolved by most modern writers on the subject[13].

What is known allegedly about the actions of these early Tu'i Ha'atakalaua is based on extrapolation from later titleholders when the nature of their office may have been substantially different. It is said that the early Tu'i Ha'atakalaua collected the *'inasi* (first fruits) on behalf of the Tu'i Tonga, as well as dividing the land and instructing the people on its use. The *'inasi* was supposed to be presented to the Tu'i Tonga, or perhaps a member of the *fale'alo*, as representative of the goddess Hikule'o. It seems highly unlikely that the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua would have sent the produce and *koloa* of the *'inasi* to an exiled king in Samoa and it may be that a member of the *fale'alo* or one of the Tu'i Tonga's *matāpule* who remained in Tonga accepted the presentation, presumably after the *hau* had removed his share[14] . This intervention may have begun the transformation of the ceremony from a first fruits ritual to a more secular tribute.

Tu'i Tonga Tapu'osi who succeeded Tu'i Tonga Kau'ulufonuahua may have been the one who re-established the Tu'i Tonga presence in Tonga. Tongan and Samoan traditions[15] record that he lived in Samoa, at least for a time, and he was said to have married two Samoan women. The details of the Tu'i Tonga's move back to Tonga are not clearly remembered, although all *kau* Tu'i Tonga after Tapu'osi are said to have lived there. Tapu'osi apparently was known in Samoa as Tu'i Tonga Tupoufe'ia a name which may commemorate a victorious encounter with the Ha'atakalaua people[16]. In Tonga, 'Tupou' is a name associated with a later collateral branch of the Ha'atakalaua

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13. See, for example, Collocott 1924:179; Wood 1932:10-11; Bott 1982:13, 113; Campbell 1982:182. Gifford (1929:83) presents a father-son succession and states that the fraternal version 'is assuredly a mistake'; although he does acknowledge the possibility of a fraternal *kau* Tu'i Tonga succession. He does not, however, provide any explanantion for the resulting genealogical discrepancies if, indeed, he was aware of their existance. Thomas (Tongatabu:67) presents indirect evidence of a fraternal succession.

14. Collocott 1927:36; Gifford 1929:103; Interview, 12 September 1985

15. Kramer, The Samoan Islands:938; Blanc 1934:23; Interview, 12 September 1985

16. Kramer, The Samoan Islands:938 believes that Tu'i Tonga Tupoufe'ia was either Tu'i Tonga Tapu'osi or his grandson Fatafehi. He appears to favour Tapu'osi, but he remains uncertain. The Tongan genealogies are detailed for Tu'i Tonga Fatafehi (Tohi Hohoko collection, Nuku'alofa; Gifford, Genealogical Lists; Collocott, Royal and Chiefly Genealogies) and they do not present details to match the Samoan genealogical assertions of Tu'i Tonga Tupoufe'ia. In fact, high chiefly marriages between Samoa and Tonga appear to have ceased or at least greatly diminished by that time. Unfortunately, the genealogical connections of Tu'i Tonga Tapu'osi are not well-known, probably because he spent part, if not most, of his life in Samoa, but if available information is considered, Tu'i Tonga Tupoufe'ia is probably Tapu'osi. See also Collocott, King Taufa:notes; Gifford 1929:56

family and it may have also been applied to the parent lineage. '*Feia*' is a chiefly word in Tongan which means to execute a very high-ranking individual; although the word is not known in modern Samoan it is believed that most of the Tongan chiefly language was originally derived from Samoan[17]. With such allusions it is not difficult to read a successful assassination or triumphant battle by the Tu'i Tonga over the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua which enabled the former to, once again, exercise his authority in Tonga. Tu'i Tonga Tapu'osi is recorded as marrying Va'etapu, the daughter of the chief 'Ahome'e[18], although it is not known when this marriage occurred. It is possible that Va'etapu was sent to Tu'i Tonga Tapu'osi in Samoa, as Tongan women had been sent to earlier *kau* Tu'i Tonga resident in Samoa, and that her people played a part in the re-establishment of the Tu'i Tonga in Tonga.

Tu'i Tonga Tapu'osi was succeeded by Tu'i Tonga 'Uluakimata I during whose reign many great changes were initiated; not surprisingly, 'Uluakimata I was said to have been a descendant of the metaphorical Lo'au. 'Uluakimata I is also known as Tu'i Tonga Tele'a in identification with his burial vault, *paepae 'o Tele'a*, at Lapaha[19]. Tu'i Tonga 'Uluakimata, along with Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Mo'ungā-'o-tonga who succeeded Vakalahimohe'uli, was said to have re-asserted the Tongan presence abroad, especially at 'Uvea where a grand canoe named Lomipeau was crafted to transport stones from 'Uvea to Tonga for the construction of *paepae 'o Tele'a*. 'Uveans were chosen as the stone masons (*tufunga ta maka*) not only because their skill at the occupation was renowned, but also, and perhaps more significantly, because their performance, like that of the construction of Lomipeau, would demonstrate their supplication to the Tongans. The size and magnificence of Lomipeau, as well as the 'Uveans' skill in constructing it and the *paepae*, are remembered in both Tongan and 'Uvean traditions[20]. It has long been assumed[21] that the design of the famous Polynesian double canoe, known as *kalia* in Tongan and *drua* in Fijian, originated in Micronesia. It may be that the people of 'Uvea, renowned as canoe builders, had a hand in the design's dispersion. 'Uvea is, certainly, in a favourable geographic position to have acted in such a capacity (see Map A); perhaps the myth of Lomipeau refers to the transmission of that knowledge to Tonga.

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17. Churchward 1959:158; Taliai 1987

18. Tohi Hohoko Losaline Fatafehi:n.p.; Ve'ehala and Fanua 1977:30 and Gifford (1929:60) claim that her name was Vaenōpō and that she was the daughter of 'Ahome'e's younger brother. Thomas (Tongatabu:72) claims Va'etapu married Ngata, the first Tu'i Kanokupolu (see below), but this is not supported by the corpus of genealogical material.

19. McKern 1929:51-52. The name was probably coined at or just after the reign of 'Uluakimata II to distinguish the two leaders.

20. Koe Tohi Hohoko 'a S. Tu'iketei Pule:69,n.p.; Reiter 1933:381; Burrows 1937:23-25, 163-164. See Gifford (1929:56-57) for an account of the great respect the wood from Lomipeau received after the canoe was dismantled.

21. See Haddon and Hornell 1936 (1):241,262,264; Clunie 1986:14,143; among others.

'Uluakimata is remembered for the great many marriages he made, three of which were with women of high ranking and powerful lineages. These women were Talafaiva, Nanasilapaha and Mataukipā. Any one of them could have become *mā'itaki*, the principal wife and mother of the heir[22]. Talafaiva, like many of the previous *mā'itaki*, was from Samoa. She must have been the highest ranking of the three for she was called *fakatouato* ('chiefly by both parents') and brought with her 50 *fokonofo* (secondary wives) from Samoa. She appears to have been preferred as *mā'itaki*; although this was not to be for she had a child with a Vava'u chief, Tu'i'āfitu Lolomana'ia, before going to the Tu'i Tonga. Accounts differ on the details of the incident[23]. One contends that Talafaiva became enamoured of Lolomana'ia during her journey to 'Uluakimata. *Mana'ia* is a term which carries a suggestion of divine intervention (*mana*) and is applied to young men who are overwhelmingly attractive to women; Talafaiva's sexual encounter with Lolomana'ia is thus presented as an act beyond her control. Another account suggests that Lolomana'ia gained access to the Tu'i Tonga's secluded compound and seduced Talafaiva, who was already the wife of 'Uluakimata; in this version Talafaiva pays with her life for the indiscretion, (which is blamed on a low hanging tree branch). A third version records a formal marriage between Talafaiva and Lolomana'ia. In any event, Talafaiva was not called *mā'itaki*, seemingly through no fault of her own, and when she died a *langi* was built for her in the Vava'u archipelago, a favourite spot of 'Uluakimata, as well as the home of Lolomana'ia[24].

It is noteworthy that Talafaiva was not considered eligible to be *mā'itaki* because she had already had a child before she married 'Uluakimata, or at least before she had a child by him. The first child of a woman was greatly esteemed, especially of high-ranking women, because of the general emphasis, already mentioned, on the superiority of the first of anything, it being regarded as containing more divine substance than those that followed it. This was true of almost everything including a yam crop, any agricultural enterprise, the first to die in battle or the first born of a woman; all were said to be consecrated to the gods. These 'firsts' were designated with special terms: *olopo'ou* ('a woman's first child'), *'uluafi* ('the first killed in battle'), *fuatapu* ('first of a crop'), and *'inasi* (the first of the *kahokaho* yams designated the 'share of the gods')[25]. A bias towards primogeniture in title succession is easy to understand in light of such a cultural value, as is the Tongan belief that the oldest of the same substance (ie. same sex siblings) is of higher rank, owing to their greater proximity to the gods. It also helps to

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22. Interview, 26 August 1985; Reiter 1933:374.

23. Interview, 26 August 1985; Collocott 1928:52; Gifford 1924:37; Samuela Taufa 1970; Tu'i'āfitu 1970.

24. Havea in Malupō, Ancient Tradition:9; McKern 1929:30,49-51; Interview, 27 July 1985

25. Churchward 1959:651

explain the unequal control of the sexual behaviour of women of differing rank, a subject which early visitors to Tonga often commented on. They noted that whereas unmarried *tu'a* women[26] had almost unlimited sexual freedom, chiefly women who were not married refrained from any sexual activity[27]. It has often been assumed by these and other writers that it was the woman's virginity or chastity which was significant and therefore being guarded, when in reality it was her fertility and more importantly her ability to channel divinity to her first born that was valued[28].

The significance of the first born of the *mā'itaki* to the succession of the *kau* Tu'i Tonga is shown in an account of the marriage of Tu'i Tonga Momo to his *mā'itaki*, Nua, the daughter of the legendary Lo'au[29]. It is said that after seeing the beautiful Nua, Momo wanted her for his wife. He therefore sent a metaphorical message to Lo'au asking for seedling yams for his plantation, the insinuation, which did not escape Lo'au, being that Momo desired the daughters of Lo'au. Lo'au replied that his yam harvest was not good, one yam had already sprouted and the other was immature, meaning that Nua had already had a child and her sister was still too young. The Tu'i Tonga was said to have replied, *'Ne ongo 'e fena ka ko Nua'* (although she has sprouted, yet Nua), meaning that although she had a child, she was still Nua and would be his *mā'itaki*. The salient feature of the discussions was, obviously, the fertility of Nua, not her virginity. A later example concerns a chief who sought to eliminate the Tu'i Tonga line by ensuring that his sister (who was to be the principal wife and mother of the heir) had a child by another man before she married the Tu'i Tonga, thereby reducing the *mana* of the potential heir[30].

That the emphasis is on fertility is made clear when it is considered that widowed or divorced[31] chiefly women who chose not to remarry were free to choose casual sexual partners without condemnation; these women were known as *finetakapo* ('women who wander freely at night'). George Vason, a renegade L.M.S. missionary who later repented and published an account of his time in Tonga in the late eighteenth century, renders *finetakapo* ('feene takabou') as 'harlot', while Mariner another long term European resident of Tonga at that time, translates it ('fafine tacabe') as 'single or

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26. There is some question as to whether *kau tu'a* married, in the sense of the union being ritually or socially marked, at all (Interview, 31 August 1985; Interview, 12 September 1985).

27. See, among others, Beaglehole 1967-1969 (3):945; Edwards 1915:134; Novo y Colson 1885:385; Waldegrave, Report:6

28. James (1987) has come to a similar conclusion.

29. Collocott and Havea 1922:12

30. Collocott, King Taufa:52; Collocott, Papers:1

31. 'No longer married' is a more correct designation than 'divorced' in traditional Tongan society because the dissolution of a marriage was not ritually or socially marked. One of the couple (usually the woman) simply left, although usually only after the birth or conception of a child.

unmarried woman'[32]. Significantly, the word is no longer in the Tongan vocabulary, which may represent a shift in Tongan behaviour and values.

The later Tongan emphasis on virginity and chastity seems to be an adoption of Western Christian morals, although the behavioural attitudes were not borrowed from the missionaries but from Samoa, a neighbour with a seemingly longstanding obsession with virginity[33]. While regular contact between the two island groups influenced each other's customs and languages in many ways, Samoan customs associated with virginity were not accepted in Tonga until after the coming of Christianity. For example, Samoan style marriage ceremonies appear to have been in vogue in Tonga in the late eighteenth century, although the associated practice of presenting a *tapa* stained with the bride's hymeneal blood as proof of her virginity was considered by the Tongans not to be 'consistent with delicacy [sic]'; one hundred years later, however, it was a common practice[34]. In addition, there had been a borrowing of the Samoan words for 'virgin' ('taupo' = 'taupo'ou') and 'hymeneal blood' ('tagavai'='tanga vai')[35], as well as the practice of tying the legs of young women together at the knees with a piece of *tapa* before they went to sleep to prevent or guard against sexual attack[36].

The lineage of Nanasilapaha, the second of 'Uluakimata's high ranking wives, is not remembered; although it must have been of some consequence for she also brought 50 *fokonofo* with her. Mata'ukipa, the third esteemed wife of 'Uluakimata, was the daughter of Kau'ulufonua, the son of Tu'i Tonga Kau'ulufonuahua. Owing to her family's preeminence, Mata'ukipa brought 100 *fokonofo* with her. This emphasis on *fokonofo* incorporates fundamental aspects of the Tongan chiefly tradition with regard to marriage and notions of succession. Blanc[37] claims that the Tu'i Tonga never married any woman in the sense that the union was ritually or socially marked, but instead had sexual liaisons with whomsoever he chose, and his successor was his male child by the woman of the highest rank. While such a scenario reflects the notion of the Tu'i Tonga as the embodiment of Tongan fertility in his role as the inseminator of the land and, hence, the inseminator of all women, it overlooks the social enactment of rank and power involving the Tu'i Tonga represented in the genealogies and the remembered succession disputes. The Tu'i Tonga did marry many women in marked ceremonies and

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32. Mariner's 'fafine tacabe' may be '*fefine taka pē*' 'woman who wanders freely or unattached'. Martin 1827:2:lvii; Vason 1810:132; Sione Lātūkefu, personal communication; Interview, 28 May 1987

33. Shore 1981:204; Schoeffel 1979:179-181,214,221

34. Martin 1827 (1):147; Collocott 1923:224; Beaglehole and Beaglehole 1941:94

35. Interview, 26 August 1985; Churchward 1959:454, 467; Pratt 1960:303; note their omission in earlier word lists, Martin 1827 (2):xlvix-xciii; Baker 1897

36. Gifford 1929:129-130; Interview, 26 August 1985

37. Blanc 1934:7

he did have brief, as well as longlasting, sexual relations with a good many more, by reason of the divinity and the fertility associated with his embodiment; all of these relationships had descriptive terms attached to them which designated the status of the particular woman. The principal wife of the early *kau* Tu'i Tonga was known as the *mā'itaki* and she often, if not characteristically, came from a chiefly Samoan lineage. *Mā'itaki* carries no other meaning in Tongan, aside from that of a principal wife and, more importantly, mother of the heir, initially of the Tu'i Tonga, but later applied to all chiefs. Interestingly, however, it carries the meaning of 'clean, pure and beautiful' in other Polynesian languages[38].

When a high ranking woman went to the Tu'i Tonga's court as a wife she brought with her female attendants who became secondary wives of the Tu'i Tonga. These women were invariably lower ranking relatives of the principal wives, usually younger sisters or other collateral kin; they were known as *fokonofo*. The word *fokonofo* refers to the relationship between a principal wife and secondary wives, not the relationship between the secondary wives and the Tu'i Tonga. There has been some confusion over these relationships and terms in the literature[39]; no doubt some of the controversy was caused by the end of chiefly polygamous marriages which ended the need for such terms. It is clear, however, in traditional Tonga that the *mā'itaki* brought the women with her in order that she would not feel alone among her husband's people; they were her *fokonofo*, not the husband's. He would, technically, call the women *sinifu*, a term which now carries the connotation of concubine, but was applied in the past to women who had a wifely status at the Tu'i Tonga's court, yet were not his principal wives; they may or may not have been *fokonofo* depending on whether they accompanied a high ranking woman. The bringing of *fokonofo* is regarded as an ancient practice and is said to have begun before the physical creation of the Tongan islands when Havealolofonua brought Velelahi and Velesi'i as *fokonofo* to her marriage with Taufulifonua (See Chapter Two). In addition, the *kau fokonofo* and their descendants served as a vivid display of the magnitude of the *kāinga* of the principal wife (hence the emphasis on the number of *kau fokonofo* each wife brought with her in the account of 'Uluakimata) and also provided a local support group for the succession of the principal wife's descendants if she was named *mā'itaki*. To represent the *kau fokonofo* solely as inferior wives of the husband is to demean the support and the resources of their *kāinga* and to deny the principal and secondary wives' continuing places in their natal lineages.

The children of 'Uluakimata I and Mata'ukipa, his *mā'itaki* included a son,

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38. Tryon and Langdon 1983:41. *mā'itaki* does not appear in the current Samoan dictionary, although *ma'itagi* refers to 'a lying in or confinement for birth' (Pratt 1960:92) and may have been derived from the same root.

39. See, for example, Bott 1982:100-101

Fatafehi who succeeded his father as Tu'i Tonga, and a daughter, Sinaitakala-'i-langileka who was the first woman to bear the title of Tu'i Tonga Fefine (Female Tu'i Tonga). This bestowal of a title appears to be related to a general growth in the number of titles at that time, rather than an identifiable change in the status of the sister[40]. Even prior to this entitlement, sisters were accorded great respect (*faka'apa'apa*) and were, consequently, supported by their brothers and their brothers' children. They also appear to have ruled jointly with their brothers[41]. It would be incorrect to visualize this rule along European lines of monarchical government, for the Tongan system was inherently different. It operated on a kinship network of authority primarily based on rank. According to Tongan notions of sibling rank (see Chapter One), sisters outranked their brothers, they commanded the *faka'apa'apa* of the mystical sphere (like the goddess Hikule'o who created the spiritual world of *Pulotu*), while their brothers commanded the *pule* (authority) of the secular sphere (just as Tangaloa and Maui, the brothers of Hikule'o, initiated the creation of the physical world). The rule of a sister and a brother complemented each other rather than undermined it. Much of the visual demonstration of Tongan authority is in the amount of goods and labour that are at an individual's disposal at any one time. It is clear from early European visits to Tonga[42] that women were not categorically disadvantaged in this area before or after marriage. So while the nomenclature of the Tu'i Tonga's sister changed with the addition of the Tu'i Tonga Fefine title, the behaviour surrounding the status remained the same; indeed, the title reflected the existing valued status and expected behaviour[43].

Tongan tradition[44] has it that the Tu'i Tonga Fefine Sinaitakala visited Waciwaci in Fiji, where she met a man named Tapu'osi who was the Tui Lakeba. She fell madly in love with him and was greatly distressed when it was time for her to return home with the Tongan party. There was no consoling the Tu'i Tonga Fefine and soon after arriving in Tonga she became very ill and her people feared she would die. An oracle was consulted on a cure and the only reply given was that Tapu'osi be brought from Fiji. This was done in all haste, and Sinaitakala was said to have recovered at her first sight of Tapu'osi. They married and began the line of chiefs known as the Fale Fisi (House of Fiji)[45].

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40. Eventually, the name Sinaitakala was also regarded as a title (Thomas, History (n.d.):29).

41. Cf. Wood Ellem 1981:22-23,*passim*; Gailey 1981:31,44,123,280n23

42. Beaglehole 1967-1969 (3):270n5,912,913; Novo y Colson 1885:264-265; Wilson 1799:232; Martin 1827(2):97

43. Interview, 10 September 1985

44. See, for example, Thomas, Tongatabu:75; Wood 1932:13; Bott 1982:32-33

45. The original Fale Fisi chiefs were the Tu'ilakepa, Tu'iha'ateiho, Malupō and Tu'i Ha'angana; although as these lines have established themselves other titles have begun from or have become associated with the Fale Fisi.

While the tale of Sinaitakala and Tapu'osi remains as one of the great Tongan romances, Fijian tradition[46] records that the Tui Lakeba became a god who left the ruling of the land in the hands of men, while he followed more divine pursuits. Other Fijian accounts[47] suggest that the Tui Lakeba left Fiji, not for the love of a woman, but because of a battle which did not turn out in his favour. Rather than remain in Fiji in supplication, he and his people sought refuge with kin in Tonga where, owing to his chiefly rank, he married the Tu'i Tonga Fefine. While this is the first marriage between Tongan and Fijian chiefly families where all the genealogical details have been remembered, it seems that marriages had occurred in the past, for it is said that the connection between Lakeba and Tonga was very old and that when the Tongans visited there they brought soil with them, not as a traditional Fijian supplication (*i soro*), but because they shared the same god (*tauvu*)[48]. In fact, it seems that Tu'i Tonga Tapu'osi was so called in honour of these early Fijian connections[49].

When the Tongan tale of Sinaitakala and Tapu'osi is told, it is often accompanied by the modern statement that until this marriage with a foreigner, the Tu'i Tonga Fefine was not allowed to marry, nor, it is implied, was she able to have children, because her rank was so high and her *mana* so potent that she would be unable to find a husband, and because her children would have outranked the sacred Tu'i Tonga[50]. This statement is clearly erroneous, as evidenced by the many early Samoan marriages made by the Tu'i Tonga's sister, and the implication is contrary to what is known about traditional Tongan attitudes towards fertility[51]. The Tu'i Tonga's sister did marry and did have children who ranked higher than the Tu'i Tonga. There was no clash or dispute over the division of rule between their descendants, because the idiom of kinship prescribed their roles and ensured that they were complementary. This emphasis on the Tu'i Tonga Fefine's 'foreign' marriages must be seen in relation to her brother's marriages, for it was his marriage pattern that changed. Up until the time of 'Uluakimata I, the *mā'itaki* of the Tu'i Tonga almost exclusively came from Samoa, as did the spouse of his sister (the later Tu'i Tonga Fefine), although there are hints of possible early Fijian marriages as well. The implications of the changed Tu'i Tonga marriage pattern are great, since their potential alliance and extended kinship network was narrowed from an inter-island group base to a strictly Tongan one.

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46. Derrick 1946:53; Hocart, The Windward Islands:87,350-353; Deryck Scarr, personal communication

47. Hocart, The Windward Islands:350-353; Deryck Scarr, personal communication

48. Hocart, The Windward Islands:350-353; Hocart 1913; Interview, 12 September 1985

49. Tohi Hohoko collection, Nuku'alofa; Gifford, Genealogical Lists; Collocott, Royal and Chiefly Genealogies; Reid, personal communication, 20 April 1987. See also Gunson (1987b:151-152) for a different interpretation.

50. Collocott 1924:179; Wood 1932:13; Bott 1982:67

51. Kramer, The Samoan Islands:510, 935-938,*passim*; Wood Ellem, personal communication

This alliance between Kauhalalalo and Kauhala'uta had, in fact, begun one generation earlier with the marriage of the sister of 'Uluakimata I, daughter of Tu'i Tonga Tapu'osi, to Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Mo'ungā-'o-tonga. She is remembered in some genealogies only as the daughter of Tapu'osi because she had no descendants[52]. The genealogies also record that Mo'ungā-'o-tonga also had three other high ranking wives. The first was Manutapu from Hā'ano; her children with Mo'ungā-'o-tonga were Fotofili, who succeeded his father as Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, and Halakitaua[53] whose descendants bore the title Niukapu. Mo'ungā-'o-tonga's second wife was a Samoan woman, Tohu'ia, the daughter of Ama from Safata. Her children were Ngata, a son, who became the first Tu'i Kanokupolu, and Polongatala'ao, a daughter, who married Tu'i Tonga Fatafehi. The third high ranking wife of Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Mo'ungā-'o-tonga was Molokuku from Ha'atu'ukau; she had two children a boy, Lavaka, and a girl, Kaloafūtonga, who became the *mā'itaki* of Tu'i Tonga Fatafehi.

Fotofili, who succeeded his father as Tu'i Ha'atakalaua married 'Atalua, the daughter of Tu'i Tonga Fatafehi and 'Ala'itokaloto (see Figure 4.1). 'Ala'itokaloto was the daughter of Vaetu'ikoloa, the full sister of Mo'ungā-'o-tonga, and was therefore *mehekitanga* to both Fotofili and Kaloafūtonga, the daughter of Mo'ungā-'o-tonga who became the *mā'itaki* of Tu'i Tonga Fatafehi (see Figure 4.2). As *mehekitanga* it was probably Vaetu'ikoloa who arranged these marriages; they were of great strategic importance, and they further consolidated the political solidarity of the Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Ha'atakalaua in their bipartite rule, which was begun by 'Uluakimata I and Mo'ungā-'o-tonga by reinforcing existing kinship connections through new marriages[54]. The son of Tu'i Tonga Fatafehi and Kaloafūtonga was Kau'ulufonua III, also known as Tapu'osi II; he succeeded his father as Tu'i Tonga[55]. The son of Fotofili and 'Atalua was Vaea, who succeeded his father as Tu'i Ha'atakalaua. The genealogies show that the bipartite rule of sacred and secular, Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, Kauhala'uta and Kauhalalalo, had become closely allied through repeated marriages.

By far the most historically significant of Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Mo'ungā-'o-tonga's children, Ngata, was the son of Tohu'ia. When Ngata reached adulthood,

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52. Koe Tohi Hohoko 'a Afu-kaipo'uli (Hansen):n.p.; Gifford, Genealogical Lists:23-24. Thomas (Tongatabu:67) records that 'Uluakimata married the daughter of Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Vaeamatoka. The details of this marriage cannot be substantiated, but it may represent a further political consolidation of the two titles through marriage.

53. Gifford, Genealogical Lists:23 mentions a third son, Tu'i Hihifo, but this is obviously a mistaken reference to Ngata, another of Mo'ungā-'o-tonga's sons by another woman (see below).

54. Koe Tohi Hohoko 'a Afu-kaipo'uli (Hansen):n.p.; Cf. Spillius (Bott), Discussions (2):278; Rogers 1977:164-165.

55. One succession list (Lyth, Reminscences:45-46) claims that Fatafehi and Kau'ulufonua III were one and the same individual. This is not supported by any additional traditions, nor by the succession list supplied by the last Tamahā (see Tohi Hohoko Losaline Fatafehi, among others).

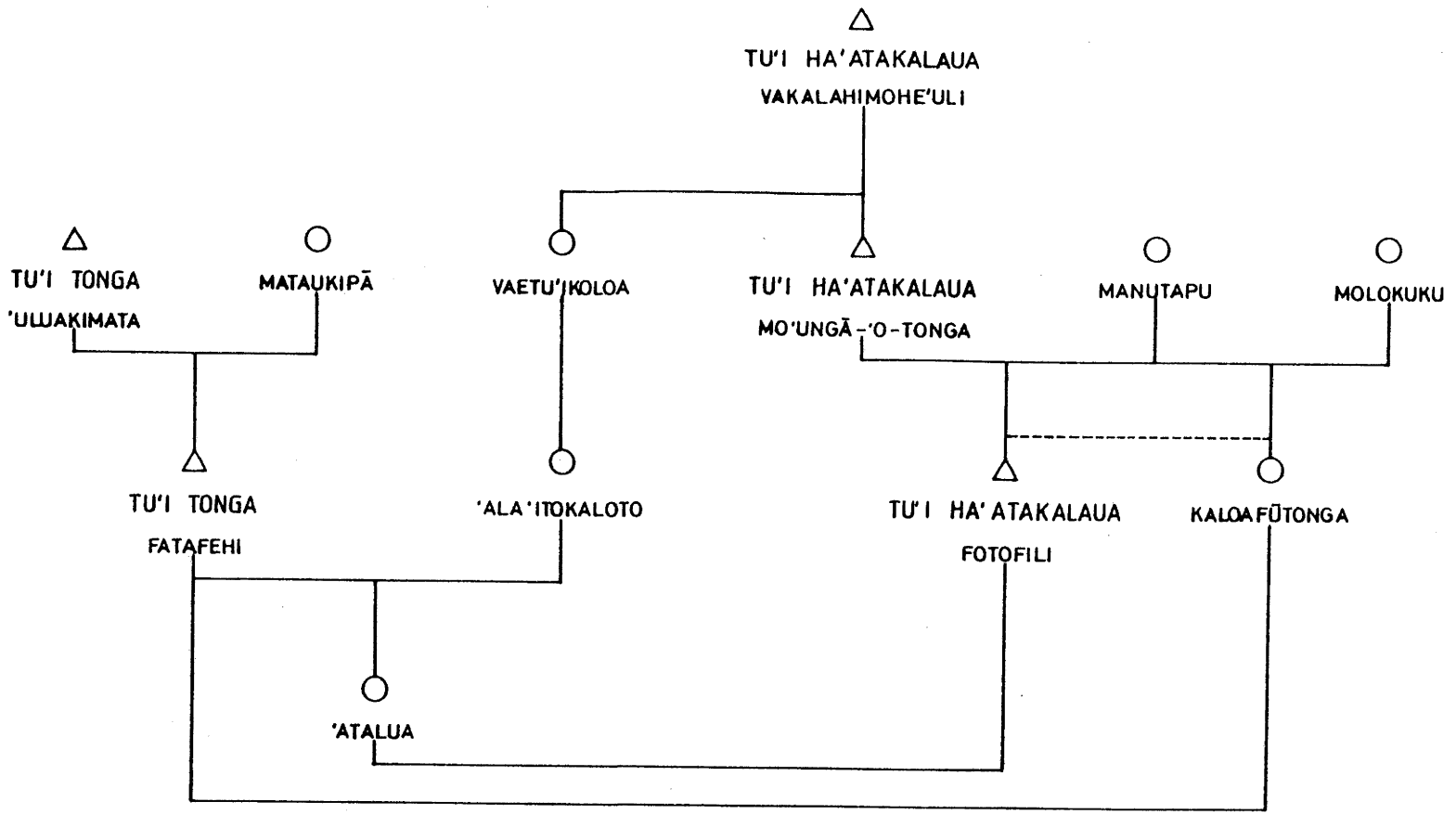

TU'I HA'ATAKALAUA
VAKALAHIMOHE'ULI
TU'I TONGA
'ULUAKIMATA
MATAUKIPĀ
VAETU'IKOLOA
TU'I HA'ATAKALAUA
MO'UNGĀ-'O-TONGA
MANUTAPU
MOLOKUKU
TU'I TONGA
FATAFEHI
'ALA'ITOKALOTO
TU'I HA'ATAKALAUA
FOTOFILI
KALOAFŪTONGA
'ATALUA

FIGURE 4·1

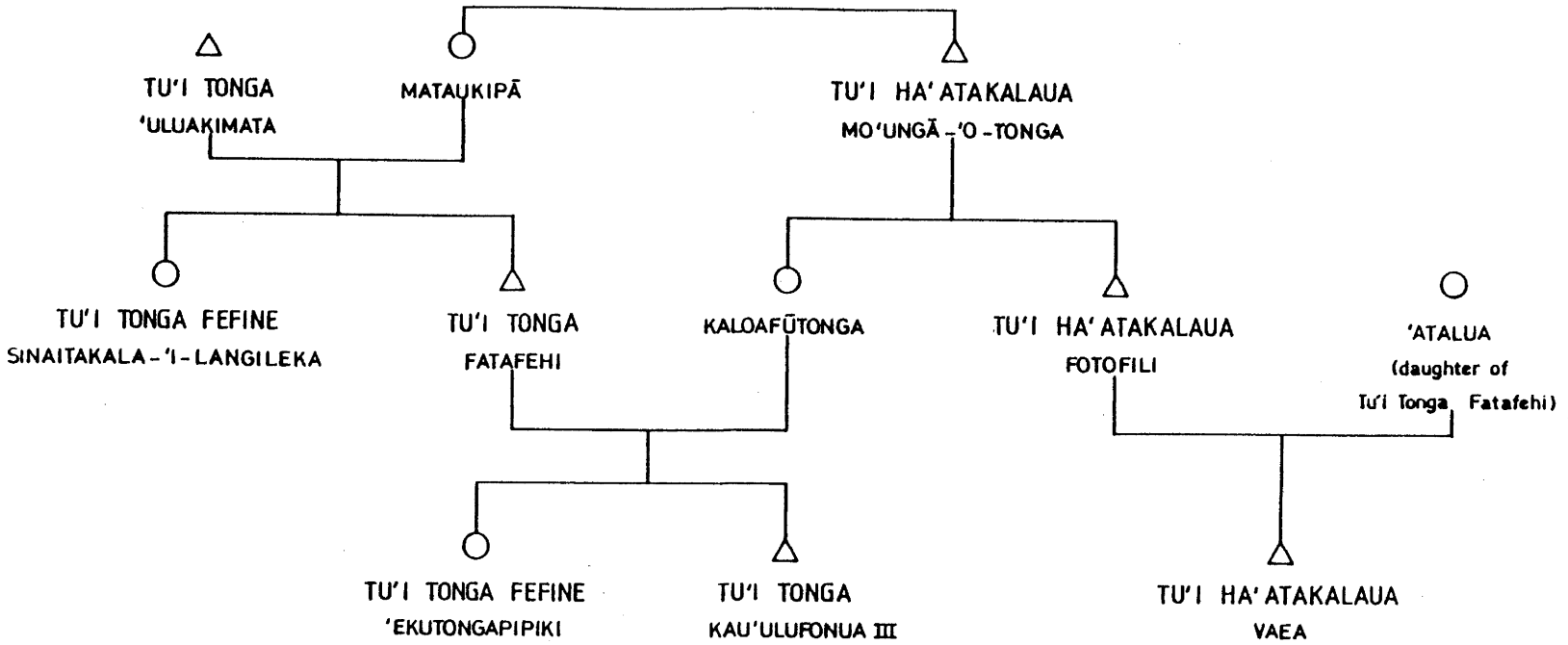

TU'I TONGA
'ULUAKIMATA
MATAUKIPĀ
TU'I HA'ATAKALAUA
MO'UNGĀ-'O-TONGA
TU'I TONGA FEFINE
SINAITAKALA-'I-LANGILEKA
TU'I TONGA
FATAFEHI
KALOAFŪTONGA
TU'I HA'ATAKALAUA
FOTOFILI
'ATALUA
(daughter of
Tu'i Tonga Fatafehi)
TU'I TONGA FEFINE
'EKUTONGAPIPIKI
TU'I TONGA
KAU'ULUFONUA III
TU'I HA'ATAKALAUA
VAEA

FIGURE 4·2

Mo'ungā-'o-tonga sent him to rule Hihifo in the western part of Tongatapu (see Map C). Many other Ha'atakalaua *fototehina*[56] ('younger brothers') had been sent to Hihifo before Ngata, but none had succeeded in conquering the strong local chiefs. Ngata, however, was said to have had many followers, because when his mother had come from Safata she was accompanied by a great number of Samoan supporters who, in turn, supported Ngata and advocated his cause. In addition, Ngata was said to have had help from the legendary Lo'au, a symbol which probably indicates Ngata's ultimate success, rather than a material ally[57]. As with the establishment of most *fototehina* in outlying areas, the consolidation of Ngata's rule took several generations; although with his strong Samoan supporters and the marriages he made with Hifo and Kaufo'ou, two daughters of the powerful Hihifo chief 'Ahome'e, Ngata and his descendants slowly established a very powerful rule.

Ngata[58] had one son with Hifo; his name was Vakalepu. He was sent to 'Eua as a supporter of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, while Atamata'ila, the son of Ngata and Kaufo'ou, remained in Hihifo. Atamata'ila's rule was strong because he was with his mother's people in Hihifo and he was able to make several strategic marriages, including one to Tokilupe, the daughter of the Tu'i Hā'atu'unga who, at that time, was a powerful chief of Nukunuku on Tongatapu[59]. Their children included three individuals who became well-known in the genealogies; they were Mataeletu'apiko, a son, and two daughters, Tu'utangahunuhunu and Palulā. Mataeletu'apiko succeeded his father and, with the support of his mother's people, became an even more powerful chief. It was probably at this time that the title of Tu'i Kanokupolu was first used for the ruling member of the lineage, in recognition that his area of influence was much greater than just Hihifo. The title has been, however, applied retrospectively to Ngata and his son Atamata'ila, and recalls the strength which allowed Ngata and his descendants to become powerful (see Appendix D for the Tu'i Kanokupolu succession list). . Kanokupolu means 'flesh or heart of Upolu' in honour of Tohu'ia, mother of Ngata, and the many supporters she brought with her from the Samoan island of Upolu. The rising rank and authority of the Kanokupolu line during the reign of Mataeletu'apiko can also be seen in the marriages made by his full sisters[60]. Tu'utangahunuhunu became the wife of Tu'i Tonga Kau'ulufonua III; although she was not *mā'itaki*. After the birth of their son, Tāfolo, who began the title of that name Tu'utangahunuhunu married Kinikinilau, and their son

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56. '*Foto*' is a marker of plurality in the Tongan language.

57. Gifford 1929:131

58. Tohi Hohoko Collection, Nuku'alofa; Gifford, Genealogical Lists:52-53. Thomas, (History (1879):147) claims that Ngata's principal wife was a daughter of 'Ahome'e named Va'etapu.

59. Thomas, History (1879):148

60. Tohi Hohoko Losaline Fatafehi:3; Tohi Hohoko Afukaipo'uli (Hansen):39; see also Thomas, History (1879):148

began the Fakafanua title[61]. Palulā married Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Vaea, the son of Fotofili; their children were Longo and Lelenoa, two daughters, and Kafoa, a son.

The apparent proliferation of titles at this time is indicative of the gradual transformation of the constitution of legitimate rule in Tonga. From the establishment of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua title, achieved authority increasingly challenged ascribed birth rank for the right to rule. This divergence of power was especially important after the re-emergence of the Tu'i Tonga on the political scene following his repatriation from Samoa. While the Tu'i Tonga bestowed his divinity, his right to rule, on the people through his fertility, as expressed in the fertility of the land through the *'inasi* and in his own personal fertility through the impregnation of local women, the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua emphasized his right to rule, the recognition of personal achievement, by conferring titles on loyal followers. In the early days these titles were seen as compensation for supporters who were not *sino'i 'eiki* and, as such, they had little apparent value; the prestige of a particular chief usually derived, instead, from a *sino'i 'eiki* connection with the main centre of power from regional authority which was based in land and people (*fonua*). However, as the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua increased his control over the secular affairs of Tonga, alliances with him became a necessity, especially for the less powerful chiefs, and the acquisition of a title from him came to represent this alliance, as well as subordination to him. Gradually, the number of titles grew as personal names of local chiefs or the names of their fathers were honoured by becoming hereditary titles. The titles were organized along existing kinship principles, according to the kinship relation of the particular titleholders, or according to the origin of the title if it was bestowed by the secular, or later, the sacred ruler. These organizational groupings of titles were known as *ha'a* with the designation of a particular *ha'a* usually commemorating the name of the ancestor of the lineage from which the titleholders (and the title) began. Thus, for example, the Ha'a Ngata is said to have begun with Ngata, the first Tu'i Kanokupolu, and included all those titles which were bestowed by the holder of that title (after it eclipsed the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua as *hau*) or titleholders whose descendants were also part of the *kāinga* of the Tu'i Kanokupolu. In recognition of their origin, successors were officially appointed to their titles in a *kava* ceremony headed by the progenitor titleholder (*tupu'anga*) in which the successor is called by his title for the first time as his *kava* was served. This dimension of the *'ilo kava*, known as the *fakanofo*, represented a change in the ceremony probably initiated by the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, because the *kava* was not called for the Tu'i Tonga's ceremony (*taumafa kava*) but simply prepared and presented as the relative rank of those present, embodied in the

61. See Bott (1982:111-112) for a different version of the romantic triangle of Tu'utangahununuhunu, Kinilau and Kau'ulufonua.

ideology of *sino'i 'eiki*, was known to all. To call the receiver at the *taumafa kava* of the Tu'i Tonga would have been low (*tu'a*) and to deny his divine and encompassing characteristics[62]. It is not clear whether the title was called at the installation *kava* ceremonies of those later titles, such as the Tokemoana title, which derived from the Tu'i Tonga, but it seems highly unlikely.

Titles, not surprisingly, were shunned by those of high birth who regarded them as nothing more than a decoration, a garland (*kakala*), which could be removed as easily as it had been placed, whereas blood (*toto*), the basis of *sino'i 'eiki*, represented the unchanging essence of the individual[63]. If the *sino'i 'eiki* were called to a title, they frequently passed it on to one of their *matāpule* or *tehina* and, even after titles became a political necessity, those of truly high birth would accept them, but would continue to be called by their personal names (*hingoa*) which spoke of their exalted rank, rather than be designated by their title (*hingoa fakanofo* -- appointment name)[64].

The patrilineal bias apparent in *ha'a* organization has led many scholars into assuming that the *ha'a* was the traditional Tongan concept of a patrilineage around which land and titles accumulated, rather than a titular grouping which was described in kinship metaphors and allotted land usufruct rights and controlled tribute collection[65]. Many, assuming that the *ha'a* was an ancient organization, supposed that the resulting ramages were centrally structured according to their genealogical proximity to the sacred Tu'i Tonga. In reality, the *ha'a* was a fairly late construction in Tongan political history which appeared at the time of the title proliferation. Its central structure, while paying lip service to the Tu'i Tonga's exalted rank, was actually based on the achieved secular authority of the *hau*, the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua in the early days and the Tu'i Kanokupolu later on; it provided a power base for them, independent of the Tu'i Tonga. Before the appearance of *ha'a* organization, ramages structured around the Tu'i Tonga and *fale'alo*, known as *sina'e*, were operational and, most likely, did structure land use and *'inasi* collection, but without the accompanying titular association of the later *ha'a* organization. The *sina'e*, or 'children', of the Tu'i Tonga represented those descendants who did not succeed their father, but who, nevertheless, due to their divine descent, were to be highly regarded. Undoubtedly, the *ha'a* grouping modelled itself on the earlier *sina'e* with, however, one significant difference. It was originally structured on achievement as recognized through titles, while the *sina'e* was solely a matter of

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62. Collocott 1927:32, 46; Spillius (Bott), Discussions (2):271; Sione Lātūkefu, personal communication

63. Watkin, Journal:231; Bott 1981:38; see also Marcus 1980:18-21

64. Peter Turner, Journal:16; Marcus 1980:18-19; Bott 1981:38

65. Bott (1981:27-32) outlines the scholarly arguments clearly, but see also Coult (1959:59); Decktor-Korn (1978, 1977:10-11) and Marcus 1980:14,31.

kinship[66].

As previously mentioned, Tu'i Tonga Fatafehi was succeeded as Tu'i Tonga by his son, Kau'ulufonua III, while his full sister, 'Ekutongapipiki, succeeded her *mehekitanga*, Sinaitakala, as Tu'i Tonga Fefine (see Figure 4.2). This was said to have occurred while Fotofili was Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, and either Ngata or Atamata'ila was Tu'i Kanokupolu[67]. Kau'ulufonua III married daughters of both the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and the Tu'i Kanokupolu. The children of both marriages figure prominently in the genealogies[68], although Takala, the daughter of Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Fotofili, was named as *mā'itaki*. Her son was 'Uluakimata II, the next Tu'i Tonga. Tu'i Tonga Fefine 'Ekutongapipiki married Fonomanu, the son of Tu'i Tonga Fefine Sinaitakala and Tapu'osi, her Fijian husband; he was, therefore, her *tama 'a mehekitanga* ('child of the father's sister')(see Figure 4.3). The daughter of 'Ekutongapipiki and Fonomanu was Tu'imala who was the first to be called Tamahā ('sacred child'). The distinction of Tamahā is said to have been a title[69] which honoured the eldest daughter of the Tu'i Tonga Fefine who, according to kinship conventions, stood as *fahu* to her *tu'asina* ('mother's brother'). *Fahu*, which translates as 'above the law' or, more traditionally, as 'above the *tapu*'[70], is a term of status recognition which derived from the respect and honour (*faka'apa'apa*) that a brother demonstrates to his sister and her children (*'ilamutu*) and that any child shows to her or his father's sister (*mehekitanga*) and her children (*tama 'a mehekitanga*). The term is a cognate of the Fijian *vasu* where it designates the genealogical category of sister's son, a high status relationship in Fiji which carries the right to seize his mother's brother's property[71]. Although the two cognates are similar in meaning and application, there are fundamental differences in the terms. *Fahu* does not label the genealogical category, but describes the superior rank of it, whereas *vasu* is a kinship term, not a description of the relationship[72]. Furthermore, the seizure of property appears to be the most significant feature of the Fijian relationship, while the Tongan configuration stresses the support, in terms of food, goods, military service and ceremonial deference, that one willingly provides. Despite these apparent differences, it seems likely that the term *fahu* and certainly the title Tamahā may have been initiated by the presence of Fijians in Tonga which was greatly increased with the emigration of the Tui Lakeba Tapu'osi (rendered Tu'ilakepa in

66. Spillius (Bott), Discussions (2):231; Collocott, King Taufa:74.

67. Thomas, Tongatabu:72; Thomas, History (1879):146-147

68. Tohi Hohoko collection; Gifford, Genealogical Lists:250; Collocott, Royal and Chiefly Genealogies:8

69. Farmer 1855:144; Bott 1982:33

70. Biersack 1982:188

71. Hocart 1915:641

72. Rogers 1977:167-168

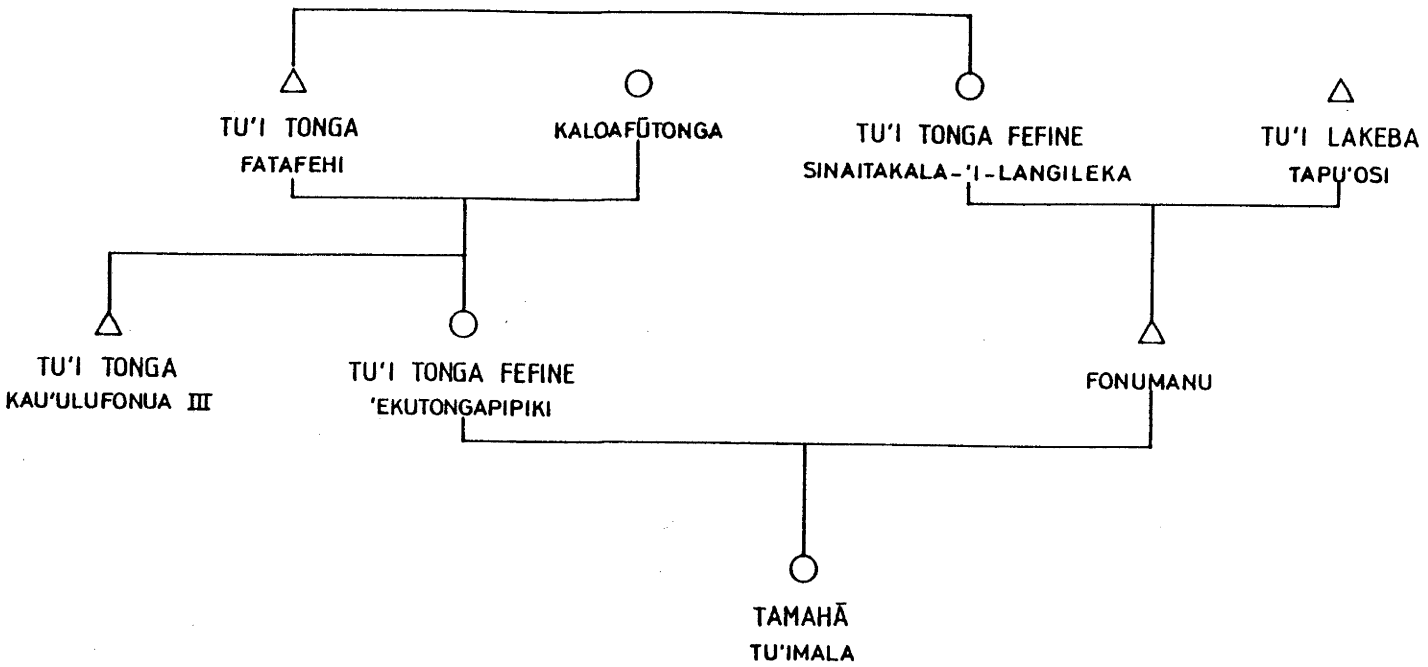

TU'I TONGA
FATAFEHI
KALOAFŪTONGA
TU'I TONGA FEFINE
SINAITAKALA-'I-LANGILEKA
TU'I LAKEBA
TAPU'OSI
TU'I TONGA
KAU'ULUFONUA III
TU'I TONGA FEFINE
'EKUTONGAPIPIKI
FONUMANU
TAMAHĀ
TU'IMALA

FIGURE 4·3

Tongan); although it needs to be emphasized that the status of the *fahu* who is usually the *mehekitanga*, *tama 'a mehekitanga* or the *'ilamutu*, was already valued in Tongan society. Queen Sālote[73] maintained that there were only three true *kau* Tamahā in the history of Tonga, although the term was often applied to the eldest daughter of a marriage between any Tu'i Tonga Fefine and a chief of the Fale Fisi especiallly the Tu'ilakepa or the Tu'iha'ateiho. The three women were Tu'imala, Lātūfuipeka and Fakahikuo'uiha, who was known as 'Amelia after her conversion to Christianity. As the Tamahā was the daughter of the Tu'i Tonga Fefine and the *fahu* of the Tu'i Tonga, she was the highest ranking individual in Tonga and was said to have been the *fahu* of all Tonga[74].

Tamahā Tu'imala married Tu'i Kanokupolu Mataeletu'apiko and this, along with the development of the Tu'i Kanokupolu title during his reign, indicates the growing strength of the Kanokupolu line. The son of Tu'imala and Mataeletua'piko was Longolongo'atumai, who began the Fielakepa title. Although Tu'imala was Mataeletu'apiko's highest ranking wife, she was not his first wife, Mataeletu'apiko had also married Papa, the daughter of Tu'i Ha'amea Akatoa[75]. They had several sons who, from eldest to youngest, were Hafoka, Vuna, Mataelaha'amea and Fohe, and one daughter, Toafilimoe'unga. Although he was not the eldest, Mataeleha'amea proved to be very ambitious; he was also said to have been his mother's favourite and was fiercely defended by her if anyone dared to question his actions[76].

Realizing that he had little chance of succeeding his father as Tu'i Kanokupolu, Mataeleha'amea made a bid to secure the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua title, by force, from Vaea, who had succeeded his father, Fotofili. Mataeleha'amea's attempt was unsuccessful because he had neither the support of his father nor, and more importantly, of his mother's people. In fact, Mataeleha'amea is said to have begun a war at Ha'amea in central Tongatapu, the place of his mother's people, because they would not support his claim. The fighting was reportedly violent and many of the Ha'amea people fled to Tokū Island for safety[77]. On the death of Tu'i Kanokupolu Mataeletu'apiko, Mataeleha'amea was named as Tu'i Kanokupolu, ostensibly because of an impassioned speech delivered by Papa on behalf of her third son. The role of Papa in Mataeleha'amea's success is highlighted in her assignation as the descendant of Lo'au whose propensity for success and change passed through the blood from mother to son[78]. Hafoka and Vuna,

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73. Spillius (Bott), Discussions (2):279-280

74. Interview, 18 July 1985

75. Koe Tohi Hohoko 'a Havea Tu'i Ha'ateiho:96; Koe Tohi Hohoko 'a Fielakepa (Tongaliuaki):165

76. Interview, 14 August 1985; Bott 1982:131

77. Interview, 13 August 1985; see also Gifford 1929:87,277.

78. Interview, 14 August 1985

Mataeleha'amea's elder full brothers, were, reportedly, so enraged that they left for various outlying areas to establish their own independent rule. Hafoka went to central Tongatapu where the Ha'a Havea was established and Vuna went to Vava'u where he was the founder of the Ha'a Havea Si'i. In reality, they were probably sent by their very capable and very ambitious younger brother, as *fototehina* would normally have been sent. This is especially clear in the case of Hafoka because it was, reportedly, Mataeleha'amea who had conquered Ha'amea, unless Hafoka did this on behalf of his younger brother. In addition, there is no evidence that either Hafoka or Vuna attempted to overthrow or undermine Mataeleha'amea's rule, even after they were established in their respective areas.

Not content with the limited rule of the Tu'i Kanokupolu, Mataeleha'amea began a campaign to increase his sphere of influence over the land and people of Tonga. Tradition tells the story of a devolution of power several generations before, similar to that of the establishment of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua[79]. It is said that Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Mo'ungā-'o-tonga, wearying of the burdens of rule, established the Tu'i Kanokupolu title for Ngata with the aim of retiring to a more sedate and peaceful life. This story, even more than its Ha'atakalaua precedent, reads like an *ex post facto* justification of a major political upheaval because, as already suggested, the title of Tu'i Kanokupolu was probably not used until the time of Mataeletu'apiko (Ngata's grandson); Ngata and Atamata'ila were probably known as Tu'i Hihifo. In addition, the proposed scenario has Mo'ungā-'o-tonga handing over the future rule of his son, not his own reign. This seems highly unlikely. If Mo'ungā-'o-tonga was simply tired of the responsibilities of rule, he would probably have abdicated in favour of his heir, rather than pre-empting his authority with the creation of a new ruling title[80]. Instead, this devolution of power seems to have been a seizure of power, not in the time of Tu'i Hihifo Ngata, but at the time of Mataeleha'amea, in a manner which has been classified as the challenging of the *hau* and defying executive authority[81]. By this time, 'Uluakimata II was an old man and he and Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Vaea seemed unable or unwilling to contain the ambitious Mataeleha'amea.

The eventual eclipse of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua by the Tu'i Kanokupolu was not, however, as clear-cut as the establishment of secular rule under the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua had been several generations before. It was a gradual change which occurred over several generations. Its beginning was marked in the genealogies by several significant points. The first was the marriage of Tu'i Kanokupolu Mataeletu'apiko to Tamahā Tu'imala.

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79. See, for example, Wood 1932:11-12; Lātūkefu 1974:3; Bott 1982:63-64
80. Cf. Campbell 1982:178-181
81. Gunson 1979:28,38

She was the highest ranking woman in Tonga at that time and Mataeletu'apiko must have had a powerful *kāinga* and large land base to have arranged such a marriage. The second significant indicator in the genealogies of the eventual shift of power and authority is the succession dispute which followed the death of Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Vaea[82]. Vaea's eldest son, Kafoa, was passed over as the successor to his father's title in favour of a younger half-brother named Moeakiola. Kafoa's mother was Palulā, the daughter of Tu'i Kanokupolu 'Atamata'ila and Tokilupe; she was, therefore, *tuofefine* ('sister') to Mataeletu'apiko and *mehekitanga* ('father's sister') to Mataeleha'amea (see Figure 4.4). Moeakiola's mother, on the other hand, was Simuoko about whom little is known. Some genealogies claim that she was the daughter of a Tu'iha'ateiho and a Tu'i Tonga Fefine (in other words a Tamahā, although not one of the three women designated as such by Queen Sālote), while others say that her father was a Tu'i Tonga[83]. It does, however, seem certain that she was Kauhala'uta. While it is surmised that Moeakiola succeeded because he was of higher rank, owing to his mother's birth, it seems that the decision was also a political one put into effect by the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua (or, perhaps, the Tu'i Tonga), in order to prevent the Kanokupolu line becoming entrenched in the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua title[84]. The third indication of the growing influence of the Tu'i Kanokupolu can be seen in the marriage made between Halaevalu Moheofo, the daughter of Tu'i Kanokupolu Mataeleha'amea, and Tu'i Tonga Tu'ipulotu-'i-Langitu'ofefafa who succeeded his father, 'Uluakimata II, as Tu'i Tonga. Halaevalu Moheofo was regarded as Tu'ipulotu's principal wife, even though she had no children. This reportedly was because she was Mataeleha'amea's daughter[85]. Immediately after the death of Tu'ipulotu, Halaevalu Moheofo was said to have adopted the son of Manunā, a *sinifu fonua* from Mo'unga'one in Ha'apai. It seems clear that Halaevalu Moheofo was acting on behalf of her own *kāinga* in doing this for Manunā's son, who was known as Tu'i Tonga Fakana'ana'a and undoubtedly advocated the Tu'i Kanokupolu's cause[86].

From the time of the marriage of Halaevalu Moheofo and Tu'i Tonga Tu'ipulotu-'i-langitu'ofefafa, the principal wife of the Tu'i Tonga was known as the *moheofo*. The term replaced *mā'itaki* which was, then, reserved for the principal wife of any chief. The only other perceptible difference, a significant one, was that the *moheofo* always came from the Kanokupolu line, rather than from Samoa or the Ha'atakalaua line. The Tu'i Kanokupolu had, thus, adopted this position from the Tu'i Ha'atakalua

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82. Koe Tohi Hohoko 'a Losaline Fatafehi:n.p.; Thomas, History (1879):16,158; see also Gifford 1929:84

83. Gifford, Genealogical Lists:24; Gunson, personal communication; Bott 1982:13

84. Interview, 12 September 1985

85. Interview, 12 September 1985

86. Interview, 12 September 1985; see also Thomas, History (1879):148-149

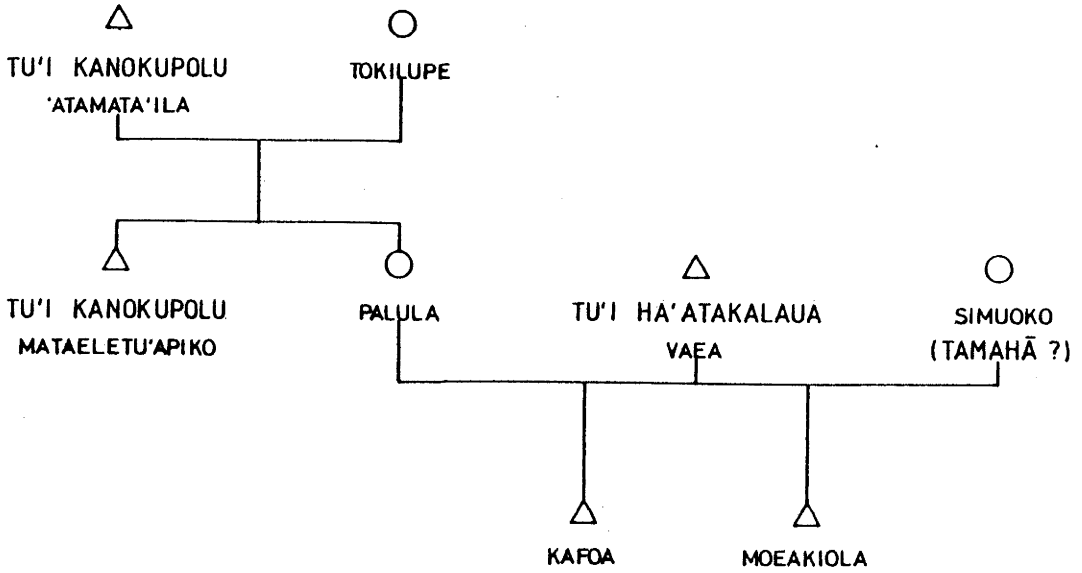

TU'I KANOKUPOLU
'ATAMATA'ILA
TOKILUPE
TU'I KANOKUPOLU
MATAELETU'APIKO
PALULA
TU'I HA'ATAKALAUA
VAEA
SIMUOKO
(TAMAHĀ ?)
KAFOA
MOEAKIOLA

FIGURE 4·4

and became known as the Ha'a Moheofo, as well as the more usual Ha'a Ngata. The significance of this marriage pattern is apparent in the resulting kinship configuration (see Figure 4.5), for once the pattern became established over successive generations, the Tu'i Tonga married his mother's brother's daughter (*tama 'a tu'asina*) and the *moheofo* married her father's sister's son (*tama 'a mehekitanga*). The resulting cross-cousin marriage (*kitetama*) was deemed sacred (see Chapter Two) ostensibly placed the Tu'i Tonga in the ritually superior position of *fahu* to, first, the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and, later, the Tu'i Kanokupolu. An individual would be expected to support her or his *fahu* physically, in terms of food and goods, politically, in terms of military service, and spiritually, in terms of providing sacrifice on behalf of and ceremonial deference to him[87]. Obviously, such a marriage pattern between the Tu'i Tonga and the *hau*, who was usually the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and later the Tu'i Kanokupolu, was beneficial to the sacred status of the Tu'i Tonga for it renewed the essence of his divinity with each generation, in that the *hau*, the paramount secular ruler, made obeisance to and supported the paramount sacred ruler. The *hau* also benefitted from this relationship because it tended to legitimize his secular rule since his daughter (or his sister, if the Ha'atakalaua or Kanokupolu titles followed father-son succession), who clearly retained an active role in her natal lineage, would be at the centre of the Tu'i Tonga's court, ensuring that her own *kāinga's* interests were heeded, as well as her children's. In addition, as she got older, her role as *mehekitanga* would ensure that good marriages were made for her brother's children (*tama 'a tu'asina*).

The practice of *kitetama* marriage presents an unexpected and interesting configuration in terms of Tongan kinship ideology because when such a marriage occurs an individual, in effect, is marrying someone that she or he regards as a brother or sister. Such a relationship is normally marked by strict avoidance behaviour and is incestuous in Tongan terms. The suggestion that the *kitetama* was, at least metaphorically, associated with incest is striking and reproduces the incestuous relationship which existed between the pairs of twins in the creation myth cycle (see Chapter Two). The resulting association between the *kitetama* and divinity is also suggested by the fact that the only distinguishing feature of the three *kau* Tamahā named by Queen Sālote as the only true *kau* Tamahā, is that they were all daughters of *kitetama* marriages of the Tu'i Tonga Fefine. The fact that the *kitetama* was prohibited to non-chiefly individuals further suggests a divine association which, if properly managed, could also ensure political advantages.

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87. Collocott 1923:227; Gifford 1929:22, 189; Beaglehole and Beaglehole 1941:91; Bott 1982:60

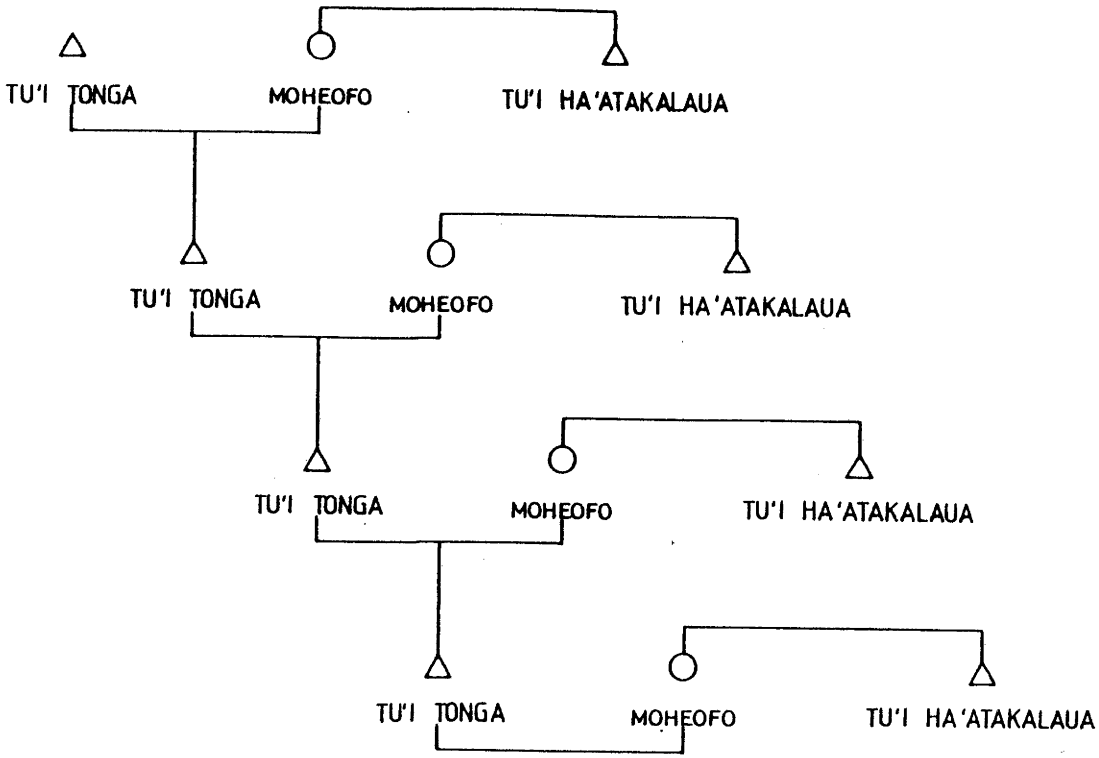

TU'I TONGA
MOHEOFO
TU'I HA'ATAKALAUA
TU'I TONGA
MOHEOFO
TU'I HA'ATAKALAUA
TU'I TONGA
MOHEOFO
TU'I HA'ATAKALAUA
TU'I TONGA
MOHEOFO
TU'I HA'ATAKALAUA

FIGURE 4·5

CHAPTER 5

The Consolidation of Kanokupolu Rule and the Defeat of the Tu'i Tonga

> We are to regard Tooitonga as a divine chief of the highest rank, but having no power or authority in affairs belonging to the king.
>
> Mariner[1]

The reign of Tu'i Tonga Fakana'ana'a is remembered in the Tongan islands as one of peace and harmony[2]. Popular historical belief has it that this was due to his less than preeminent birth and upbringing which made him not as spoiled and autocratic as individuals destined to assume the divine title from birth. He is said to have found out about his appointment only days before the event and was the only Tu'i Tonga known to have been tattooed -- a common Tongan practice for all men except the Tu'i Tonga[3]. Although it is possible that Fakana'ana'a's personality and upbringing may have had an effect on the political stability of Tonga at this time, it is perhaps more significant that he was closely aligned with the ascending Tu'i Kanokupolu title[4]. Early connections may even have contributed to his being selected as Tu'ipulotu-'i-langitu'oteau's successor. Tongotea, daughter of the ambitious Tu'i Kanokupolu Mataeleha'amea, became *moheofo* to Fakana'ana'a, and there is evidence that she exercised considerable, if not complete, political control over Tonga. It is reported that if her orders were not obeyed, she quickly dispatched a contingent of warriors to assert her authority[5]. There is little doubt that Tongotea was acting on behalf of her natal *kāinga* (the Kanokupolu people), for it was there, as a *tuofefine* ('sister') or a *mehekitanga* ('father's sister'), rather than as the principal wife of the Tu'i Tonga (*moheofo*), that she exercised her greatest authority. Another important link in the increasing alliance of Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Kanokupolu was the marriage of Tapu'osi, the daughter of Fakana'ana'a and a *sinifu*, to Motu'apuaka, the principal *matāpule* of the Tu'i Kanokupolu at that time. The marriage greatly enhanced the Motu'apuaka line, as well as their *tu'i*, and he and Tapu'osi were sent to settle the island of 'Ata in the extreme southwest of the Tongan

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1. Martin 1827(2):126
2. Thomas, History (1879):148-149; Queen Sālote in Spillius (Bott), Discussions (2):n.p.
3. Malupō, Ancient Tradition:8; Gifford 1929:57
4. Interview, 13 August 1985
5. Thomas, History, (1879):74-75,149

group (see Map B) on behalf of the Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Kanokupolu[6].

A protracted succession dispute for the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua title which bitterly divided its contenders, further strengthened the Kanokupolu position by creating a power vacuum which was quickly filled by the Tu'i Kanokupolu and his supporters. As previously mentioned (see Chapter Four) Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Vaea was succeeded by his son, Moeakiola, who, although not the eldest, was the highest ranking of Vaea's sons; his mother was definitely Kauhala'uta and may even have been of Tamahā status. Vaea's eldest son, Kafoamotalau, stood as *tama 'a mehekitanga* to Tu'i Kanokupolu Mataeleha'amea. He was, therefore, not supported as Vaea's successor by those who wished to curtail the Kanokupolu aspirations. As Kafoamotalau and Moeakiola had different mothers, they were placed in the potentially antagonistic *uho tau* relationship (see Chapter Two).

Although the potential for *uho tau* discord existed between the two sons of Vaea, it appears that Kafoamotalau gracefully acceded to the Ha'atakalaua wish that Moeakiola be given the title. Moeakiola, however, was elderly and he died shortly after his succession. It seems that Kafoamotalau was not as willing to accept his father's younger brother, Tatafu, as the next Tu'i Ha'atakalaua[7]. Although he was Vaea's brother, Tatafu who had returned from 'Uvea where he was acting as the Ha'atakalaua representative in order to make a bid for the title, was actually much younger than either Moeakiola or Kafoamotalau. Factions soon developed among the Ha'atakalaua people and bitter fighting ensued. Kafoamotalau and his supporters were defeated and reportedly 'sent adrift', a common Tongan practice which usually ended in political exile for the defeated kin. However, Kafoamotalau and his party were unwilling to accept defeat so quickly and they sailed, first, to Vava'u, the place of Kafoamotalau's birth, where they enlisted the help of his *tu'asina* ('mother's brother'), Tu'i Vava'u Vuna, and then made for Fiji, where Kafoamotalau received support from the Tui Tubou[8]. Thus greatly enlarged, the party of Kafoamotalau returned to Tongatapu and defeated Tatafu, who retreated to Niufo'ou where his son Fotofili was ruling. Kafoamotalau was then named as Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and he appeared to have been influential in having his *tu'asina*, Vuna, named as the next Tu'i Kanokupolu when Mataeleha'amea died. As Vuna was the elder brother of Mataeleha'amea, the choice was regarded as a proper one

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6. Interview, 18 July 1985: Gifford 1929:279-280.

7. Koe Tohi Hohoko 'a Sepiuta Hala'api'api:197-199; Tamahā 'Amelia in Gifford, Genealogical Lists:36, 48; Bott 1982:112.

8. Koe Tohi Hohoko 'a Afu-kaipo'uli (Hansen):20,76-66; Filianga and Pond 1982:25; A.C. Reid, personal communication, 20 April 1987; Reid 1977:5 n12. There appears to have been some kinship connection between Kafoamotalau and Tui Tubou, but I was unable to ascertain the exact details.

and was upheld by the other Kanokupolu chiefs[9].

It seems likely that the peaceful days, often nostalgically referred to as Tonga's 'golden age'[10], began during the tripartite rule of Tu'i Tonga Fakana'ana'a, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Kafoamotalau and Tu'i Kanokupolu Vuna. There are indications that the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua was, in fact, gradually coming to be regarded as a 'divine king', a kind of junior Tu'i Tonga, while the Tu'i Kanokupolu slowly assumed the responsibilities and duties of the 'working king'. In other words, the Tu'i Kanokupolu became *hau*, while the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua retired to a less politically active role. Evidence of this shift has survived in the Tongan language. A separate vocabulary was introduced for the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua. It was deemed more chiefly than that used for the rest of the population, but less divine than the vocabulary reserved for the *fale'alo*[11]. This secondary stratum of divinity is also apparent in the fragmentary remains of the speeches of the Ha'atakalaua kava ceremonies (*'ilo kava*)[12]. However, it is important to note that the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, as well as the Tu'i Kanokupolu, were still regarded as Kauhalalalo ('sea side of the road'), an entirely different substance than the divine Kauhala'uta ('bush side of the road') (see Chapter Three).

Like Moeakiola, Kafoamotalau was elderly when appointed Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, and he died a short time after Vuna was named as Tu'i Kanokupolu. It seems that the political balance of the tripartite rule was stable, however, as there was no dispute when Tu'i'onukulave, the son of Kafoamotalau, was named as the next Tu'i Ha'atakalaua[13]. The marriages made reflect the affinity of the three great Tongan titles at this time[14]. As mentioned, the *moheofo* of Tu'i Tonga Fakana'ana'a was Tongotea, the daughter of Tu'i Kanokupolu Mataeleha'amea; Tu'i Kanokupolu Vuna, therefore, stood as *tamai* ('father') to her as he and Mataeleha'amea were full brothers. Tu'i Kanokupolu Vuna was related to Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Tu'i'onukulave through Palulā, his *mehekitanga* and Tu'i'onukulave's mother's mother, which placed Tu'i'onukulave in a *fahu* position to him. In addition, Vuna married Tu'i'onukulave's daughter, Leha'uku, which meant in turn that their children would be *fahu* to Tu'i'onukulave. Fakana'ana'a and Tu'i'onukulave were bound together by the fact that the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua had married Toto'inukuo'osi, a woman who stood as *mehekitanga* to Fakana'ana'a. Thus it can

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9. Interview, 13 August 1985. Some sources claim that Vuna was Tu'i Vava'u, but never Tu'i Kanokupolu; most however, assert that he was both (see, for example, Koe Konga 'A Afuha'amango:5; West 1865:56, Bott 1982:135; Koe Tohi Hohoko 'a Afu-kaipo'uli (Hansen):20).

10. Bott 1982:99

11. Malupō in Gifford 1929:98, 119; Churchward 1953:303-305.

12. Gifford 1929:40, 41; Collocott 1927:32-33; Newell 1947:386-387

13. Tohi Hohoko collection, Nuku'alofa; Gifford, Genealogical Lists; Collocott, Royal and Chiefly Genealogies

14. Koe Tohi Hohoko 'a Sepiuta Hala'api'api:21; Gifford, Genealogical Lists:9,24,36

again be seen how the webs of kinship relations were woven in a complicated crosshatch allowing room for considerable deferential and political maneuvering, not simply, as has been argued elsewhere[15], in a regulated circle which perpetuated an asymetrical hierarchical order.

The authority of the holders of the three great titles was exercised among the followers of each of them who were organized in fairly identifiable geographical areas[16] and were called the *kāinga* ('relatives') of the chief of each area. In turn, these chiefs were related to one of the three great titleholders, or to one of his relatives, through blood, marriage or title, and so were named as part of his *kāinga*. Firth designated this type of configuration as a 'ramage', on account of its segmenting nature, although the heavy emphasis he and subsequent scholars placed on descent aspects prevented understanding it as a political entity[17]. However, Bott decisively demonstrated how the two senses of *kāinga*, personal kinship relations and spatial, political configuration, overlapped in practice, with the result that a chief's followers who lived on his land were also said to be related to him, even if blood or genealogies[18] said otherwise. As the Tu'i Tonga, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu were related in overlapping kinship connections, the resulting configuration defined the ceremonial and political behaviour of each titleholder, as well as his/her respective *kāinga*, vis-a-vis the others.

Tribute was collected from the greater populace along these *tukui*[19] *kāinga* lines. As the titular system developed, however, *ha'a* affiliation became the predominant factor. The people presented their tribute to their immediate local chief, who was most likely their *'ulu motu'a* ('senior kinsman') if his lineage had been long-established in the area, or was seen as a bearer of high rank or power who would marry into the local group, if he had recently been sent out from the central polity. In either event, the local chief was the unifying factor relating the common people to the wider political, economic and social arena[20]. The local chief would, in turn, present tribute to his paramount who may have been a district chief, an island *tu'i*, or one of the three great titles. Approbation flowed along these ranking ramages until it reached one of the three paramount title holders and continued with the Tu'i Kanokupolu presenting to the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua presenting to the Tu'i Tonga.

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15. Biersack 1982:201-202

16. Anderson of the Cook expedition identified 30 such such distinct districts on Tongatapu in 1777 (Beaglehole 1967-1969 (3):950); see also Lawry, Diary:76,91

17. Firth 1936:379; see also Firth 1957:4, Sahlins 1958:139-144 but note that for Tonga the identified meaningful unit was the *ha'a* which, as already mentioned, is, essentially, a title, rather than kin, based configuration.

18. Bott 1981:8,18,22,31,34. It should be remembered that adoption was very common throughout Polynesia; see Urbanowicz 1973; Morton 1976.

19. '*Tukui*' is a marker of plurality in the Tongan language.

20. Queen Sālote in Spillius (Bott), Discussions (2):n.p.; Nayacakalou 1959:100; Maude 1965:55

The actual mode of tribute prestation, while following this structure in principle, was much more fluid and circumstantial in practice. Although societal and kinship ranking may have ordered the flow of tribute, there was no such structuring tenet as to its timing, aside from the formal prestation of first fruits (*'inasi*) to the goddess Hikule'o, which was announced by the *hau* at the beginning of the yam (*'ufi kahokaho*) harvest. In general, first fruits (*polopolo*) were presented to one's immediate superior throughout the year at the beginning of each species' harvest, and included produce of the sea as well as agricultural yields[21]. *Polopolo* was categorized as being either *me'akai* ('food' = agricultural produce, mainly tubers) or *kiki* ('animal produce', including fish and shellfish). *Me'akai* was favoured as *polopolo*; although *kiki* was also presented to the chiefs by the people it was termed a gift (*me'a 'ofa*), not *polopolo*. Similarly, no *kiki* was directly presented at the *'inasi*, although it would have come to the centre for the accompanying festivities (*kātoanga*)[22]. These 'first as best' prestations (see Chapter Three) linked the common people with the gods through the nurturing of their superiors and established their relationship with the fertility of the land.

In addition to *polopolo*, the entire harvest of certain items, such as the *kahokaho* variety of yams and turtles and pigs over a certain size, were exclusively reserved for the chiefs[23]. The people were also expected to provide their superior with regular complements of *tokonaki* ('provisions', usually cooked and uncooked food and firewood) in order to 'feed' their *'ulu motu'a* (whether or not there was an actual kin connection)[24]; Mariner estimated that in the early nineteenth century this type of 'gift' was made approximately every second week[25]. Similarly, chiefs were free to call upon their followers for labour at any time that it was needed[26]. Such prestations of goods and labour were not regarded in Tongan ideology as a tax or levy solicited by the chief, but rather as 'gifts' (*me'a 'ofa*) which were inspired by *'ofa* ('love, emotion') and *faka'apa'apa* ('respect, honour') that an inferior feels towards his or her superiors[27]. The notion of sanctity and one's indebtedness to its embodiment (one's superior) was also involved; Mariner recorded that the common people appeared to consider it their 'superior, sacred duty' to uphold these principles[28]. Although it is difficult, due to the hegemonic nature of Tongan history, to ascertain how the non-elite regarded these

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21. Interview, 1 August 1985; Waldegrave, Report:66

22. Interview, 10 September 1985; also see Maude 1965:128-129; Morgan 1985:30

23. Martin 1827 (1):201; Gifford 1929:104; Labillardière 1800:350

24. It is worth noting that *polopolo* and *tokonaki* prestations were also made to one's *mehekitanga* and by a man to his sister (*tuofefine*) and her children (*'ilamutu*).

25. Martin 1827 (1):201,230-231,248; Vason 1810:127,129-131; Queen Sālote in Spillius (Bott), Discussions (2):n.p.; Nayacakalou 1959:100

26. Vason 1810:129-131,154; Labillardière 1800:350; Lawry, Diary:70; Maude 1965:34

27. Martin 1827 (1):201; Kavaliku 1977:48, 67

28. Martin 1827 (2):134; see also Waldegrave, Report:66

'duties', the relationship appears to have been regarded positively and was likened to a child supporting his or her father (a Tongan metaphor which also carries divine connotations of an unequal relationship). Of course, the correlation of this is that the chief should treat his people as his children, look after them and provide for them. This aspect of protection was especially important in times of drought or famine, when it was the chief's responsibility to provide food and seed yams for the people[29], a responsibility made infinitely easier by the local chief's political and kinship ties with the chiefs of other Tongan islands, for it was unusual for a catastrophe to gravely affect more than one island group at a time. Chiefs were also expected to redistribute some of the food and supplies they received on a fairly regular basis. These 'gifts' from the chief were seen as tokens of his concern for his people and demonstrated his generosity, an important element in the Tongan notion of what constituted chiefliness. This notion was neatly summarized by a chief in the early nineteenth century:

> Certainly money is much handier, and more convenient, but then, as it will not spoil by being kept, people will store it up, instead of sharing it out, as a chief ought to do, and thus become selfish; whereas, if provisions were the principal property of a man, and it ought to be, as being both the most useful and the most necessary, he could not store it up, for it would spoil, and so he would be obliged either to exchange it away for something else useful, or share it out to his neighbours, and inferior chiefs and dependents, for nothing[30].

For the most part, the common people (*tu'a*) did not seem to regard these obligations (*fatongia*) as an unjust exploitation of their labour[31], since they did not deprive them of food, they simply apportioned a quantity of it to their chief. The producers were still left with most of it of which the household unit (*'api*) could consume a portion and also meet its kinship commitments. The times of heavy labour or produce appropriations were also the times of feasts and festivals (*kātoanga*), which provided food and entertainment for the common as well as the chiefly people, a fact which probably made their obligations easier to bear. However, there were other obligations which the producers perceived as *kavenga* ('burdens') which were not always met cheerfully[32]. These amounted mostly to produce and labour appropriations so that the chief could meet his own obligations to his superiors, and occurred at such events as the death and subsequent succession of the Tu'i Tonga, the installation of a senior titleholder in the chief's *ha'a*, the death or marriage of such a titleholder or his personal

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29. Martin 1827 (1):199-200,206; Vason 1810:124,154; Morgan 1985:143

30. Martin 1827 (1):213-214; see also Martin 1827 (1):206; Waldegrave, Report:66; Sahlins 1972:132-4,206 on this point.

31. Queen Sālote in Spillius (Bott), Discussions (2):241-242,268; Martin 1827 (2):133-4; Interview, 25 August 1985

32. Spillius (Bott), Discussions (1):48; Māhina 1986:51-55

kin, or the visit of an entourage of high-ranking people[33]. Such events frequently involved a *tapu* ('prohibition') being placed by the chief on the item or items requested which could result in severe food shortages for the non-chiefly people. Obligations of this kind often provoked ambivalence. Feelings of *'ofa* and *faka'apa'apa* conflicted with feelings of personal exploitation among the producers[34]. It was the wise chief who deftly managed his own commitments without unduly oppressing his supporters, for it was not uncommon for people to agree verbally to a request or order which they felt was unreasonable and then simply to disregard it, later claiming that they misunderstood their role in the proceedings. If unreasonable demands continued or a chief's behaviour was deemed overly harsh, it was possible for people to activate remote consanguineal or affinal connections in order to move to another chief's land, thereby removing their labour from the demanding chief[35]. A Tongan chief without supporters was not a chief for long.

The economic and social situation was not, however, as favourable for those among the lower orders who did not have any chiefly kin connection. These people included *kau tu'avivi* ('low born commoners'), *pōpula* ('slaves') and *hopoate* ('war captives who were regarded as slaves')[36]. Because they could not claim even a remote connection to the embodiments of divinity and fertility (chiefs), their lives were regarded as worthless and of no account. European records of traditional Tonga are full of descriptions of the wanton maiming or killing of these individuals[37]. As one chief explained when asked about the deliberate killing of a man, 'he was only a low, vulgar fellow (a cook), and that neither his life nor his death was of any consequence to society'[38]. However, the lives and welfare of the *tu'a* ('common people') who were related to the chiefs, no matter how tenuous the claim, were an emotional matter of considerable concern[39].

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33. European travellers must be placed in this category, since there is little doubt that their long stays presented severe hardships for the common people who had to provide food and supplies for them without any prior knowledge of the need for an increased supply (see, for example, Beaglehole 1961 (2):259-260; Burney, Journal:1 October 1773; Novo y Colson 1885:385; Moyle 1984:65; Pearson 1970:121)

34. This ambivalence is reflected in the Tongan saying *'Ngulungulu fei'umu'* ('the grumblings of the cooks') signifying that although the *tu'a* might complain, they still feel obliged to make the earth oven (*'umu*) for the chiefs (Sione Lātūkefu, personal communication).

35. Vason 1810:128-131; Mariner 1827 (1):188-189; Bott 1972:222-223

36. Chiefly males taken as prisoners of war were either executed or sent into exile, depending on their relation to their captors, while chiefly females were usually sent to their *kāinga*; Lātūkefu 1974:9; Martin 1827 (1):188

37. See, for example, Novo y Colson 1885:265, 267; Beaglehole 1967-1969 (3):950-951; Wilson 1799:253

38. Martin 1827 (1):68

39. Lawry (Diary:96) records how one chief sent 'offenders' away to another *'api* rather then kill them; see also Labillardière 1800:361, 369; Beaglehole 1967-1969 (3):109-110; Munford 1963:28.

The peace and harmony established under Tonga's tripartite rule lasted beyond its first providential generation, and subsequent succession to the three great titles followed the ideal pattern with no apparent disputes. When Tu'i Tonga Fakana'ana'a died he was succeeded by his son Tu'ipulotu-'i- langitu'oteau, whose mother was the *moheofo* Tongotea; Tu'ipulotu's full sister was Tu'i Tonga Fefine Sinaitakala-'i-fanakavakilangi, a very powerful woman, who was said to have 'reign'd jointly with him [Tu'ipulotu] at Tonga'[40]. Silivaka'ifanga succeeded his father, Tu'i'onukulave, as Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu Vuna[41] was succeeded by Ma'afu-'o-tu'itonga, the son of Mataeleha'amea who was the previous titleholder and brother of Vuna. Ma'afu-'o-tu'itonga's mother was Kaloafūtonga, the daughter of Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Vaea, and his appointment reinforced the close association of the Ha'atakalaua and Kanokupolu lines. Vuna Ngata, the son of Vuna, did not dispute Ma'afu-'o-tu'itonga's succession, even though his father was, biologically, *ta'okete* (elder brother) to Ma'afu-'o-tu'itonga's father. It seems that because Mataeleha'amea was given the title before Vuna, he was considered the 'elder' (ie. more senior) of the two and this seniority carried through to the following generations.

Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Silivaka'ifanga died young soon after his installation, apparently leaving no suitable heir for the title. The Ha'atakalaua could not agree on who should succeed as Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and, in order to avoid a long and potentially bloody dispute, they asked the Tu'i Tonga to name the next titleholder from among the possible contenders[42]. The Tu'i Tonga chose Fuatakifolaha who was descended from Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Vaea through women on both his father's and his mother's side (see Figure 5.1)[43]. Most scholars[44] have isolated Fuatakifolaha's paternal Ha'atakalaua connections as significant in his being called to the title. His father's father was Tu'ihoua, the son of Tu'i Tonga 'Uluakimata II and Longo who is said to have been the daughter of Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Vaea[45]. While title succession through a female was not uncommon[46] and such descent would, certainly, have meant that Fuatakifolaha was of very high rank, it was unusual for an inheritance through women to be broken by males

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40. Beaglehole 1967-1969 (3):954. The Tohi Hohoko 'a Sepiuta Hala'api'api (84,n.p.) lists a 'Peseta' as a Tu'i Tonga titleholder in between Fakana'ana'a and Tu'ipulotu-'i-langitu'oteau. This appears to be an error for the claim is not substantiated in the wider genealogical collection and is even questioned by Hala'api'api's own information.

41. Thomas (History (1879):150).

42. Koe Tohi Hohoko 'a Sepiuta Hala'api'api:n.p. It is not clear whether this Tu'i Tonga was Fakana'ana'a or his son, Tu'ipulotu-'i-langitu'oteau; although in consideration of the genealogical details, Tu'ipulotu-'i-langitu'oteau seems the more likely candidate.

43. Gifford, Genealogical Lists:24, 25, 55, 128, 129, 251, 288; Koe Tohi Hohoko Sepiuta Hala'api'api:200

44. See, for example, Bott 1982:75-76; Campbell 1982:183-185

45. Bott (1982:114), however, seems uncertain of this connection.

46. Bott (1981:42-46) catalogues several instances of succession through women; see also Collocott 1927:25-26,43.

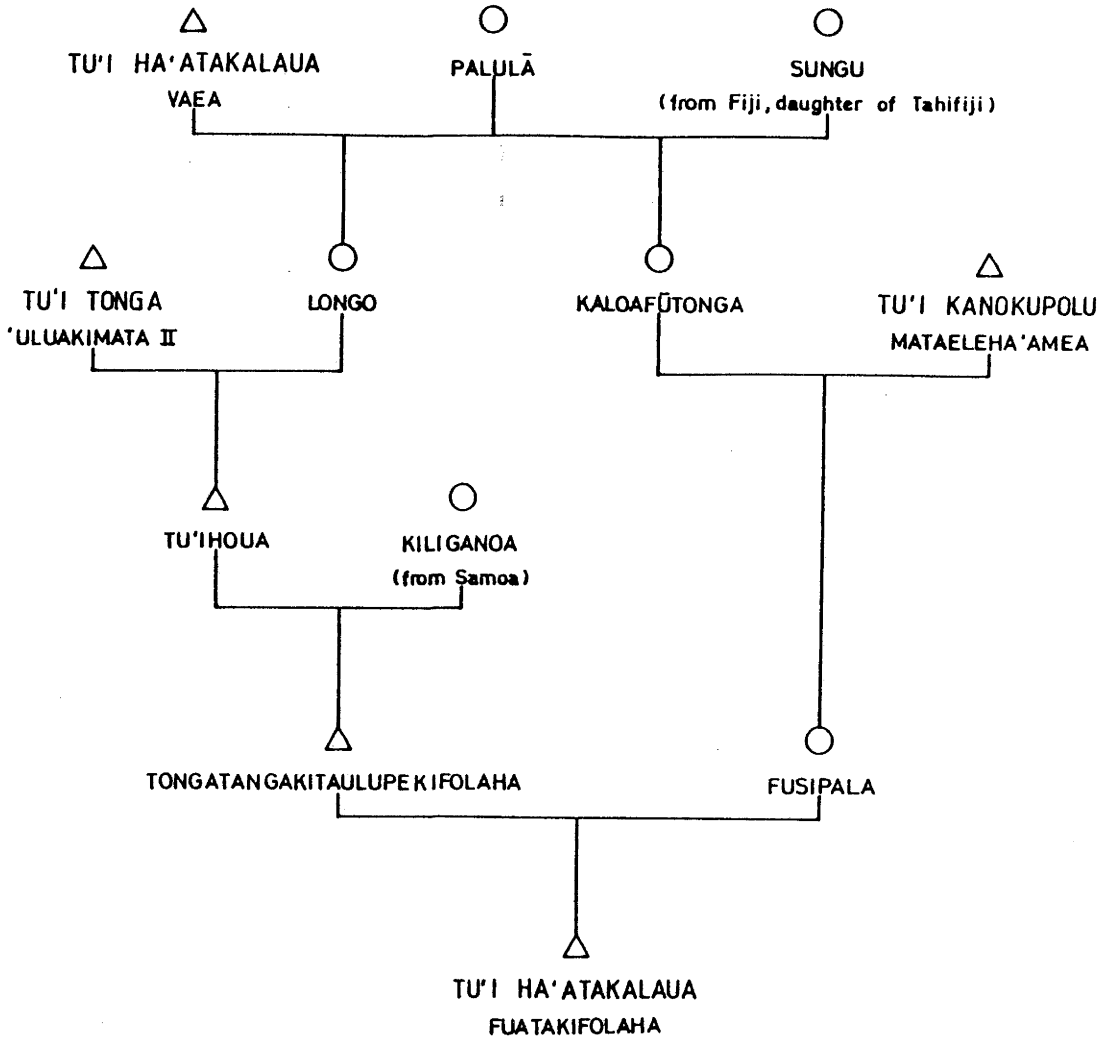

TU'I HA'ATAKALAUA
VAEA
PALULĀ
SUNGU
(from Fiji, daughter of Tahifiji)
TU'I TONGA
'ULUAKIMATA II
LONGO
KALOAFŪTONGA
TU'I KANOKUPOLU
MATAELEHA'AMEA
TU'IHOUA
KILIGANOA
(from Samoa)
TONGATANGAKITAULUPEKIFOLAHA
FUSIPALA
TU'I HA'ATAKALAUA
FUATAKIFOLAHA

FIGURE 5·1

in the line. Women were regarded in Tonga as the 'vessels of 'eikiness (chiefliness)'; accordingly, transmission of this rank, which expresses a direct divine access, is deemed to be 'better' if it comes through the direct female line[47]. This channel of rank and divinity did pass to the male offspring of a woman, but it was believed that he acted only as a receptacle for it, not an agent of it as did his female siblings[48].

However, Fuatakifolaha was also a descendant of Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Vaea through his mother, Fusipala, whose descent was direct through the female line (see Figure 5.1). In addition, and perhaps more importantly, Fuatakifolaha was, also through his mother, *fahu* to the powerful Kanokupolu *kāinga*. Fusipala was the full sister to Tu'i Kanokupolu Ma'afu-'o-tu'itonga and was said to have been a very influential individual[49]; it is not difficult to believe that she could have assembled considerable support for her son's succession. Among her political commands was the deposition of Vuna Ngata as Tu'i Vava'u, in favour of her half-brother (*uho tau*) Tuituiohu. This act caused much resentment among the people of Vava'u for Vuna, although younger than Tuituiohu, was the higher ranking of the two and was, thus, preferred as Tu'i Vava'u[50]. Fusipala was unrelenting and as she could count on her brother, the Tu'i Kanokupolu, for support, there were few in Tonga willing to cross her.

Tu'i Tonga Tu'ipulotu-'i-langitu'oteau was said to have lived to a very old age and to have had many wives among whom were some very high-ranking women. The first of his illustrious marriages was to Tu'ilokamana, the daughter of Tu'i Kanokupolu Vuna and Leha'uku. She was called *moheofo* and her children with Tu'ipulotu were Alaivahamamao, a son, and Ta'emoemimi, a daughter[51]. Little is known about Alaivahamamao, except that he did not succeed to the Tu'i Tonga title. Bott[52] contends that he died during his childhood, but the Tamahā's genealogy asserts that it was Ta'emoemimi who 'died young' and was buried in Neiafu, Vava'u[53]. 'Anaukihesina, the daughter of Tu'i Kanokupolu Ma'afu-'o-tu'itonga, was the second of Tu'i Tonga Tu'ipulotu's great wives; some sources state that she, too, was called *moheofo*[54]. She had five children with the Tu'i Tonga, three daughters, Nanasipau'u, Fatafehi and Fakaolakifanga, and two sons, Manumata'ongo and Ma'ulupekotofa. The third

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47. Gifford 1929:41, 123; Wood Ellem, personal communication

48. Rogers 1977:177

49. Tohi Hohoko Veikune:11; Thomas, Tongatabu:79; Thomas, History (1879):150

50. Interview, 26 August 1985

51. Koe Toho Hohoko 'a Losaline Fatafehi:n.p.; Koe Tohi Hohoko 'eni 'a 'O.F. Veikune:34; Gifford, Genealogical Lists:5, 57; Thomas, History (1879):150

52. Bott 1982:100

53. Tamahā in Gifford, Genealogical Lists:5-6; Interview, 3 September 1985. Gifford's record of the Tamahā's genealogy renders the name of Tu'ilokamana's daughter as 'Taemoemimi' which is most likely an error for, as Lātūkefu (1968:137) notes, the name translates as faeces and urine.

54. Tohi Hohoko 'a Sepiuta Hala'api'api:201

important marriage of Tu'ipulotu was with Laumanukilupe who was the daughter of Tupouto'a, the half-brother (*uho tau*) of Ma'afu-'o-tu'itonga, and the daughter of Tu'iha'ateiho Fakatakatu'u; although her descent from a Tu'iha'ateiho meant that she was very high-ranking, Laumanukilupe was not *moheofo*, in fact, some sources claim that she came as *fokonofo* to 'Anaukihesina[55]. Her children with Tu'ipulotu were three sons, Paulaho, Talaumokafoa and Mapafisiavatonga, and a daughter, Siumafua'uta.

When Tu'ipulotu-'i-langitu'oteau died, it was Paulaho, his son by Laumanukilupe, who succeeded him as Tu'i Tonga. The reasons for this are not clear, but it seems that Paulaho had distinguished himself as a warrior (*to'a*) which may have influenced the *falefā*. It is said that after he received the title, he was called *hau*, a new designation for the Tu'i Tonga title or, at least, one which had not occurred since Tu'i Tonga Kau'ulufonuafekai and the establishment of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua title by Mo'ungāmotu'a (see Chapter Three)[56]. Undoubtedly, the long life of his father had enabled Paulaho to establish himself as a strong leader before the time of succession, and the possibility of Tu'iha'ateiho support (his mother's people) in his endeavour should not be discounted.

The reign of Tu'i Tonga Paulaho proved a watershed in Tongan history in terms of both internal and external pressures on the islands. Among the significant occurrences while he was Tu'i Tonga was the visit of Captain James Cook to the islands. The mark Cook left on Tonga was not one of introduced transformation, for his direct influence on Tonga was negligible[57]. Rather Cook's greatest impact was an historical one. Cook found provisions easy to obtain in Tonga owing to the economic control exercised by the Tongan hierarchy with whom he associated. He visited the islands three times during his Pacific voyages (1773, 1774, 1777) with his final Tongan stay lasting eleven weeks. With such prolonged contact, Cook and some of his men came to know the Tongans as individuals and, while they did not always understand Tongan custom or ideology, they were able to describe the situations they saw with the Tongan actors named and, for the most part, identifiable in the Tongan genealogies. In addition to providing a cameo, albeit foreign, of eighteenth century Tongan life, the large amount of accessible manuscript and published material of Cook and his crew provided a framework within which European visitors observed and wrote about Tonga. Literature from the Cook voyages became essential for libraries of individuals heading to the Pacific, including other explorers, whalers, traders, missionaries and scholars. In effect, the Cook

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55. Koe Tohi Hohoko 'a S. Tu'iketei Pule:n.p.; Collocott, Papers:122-123; Thomas, History (1879):150

56. Erskine 1853:129; Wood Ellem, personal communication

57. Negligible, that is, in terms of the overall social and political situation for Cook did introduce various items including a few agricultural crops, probably dogs and, most importantly, venereal disease to the islands.

expedition observations, whether right or wrong, became the stereotype for traditional Tongan culture.

When Cook visited Tonga in 1777, Paulaho was Tu'i Tonga, Maealiuaki appeared to be Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tupoulahi, the eldest son of Ma'afu-'o- tu'itonga, was Tu'i Kanokupolu; but because he was elderly and almost blind, his son, Tu'ihalafatai, exercised the practicalities of actual rule[58]. There has been some misunderstanding in the literature concerning the designation of the Ha'atakalaua and Kanokupolu titles at this time based, it would seem, on a misconception of the relative rank and authority of each title. Cook and his men met two brothers 'Mariwaggy' (Maealiuaki)[59] and 'Old Toobough' (Tupoulahi) and although Maealiuaki was said to look older than Tupoulahi, the Europeans thought that Tupoulahi was the higher ranking of the two[60]. The duties which each man was said to exercise leave no doubt as to their respective titles. 'Old Toobou . . . and his deputies inspected into all the produce of the earth, saw that every man cultivated and planted his quota; ordered what should be eat and what should be not'[61] -- a clear description of the responsibilities of the 'working king' (*hau*) who was at this time also the Tu'i Kanokupolu. Cook and his men witnessed a 'Fīnau' who enforced these policies and they referred to him as the 'generalissimo', the 'Officer over the Police', and described him as an 'active soul . . . ever on the wing and in his canoe which sailed exceedingly swift he would in 24 hours surround the whole group of islands and almost visit them individually'[62].

Tu'ihalafatai, who was also known as 'Fīnau', was probably acting as the *hau*, was definitely not the Tu'i Kanokupolu[63]. This is hardly surprising for if his father (Tupoulahi) was still alive, it would have been a grave insult to his rank and honour for his younger brother or his son to be named in his place. Titles, at this point in Tongan history, appear to have been held until the individual died; if the titleholder was eventually unable, due to infirmities, to fulfill his duties, his younger brother, son or other junior relative would usually carry the duties out on his senior's behalf. This arrangement provided an excellent proving ground for aspiring title contenders and such

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58. Beaglehole 1967-1969 (3):892-893; Koe Konga Tohi 'a Afuha'amango:5; Thomas, History (1879):153; Erskine 1853:128

59. Maealiuaki is also rendered 'Mallawogga', 'Malawagee' and 'Maree'wagee' in the various Cook expedition journals.

60. 'It is probable he [Tupoulahi] precedes the other [Maealiuaki] in rank as he certainly posses'd what we might call the seat of honour. . .and indeed it appear'd that he was rather disappointed by our addressing Mareewagee [Maealiuaki] first and paying most attention to him'; Beaglehole 1967-1969 (3):129, 893.

61. Beaglehole 1967-1969 (3):176-177

62. Beaglehole 1967-1969 (3):177; Munford 1963:28

63. Thomas, History:(1879):152. Some sources claim that he was never called to the title, while others state that he followed his father (Tupoulahi) and his father's brother (Maealiuaki); see, among others, Koe Konga tohi 'a Afuha'amango:5-6; Koe Tohi Hohoko 'a Losaline Fatafehi:n.p.

individuals, who were also often called *hau*, usually succeeded to the title[64]. Tu'ihalafatai may have been the exception; although it is said by some that his rank was so high and his *mana* as a warrior so potent that he felt no need for a *hīngoa fakanofo* ('title'); Thomas[65] recorded that Tu'ihalafatai 'could not be induced to take the office . . .[and instead] he sailed away for a time'. Tu'ihalafatai seems to have made for Fiji where he greatly increased his reputation and *mana* as a warrior (*to'a*)[66].

The Cook expedition recorded that Maealiuaki, on the other hand, was called the 'Mo'tooa tonga, which is to say Father of Tonga or of his country'[67]. Bott conjectures that the Tongans were trying to tell the Europeans that Maealiuaki was *motu'a tauhi fonua* ('the old man who looks after the land'), a probable designation of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua who was sometimes referred to as the Tu'i Kelekele or 'King of the Soil'[68]. A further indication of Maealiuaki's position as Tu'i Ha'atakalaua is the European statement that he held a 'religious office' which involved the keeping of the Tu'i Tonga's *tapu*; a responsibility which was shouldered by the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua at that time[69].

The logistic somersaults of identities and relative rank performed in some of the literature appear to have been intended to keep up the fiction that the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua was a higher ranking and more powerful title than that of the Tu'i Kanokupolu[70]. It is apparent, however, that the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua title had been atrophying at the same time as the Tu'i Kanokupolu title was gaining in influence and stature. The abovementioned preference for Kanokupolu rather than Ha'atakalaua women as *moheofo* was an obvious example of this supplantation. So was the adept political move of sanctifying the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua title, for while paying ceremonial deference to the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, the Tu'i Kanokupolu assumed his secular responsibilities and, effectively, contained the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua's authority and power. As a sacred king the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua was superfluous because the Tu'i Tonga and the *fale'alo* represented divinity on earth; the best he could achieve was a semi-divine status. The Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, therefore, was sandwiched between an infinitely more sacred being and an infinitely more powerful secular being.

Information concerning the demise of Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Fuatakifolaha is not clear,

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64. Later examples in Tongan history include Tuku'aho, the son of Mumui, and Tāufa'āhau who succeeded 'Aleamotu'a as Tu'i Kanokupolu.

65. Thomas, History (1879):152

66. Hocart, The Windward Islands:244-246; Derrick 1946:123; see also Thomas, History (1879):153

67. Beaglehole 1967-1969 (3):892

68. Bott 1982:28. It is difficult to ascertain if the designation of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua as Tu'i Kelekele superseded that of the Tu'i Tonga (see Chapter Three).

69. Beaglehole 1967-1969 (3):1304-1305; Interview, 11 September 1985

70. See, especially, Bott (1982:27-28, 50, 64) who often pushes the data to extremes to accommodate this view.

but it seems that some time passed before his successor, Maealiuaki, was called to the title. Maealiuaki claimed the title on the grounds that his mother's mother's mother was the daughter of Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Fotofili[71]. This, combined with the fact that he was of very high rank (his mother was a direct female descendant of a Tu'i Tonga Fefine) and was equally well-connected to the Kanokupolu line, made him an attractive contender for the title. However, there can be little doubt that the title he was called to was not regarded as highly as that of Tu'i Kanokupolu, for if it had been, Tupoulahi, the elder brother of Maealiuaki, would have sought it instead of the Kanokupolu title. They shared the same mother and father, so his contention would have been as favourably received as Maealiuaki's was, and as there is no record of discord between the two brothers, it seems likely that Maealiuaki accepted the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua title after his elder brother had been named as Tu'i Kanokupolu. Additional support for this is suggested by the fact that Maealiuaki was called to the Tu'i Kanokupolu title after the death of Tupoulahi and, perhaps, instead of Tu'ihalafatai, who would have been hard pressed to dispute succession with someone he regarded as *tamai* ('father'). Tūngi, the husband of Queen Sālote and descendant of the Ha'atakalaua line, claimed that Maealiuaki was the last officially appointed Tu'i Ha'atakalaua; this, however, is disputed by other traditional sources which claim that there were several following him[72]. It does, however, seem clear that Maealiuaki was the last Tu'i Ha'atakalaua to have any degree of authority and this in combination with the fact that he, as well as his elder brother (*uho tau*), was also appointed as Tu'i Kanokupolu suggests that the Tu'i Kanokupolu had usurped its position as the second great title of Tonga.

Conflict between these two titular lineages, Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Kanokupolu, was perhaps inevitable, especially after the Kanokupolu people had, effectively absorbed the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua as a *tehina* ('younger brother') title. Tensions between Kauhala'uta and Kauhalalalo, now represented by the Tu'i Kanokupolu, were further aggravated by the ambitions of Tu'i Tonga Paulaho who desired more secular authority[73]. This desire may have been prompted by the questionable foundation upon which his own succession was based, since Pau was neither Tu'ipulotu's eldest son, nor his son by the acknowledged *moheofo*; although, as previously noted, it is conceivable that he was regarded as a receptacle of great rank and divinity if he was descended, through his mother, from a Tu'i Tonga Fefine.

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71. Interview, 10 September 1985; Koe Tohi Hohoko 'a Sepiuta Hala'api'api:200. Bott (1982:76) claims he received the title by virtue of his father's mother being the daughter of Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Vaea, but, as previously mentioned, direct female links are considered preferable and stronger in this type of succession.

72. Tamahā, *et.al.* in Gifford 1929:83-85; Bott 1982:64,115. But see also Koe Tohi Hohoko 'a Fielakepa (Tongaluaki):43 who claims that Silivakaifanga (Maealiuaki's predecessor) was the last Tu'i Ha'atakalaua.

73. Thomas, History (1879):172; Gunson 1979:40, 83; Erskine 1853:129

There was an indication of the forthcoming conflict in the now, effectively, bipartite rule of Tonga appeared during the *'inasi* ceremony witnessed by the Cook expedition during their final visit to Tonga. There is little doubt that the ceremony was the *'inasi*; the Europeans were told that the yams (*kahokaho*) presented 'were a portion consecrated to the O'tōoa [*o'tua* = 'god'] or divinity' and that the ceremony was called 'natche' or 'anāche'[74]. However, there was also a suggestion in the accounts that this was not a conventional *'inasi*. Cook and his men were told that the second day of the ceremony was designed to allow Fuanunuiava, the son of Paulaho, to eat with his father[75]. The prestations of the *'inasi* normally occupied only one day and the *tapu* of not eating in the presence of one's superior was strongly held in Tonga, and to break it in relation to the sacred ruler was no small deed. Even the Europeans with their limited understanding of Tongan custom sensed the gravity of this action and realized that it, as well as the prestation of *koloa* to the young man, represented a preference for succession[76]. Although the ritual breaking of the eating *tapu* between father and son was most unusual, the prestation of *koloa* and agricultural products to the Tu'i Tonga was a common ceremony known as *fakataumafa* ('to provide food for'), in which the people demonstrated their obeisance, loyalty and general dependence on the divine king by providing him with food and a pledge of continuing sustenance in the form of symbolic provisions[77]. In a sense the *fakataumafa* marked the succession to the honour, since there was no specific installation ceremony for the Tu'i Tonga as there was for the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu. While there is nothing unusual about a *fakataumafa* for a new Tu'i Tonga, it was a radical break with Tongan tradition for the ceremony to occur while the incumbent Tu'i Tonga was not only alive, but presiding over the ritual.

Most sources assume that Tupoumoheofo, the daughter of Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupoulahi and the *moheofo* to Paulaho, was the instigator of this unusual event in order to secure her son's succession (*fua 'ai hau*)[78]. However, as has been argued elsewhere[79], it appears that it was Paulaho, not Tupoumoheofo, who was interested in securing his son's succession, for Fuanunuiava, like his father, was not the son of a *moheofo*. Fuanunuiava's mother was Inumofalefā, a junior relative and *fokonofo* of

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74. Beaglehole 1967-1969 (3):916-917, 1308, 1368

75. 'As it was only ceremonial . . . he would just eat a single mouthfull of yam and his father the same' Beaglehole 1967-1969 (3):913; see also (3):146,1307

76. 'His father,. . .either from an ancient custom or perhaps to insure the succession wishes to see it done whilst alive'; Beaglehole 1967-1969 (3):916; see also (3):1308

77. Beaglehole 1967-1969 (3):147, 153, 917, 1307; Spillius (Bott), Discussions (2):241-242; Interview, 10 September 1985. See also Chapter Three where such a ceremony was performed for Tu'i Tonga Talakaifaiki while he toured Samoa.

78. Lātūkefu 1974:13; Cummins 1977a:66-67; Gunson 1979:39-40; Bott 1982:39-40

79. Herda 1987b:199-203

Tupoumoheofo[80]. The possibility that Fuanunuiava was adopted by Tupoumoheofo should not be discounted, although, theoretically, such an individual was not eligible to be called Tu'i Tonga[81]. The Tu'i Tonga, not the *moheofo*, had the authority to name the *fatongia* (duty) of each of his children, thereby ordering their relative rank within each sex and, indirectly, naming an heir. However, this type of proclamation was normally made on the deathbed of the predecessor; presumably, this is what Paulaho's father had done in order to sanction Paulaho's succession.

Paulaho's innovation in custom to secure Fuanunuiava's succession was apparently in response to Kanokupolu pressure on his own rule. Paulaho sought refuge in Vava'u after fighting broke out between the Kauhala'uta and Kauhalalalo and he was defeated. The conflict appears to have subtantially escalated in the ensuing years and ended with renewed fighting and the death of Tu'i Tonga Paulaho in approximately 1784, seven years after his attempt to secure his son's succession[82]. A Spanish expedition was told in 1793 that:

> Paulajo [Paulaho] who had met Captain Cook in Happai [Ha'apai] and Tongatabu was dethroned and murdered by a conspiracy hatched between Vuna [Vuna Tu'i'oetau], Monmuy [Mumui], and Tubou [Tupoumoheofo], wife of the same Paulajo. The conspirators set out from Tonga with some 20 large canoes; putting into the ports of the Islands of Annamoka [Nomuka] and Happai. They passed to Vavao where Paulajo, as the head of his people, received them. There was a clash which ended with the death of the latter at the hands of Vuna, after these two leaders had fought hand to hand.[83]

It seems that Paulaho's death differed from the earlier assassinations of the *kau* Tu'i Tonga in that his defeat was in battle and was connected with his role as *hau*, as well as his status as sacred ruler. The *hau* was a challengeable position of power which depended not only on birth status, but also on the leader's reputation as a *to'a* ('warrior')[84]. The stand of Tupoumoheofo, *moheofo* to Paulaho, against her husband is not surprising. Her allegiance to her natal lineage (the Kanokupolu people) would have been based on the fact that her influence and power derived from her birth status in that

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80. MS genealogy collected by Niel Gunson (1970), personal communication.

81. Gifford 1929: ; Thomas, History (n.d.):11-12; although as has been demonstrated above, such succession did occur.

82. Interview, 10 September 1985

83. Novo y Colson 1885:382; see also Navarrete, Viages:70; Pineda, Diario:n.p.; Neé, Relación:269-270. The assignation of a date can be regarded as reliable for it was recorded by members of the Malaspina expedition in 1793 (Novo y Colson, Pineda and Neé) and independently, at later dates, by other authors (see Thomas, History (1879):172; Thomson 1894:321; Collocott, King Taufa:123). The Malaspina citation is thought to be independent because of a publication and communication ban imposed upon the manuscripts when the Expedition returned to Spain (Herda 1983:18-25). There were two obscure publications in Spanish (Viana 1849 and Novo y Colson 1885), but it seems highly unlikely that they were consulted by the other authors as they do not record the visit of the Spanish to Vava'u in 1793.

84. West 1865:261-262; Gunson 1979:29; Campbell 1982:191; also see Chapter Three.

line (as *tuofefine* and *mehekitanga*), not from her role as the Tu'i Tonga's wife[85].

The death of Tu'i Tonga Paulaho also brought considerable change to the Tu'i Kanokupolu title. Tupoulahisi'i, son of Tu'ihalafatai, had succeeded either Maealiuaki or his father to the title. He was, in turn, succeeded by Mulikiha'amea who was the son of Maealiuaki. He appears to have been the Tu'i Kanokupolu at the time of Paulaho's death; although it is not known what part he played, if any, in the proceedings. The very rapid series of Tu'i Kanokupolu titleholders at this time (four or five in seven years; see Figure 5.2) reflects the nature of its political base which was one of achievement and strength, not simply ascribed birth status. Soon after Paulaho's death, Tu'i Kanokupolu Mulikiha'amea was pressed by a collateral Kanokupolu lineage to resign from the title and to assume, as his father had done, the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua title. The push to vacate the title came from Mumui and, more importantly, from his son, Tuku'aho, whose ambitions included the Tu'i Kanokupolu title. Mumui was the son of Tu'i Kanokupolu Ma'afu-'o-tu'itonga and Popua'uli'uli which placed him and his descendants in the antagonistic *uho tau* relationship to Tupoulahi, Maealiuaki and their descendants.

No individual could simply appropriate the title, he had to be called to it; and as Tupoumoheofo was the most senior female descended from Tu'i Kanokupolu Ma'afu'otu'itonga (see Figure 5.2), she was called to name Mulikiha'amea's successor. This practice had, in the past, followed the realities of the distribution of power; the title providing a sense of legitimized authority to an already powerful individual. Instead of naming Mumui or Tuku'aho, which would have placed the title in a junior and lower ranking line, Tupoumoheofo, who was strongly supported[86], named herself as successor, the first woman to hold the title. Tuku'aho, realizing that his own political future lay in securing the title for his father, came from 'Eua where he was acting as Tu'i 'Eua and 'declared war against her'[87]. After several great battles, Tupoumoheofo and her supporters were defeated and sought refuge in Vava'u, while Tuku'aho on Tongatapu had Mumui installed as Tu'i Kanokupolu, reserving the practice of actual rule as *hau* for himself[88]. Tupoumoheofo's intent appeared to be to retain the title in her own lineage, rather than letting it slip to a junior line where once established, it would be difficult to regain. This proved to be the case for the descendants of Mumui still maintain political control of Tonga, whereas Tupoulahi's and Maealiuaki's descendants are 'unknown', the political end of the line in Tonga.

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85. This concept eluded the missionary John Thomas (see History (n.d.), (1879); Tongatabu) who, although perceptive to the nuances of many Tongan notions, could not conceive of female roles apart from those of wife and mother.

86. Wilson 1799:104; Spillius (Bott), Discussions (1):n.p., see especially the notes on the Niukapu title; see Herda 1987b for a consideration of Tupoumoheofo's actions and their consequences

87. Wilson 1799:275; Thomas, History (1879):170-174,182; Anonymous, History:1

88. Labillardière 1800:345

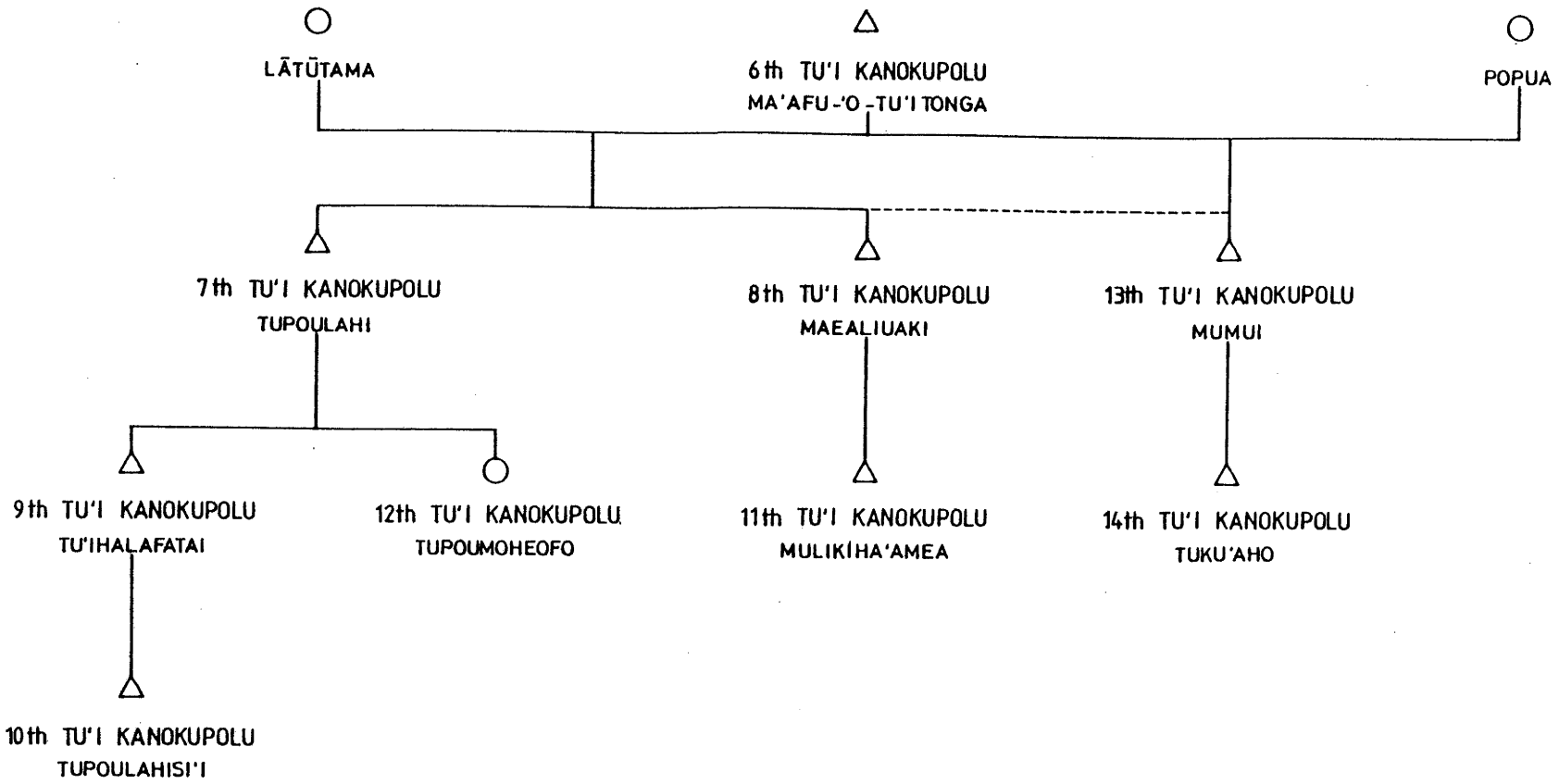

LĀTŪTAMA
6th TU'I KANOKUPOLU
MA'AFU-'O-TU'I TONGA
POPUA
7th TU'I KANOKUPOLU
TUPOULAHI
8th TU'I KANOKUPOLU
MAEALIUAKI
13th TU'I KANOKUPOLU
MUMUI
9th TU'I KANOKUPOLU
TU'IHALAFATAI
12th TU'I KANOKUPOLU
TUPOUMOHEOFO
11th TU'I KANOKUPOLU
MULIKIHA'AMEA
14th TU'I KANOKUPOLU
TUKU'AHO
10th TU'I KANOKUPOLU
TUPOULAHISI'I

FIGURE 5·2

The consequences of the the death of Tu'i Tonga Paulaho effected by the Kauhalalalo were far-reaching and, in retrospect, brought about the end of the divine line as a semi-autonomous title. There was no Tu'i Tonga appointed following the death of Paulaho, ostensibly because Tu'i Kanokupolu Mumui and his son Tuku'aho would not allow Fuanunuiava, the son of Paulaho, to assume the sacred duties and, thus, be called to the title. Their intent seems to have been to abolish the title once and for all, the rationale being that the eligible successors were actually descendants of usurpers who had denigrated the sanctity of the office. It was said that the present titleholders were descended from a *sinifu fonua* rather than a *moheofo*, as dignity required[89]. As an acknowledgement of the profanity suffered by the office, Paulaho was buried in Vava'u 'not as a Tu'i Tonga, but as an ordinary chief'[90]. The denigration did not, however, end with Paulaho. A Spanish expedition was told that, following Pau's death, Fuanunuiava lived 'confused with the lowest common people in Tongatabu [Tongatapu]' and a French expedition recorded a slighting remark that a Kauhalalalo chief made about him that 'everybody passed themselves off for chiefs (egui) ['eiki]'[91].

Significantly, it was the holders of the Tu'i Tonga title that were considered profane, not the office itself, since it appears to have continued to occupy a central structuring role in Tonga at this time, and a successor was eventually named. Ma'ulupekotofa, the son of Tu'i Tonga Tu'ipulotu-'i-langitu'oteau and 'Anaukihesina, was called to the title. Although he was senior, in both years and rank, to his *uho tau*, Paulaho, he was not the eldest son of Tu'ipulotu and 'Anaukihesina, nor was he the son of the *moheofo*, Tu'ilokamana. It appears that his greatest asset for the title was that he was an amiable fellow with little or no political interests[92]. Ma'ulupekotofa officiated as Tu'i Tonga only a couple of years before he died. During his time in the office, however, he seems to have performed his sacred duties while allowing Mumui and Tuku'aho free reign to govern Tonga.

The implied profanity of the Tu'i Tonga titleholders was further emphasized by the sanctity of another individual of the Kauhala'uta who even outranked the *kau* Tamahā. Makamālohi who held the most sacred title of Tama Tauhala ('extraordinary child') was the son of Tu'iha'ateiho Fa'otusia Fakahikuo'uiha, who was himself often referred to as a 'male Tamahā', and Tu'i Tonga Fefine Lapaha which meant that he was the progeny of two *kitetama* marriages (see Figure 5.3). The *kitetama* marriage was the union of a classificatory brother and sister which alluded to the incest of the twins in the

89. West 1865:55. It is not clear whether the slur was meant to designate the birth of Tu'i Tonga Fakana'ana'a or Tu'i Tonga Paulaho, perhaps the allusion may have included both.

90. Thomas, History (1879):45

91. Novo y Colson 1885:382; Labillardière 1800:340

92. Interview, 10 September 1985; Thomas, History (1879):174

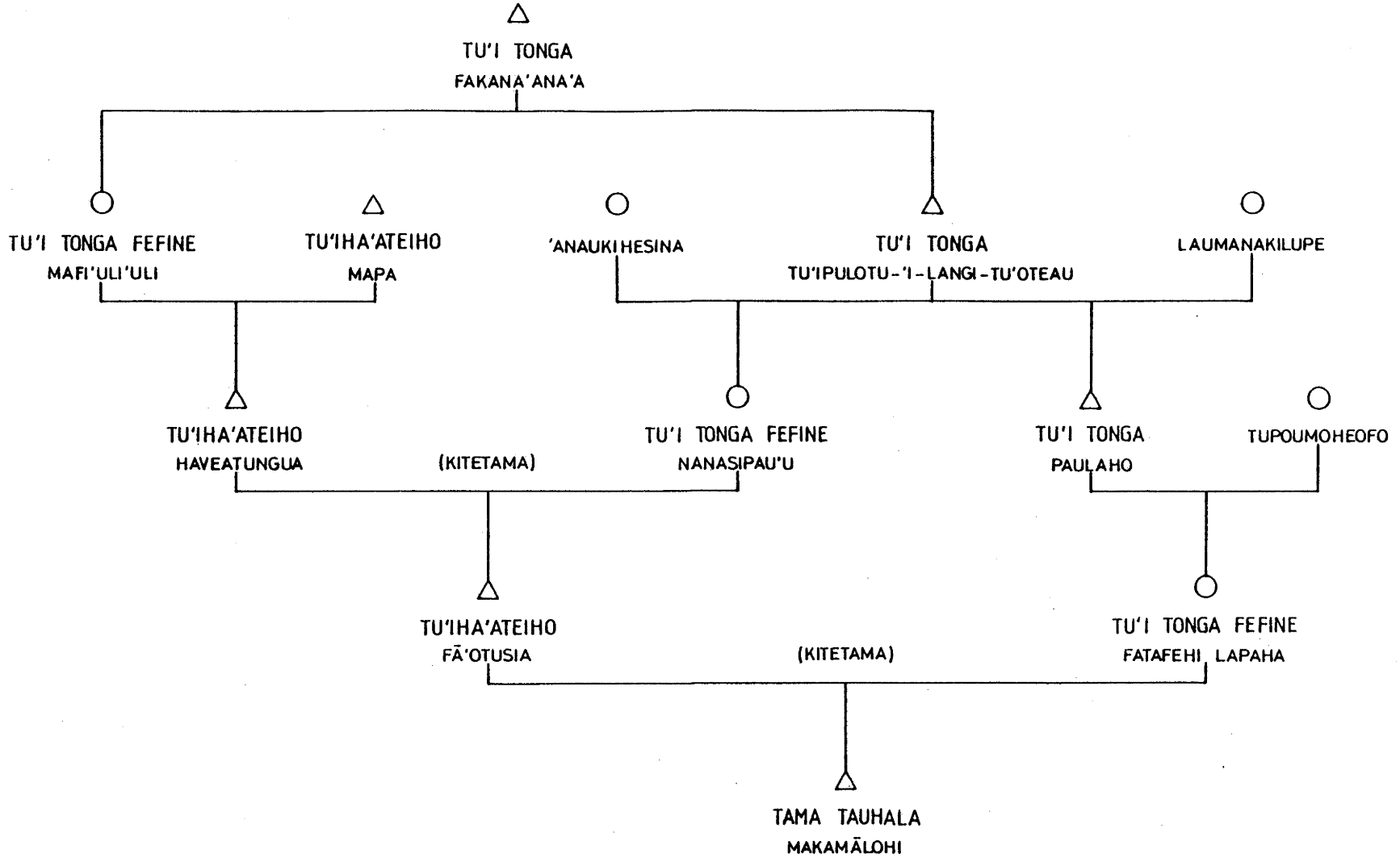

TU'I TONGA
FAKANA'ANA'A
TU'I TONGA FEFINE
MAFI'ULI'ULI
TU'IHA'ATEIHO
MAPA
'ANAUKIHESINA
TU'I TONGA
TU'IPULOTU-'I-LANGI-TU'OTEAU
LAUMANAKILUPE
TU'IHA'ATEIHO
HAVEATUNGUA
(KITETAMA)
TU'I TONGA FEFINE
NANASIPAU'U
TU'I TONGA
PAULAHO
TUPOUMOHEOFO
TU'IHA'ATEIHO
FĀ'OTUSIA
(KITETAMA)
TU'I TONGA FEFINE
FATAFEHI LAPAHA
TAMA TAUHALA
MAKAMĀLOHI

FIGURE 5·3

creation myth (see Chapters Two and Four). Makamālohi's elevated status was further enhanced by his adoption by Tu'i Tonga Ma'ulupekotofa and his *moheofo* Tu'i Lakepa Fefine Mo'unga-'o-lakepa, another *kitetama* marriage (see Figure 5.4). Little is known about Makamālohi. Gifford recorded that he was the only individual in Tongan history to be called by the exalted title of Tama Tauhala and that Makamālohi was buried in the Langitauhala near Lapaha[93]. It is debatable whether Makamālohi, himself, had any political aspirations, but it is clear that certain Kauhalalalo chiefs saw a potential through strategic marriages for overriding the sanctity of the Tu'i Tonga.

Tu'i Tonga Ma'ulupekotofa was succeeded by his sister, Tu'i Tonga Fefine Nanasipau'u, who also restricted herself to the sacred duties of the office[94]. Indeed, her very selection as a replacement for the Tu'i Tonga suggests the degree to which the office had become a solely sacred affair for, as has been already mentioned (see Chapter Two), the complementarity of brother-sister rule rested on the divinity of the sister vis-a-vis her brother, and her command of the divine realm, while her brother ordered the secular world. Such a division applied even to the most divine sibling set. Despite the attempts of the Kauhalalalo to denigrate the Kauhala'uta and destroy their authority, it appears that their position as the embodiment of divinity, as well as society, persisted. Tu'i Tonga Fefine Nanasipau'u, herself, was quick to remind Mumui that 'it was from her he derived his dignity'[95]. Similarly, despite the many recorded slights and the existence of a more sacred being in Makamālohi, it is clear in the European accounts that although he accepted the Tu'i Kanokupolu as *hau*, Fuanunuiava was still held in great esteem and was regarded as a divine being. When Nanasipau'u died, it was a politically contained, although divine Fuanunuiava who succeeded her in the sacred duties of the Tu'i Tonga.

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93. Gifford 1923:81,127; see also Ko e Tohi Hohoko 'o e Hako 'o Tuituiohu:5; Bott 1982:36
94. Labillardière 1800:376; Vason 1810:77
95. Labillardière 1800:353

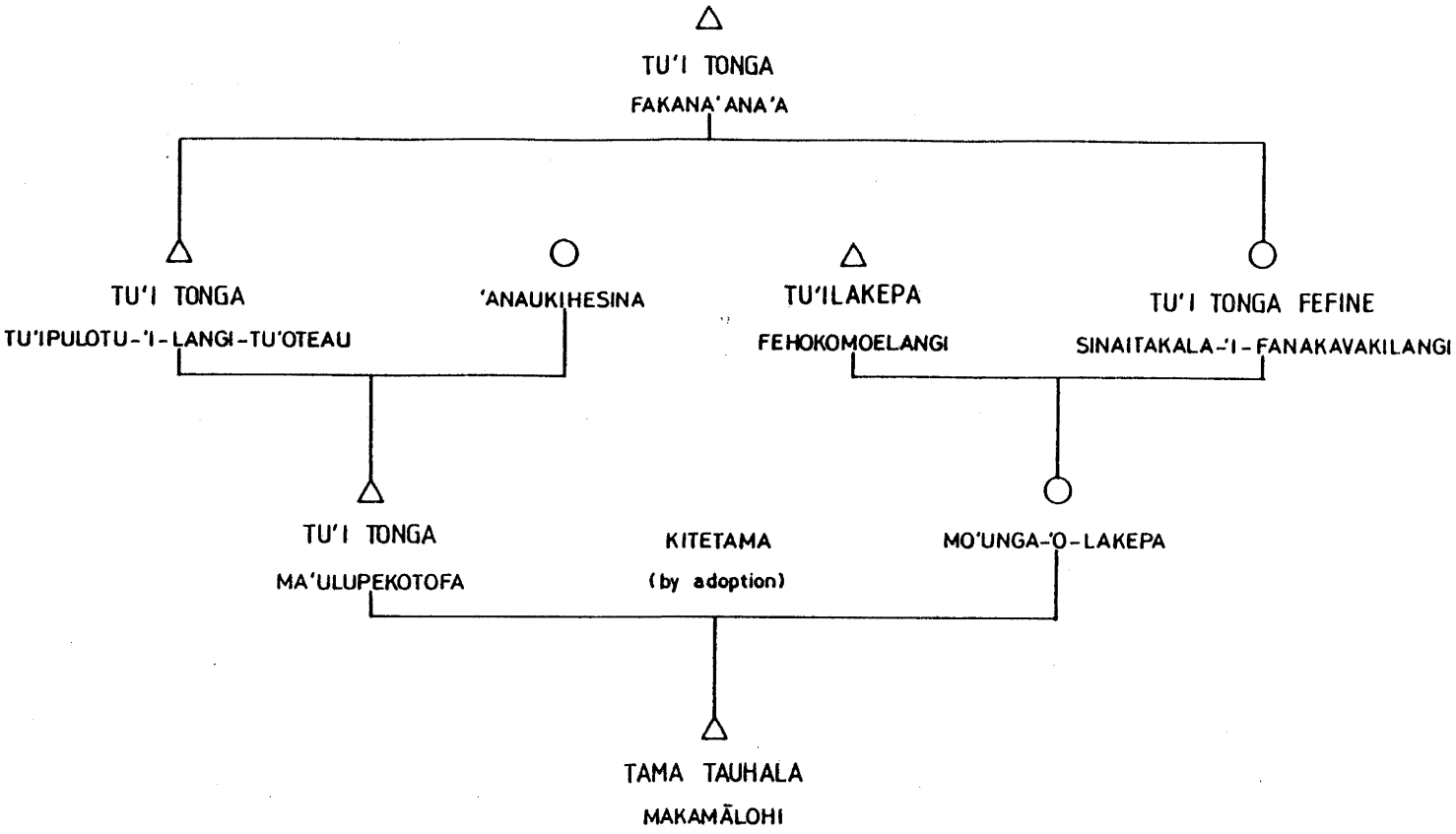

TU'I TONGA
FAKANA'ANA'A
TU'I TONGA
TU'IPULOTU-'I-LANGI-TU'OTEAU
'ANAUKIHESINA
TU'ILAKEPA
FEHOKOMOELANGI
TU'I TONGA FEFINE
SINAITAKALA-'I-FANAKAVAKILANGI
TU'I TONGA
MA'ULUPEKOTOFA
KITETAMA
(by adoption)
MO'UNGA-'O-LAKEPA
TAMA TAUHALA
MAKAMĀLOHI

FIGURE 5·4

CHAPTER 6

Dissension within the Kauhalalalo
and the Rise of the Ha'a Ngata Tupu

Ko ho uma pe, mo hoku uma. Ka vaivai mo hoku uma,
te tau pōpula. Pe ka malohi ho uma, mo hoku uma,
te tau tau'atāina.

Your shoulders and my shoulders. If your shoulders and my shoulders are weak, we will be as slaves, but if your shoulders and my shoulders are strong, then we will be free.

Tongan proverb concerning the prestige and burdens of a chief

The ambitions and political maneuvers of Tu'i Kanokupolu Mumui, and more importantly his son Tuku'aho, ensured that the reign of Fuanunuiava would be contained in a wholly sacred realm. The limit of his political power would be the *mana* and rank he could provide to more powerful individuals through marriage and progeny. Even in this capacity, Fuanunuiava was traditionally eclipsed by his higher ranking *tuofefine* (Tu'i Tonga Fefine) and her *'ilamutu* (Tamahā), not to mention the appearance of the Tama Tauhala whose exalted parentage meant that he was nothing short of divinity on earth. Not surprisingly, the reign of Tu'i Tonga Fuanunuiava also saw corresponding radical change in the secular leadership of Tonga. The dispute between the *tukui kāinga* of the senior sons of Ma'afu-'o-tu'itonga (Tupoulahi and Maealiuaki) and their *tehina*, Mumui, saw the eventual victory and elevation of Mumui to the Tu'i Kanokupolu title. The powerful *ngaahi ha'a* of the Kauhalalalo, thus, realized the opportunity for military and leadership skills to be sufficient criteria in order to achieve political prominence. It was, consequently, not long before the formerly cohesive Kauhalalalo challenged the very basis of the need for titles in order to rule and split into factions, each promoting their own ruling interests.

Tu'i Kanokupolu Mumui was in a poor state of health when the missionaries belonging to the London Missionary Society landed in Tonga in April 1797 and he died within three weeks of their arrival, apparently from complications of a condition known as *hangatāmaki*[1]. A fortnight after the burial of his body a *fakataha* ('assembly') was

1. Abscesses or 'acute inflamation' as a later missionary described it; Thomas, History (1879):180; Wilson 1799:236,240; Vason 1810:78

held among the chiefs of the Ha'a Ngata Motu'a and Ha'a Havea[2] to name a successor. Immediately a Hihifo chief stepped out and proclaimed *'Tupou Tuku'aho Tu'i Kanokupolu fa'iteliha kimautolu'* ('We will do as we please, Tuku'aho is Tu'i Kanokupolu')[3]. The proclamation did not surprise any of the chiefs present for Tuku'aho's history of aggressive actions which included the expulsion of his *tuofefine* Tupoumoheofo suggested that this was where his ambitions lay, however, many of the Ha'a Havea chiefs were angered by the high handed manner in which the claim was made[4].

Tuku'aho's lineage was not the most senior of the past Tu'i Kanokupolu titleholders nor of the Kauhalalalo. Mumui, father of Tuku'aho, recognized this fact and designated Mulikiha'amea, the son of Maealiuaki, as his successor[5]. Mumui was said to have had deep respect for tradition and to have chosen Mulikiha'amea because his father, Maealiuaki, was *ta'okete* ('elder brother') to Mumui (see Figure 6.1) and, thus, the title would return to the senior line. That Tuku'aho would deliberately disregard his father's succession choice was highly irregular, but understandable in terms of his own genealogical position which was so inferior to the other possible candidates that it would have been highly unlikely that he would have ever received the title if it succeeded exclusively along the lines of genealogical seniority.

However, Tuku'aho was strongly supported in his succession bid by the people of Hihifo. His mother was Lepolo, the daughter of Ata, the Tu'i Hihifo[6] (see Figure 6.1) which meant that Tuku'aho was *fahu* to Ata and, by extension, to all of Hihifo. The warrior (*to'a*) who so abruptly announced Tuku'aho's succession was from Hihifo and it is unlikely that Tuku'aho would have attempted to gain the title without their complete and active support and, indeed, many of his prior actions clearly promoted this result[7].

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2. The Ha'a Ngata Motu'a were the direct lineal descendants of Ngata, the first Tu'i Kanokupolu (see Chapter Four). The Ha'a Havea, also of the Kauhalalalo, were the descendants of the elder sons of Tu'i Kanokupolu Mataeletua'piko who established themselves in central Tongatapu. Mataeletua'piko's younger sons began the Ha'a Havea Si'i. Interview, 12 September 1985; Gifford 1929:135, 136, 139.

3. Vason 1810:80; Wilson 1799:249-250

4. Interview, 26 August 1985; Guitta, Histoire (2):63-65

5. Thomas, History (1879):181. Mulikiha'amea had been previously installed as Tu'i Kanokupolu title, but he abdicated in favour of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua title after considerable pressure was applied apparently from Mumui and Tuku'aho (see Chapter Five).

6. Tohi Hohoko collection, Nuku'alofa; see also Bott 1982:152, figure 30; Gifford, Genealogical Lists:97

7. It became customary for the chiefs Ata and Ve'ehala, as well as the other members of the Ha'a Ngata Motu'a to name the next Tu'i Kanokupolu, although it is not known when this practice began. Usually, it represented the consensus of the senior individuals of the Ha'a Ngata Motu'a and the Ha'a Havea but this was definitely not the case with the appointment of Tuku'aho. It may be that the tradition of the Ha'a Ngata Motu'a as chief electors, if not the designation of the Ha'a Ngata Motu'a itself, dates from this time. Vason 1810:79; Interview, 12 September 1985; see also Bott 1982:123.

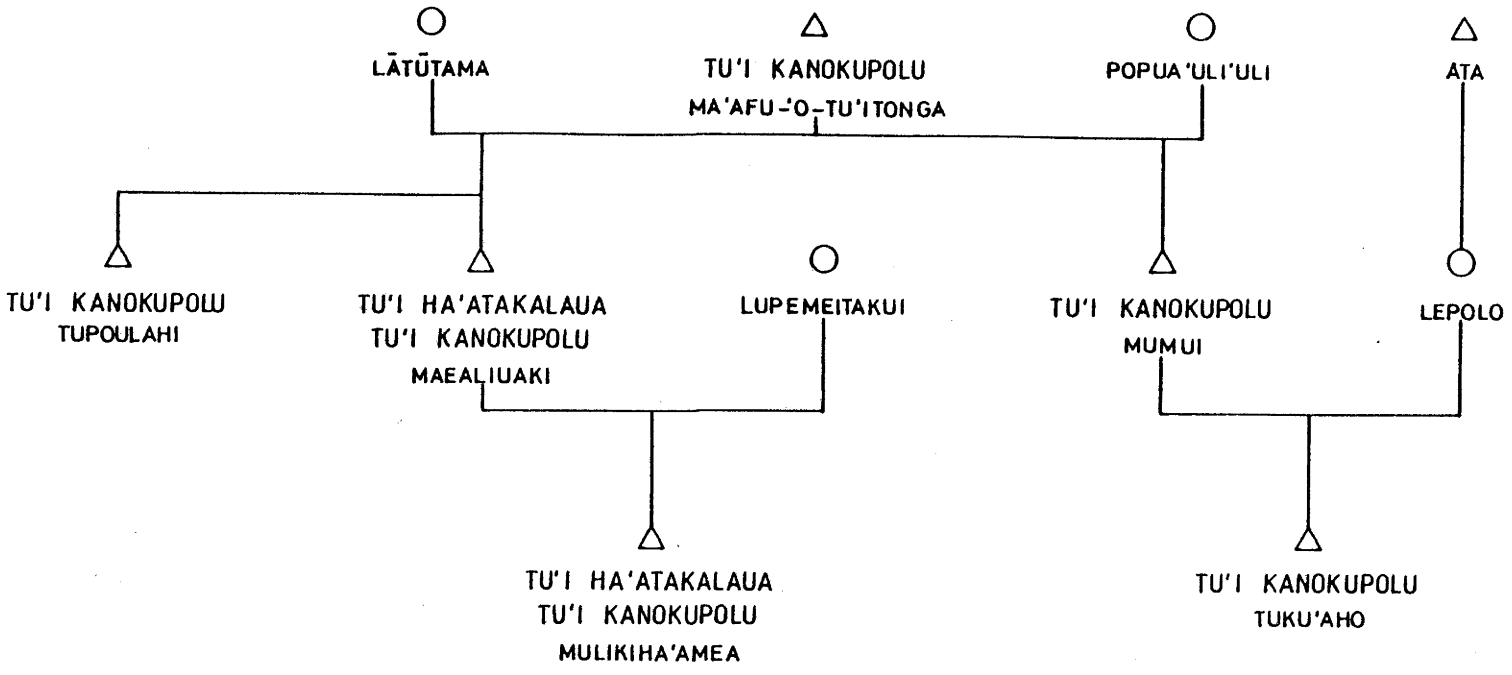

LĀTŪTAMA
TU'I KANOKUPOLU
MA'AFU-'O-TU'ITONGA
POPUA'ULI'ULI
ATA
TU'I KANOKUPOLU
TUPOULAHI
TU'I HA'ATAKALAUA
TU'I KANOKUPOLU
MAEALIUAKI
LUPEMEITAKUI
TU'I KANOKUPOLU
MUMUI
LEPOLO
TU'I HA'ATAKALAUA
TU'I KANOKUPOLU
MULIKIHA'AMEA
TU'I KANOKUPOLU
TUKU'AHO

FIGURE 6·1

It was because of the adamant stand of Ata that no one dared to disapprove of the selection, for he commanded many warriors and armed conflict with him could prove costly, although individuals from both the Kauhalalalo and the Kauhala'uta did not consider it a proper decision[8]. Improper or not, the decision was, at least nominally, accepted by all and Tuku'aho was installed as Tu'i Kanokupolu.

Although he was a strong leader, able to unify the Tongan islands, Tuku'aho was also perceived as an arbitrary and despotic ruler and was infamous for his sadistic domination of his subjects. He was said, among other deeds, to have ordered the amputation of the left arms of twelve of his cooks so that he could distinguish them from other men and on another occasion to have demanded that a woman be sawn in half while still alive as her punishment for not offering him the deference he desired[9] . While Tuku'aho undoubtedly displayed this kind of cruel behaviour throughout his life, as other Tongan chiefs did in varying degrees, it was considered incongruous with the supreme position of Tu'i Kanokupolu and greatly contributed to his unpopularity[10]. A contemporary European described him as 'a terror to the chiefs of all the islands, -- about forty years of age, of a sullen and morose countenance, and when angry, bellows forth like the roaring of a lion'[11].

The tyrannical rule of Tu'i Kanokupolu Tuku'aho was endured for two years before a feasible opportunity arose to remove him[12]. In April 1799 arrangements were made to remove to Tongatapu the body of a chief named Toafunaki from Vava'u where he had died two years before. Toafunaki was the son of Halaevalu, the sister of Tuku'aho, and is reported by some sources to have been appointed as Tu'i Ha'atakalaua[13]. As Toafunaki was his *'ilamutu* ('sister's child') and therefore *fahu* to him, Tuku'aho could not ignore his responsibilities in the rituals surrounding the re-interment of the body. In anticipation of Tuku'aho's position away from his usual security and routine, two chiefs, Fīnau 'Ulukālala-'i-Feletoa and Tupouniua planned their strategy.

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8. Guitta, Histoire (2):63-65; Vason 1810:79

9. Martin 1827 (1):80.

10. Martin 1827 (1):80; Anonymous, History:45-46,49-50; Blanc 1934:26; Lātūkefu 1974:13,15; Interview, 10 September 1985

11. Anonymous 1800:295

12. Many, if not most sources incorrectly identify the *'inasi* as the event which sparked off Tuku'aho's assassination (see, among others, Wood 1932:28; Lātūkefu 1974:15); Thomas, History (1879):177,191), however, states that it was Toafunaki's funeral. His claim is substantiated by Tongan oral tradition, as well as the month in which the assassination occurred (April) for while there is some controversy over when, or how many *'inasi* there were annually, all agree they were either in late June-early July or in October (Thomas, Papers:13-24; Beaglehole 1967-1969 (3):916-917; Martin 1827 (1):)201.

13. Thomas, History (1879):177,191; see also Campbell 1982:187. There is some confusion in the genealogies as to whether Halaevalu and Tuku'aho were full or half siblings; see Koe Tohi Hohoko 'eni 'a 'O.F. Veikune:35-42; Koe Tohi Hohoko 'a Sonatane Tupou:12-14; Gifford, Genealogical Lists:97-98; Bott 1982:152, figure 30.

Fīnau 'Ulukālala-'i-Feletoa and Tupouniua were *uho tau* brothers of a junior branch of the Kauhalalalo known as the Ha'a Ngata Tupu ('to grow or spring from the Ha'a Ngata'). Although Tuituiohu is identified as its progenitor, the Ha'a Ngata Tupu was not identified as a distinct political entity during his lifetime and may not have been until the independent rule of 'Ulukālala-'i-Feletoa[14]. Tuituiohu was the son of Tu'i Kanokupolu Mataeleha'amea and Talaumote'emoa (see Figure 6.2), a direct female descendant of the village of Nga'unoho on 'Utungake in Vava'u. This link with Nga'unoho was vital for Tuituiohu in establishing himself politically when he accompanied his father's elder brother Vuna, who became Tu'i, to Vava'u[15]. It also explains Tuituiohu's brief appointment to that position by Fusipala, his politically ambitious half-sister, whose designs on ruling all of Tonga included the consolidation of Vava'u through her lower-ranking *uho tau* (see Chapter Four).

It was probably after his father's aborted political career that Fīnau, the son of Tuituiohu and Tufui, a direct female descendant of the powerful Vava'u lineage of Tu'i'āfitu first went to Fiji. Once in Lau, he attached himself to Rasolo, the son of Niumataiwalu who eventually became the Tui Nayau and *sau* ('political ruler') of southern Lau. At the time Fīnau arrived, Rasolo was expanding his power base, Lauan tradition holds that Fīnau travelled with Rasolo to the island of Ono (see Map A) and fought alongside him as Rasolo avenged the death of his father who had been killed there some time before[16]. The ferocity with which Fīnau fought earned him and his famous war club the nickname of 'Ulunqala' or empty skull (*ulu* = 'head', *qa* = 'extremely', *lala* = 'empty') in tribute to his unmatched skill at clubbing individuals and smashing their skulls. The name stuck and was translated into Tongan as "Ulukālala' where it became a hereditary family name and eventually a title[17].

Although his *mana* as a great warrior (*to'a*) was known throughout the Tongan archipelago, Fīnau 'Ulukālala remained with Rasolo for a number of years before returning to Tonga. It is difficult to correlate the Fijian and Tongan chronologies precisely, although 'Ulukālala seems to have been present in Lau when Rasolo was named as *sau* of southern Lau. Members of the D'Entrecasteaux expedition met Fīnau in Tongatapu in 1793 and commented that the battle scars he had received in Fiji, as well as the *kalia* ('double canoe') he brought from Lau, were a great source of prestige for him[18]. After his return Fīnau 'Ulukālala resided in Tongatapu probably because he

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14. Interview, 12 September 1985; Interview, 21 September 1985

15. See, for example, Koe Tohi Hohoko 'a Afu-kaipo'uli (Hansen):22,76,194-195; Koe Tohi Hohoko 'o e Hako 'o Tuituiohu:1-2

16. Hocart, The Windward Islands:242

17. Hocart, The Windward Islands:242; Spillius (Bott), Discussions (1):n.p.; Deryck Scarr, personal communication; Fergus Clunie, personal communication

18. Labillardière 1800:334,356

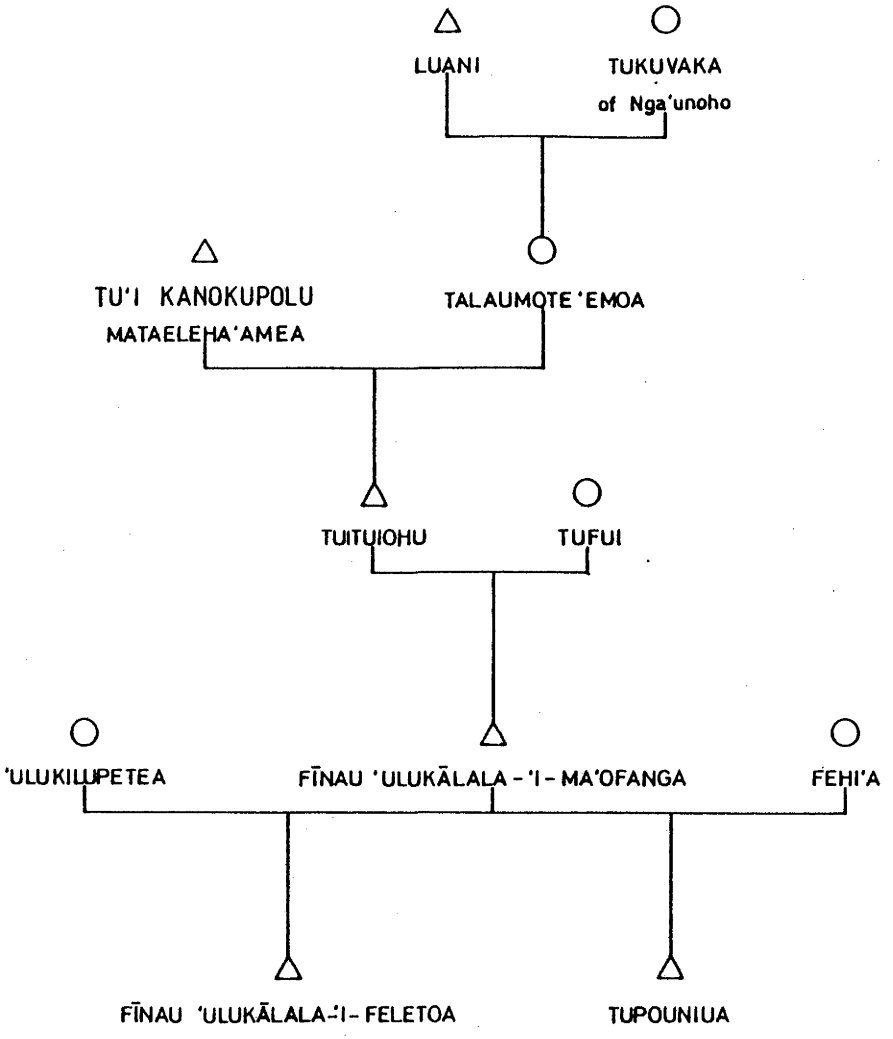

LUANI
TUKUVAKA
of Nga'unoho
TU'I KANOKUPOLU
MATAELEHA'AMEA
TALAUMOTE'EMOA
TUITUIOHU
TUFUI
'ULUKILUPETEA
FĪNAU 'ULUKĀLALA-'I-MA'OFANGA
FEHI'A
FĪNAU 'ULUKĀLALA-'I-FELETOA
TUPOUNIUA

FIGURE 6·2

wished to be near Tu'i Kanokupolu Mumui and, perhaps more significantly, because Vuna Tu'i'oetau was ruling Vava'u. 'Ulukālala was appointed Tu'i 'Eua by Mumui, but sent a *tehina* relative to rule in his place in order that he might remain at Tongatapu with the Tu'i Kanokupolu. His ambition seems to have been to be named as Tu'i Vava'u, a role which, in consideration of his mother's people and his father's previous encounter with the ruling title, he felt entitled to hold. It was, reportedly, the promise of being named as Tu'i Vava'u which led him to support Tuku'aho as Tu'i Kanokupolu upon Mumui's death. However, 'Ulukālala was misled for, although Tuku'aho desired 'Ulukālala's backing for his own political ends, he had no intention of removing Vuna Tu'i'oetau from his ruling position at Vava'u. Vuna was well-liked, of high rank and commanded a strong contingent of warriors -- conditions which could only spell disaster for the initiator of a replacement. Fīnau 'Ulukālala was said to have taken this disappointment to heart and died from a minor illness on 12 June 1797, not long after Tuku'aho's succession was announced[19].

The alleged cause of 'Ulukālala's death was said to have greatly angered two of his sons, Fīnau Fangupō, 'Ulukālala-'i-Ma'ofanga's son by 'Ulukilupetea, and Tupouniua whose mother was Fehi'a of Niuatoputapu (see Figure 6.2)[20]. Fīnau Fangupō, being the senior of 'Ulukālala-'i-Ma'ofanga's sons, was known as Fīnau 'Ulukālala after his father's death and, in history, as Fīnau 'Ulukālala-'i-Feletoa after his own demise. The anger and desire for revenge of the two *uho tau* was further fuelled by the prompting of Tupoumoheofo, the daughter of Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupoulahi whom Tuku'aho had forced into exile in Vava'u (see Chapter Five). She herself desired revenge against Tuku'aho and was apparently responsible for much of the animosity which was shown him at Vava'u, where she lived under the protection of Vuna Tu'i'oetau, the husband of two of her daughters[21]. 'Ulukālala and Tupouniua also had the support of most of the Kauhala'uta, including the Tamahā and Tu'i Tonga Fuanunuiava, and many of the Kauhalalalo chiefs, particularly the Ha'a Havea, favoured Tuku'aho's removal[22].

The perfect opportunity to carry out their plans came with the re-interment of the body of Toafunaki. As 'Ulukālala and Tupouniua were both of the Ha'a Ngata Tupu, their presence at the funeral would be expected and, in fact, Tuku'aho instructed them

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19. Anonymous, History:1,21; Thomas, History (1879):182

20. Interview, 30 August 1985; Tohi Hohoko 'o e Hako 'o Tuituiohu:1-2; Lātūkefu 1974:15

21. Novo y Colson 1885:275; Thomas, History (1879):266-268; Lātūkefu (1974:15) contends that Tupoumoheofo was living under the protection of the *kau* 'Ulukālala, but it appears that she lived at Neiafu with her daughters under the political control of Vuna Tu'i'oetau, the Tu'i Vava'u, while both *kau* 'Ulukālala (Ma'ofanga and Feletoa), as well as Tupouniua resided at Tongatapu at the time (Interview, 10 September 1985; Anonymous, History:45-46).

22. Anonymous, History:1 claims that it was actually Tupoumoheofo 'whose orders had to be obeyed' who actually issued the command for Tuku'aho's assassination. Certainly, she would have approved of the action.

to sail to Vava'u to escort the body back to Tongatapu. Following the burial and the accompanying ceremonies which took place at Mu'a, Fīnau 'Ulukālala and Tupouniua served Tuku'aho his *'ohomohe* ('late supper') at Langakali[23] where he was staying, as would be expected of *tehina* in such a situation. Thus, assured of the exact location where Tuku'aho would sleep, they retired for the evening, having given previous orders that all canoes, save their own, were to be quietly incapacitated. The would-be assassins returned to Tuku'aho in the middle of the night. While 'Ulukālala and his supporters remained outside the house ensuring that no one would impede the proceedings, Tupouniua crept inside the dwelling, and reportedly guided by the smell of Tuku'aho's uniquely scented coconut oil, he killed the Tu'i Kanokupolu by clubbing him. 'Ulukālala and his men entered the house and killed the rest of its occupants except for an adopted child of Tuku'aho's whom Tupouniua carried outside[24]. The assassins quickly left Mu'a and sailed for Niutoua, the easternmost point of Tongatapu, for they knew that retaliation would come from Hihifo in the West[25].

As anticipated, the reaction from Hihifo was swift in materializing as the supporters of Tuku'aho rallied around Mulikiha'amea[26]. By the next morning a small contingent from Hihifo met 'Ulukālala and Tupouniua and their supporters in an attempt to revenge Tuku'aho's death. The skirmish resulted in a quick and decisive victory for the assassins who then sailed for Ha'apai for reinforcements[27]. They returned within three days with warriors who were ferried in at least ten canoes. As a large canoe of the period could accommodate up to 300 individuals, Vason's estimate of 'a considerable number of men' should be read literally[28].

An event occurred after their return from Ha'apai which indicated the depth and nature of the conflict and predicted the ferocity with which it would be fought out. Mulikiha'amea, the rallying point of Tuku'aho's supporters, dissociated himself from the Hihifo people and openly united with 'Ulukālala and Tupouniua. It was then apparent

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23. Langakali is a bush with a sweet smelling flower. Its designation here may refer to an *'api* where the house Tuku'aho spent the night at was called or to a grove of the bushes at Mu'a which would provide a beautifully scented environment for a visiting dignitary (Sione Lātūkefu, personal communication).

24. See Martin 1827 (1):128 and Gifford (1929:89-90) for an account of the fate of the child and her significance as a rallying point for Tuku'aho's supporters.

25. The account of the assassination of Tuku'aho is well recorded in the literature; see, for example, Vason 1810:159-161; Martin 1827 (1):80-82; Wright, Papers:22-23.

26. Mulikiha'amea was the son of Tu'i Kanokupolu Maealiuaki who had been designated by Mumui as his successor to the Tu'i Kanokupolu title before Tuku'aho received it (see above).

27. Vason 1810:161-162; Thomas, History (1879):195-196. See also Martin 1827 (1):82, but note that Mariner, or his informant, compacts or confuses the details of subsequent battles with this first encounter. Vason (1810) and the other L.M.S. missionaries (1795/1802-1818) provide the most probable chronology of events as they were present during the proceedings and Vason took an active part in them.

28. Vason 1810:162; Anonymous 1804b:2

that he had been intimately involved in the assassination plot and that its ultimate goal was to name Mulikiha'amea as Tu'i Kanokupolu. It was also revealed that Tuku'aho's *uho tau* Tangata'olakepa assisted the assassins with a similar goal in mind[29]. Tempers and emotions ran high at the implications of Mulikiha'amea's and Tangata'olakepa's actions and the factional lines rapidly altered as many realigned themselves with the emerging sides. Tongatapu became, effectively, divided with Hahake, Mu'a and Ha'ateiho supporting 'Ulukālala, Tupouniua and Mulikiha'amea, while Hihifo defended the late Tu'i Kanokupolu's cause (see Map C). The coalition of Mulikiha'amea, 'Ulukālala and Tupouniua planned an attack on Hihifo while the enemy was still assessing the changed situation. Mulikiha'amea took charge of the land army (*tau 'uta*) while 'Ulukālala and Tupouniua allied themselves with Tu'ihalafatai who commanded the sea forces (*tau tahi*). Tu'ihalafatai, the man Captain Cook knew as Fīnau, had been in Fiji for several years where he was engaged as a warrior; he returned to Tonga just after the death of Tuku'aho. Like his *tuofefine*, Tupoumoheofo, he wholeheartedly supported the assassination and quickly sided with its instigators upon his return. His *mana* as a chief and warrior was great and his presence and the 200 warriors who reportedly came from Fiji with him were said to have substantially lifted the morale of the other warriors as they headed into battle[30].

The Hihifo people learned of the impending attack and were determined to reduce the numbers of the land forces before they reached Hihifo. One Hihifo chief named 'Ahome'e led a contingent to Te'ekiu, approximately 10 kilometers from Ha'ateiho (see Map C), where Mulikiha'amea and the *tau 'uta* had advanced to and were resting for the night. The Hihifo chiefs strategically divided their ranks with 'Ahome'e and his men attacking the front of Mulikiha'amea's party, while another contingent led by Ata concentrated further behind where it was surmised that Mulikiha'amea, himself, was situated. The Hihifo strategy proved, initially, sound for the advanced party of the *tau 'uta* was taken completely by surprise and panicked in the dawn attack[31]. Ata's warriors were thus able to accomplish their task and Mulikiha'amea, along with two of his wives and two of his sons, were clubbed to death.

The combined warriors of 'Ahome'e and Ata pursued the remnants of

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29. Koe Tohi Hohoko 'a Sonatane Tupou:9; Vason 1810:162; Gifford 1929:91

30. Martin 1827 (1):83; Collocott, King Taufa:133; Hocart, The Windward Islands:245-246; Blanc 1934:27. Thomas (History (1879):170,206), however, contends that Tu'ihalafatai was not present at the battle and that he was either already dead or living in Samoa at the time. His assertion that Tu'ihalafatai had died some time before 1799 is substantiated by other sources (see Edwards 1915:49,129; Pineda, Diario:177); although there is some confusion over the identity of these individuals as the visiting Europeans were asking about 'Fīnau' and it is not clear if they perceived the fact that he was more commonly referred to as Tu'ihalafatai in Tonga.

31. Vason (1810:166-172) was among this contingent and provides a vivid description of the chaos of the raid.

Mulikiha'amea's *tau 'uta* to Ha'ateiho (see Map C) where the L.M.S. missionaries resided. Believing that they were independent of the conflict and, hence, safe from the civil unrest, three of the missionaries and a European beachcomber who was staying with them came out of their house to watch the retreat. Their security, however, was imagined and the four Europeans were killed by the pursuing Hihifo warriors ostensibly goaded by one individual who sometime before was refused an axe by the missionaries when he requested it[32]. With 'Ahome'e's and Ata's men in hot pursuit Mulikiha'amea's warriors continued towards the beach where they met up with the *tau tahi* commanded by Tu'ihalafatai. Continuing the appearance of a retreat, 'Ulukālala enticed the Hihifo warriors into an ambush and killed and captured many. Tu'ihalafatai, 'Ulukālala and Tupouniua are all remembered for the great bravery, skill and stamina they displayed during the battle. Despite his glorious efforts, Tu'ihalafatai was killed during the fighting[33]. The few remaining Hihifo supporters quickly retreated. Among the prisoners taken was the chief Ata who, after much consultation, was released unharmed on the traditional grounds that he was closely related to his captor and, therefore, should not be executed or mistreated[34]. There were many similar instances of competing loyalties in Tonga at this time, although as the fighting escalated, they increasingly ended with execution rather than leniency.

Casualties were heavy for both sides during this first day of pitched battle and 'Ulukālala ordered the remaining warriors to sleep off the beach in their canoes for safety[35]. The tactic proved doubly advantageous, for in addition to protecting them from outright attack it also provided 'Ulukālala and Tupouniua with advance warning of a dawn raid, preparations for which had been sighted from the canoes. Therefore when the Hihifo people made their attack the next morning their intended victims were waiting for them. The battle which ensued, known as the battle of *toafa* ('tidal flats'), is remembered as one of the bloodiest in Tonga's history with great loss of life on both sides. It is also remembered for the unprecedented and ruthless result of European intervention in the fighting tradition of Tonga. Custom maintained that the *ngaahi fa'itoka* ('burial tombs') of great chiefs, like the buildings erected to the gods, were sanctuaries (*hūfanga'anga* or *loto'ālahi*) for individuals where no harm would be done to them. However, during the battle of *toafa*, George Vason, the renegade L.M.S. missionary, set fire to a *fa'itoka* on orders of 'Ulukālala who reasoned that since *kau*

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32. Vason 1810:169

33. Martin 1827 (1):83; Crosby, Papers:27

34. Interview, 11 September 1985

35. Vason 1810:163-165,172. The other L.M.S. missionaries (1795/1802-1818 (1):256-316) estimated the date as 29 May 1799; although Wood (1932:30-31; see also Blanc 1934:26-27; Anonymous, History:50; Gunson 1977:96,99) contends that it was 10 May 1799 which is more in keeping with the timetable established by the missionaries of an April assassination of Tuku'aho.

muli ('foreigners') were exempt from Tongan *tapu* there was no moral transgression in the act. As individuals fled the flames, they were immediately clubbed to death as they stepped outside the sacred grounds by 'Ulukālala and his supporters[36]. Despite their ruthless impiety or perhaps because of it, 'Ulukālala and his men claimed the victory at *toafa*.

After routing the Hihifoans, the victors began abusing and piling up the bodies of their dead enemies on the beach in a ritual known as *faka'ulu* or the presentation of the slain to the gods and chiefs after a significant battle[37]. In the midst of the *faka'ulu* several Hihifo warriors outraged at this abuse of their comrades and, perhaps more significantly, at the assumption that they were utterly defeated, rallied against 'Ulukālala, Tupouniua and their supporters, killing many and driving the rest to sea in their canoes. The victors, suddenly turned victims, beat a hasty retreat to the island of 'Atatā. The island had been recently inhabited by supporters of Hihifo who were trying to escape the battles on Tongatapu. When they relaized that it was 'Ulukālala and his supporters who were coming to the island, the inhabitants hid in a cave, hoping to avoid the newcomers. Their attempt was not successful and the inhabitants of 'Atatā were smoked to death in the cave[38]. 'Ulukālala, Tupouniua and their supporters were forced to remain at'Atatā for several days by a violent gale and high seas.

When the storm subsided the warriors returned to Mu'a where a great council of chiefs who were opposed to the Hihifo contingent was held. Fīn au 'Ulukālala-'i-Feletoa was recognized as the military leader of the coalition which included the Tu'i Tonga, Tu'iha'ateiho and the Tamahā, and strategies were planned to bring about the fall of Hihifo. Following the deaths of the two senior Ha'a Ngata chiefs, Tu'ihalafatai and Mulikiha'amea, 'Ulukālala was the obvious choice, for he had great *mana* as a *to'a* and was increasingly proving himself as a capable leader. It was decided to attack Hihifo immediately, for the enemy's numbers were greatly reduced as many Hihifo supporters, disgusted at the great waste and loss of life of recent times, had deserted the conflict and sought refuge at Ma'ofanga[39]. With Hihifo morale so low, 'Ulukālala and his supporters realized that it was an opportune time to force the submission of the entire island. The assault on Hihifo lasted three hours and victory was decisively 'Ulukālala's. Immediately following the battle, 'Ulukālala gave orders that certain chiefs of the opposition were to be captured and taken to the small Ha'apai islands of Fonuaika and

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36. Vason 1810:173; Interview, 10 September 1985

37. Interview, 26 August 1985; see also Blanc 1934:13-14. Vason (1810:173) records that cannibalism was part of the abuse inflicted upon the dead which would have been in keeping with the consumption of the enemy's *mana*.

38. Sione Lātūkefu, personal communication

39. Ma'ofanga was an area of sanctuary on the north coast of Tongatapu which belonged to the god Tu'i Ha'a Fakafanua.

Luangahu as hostages. The refugees present at Ma'ofanga were told to return peacefully to their homes if they wished to remain unharmed[40].

With aspirations to be *hau* of the entire Tongan archipelago 'Ulukālala refrained from appointing a ruler at Tongatapu and, instead, left Veahahake, a *tehina* relative, as his representative while he sailed north with a large party of warriors. His suspicions of growing opposition to his rule in Ha'apai proved well grounded and he found Tupoumālohi, the *uho tau* of Tuku'aho, gathering support for his own claim to the now vacant title of Tu'i Kanokupolu by agitating the people of Ha'apai against 'Ulukālala. After battles fought on both Nomuka and Hā'ano (see Map D) were decisively won by 'Ulukālala, Tupoumālohi and his supporters quickly departed for Fiji leaving 'Ulukālala to be recognized as the undisputed Tu'i Ha'apai. As 'Ulukālala's mother, 'Ulukilupetea, was from Ha'apai with strong connections in Ha'afeva and 'Uiha, his rule was not unsupported by the entire island group[41].

Vava'u, however, was not as willing to submit to the authority of 'Ulukālala even though he also had kin ties there. His father's mother was a direct female descendant of the locally powerful Tu'i'āfitu line, but as it was a paternal rather than maternal connection the tie was not as strong and it was more difficult for 'Ulukālala to mobilize active support[42]. The Tu'i Vava'u at this time was Vuna Tu'i'oetau and he shrewdly recognized the disadvantages of openly contesting 'Ulukālala and his warriors. It also seems that 'Ulukālala wished to avoid direct confrontation with Vuna for although they were not directly related, Vuna Tu'i'oetau had been married to 'Ulukilupetea, 'Ulukālala's mother, therefore their son Vuna Takitakimalohi was, *uho taha* to 'Ulukālala-'i-Feletoa[43]. Rather than open conflict, Tu'i Vava'u Vuna instigated secret attacks and raids on 'Ulukālala and his supporters, while publicly entertaining them as visiting dignitaries. His intention appears to have been to undermine 'Ulukālala's ambitions by constantly reminding him of Vava'u's resistance to his rule[44].

After a fortnight of this kind of guerrilla warfare, it became apparent to Vuna that 'Ulukālala would not relent and rather than confront his superior forces, Vuna left Vava'u to him on the pretext of visiting relatives in Samoa. Interestingly,

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40. Vason 1810:177-178; Anonymous, History:2-4

41. Tohi Hohoko 'o e Tuituiohu:1; Thomas, History (1879):204-205; Martin 1827 (1):84

42. Tohi Hohoko 'o e Hako 'o Tuituiohu:1; Gifford, Genealogical Lists:295; Interview, 27 August 1985

43. Tohi Hohoko 'o e Hako 'o Tuituiohu:1; Ko e Konga Tohi 'a Afuha'amango:9; Koe Tohi Hohoko 'a Sepiuta Hala'api'api:22; Thomas, History (1879):210

44. Martin 1827 (1):86-87; Interview, 26 August 1985

Moengangongo, 'Ulukālala's son, chose to accompany Vuna to Samoa[45]. Thus satisfied with their (at least momentary) political domination of Tonga, 'Ulukālala and his men entertained themselves for over a month with lavish feasts and dances at Vava'u. It is a time which the Vava'uans cuttingly refer to as the *''ae tau kai puaka'* ('war of eating pigs')[46].

'Ulukālala appointed Tupouniua as his representative in Vava'u, satisfied that his *uho tau* would rule strongly but still remain tributary to him[47], thereby insuring 'Ulukālala's control of Vava'u without directly affronting Vuna. Content with the state of affairs at Vava'u, 'Ulukālala returned to Ha'apai to contemplate the consolidation of his rule of Tongatapu for there were clear indications that some of the Tongatapu chiefs were waiting for an opportunity to rebel against his authority. It was not perceived as an excessively oppressive rule, as Tuku'aho's reign had been, but some of the Tongatapu chiefs feared that 'Ulukālala intended to have himself appointed as Tu'i Kanokupolu and this was an act that they would not countenance. So they sent 'Ulukālala a message which clearly stated their intent: 'that as they had always been their own masters, they would rather die than be subject to him as slaves'[48].

The opportunity for armed revolt was not long in occurring. When 'Ulukālala arrived in Ha'apai he found that his mother, 'Ulukilupetea, was dying and so, he sent several armed canoes to Tongatapu in order to procure provisions for the impending funeral. The action was provocative for it effectively emphasized the Tongatapu chiefs' inferiority to 'Ulukālala. Vaha'i, a powerful chief of Fo'ui, was greatly offended by the command and was determined to end 'Ulukālala's authority on Tongatapu. Under the guise of building a new house, he ordered the *fototehina* of the Ha'a Ngata Motu'a to cut wood, but rather than being destined for a grand *fale*, the wood was used to fashion new weapons and to fortify Hihifo. In addition, the Ha'a Ngata Motu'a and Ha'a Havea chiefs held council and appointed Ma'afu-'o-limuloa of the Ha'a Havea as Tu'i Kanokupolu[49]. After these preparations were completed, Vaha'i led a brutal attack on all the districts of Tongatapu which had supported 'Ulukālala in the past. His sweeping raid is known in Tonga as 'Tau Fakalangovaka' ('The battle avenging defeat') and 'Tau

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45. Interview, 26 August 1985; Interview, 6 September 1985; Martin 1827 (1):87,140-141. Vason (1810:177-178) contends that Vava'u offered no resistance to 'Ulukālala, but this appears to be Vason's misunderstanding of the subtlety of the political situation for Tongan sources definitely recorded a difference of interest. Blanc (1934:28), on the other hand, reports that Vuna was defeated by 'Ulukālala in battle; although local tradition maintains that there was no 'battle' *per se*, only sporadic guerrilla-style raids.

46. Interview, 26 August 1985; Thomas, History (1879):210

47. Martin 1827 (1):87

48. Vason 1810:183

49. Ma'afu-'o-limuloa was the son of Mailelaumoto and Kaufusi and his greatest claim to the title appears to have been the support of the powerful Pea chief Tākai (Tohi Hohoko 'a Fielakepa (Tongalivaki):61, 130); Interview, 8 July 1985

Fakalelemoa' ('The battle of chasing fowl') for the victims were unaware of the impending violence and fled before the warriors like chickens disturbed from their roosts[50]. Vason, who was an eye witness to the event, described it with horror as he 'saw at a distance the smoke ascending from the burning failees ['*otu*[51] *fale*], or cottages, that were scattered about the country, and discerned clouds of dust rising as from the feet of running multitudes'[52]. The victims were relentlessly pursued to Hahake where, at Poha, a great massacre occurred, the bodies being piled high and left as an expression of their contempt for 'Ulukālala and his ambitions. The great slaughter is remembered as '*Koe tunu 'a Vaha'i*' ('The roast of Vaha'i') and '*maka pitoi tangata*' ('stuffing a man as a pig to cook') for the bodies were piled as if they were ready for the '*umu* ('earth oven')[53].

'Ulukālala and his Tongatapu allies were outraged at Vaha'i's actions, especially at the appointment of Ma'afu-'o-limuloa as Tu'i Kanokupolu. Ma'afu-'o-limuloa did not, however, occupy the title for long, since it seems he was assassinated one day after his installation; it may have actually been the Ha'a Ngata Motu'a people who killed Ma'afu-'o-limuloa[54]. Although their precise motives remain unclear, it may be that they felt compelled by the powerful Tākai to support his nomination, but also wished to demonstrate their general opposition to him and the Ha'a Havea in a less direct manner.

As soon as 'Ulukālala arrived from Ha'apai an attack was launched against Hihifo by the combined forces of his supporters and the people of Ma'ofanga, Ha'ateiho, Mu'a and all of Hahake. Vaha'i's fortifications, however, proved strong and despite a pitched battle which saw many people, including Tu'iha'ateiho Haveatungua, either killed or mortally wounded, neither side was able to defeat the other decisively[55]. In the end, 'Ulukālala left for Ha'apai in absolute disgust and frustration. He took Tu'i Tonga Fuanunuiava who appears to have been living under 'Ulukālala's protection with him and swore a yearly assault of revenge (*tau tatango*) on Hihifo for having refused his authority. In addition, he is reported to have ordered the death of the hostages which were sent to Fonuaika and Luangahu in Ha'apai and to have installed on Tongatapu one or two large pigs as Tu'i Kanokupolu with *tehina* relatives of his as speakers in order to

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50. Interview, 24 August 1985; Thomas, History (1879):216; Collocott 1928:91-92; Gifford 1929:90-91

51. '*Otu*' is a marker of plurality in the Tongan language.

52. Vason 1810:186

53. Interview, 18 July 1985; Sione Lātūkefu, personal communication

54. Interview, 11 September 1985; Anonymous, History:45,50; Colwell 1978:73.

55. Vason 1810:187-189; Anonymous, History:45. Some sources (see Collocott 1928:92; Colwell 1978:73) contend that 'Ulukālala and his forces were routed by Vaha'i and his supporters, but, in consideration of subsequent events, this does not appear to have been the case. 'Ulukālala's 'defeat' appears to have been his inability to contain Vaha'i and the Ha'a Ngata Motu'a and Ha'a Havea which would have forced the submission of all of Tongatapu, rather than an outright military loss at the hands of Vaha'i (see, among others, Lātūkefu 1974:18).

demonstrate his contempt for Vaha'i, the Ha'a Ngata Motu'a and Ha'a Havea and their insolence in attempting to appoint another Tu'i Kanokupolu. 'Ulukālala thus became known in Tongatapu as '*puaka inu vai*' ('the pig who drinks water') referring to his habit of descending upon the island by canoe, while the pigs were called '*kai mamahi*' ('angry food')[56].

The time of *tau tatango* was one of wide and general destruction and disorder at Tongatapu. Throughout the year, in scattered single attacks, 'Ulukālala would send up to 250 warriors at a time to Hihifo where they would kill as many of the enemy as they could find and destroy all property that they came upon, especially gardens, before quickly retreating to Ha'apai. 'Ulukālala was said to have even used the annual *'inasi* ceremony as a cover for mounting a raid[57]. In addition to these ambushes, intense factional fighting developed within the Kauhalalalo of Tongatapu between Vaha'i of Fo'ui, Tākai of Pea, Vea of Houma, Valu of 'Utulau and Ata of Kolovai as each vied to be recognized as *'ulu* and, thus, gain ruling control of Hihifo and Vahe Loto[58].

A tangential result of the incessant fighting was that virtually all agricultural activity stopped on Tongatapu and the people suffered from a severe famine. Fearing that their crops would be destroyed by raids just before harvest or, worse still, that they would be ambushed while tending their gardens, people could not be induced to plant. As the situation worsened, the *kau tu'a* and *kau mu'a* became increasingly disgruntled with the ruling chiefs whom they felt should put away their differences for the good of the archipelago. As one individual poignantly summarized, it was 'as though they [the chiefs] ate the war as food'[59]. To add to their misery an epidemic of *ngangau* ('pain in the head'), apparently brought from Fiji, raged through the islands, further devastating the population[60].

Compounding the violence of political unrest was the growing Tongan contact with Europeans ('*kau papālangi*') many of whom remained at the archipelago for many years. Prior to 1800, ships calling in at Tonga were relatively few and far between, but they dramatically increased after the turn of the century due to a vigorous whaling industry as well as numerous trading vessels and privateers which came to the islands after the establishment of the convict settlement in Australia[61].

The Tongan elite, especially those at the centre of the political turmoil, found it

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56. Thomas, History (1879):205,217,225; Collocott, King Taufa:154; Anonymous, History:2
57. Thomas, History (n.d.):13
58. Martin 1827:(1):87; Interview, 11 September 1985; Wood 1932:33
59. Hau in Gifford 1929:209; Interview, 6 September 1985
60. McArthur 1967:71
61. See Langdon 1977:40-62; Gunson 1977:90-113; Langdon 1978:71-73; 1979:146-151; 1984:234-241; Spennemann 1986b for information concerning ships which visited Tonga at this time.

increasingly expedient to have several *kau papālan gi* living in their courtly entourages. The Tongans soon realized the limitations of the erratic European muskets of the time, but they did appreciate the value of cannon when they became available, especially in their attacks on the fortresses. The cannon, with a few *kau papālangi* to fire them or, at least, to appear with them in battle, became the fashion of the factional chiefs[62]. In addition, a resident European would automatically ensure communication and trade with the European ships which visited Tonga, thereby maintaining or even promoting that chief's control over access to foreign goods and services[63]. Thirdly, most of the *kau papālangi* who remained any length of time in Tonga seemed to have had at least a rudimentary knowledge of working with metal which was gainfully employed by the Tongans not only for repairing European weapons, but also for servicing and making metal tools which greatly increased the production of traditional Tongan weaponry[64]. Another contribution that a European could make towards Tongan warfare was his exemption, as a *muli* ('foreigner'), from the *tapu* which surrounded the Tongans. As previously mentioned, this could have a profound effect on the outcome of a conflict when applied, for example, to the violation of a traditional political refuge[65]. Finally, the effect these foreigners had on the overall reputation of the chief cannot be lightly dismissed, for it is apparent that the very presence of the *kau muli* was desirable, even if they offered no practical service to their chief. Apparently, the ability to attract foreigners was considered, to an extent, as a physical attribute of *mana*; the greater an individual's *mana*, the more *kau muli* he or she could attract.

As the Tongans grew to value the presence of the *kau papālangi* they developed strategies in order to increase their numbers in the islands. They encouraged dissatisfied sailors to leave their ships and occasionally detained those on shore leave with persuasive promises or false stories of abandonment[66]. Another method which proved popular and effective was the taking of boats or the sacking of ships, especially those with small crews who, after witnessing the death of their captains and some of their fellow crew members, were usually persuaded to join the entourage of the assailing chief. Early in the nineteenth century several ships were victims of this practice including the *Duke of Portland* (1802), *Active*, *Union of America* (1804) and *Port au Prince* (1806). Later

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62. The first usuable cannons reached the Tongans with the sacking of the *Port au Prince* in 1806, see below. Martin 1827 (1):96-99,163-4; Wright, Papers:49-86

63. Wright, Papers:15,45-48; Vason 1810:203, Martin 1827 (2):66-68

64. Wilson 1799:232; Martin 1827 (2):24; Orlebar 1976:70; Blanc 1934:30-31

65. Vason 1810:173 and see also Martin 1827 (2):24. Foreigners, usually Samoans or Fijians, often became the *matāpule* ('chiefly attendant') of a chief or were certainly employed in *tapu* ridden activities such as barbering, mortuary rites and were even given the precarious assignment of assassinating a Tu'i Tonga because of their personal exemption from the *tapu*. This applied to all foreigners, not just *kau papālangi*.

66. Wright, Papers:45-48, 59, 61; Novo y Colson 1885:269; Orlebar 1976:52

seizures included the *Ceres* (1820), *Supply* (1822), *Sarah* (1823), *Rambler* (1824), *Elizabeth* (1827) and *Snapper* (1832)[67].

'Ulukālala's raids on Tongatapu continued in a sporadic and vexatious fashion for the next six years. The Tongatapu chiefs persisted in their resistance to his attempts to undermine their authority while the factional fighting between and within the *ngaahi ha'a* of the Kauhalalalo intensified. Unfortunately the deaths from raids, famine and disease also increased because virtual anarchy prevailed at Tongatapu. The majority of the island's population sought protection either with distant *kāinga* at another island if it were possible, or in the increasing number of fortresses[68] One European report of 1804 indicated that in times of severe hardship or fierce fighting many of the common people sought refuge by hiding in the caves along the *liku* (weather) coast[69].

The 1806 capture of the privateer *Port au Prince* provided 'Ulukālala with several usable cannonades, a supply of ammunition and individuals who knew how to fire them effectively. This new-found advantage induced 'Ulukālala to escalate his attacks on Tongatapu with renewed hopes of the submission of the island[70] . His first target was the fortress at Nuku'alofa. Built on Tongatapu's only true hill, it was reputed to be the strongest of the twelve or thirteen fortifications on the island at that time. Recently returned from self-imposed exile in Fiji (see above), Tupoumālohi, the son of Mumui and *uho tau* of Tuku'aho, was installed by the Ha'a Ngata Motu'a as Tu'i Kanokupolu, and he took control of Nuku'alofa. The Tu'i Kanokupolu title was not, however, highly regarded, since the other Kauhalalalo chiefs refused to relinquish their independence to him and its authority was limited solely to Nuku'alofa[71].

Fīnau 'Ulukālala and his warriors sailed with 170 canoes from Vava'u and Ha'apai to the small island of Pangaimotu just off the coast of Tongatapu and very near to Nuku'alofa (see Map C). They waited there overnight and after entreating the gods and deceased chiefs for a swift and complete victory[72] launched the attack. Approximately 350 people were killed and the fort was quickly taken as the people at Nuku'alofa were inexperienced with cannon fire and underestimated its potential[73]. The sixteen

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67. Guitta, Histoire (2):84, Martin 1827 (1):60-64; Anonymous 1804a:3; Anonymous 1804c:3; Waldegrave, Report:70; Peter Turner, Journal:128-135; Thomas, Papers:25; Lawry, Diary:73; see also Orlebar 1976:57-59; Dalton, Journal:21- 22 November 1824

68. Martin 1827 (1):87,94,199,279; Watkin, Journal:54-55; Thomas, Papers:82-83; Crosby, Papers:26 October 1835

69. Anonymous 1804b:2

70. Martin 1827 (1):88-89; Anonymous, History:7-8

71. Interview, 12 August 1985; Martin 1827 (1):94; Anonymous, History:7-9

72. Among those petitioned was Fīnau's late father, Fīnau 'Ulukālala-'i-Ma'ofanga. 'Ulukālala, however, admitted that he only entreated the spirits of illustrious deceased *kau toa* because it boosted the morale of his warriors. Martin 1827 (1):93,338; Interview, 12 August 1985

73. Mariner who was present at the attack provides a vivid description of it (Martin 1827 (1):96-99).

Europeans who fought for 'Ulukālala urged him to continue the campaign against the other fortresses on Tongatapu. 'Ulukālala, however, retired to Pangaimotu to reflect upon the implications of the European artillery on warfare. Not normally characterised as a pious man[74], he nonetheless consulted a priest in a state of divine inspiration for the god's advice and was told that no more attacks should be launched at the present time. 'Ulukālala then ordered the rebuilding of the fortress at Nuku'alofa and decided to return to Ha'apai leaving Tākai, chief of Pea, who had recently allied himself with 'Ulukālala in control. The alliance was, however, merely a ruse for no sooner had 'Ulukālala sailed for Ha'apai, than Tākai ordered the Nuku'alofa fortress to be burned to the ground as a demonstration to Fīnau that Tongatapu would never submit to his rule.

Although greatly angered by Tākai's deception, 'Ulukālala made no move to mount a counter attack. He appeared, on the one hand, to have resigned himself to the futility of ruling Tongatapu without powerful local support and, on the other, the marriage of his daughter at Ha'apai momentarily diverted his attention to political ambitions of a different kind[75]. There is some confusion in the literature over the identity of the marriage partners, owing to Mariner's omission of personal names. 'Ulukālala took full advantage of his protector role of the Kauhala'uta by arranging several strategic marriages between the *tukui kāinga*. Most of the marriages were of Ha'a Ngata Tupu women to Kauhala'uta men, especially the siblings of Tu'i Tonga Paulaho and Tu'i Tonga Fuanunuiava; although two daughters of 'Ulukālala married into the *hou 'eiki* of the Kauhala'uta[76]. Popua, his daughter by a junior wife, married Tu'i Tonga Fuanunuiava, but it seems improbable that the elaborate ceremony performed at Ha'apai was for her as she was neither of very high rank nor was she *moheofo*. It also seems highly unlikely that a son of hers would have much chance of succession to the Tu'i Tonga title for Laufilitonga, the son of Fuanunuiava and *moheofo* Tupouveiongo, the daughter of Tu'i Kanokupolu Mumui, was born in July 1797 and was regarded as heir[77]. There is no question, however, that Popua's marriage to the Tu'i Tonga would bring rank and prestige to the Ha'a Ngata Tupu. Rather it seems the marriage described by Mariner was that of Halaevalumoheofo, the daughter of

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74. Martin 1827 (1):93-94,99-100,338

75. Martin 1827 (1):121-124; Anonymous, History:6-10

76. See Spillius (Bott, Papers, Box 10 Folder 1) who catalogues the marriages of the 'Ulukālala women; Koe Tohi Hohoko 'o e Hako 'o Tuituiohu:5-7; Ko e Tohi Hohoko 'eni 'a 'O.F. Veikune:58,78,80

77. Wilson 1799:264; Gifford, Genealogical Lists:6. Although even at his birth it was debated whether he would actually be able to ascend to the title.

'Ulukālala by his *mā'itaki* Lapulou who was herself a great *'eiki*[78], to Tama Tauhala Makamālohi. Halaevalumoheofo was presented to the Tama Tauhala as a *moheofo* was to a Tu'i Tonga and some sources mistakenly claim that she, in fact, married a Tu'i Tonga[79]. The Tohi Hohoko, however, are in agreement that her husband was the Tama Tauhala[80] and the mistaken identity may be partly due to Makamālohi's unsuccessful attempt to supersede, by virtue of his more exalted rank, the Tu'i Tonga (see Chapter Five). 'Ulukālala, certainly, regarded his daughter as a *moheofo* and, perhaps, he envisaged the dawning of a new political dynasty with the Ha'a Ngata Tupu as Ha'a Moheofo. In any event, it seems probable the 'Ulukālala would not wish to postpone such an auspicious marriage to launch an attack of revenge on Tākai and Tongatapu.

Another event of equal political significance which kept 'Ulukālala away from Tongatapu was the plan of Tupouto'a, the son of Tuku'aho, to assassinate Tupouniua and thereby avenge his father's death[81]. While 'Ulukālala feigned uneasiness over his suggestion, it was evident to those present that he was eager to remove Tupouniua from the political arena to improve his own situation[82]. 'Ulukālala's strategies rested on two points. First and foremost, Tupouniua was becoming increasingly independent in Vava'u and there were indications that he would break off his tributary relationship to 'Ulukālala at the first opportune moment[83]. Secondly, as Tupouniua was the actual assassin of Tuku'aho, most of the animosity and schemes of revenge were directed towards him. If he was, in turn, assassinated by a son of Tuku'aho, the Ha'a Ngata Motu'a chiefs might feel satiated and reconsider 'Ulukālala's attempts at political consolidation. Neither situation was advantageous to 'Ulukālala's authority and Tupouniua's removal by a third party would have suited him well. While Tupouniua was present at Ha'apai for the marriage of Halaevalumoheofo and Tama Tauhala Makamālohi, Tupouto'a carried out his plan. 'Ulukālala responded with a very weak

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78. Her mother was Siumafua'uta, the *tuofefine* of Tu'i Tonga Paulaho, some people claim she was Tu'i Tonga Fefine (see Gunson 1987b:160-161 Table V), whether she held that title or not, Lapulou was *'ilamutu* (sister's child) to a Tu'i Tonga. Her father was Tongamana, the son of Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupoulahi. Koe Tohi Hohoko 'a Sepiuta Hala'api'api:201; Koe Tohi Hohoko 'a Losaline Fatafehi:n.p.

79. Gifford 1929:246; Blanc 1934:30-31; Lātūkefu 1974:21

80. Tohi Hohoko collection, Nuku'alofa; see also Gifford, Genealogical Lists:167

81. There is some confusion over the identity of Tupouto'a's mother. Most *hohoko* assert that she was 'Ulukilupetea which would have made Tupouto'a *uho taha* with 'Ulukālala (see, among others, Tohi Hohoko Losaline Fatafehi:n.p.; Koe Tohi 'a 'ene 'afio Ko Kuini Sālote Tupou:53). Mariner (1827 (1):125), however, maintains that Tupouto'a's mother was 'one of that king's [Tuku'aho's] female attendants' which would definitely not be referring to 'Ulukilupetea; see also Thomas, History (1879):90-92. It has been suggested (Interview, 11 September 1985; Interview, 15 January 1987; see also Helu 1987) that the identity of Tupouto'a's mother may have been altered in the *hohoko* so as to provide his son, Tāufa'āhau who became the first King of Tonga, with a more illustrious heritage.

82. Martin 1827 (1):126

83. Vason 1810:193, 196; Martin 1827 (1):126

attempt at protecting Tupouniua and after the assassination, he continued to plead innocence by ostensibly demonstrating great remorse at the outcome of events[84].

'Ulukālala's feeble pretense fooled no one, least of all the people of Vava'u who held Tupouniua in great esteem[85]. His popularity there was widespread because he ruled with only the interests of Vava'u in mind and also sought to lessen its tributary burdens to 'Ulukālala and the Kauhala'uta. In addition, Tu'i Kanokupolu Tuku'aho had been perceived as an usurping tyrant by many Vava'uans and so his assassination was seen as a truly courageous and magnanimous act with the *mana* of Tupouniua greatly appreciating for having initiated it. Tupouniua's body was buried at 'Uiha and 'Ulukālala ordered the supporters of his *uho tau* to return to Vava'u which he now placed under the rule of Toe'umu, his *mehekitanga* ('father's sister')[86]. However, Toe'umu was also *mehekitanga* to Tupouniua (see Figure 6.3) and she vehemently disapproved of 'Ulukālala's complicity in his death. A death which was increasingly perceived as a result of 'Ulukālala's compulsive ambition to rule all of Tonga[87]. Therefore, upon her return to Vava'u Toe'umu ordered a large fortress to be built at Feletoa in order to resist the rule of 'Ulukālala.

Allegiances were inevitably divided in this conflict which was concerned with both the nature of rule (*pule*) in the archipelago and the deeper issues of respect (*faka'apa'apa*) and loyalty (*'ofa*) to one's personal and political superiors. In addition, many individuals who were normally staunch supporters of 'Ulukālala were compelled to uphold the principles expressed by Toe'umu's stand, while others who joined the Vava'u revolt did so because of long-standing disputes and old rivalries with 'Ulukālala. Toe'umu was openly supported by many of the chiefs of Vava'u including Tupouniua's adopted son Hala'api'api, Fulivai, Pupunu, Naufahu, Mate'ita, Makapapa, Loloheapipiki and Fīnau Fisi[88]. Fīnau Fisi whose *mana* as a warrior (*to'a*) was renowned was *uho tau* (see Figure 6.3) of 'Ulukālala and Tupouniua and his unequivocal support of Toe'umu was said to have strengthened the resolve of others at Vava'u[89].

Tu'i Tonga Fuanunuiava entered into the conflict and entreated 'Ulukālala to make peace with Toe'umu and to offer her the respect (*faka'apa'apa*) due a *mehekitanga*. 'Ulukālala's reply was to the point and indicative of the rising authority of the Ha'a Ngata Tupu as well as the impotence of the secular authority of the Tu'i

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84. Mariner (Martin 1827 (1):129-135; see also Blanc 1934:30-32.

85. Martin 1827 (1):132-135; Interview, 6 September 1985; Interview, 13 August 1985

86. Martin 1827 (1):137; Anonymous, History:13; Toe'umu was actually father's father's sister to both 'Ulukālala and Tupouniua -- a relationship recognized as *mehekitanga*.

87. Interview, 6 September 1985; Martin 1827 (1):138; Koe Tohi Hohoko 'o e Hako 'o Tuituiohu:1-2; Koe Tohi Hohoko 'a Losaline Fatafehi:7,26,47

88. Martin 1827 (1):137-139, 181; Anonymous, History:13; Interview, 10 September 1985

89. Anonymous, History:13-15; Interview, 27 August 1985; Martin 1827 (1):137-138, (2):138

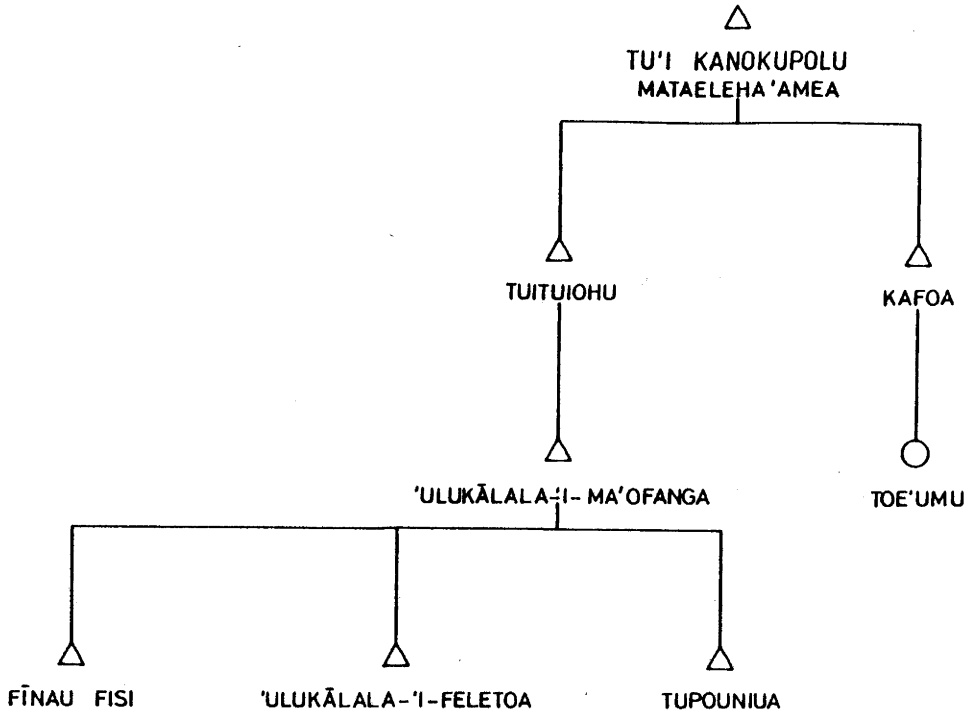

TU'I KANOKUPOLU
MATAELEHA 'AMEA
TUITUIOHU
KAFOA
'ULUKĀLALA-I- MA'OFANGA
TOE'UMU
FĪNAU FISI
'ULUKĀLALA-'I-FELETOA
TUPOUNIUA

FIGURE 6·3

Tonga: 'My Lord Tooitonga [Tu'i Tonga] may return to his own part of the island, and content himself in peace and security; matters of war are my concern, and in which he has no right to interfere'[90]. Several priests at Ha'apai made similar requests to 'Ulukālala and warned that war against his *mehekitanga* was a severe transgression of *tapu* and if pursued would surely result in destruction[91]. Even 'Ulukālala's son, Moengangongo, who had recently returned from Samoa with Vuna Tu'i'oetau appeared apprehensive about becoming directly involved and retired to Ha'apai to await the outcome[92].

Faced with such dissension and mounting controversy, 'Ulukālala's initial resolve to crush the rebellion quickly faded and he was, finally, dissuaded from openly attacking Vava'u[93]. However, his attempts at negotiations were decidely weak for he offered no peace terms aside from Vava'u's utter surrender and a return to previous rule. In addition, he sent between 4000 and 6000 warriors to the northern Ha'apai island of Hā'ano in order that they be ready to attack Vava'u at a moment's notice[94]. With such determination, armed conflict was perhaps unavoidable. The conflict lasted for almost one month with, however, only one actual battle fought. In comparison with 'Ulukālala's campaigns against Tongatapu this dispute was relatively temperate and casualties low as the fighting was limited to the sporadic raids each side launched against the other[95]. Not surprisingly, many of the attacks against 'Ulukālala and his supporters were aimed at those individuals who were involved in the assassination of Tupouniua[96].

With the death of some of those responsible for Tupouniua's assassination, several of the chiefs at Feletoa began to consider a truce. This, in combination with 'Ulukālala's growing frustration at the dilatory nature of the fighting, prompted new negotiations between the two factions. Peace was eventually established by several priests who acted as negotiators, mediating between 'Ulukālala at Neiafu and Toe'umu at Feletoa[97]. 'Ulukālala, for his part, conceded to have his Ha'apai supporters return home and he appointed Tupouto'a as ruler of Ha'apai with the provision that he remained tributary to 'Ulukālala. In addition, he agreed to stop his sporadic assaults on

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90. Martin 1827 (2):126

91. Martin 1827 (1):140; Collocott, King Taufa:173

92. Martin 1827 (1):140-141; Interview, 1 September 1985

93. Martin 1827 (1):148-157

94. Martin 1827 (1):151-159,166. Mariner estimated that 'Ulukālala's forces included 5000 men and 1000 women sailing in 50 large canoes. The women, it seems, were present during the battle, although Mariner maintains in a supportive rather than combative role. Other sources indicate that women occasionally did fight in battle during this period (see also Collocott 1928:91-92).

95. One daylight raid on a yam field ended in the death of approximately 60 people, while a subsequent ambush saw 42 people killed. A few days later five women were killed in another surprise attack. Martin 1827 (1):172,182,187

96. Martin 1827 (1):166,169,173-175,183-184,191-192; Interview, 10 September 1985

97. Martin 1827 (1):192-201; Interview, 6 September 1985

Tongatapu which the Vava'u chiefs perceived as dangerous and wasteful and instead to employ his energies on the betterment of Vava'u. Toe'umu, for her part, agreed to defer politically to 'Ulukāla la as Tu'i Vava'u and in order to demonstrate her sincerity, refrained from attending the conciliatory *faikava*, thereby removing the need for 'Ulukālala to pay her public deference as his *mehekitanga*. 'Ulukālala however sought her out soon after the ceremony and performed the customary obeisance [*moemoe*] to her, thereby demonstrating that their reconciliation was complete[98].

Reconciliation was not, however, the intention of all those involved and five chiefs took the first opportunity to sail to Tongatapu and join Tākai and his forces at Pea. Among them was Makapapa and Loloheapipiki both of whom were related to 'Ulukālala and had, repeatedly, attempted to thwart his interests[99]. Although these five chiefs were beyond the immediate reach of 'Ulukālala, there were others still at Vava'u who had opposed him for reasons other than the death of Tupouniua. 'Ulukālala harboured his revenge against these individuals, most of whom were life-long rivals, for nearly two months. Finally, at a *fono* ('public assembly') held at Makave, the domain of Tu'i'āfitu who was a distant relation of 'Ulukālala, orders were given to seize the offenders (*puke*) and kill them. Eighteen people were taken prisoner and the luckier ones among them were quickly clubbed to death. The others who included Naufahu, Fulivai, Naufisi, Topui and Pupunu were bound and placed in leaky canoes and set offshore to drown slowly[100].

The ferocity of 'Ulukālala's action against these chiefs is remembered in Tongan tradition. While many people considered that the actual method of death to be very cruel, they also felt that the action itself was not only justified, but warranted, considering the situation. As one individual put it, 'as he ['Ulukālala] was strong, so Vava'u was strong'[101]. In general, the condemnation of disloyal subordinates was seen as a demonstration of strength and leadership abilities and, so, 'Ulukālala's *mana* as *hau* of Vava'u and Ha'apai grew. This is in marked contrast to the cruelties which Tuku'aho

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98. Martin 1827 (1):197-198; Interview, 10 September 1985

99. Martin 1827 (1):206; Interview, 10 September 1985

100. Martin 1827 (1):231-238; see also Collocott (1928:97) for a chant attributed to the slowly sinking Fulivai. Anonymous, History:13) claims that there were two *kau* Lolohea (Loloheamalohi and Loloheapipiki) both of whom opposed 'Ulukālala. One was said to have joined forces with Tākai, while the other was drowned off Makave. This account, based on the traditions of Tongatapu, disagrees with Mariner (Martin 1827 (1):234) and Vava'uan tradition (Interview, 10 September 1985) which maintains that while Loloheapipiki went to Pea and joined Tākai, Loloheamalohi remained loyal to 'Ulukālala and was responsible for the implementation of the deaths by drowning.

101. Interview, 26 August 1985; see also Queen Sālote in Spillius (Bott), Discussions (2):n.p.,299. Tongans, today, who feel his punishment was harsh and unjustified are, interestingly, descendants of his Tongatapu rivals, not the progeny of the chiefs who were sentenced to death (Interview, 12 July 1985; Colwell 1978:104)

imposed upon his people, for these were perceived as unprovoked, unjustifiable and merely an expression of conceit and power[102]. Herein lies the dialectic of Tongan leadership and chiefliness for while, on the one hand, a chief should care for his or her people like a parent, on the other he or she must have the strength to act boldly. To have responded weakly or indecisively to the treachery of his subordinates would have been to deny the essence of *mana* of a chief and to eliminate the presence of *faka'apa'apa* ('respect') for him or her. This was especially so for the *hau* or 'working chief' for his[103] leadership position was based primarily on his demonstrated ability to govern, whereas the rule of the divine chief, as embodied by the Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Tonga Fefine, rested on principles of hereditary rank which were deemed divine and eternal. Such an ascribed position, as well as its surrounding ideology of societal encompassment, meant that the Tu'i Tonga, Tu'i Tonga Fefine and, indeed, the entire Kauhala'uta had nothing to gain by demonstrations of authority. Rather they tended to adopt the role of benefactors of the people and often provided inviolable refuge and protection for the people from the violence of vengeful chiefs.

While 'Ulukālala dealt with issues in Vava'u, the factional fighting on Tongatapu escalated with an accompanying increase in death, especially from disease and famine[104]. For the most part, the factions represented the Ha'a Ngata Motu'a in opposition to the Ha'a Havea. In an attempt to reconcile the two Kauhalalalo titular lineages and to strengthen their opposition to 'Ulukālala, their common enemy, Vaha'i, upon his deathbed, named Tākai of Pea as successor to his *mana*. He did this at a public ceremony by rubbing his hands with the stem of a plaintain and then passing it to Tākai[105]. The other Hihifo chiefs of the Ha'a Ngata Motu'a were not pleased with Vaha'i's selection and dissension resulted. Vaea, the chief of Houma, who supported Vaha'i's choice, led an assault on Hihifo killing Ata and several other subordinate chiefs. He then joined forces with Tākai and the pair stormed and captured the fort at 'Utulau, as well as the village of Matahau. Shortly after, Tākai attacked Te'ekiu where Teukava, the son of Ata, was killed. At this point Tupoumālohi who was still ensconced at Nuku'alofa realized that he was Tākai's next most likely target and he petitioned 'Ulukālala to be allowed to retire peacefully to Ha'apai under the protection of Tupouto'a. His request was granted and Tākai was left as ruler of Tongatapu[106].

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102. Anonymous, History:45-46,49-50; Martin 1827 (1):80; Interview, 2 September 1985; Blanc 1934:26

103. Although it was not impossible for a woman to challenge the governing role of a *hau* (see Chapter Five), it was not common, probably because a woman's source of power and prestige was linked to traditional notions of sancitity which was increasingly perceived in terms of chiefliness as Kauhala'uta.

104. McArthur 1967:71-72; Wood 1932:33,39,42

105. Collocott 1928:92

106. Anonymous, History:8-9, 11-12; Martin 1827 (1):283

Shortly after this, 'Ulukālala-'i-Feletoa died, apparently of influenza which had, at this time, reached epidemic proportions at Tongatapu and also affected the other islands[107]. Many saw it as divine retribution for the many transgressions of *tapu* he had committed during his lifetime (*'io pe kia mala'ia'* – 'he met with misfortune as a result of his own evil actions')[108]. While others perceived it in terms of an opportunity to increase their own authority at the expense of Moengangongo who assumed his father's title. Moengangongo, however, received unconditional military and political support from his father's half brother (*uho tau*), Fīnau Fisi who ensured that Moengangongo's rule was relatively peaceful[109].

Moengangongo was a popular ruler in Vava'u because he concentrated his efforts on repairing the damage done by the recent conflict. The people and subordinate chiefs had sought protection in the fortified villages during the recent conflict and Moengangongo encouraged them to return to their land and cultivate their gardens which, out of neglect, had merged into the surrounding bush. He also cut off all ties with Ha'apai, even to the point of refusing tribute from Tupouto'a, so as not to be drawn into the Ha'apai chief's militaristic ambitions on Tongatapu[110]. These decisions were communicated by Moengangongo in an address to his subordinate chiefs and *kau matāpule* at his *pongipongi hingoa*:

> Listen to me, chiefs and warriors! – If any among you are discontented with the present state of affairs, – now is the time to go to Hapai [Ha'apai]; for no man shall remain at Vavaoo [Vava'u] with a mind discontented, and wandering to other places. I have seen with sorrow the wide destruction occasioned by the unceasing war carried on by the chief now lying in the *malai*. We have indeed been doing a great deal, but what is the result? – The land is depopulated! it is overgrown with weeds, and there is nobody to cultivate it: had we remained peaceful, it would have been populous still. The principal chiefs and warriors are fallen, and we must be contented with the society of the lower class. What madness! Is not life already too short? Is it not a noble characteristic in a man to remain happy and peaceful in his station? What folly then to seek for war, to shorten that which is already *too* short! Who is there among us who can say, "I wish to die – I am weary of life?" Have we not then been acting like those of no understanding? Have we not been madly seizing the very thing which deprives us of what we *really want?* Not that we ought to banish all thoughts of fighting! If any power approach us with the front of battle, and attempt to invade our rights, our fury and bravery shall be excited more, in proportion as we have more possessions to defend. Let us therefore confine ourselves to agriculture, for that is truly guarding our country. Why should we be anxious for an increase of territory? Our land is quite large enough to

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107. Martin 1827 (1):301; Thomson 1894:372; see also McArthur 1967:71; Wood 1932:33,39

108. Anonymous, History:14; Martin 1827 (1):140

109. Martin 1827 (1):302-308, (2):48,136. Although Moengangongo received the title Fīnau 'Ulukālala, he is remembered in history as Moengangongo; for a more detailed account of Moengangongo's rule see Herda (1986):19-21

110. Martin 1827 (1):308-309, (2):18-21

> supply us with food, -- we shall not even be able to devour all its produce! But perhaps I am not speaking to you wisely! The old matabooles [*kau matāpule*] are present; I beg them to tell me if I am wrong. I am yet but a youth, and, on that account, should be unfit to govern, if my mind, like that of the deceased chief, sought not the advice of others. For your loyalty and fidelity towards him, however, I return you my sincere thanks. Finow Fiji [Fīnau Fisi], who is present, and the matabooles [*kau matāpule*], know well my frequent inquiries concerning the good of our government. Do not then say, *Wherefore do we listen to the idle talk of a boy?* Recollect, whilst I speak to you, my voice is the echo of the sentiments of Toe Oomoo [Toe'umu], and Oooloovaloo ['Uluvalu], and Afoo ['Afu], and Fotoo [Fotu], and Alo, and all the high chiefs and matabooles [*kau matāpule*] of Vavaoo [Vava'u]. -- Listen to me! I remind you, that if there be any among you discontended [sic] with this state of affairs, the present is the only opportunity I will give to depart. For, let pass this occasion, and not afterwards, shall we communicate with Hapai [Ha'apai]. Choose therefore your dwelling-places. There is Fiji, there is Hamoa [Samoa], there is Tonga [Tongatapu], there is Hapai [Ha'apai], there is Fotoona [Futuna] and Lotooma [Rotuma]! -- those men in particular having minds unanimous, loving to dwell in constant peace, -- they alone shall remain at Vavaoo [Vava'u] and its neighbouring isles. Yet will I not suppress the bravery of any one warlike spirit: -- Behold! the islands of Tonga and Fiji are constantly at war. Let him there display his courage. Arise! go to your respective habitations; and recollect, that to-morrow the canoes depart for Hapai [Ha'apai].[111]

By far the most remarkable act of Moengangongo's political career came on the death of Tu'i Tonga Fuanunuiava which is estimated to have occurred in 1809[112]. His death was said to have been preceded by thunder and lightning, and in the dreams and premonitions of several female priests. The signs were perceived as symbols of his divinity and of the irreverence shown him during his lifetime[113]; Moengangongo, however, disregarded them and decreed that the Tu'i Tonga title was to be no more. The tomb of Fuanunuiava was, accordingly, known as a *fa'itoka* rather than the sacred term, *langi*, normally reserved for the Tu'i Tonga and was also considerably smaller than the grave of 'Ulukālala-'i-Feletoa whose own *fa'itoka* rivalled the great tombs (*langi*) of Mu'a. Laufilitonga, son of Fuanunuiava and *moheofo* Tupouveiongo, was sent to Ha'apai with instructions to Tupouto'a that he was to be treated as an ordinary chief and not a divine entity[114]. Moengangongo's final command on the subject was that the *'inasi* ('first fruits ceremony') would be abolished on the grounds that it had been occasionally neglected during the previous decade of civil disturbance with the only ill

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111. Martin 1827 (1):323-324; see also Martin 1827 (2):xliii-xiv where Mariner presents his rendition in Tongan and a literal translation of the speech. The speech so moved individuals that they repeated it for some time after its deliverance.

112. Martin 1827 (2)21-23; Anonymous, History:15. There is some confusion over the death dates of *kau* Tu'i Tonga which was generated by misunderstanding on the part of European visitors who often recorded the deaths of Tu'i Tonga Fefine or Tamahā as the death of the male Tu'i Tonga (see Guitta, Histoire (2):57).

113. Martin 1827 (2):21-22; Guitta, Histoire (2):57; Interview, 28 August 1985

114. Interview, 10 September 1985; Martin 1827 (2):83; Thomas, History (1879):65

effects being attributable to the greed and ambitions of ordinary human beings[115]. It seems that the denigration brought upon the Tu'i Tonga title which centred on the birthright of the mothers of Fuanunuiava, as well as his father Paulaho had opened the door for the working chiefs to dismiss their partial divinity as superfluous to society.

115. Martin 1827 (1):28-29

CHAPTER 7
Aftermath and Conclusion

> Tonga Chiefs wish to be as gods to their people and not only to govern their bodies but their consciences. . .
>
> John Thomas[1]

If there were individual chiefs who doubted the competency of Fīnau 'Ulukālala (Moengangongo) to assume his father's position of authority, their fears were either laid to rest or disregarded by others after Moengangongo's abolition of the *'inasi* and the Tu'i Tonga title. These actions, as well as his determination to isolate Vava'u from the troubles of the rest of the Tongan islands, legitimized his rule of the northern archipelago[2]. This demonstration of Moengangongo's *mana* quickly dissipated when, after only a year or two of rule, the young Tu'i Vava'u suddenly died. The cause appears to have been an epidemic of an introduced European disease known in Tongan as '*ngangau*' ('pain in the head') which may have been influenza[3]. Many of the people of Tonga, however, attributed his demise, just as they had his father's, to the irreverance he displayed to the Tu'i Tonga ("io pe kia mala'ia' -- 'he met with misfortune as a result of his own evil actions')[4]. Not surprisingly, public regard for Laufilitonga, the son of Tu'i Tonga Fuanunuiava and Tupouveiongo, rose considerably and he was eventually called Tu'i Tonga[5].

After the death of Moengangongo Vava'u experienced a period of political unrest with a rapid succession of rulers: Fīnau Fisi, Hala'api'api, Paunga, Ulakai and Tupouto'a, some of whom were assassinated[6]. Eventually, a strong Vava'uan ruler

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1. Thomas, Papers:123
2. Interview, 5 September 1985
3. Crosby, Papers:19,52; see also Blanc 1934:32; Lātūkefu 1974:20-21; McArthur 1967:71-72
4. Interview, 10 September 1985; Anonymous, History:14
5. The evidence for his change in status is problematic in that, theoretically, there was no installation ceremony for a Tu'i Tonga, nor was his name called during the *taumafa kava*. It appears, however, that it was the resumption of the *'inasi* which marked restoration of the title. Anonymous, History:15; Lyth, Reminiscences:46-47; Young 1858:129-130. But see also Thomas (Papers:80) who claims that Laufilitonga was never officially Tu'i Tonga.
6. Thomas, History (1879):n.p., Guitta, Histoire (2):67-69; Blanc 1934:32-33; Lātūkefu 1974:21; Herda 1986

emerged in Tuapasi (Fīnau 'Ulukālala-'i-Pouono), the son of Fīnau 'Ulukālala -'i-Feletoa. Similarly, in Ha'apai, a dominant authority appeared with Tāufa'āhau, the son of Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupouto'a. Although their fathers were *uho taha*, there appears to have been an underlying antagonism between Tu'i Vava'u Tuapasi and Tu'i Ha'apai Tāufa'āhau[7]. In 1833, Tāufa'āhau assumed the rule of Vava'u claiming that on his deathbed Tuapasi had passed his authority to his *uho taha* until his own son was of a ruling age. Interestingly, Tuapasi's last testament was not recorded by any of the European missionaries present at his death, but did appear in the papers of Thomas who was a staunch supporter of Tāufa'āhau[8]. Significantly, Tuapasi's son was never named as Tu'i Vava'u nor as Fīnau 'Ulukālala.

Tāufa'āhau, recognized as both Tu'i Ha'apai and Tu'i Vava'u, made preparations to secure his succession to the Tu'i Kanokupolu title. After the death of Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupouto'a (Tāufa'āhau's father), the title passed to 'Aleamotu'a, the younger brother of Tuku'aho and hence *tamai* ('father') to Tupouto'a[9]. Tāufa'āhau, acting as *hau*, effectively governed Tonga on 'Aleamotu'a's behalf. He also attempted to consolidate the unity of the government by removing or diminishing the opposition of the Kauhala'uta and the Ha'a Havea to Kanokupolu rule. Tāufa'āhau was patient in his ambitions for both Tonga and himself. His warriors had defeated Tu'i Tonga Laufilitonga and his supporters at Velata in Ha'apai in 1826 and they did not win their final battle against the Ha'a Havea until 1852. In addition to armed conflict, the old factions fought on other fronts, including the arrangement of strategic marriages and conversion to Christian denominations (the Kanokupolu people favoured Wesleyanism, the Tu'i Tonga and his supporters followed the Roman Catholic faith). So while Tāufa'āhau assumed the Tu'i Kanokupolu title in 1845, to which he also added the foreign-inspired monarchical designation of King Sioasi (George) Tupou I, his ambitions for unequivocal political consolidation were not realized as quickly.

Tu'i Tonga Laufilitonga died in 1865. Tāufa'āhau assumed the title for himself, but, under mounting resentment, he abandoned it in 1875 and declared the title defunct. The constitutional monarchy of Tonga was declared in 1875, thereby guaranteeing, at least in European eyes, the continued rule of his descendants. Thus, through a deft combination of indigenous and foreign strategies applied in a solely Tongan fashion, Tāufa'āhau managed a feat which had eluded his ancestors: the abolition of the sacred Tongan chieftainship. It would remain for his great, great granddaughter, Queen Sālote Mailefihi Pilolevu Tupou III, to re-establish the sacred chieftainship around the Tu'i Kanokupolu title.

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7. See, for example, Thomas, History (n.d.):54; Lyth, Reminiscences:10-15; Lātūkefu 1974:94

8. Peter Turner, Journal:159,165-169; Watkin, Journal:99, Thomas, Papers:March 1833; Thomas, History (1879):97

9. Ko e Tohi Hohoko 'eni 'a 'O.F. Veikune:44-48; Koe Konga Tohi 'a Afuha'amango:n.p., 5

THE ACCEPTED STRUCTURES of the *longue durèe* in Tongan history have, by and large, been portrayed as absolute and unchanging. The ideological and historical hegemony of such a situation is not surprising considering the markedly hierarchical and encompassing nature of Tongan notions of chieftainship. However, even within the hegemony of the Tongan elite there is dissension on how the past should be constructed and how that construction is to be interpreted. Descendants of old rivals and ancient factions will still tell different versions of the same past event. Tongans recognize the dialectic nature of their history and express it beautifully in the Tongan proverb "*'Oku hange 'a e tangata ha fal 'oku lalanga*' ('Mankind is like a mat being woven')[10]. In other words, human beings and their propensity to recount the past, may move first in one direction, then another, or may double or fold back, but, like a mat being woven, the end product, while containing any number of inconsistencies, appears whole. Unfortunately, scholars have not always probed the encompassing 'heroic' nature of Tongan history for competing and often contradictory versions. Instead, a timeless traditional past, which reflected the interests of the ruling ideology, has been, by and large, accepted as the only construction of Tonga's history. Because this history of hegemonic ideology was also involved in the maintenance of the achieved power balance involving a series of disputes by rival claimants, as well as a supplantation of the divine chieftainship, it is embedded within the genealogical material.

Ideally, authority in Tonga should follow hereditary ranking principles which rested on the notions of female outranking male and older outranking younger. The implication for the *kāinga* is that a sister and her children outrank a brother and his children and an eldest sister and her children outrank them all. On a wider scale these implications were applied to lineages with the divine ruler, the Tu'i Tonga, and his sister, the Tu'i Tonga Fefine, and her child, the Tamahā, positioned at the apex of society. Their divinity was explained and enshrined in the Tongan creation myth cycle. Although nominally continued, these genealogically and mythologically constructed notions of rank and authority were transformed with the rise of Kauhalalalo influence and the proliferation of titles which accompanied and justified their rule. By erecting a new means of establishing secular authority and by identifying themselves as different from the Kauhala'uta, the Kauhalalalo were able to confine the authority of the divine ruler, while enlarging their own power base. Despite at least two attempts at outright abolition, the appearance of Kauhalalalo deference to the Tu'i Tonga continued until the religious structure was replaced by a foreign substitution. This ideological and deferential fiction disguised the changed reality of authority and possession of power which occurred following the assassination of Tu'i Tonga Takalaua. The genealogies and

10. Quoted in Rogers 1977:157

succession lists, however, record it firstly, in the absence of the Tu'i Tonga in Samoa; secondly in the institution of the indigenous *moheofo* as opposed to the principal wife coming from a chiefly Samoan lineage; and thirdly in the increase of genealogical detail which accompanied the establishment of both the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu titles[11].

Even before the appearance of the Kauhalalalo, it was apparent that 'eldest' meant 'senior', rather than 'first born', in the Tongan cultural idiom. This notion is shown clearly in the *tohi hohoko* when a man's son by a high-ranking woman was not his genealogically eldest male child. Normally, unless the eldest son was outstanding in some other capacity, the younger, higher-ranking son was deemed 'elder' and succeeded to his father's title. A powerful maternal *kāinga* could also increase the relative 'age' of an individual in the genealogies. In addition, outstanding ability, often expressed as in terms of *mana*, could be recognized for title succession in younger siblings of equal rank with some genealogies listing the successful candidate as the eldest candidate. However, such genealogical fictions are usually apparent in the Tongan genealogical material, if it is read as a corpus and not as distinct individual records; the differing versions displaying the intricacies of the situation. Genealogical ambiguities in succession custom led to intense sibling rivalry, especially between individuals who shared the same father, but had different mothers. As pre-Christian chiefly Tongan females were serially polyandrous and chiefly Tongan males were polygamous, the occurrences of such rivalries were frequent and, once initiated, were often sustained over several generations.

The importance of incorporating gender as a category for the legitimation of power in a historical analysis of Tonga is apparent. In their natal *tukui kāinga* Tongan women occupied central and powerful roles as *'ilamutu* ('sister') and *mehekitanga* ('father's sister') where their preeminent rank also allowed them considerable authority. While their high status has been acknowledged in the literature, little attention has been paid to their influence and authority. Similarly, the significance of one's mother's people in relation to the realization of political power has largely been ignored. Both of these omissions seem to rest on the problem of the hegemony in Tongan history. The new secular authority further eroded the influence of the divine sibling pair, the Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Tonga Fefine, and so transformed the perceived potency of the divine realm, the mystical power base of the Tongan sister. This transformation is most clearly seen in the controversy over the gender of Hikule'o and in the anachronistic denigration of the actions of female chiefs such as Fusipala, Tupoumoheofo and Toe'umu. The genealogies demonstrate the centrality and importance of the power bases of these chiefly women as well as their spheres of influence.

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11. This is hardly surprising in a system where it was a political necessity to be related to at least one of the paramount lineages.

Tongan genealogies, like genealogical material elsewhere in pre-Christian and pre-colonial Polynesia, represent a distillation of cultural constructions of rank, power and the conception of society in both divine and human terms. Because they encapsulated and often legitimized political rule, as well as ascribed and achieved statuses, the genealogies reflect most, if not all, political ascendancies and contentions. When analyzed in conjunction with oral narratives about the past, they frame a history of only not individuals and events, but also a history of cultural process and transformation. To paraphrase Queen Sālote, genealogies unlock the door of Tonga's past.

Appendix A
Sources

The source material used in this thesis has been varied and limited only by what was available. Its organization and use was, naturally, influenced by its nature, source and date with preference given to indigenous material acknowledged to traditionally affirmed experts (such as the Tamahā, Queen Sālote or their *kau matāpule*) and to foreign accounts which were based on informed interaction usually of a long or privileged duration.

Traditional Tongan material played a large part and included what is usually referred to as 'oral traditions', that is: myths, legends, poems, chants, songs and stories about Tonga's past. Anachronism is a persistent problem in the use of oral tradition as a historical source. For the most part, the details of the Tongan tradition cited appear constant in all versions consulted, where discrepancies occurred, they are noted. With regard to the much debated question of the 'truth' of oral tradition, I am in agreememt with Leach[1] in his assertion that the historical relevance of oral traditions is that they are meaningful to the people who create amd relate them. Their veracity lies in the cultural context and in order to appreciate their place in the construction of the past, an understanding of the context as well as the process of historical construction is necessary. To this end each source has been critically assessed, both internally, in terms of the corpus of Tongan oral tradition, and externally against indigenous genealogical material and supplementary foreign accounts.

Unquestionably, the most valuable source of this thesis was the information shared during interviews. Members from many different lineages were interviewed thus providing a variety of perspectives on certain individuals and events in Tonga's past. In addition, the dialogue situation allowed for discussion which helped to delineate and clarify areas of obscurity and contradiction. I remain indebted to those individuals who gave not only of their time, but also of their family's past. In order to ensure that none of my informants are compromised for sharing their views or family genealogies and histories all names have been removed from the references. Instead, the reference is merely identified as an interview with the date of that interview given in case its timing is of interest to the reader.

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1. Leach 1970:54

In addition, extensive use has been made of the genealogical books *tohi hohoko* held in the Palace Records Office in Nuku'alofa[2]. The bound volumes[3] represent the largest single corpus of genealogical records in Tonga. The genealogical records were compiled by the Tongan Traditions Committee, under the patronage of Queen Sālote Tupou III, in the late 1950s and early 1960s by locating family genealogy books and copying them. There are complications in using the records as a historical source because the genealogies formed the ideological framework, by virtue of the desirable qualities of rank and primogeniture, which encompassed all social and political relationships in traditional Tonga. However, these complications also contribute to the overall usefulness of the *tohi hohoko* (especially when the genealogies contained in the Palace Records Office are compared with privately contained *kau tohi*) as a source, because they often highlight, through ambiguity and contradiction, the very points of historical controversy which merit historical analysis.

Early European sources were helpful and included explorer journals, whaling logs, and missionary journals, correspondence and other papers. Some of these early visitors were especially interested in *anga faka Tonga* and sought out the Tongan authorities of the particular time and location in hopes of learning more about Tongan history and custom. Many provided insightful descriptions of their stays. The number of existing and available journals from any one voyage or missionary station, of course, increases their value as a historical source by providing different accounts of the same phenomenon, thus allowing a cross-check on the viability of each account.

The literature from the scientific expeditions of the Enlightenment which visited Tonga[4]. is often of this nature, although, owing to the brevity of their stays, errors and misinterpretations are not uncommon. Particularly interesting in this group is the material from the Malaspina Expedition. They visited only Vava'u, the northern Tongan archipelago, in 1793 when the ruling chief of Vava'u was the powerful Vuna Tu'i'oetau. The prestige and authority of Vuna's descendants, however, declined and they eventually lost the rule of Vava'u. The Malaspina material thus provides a rendition, albeit foreign, of Tongan history which is outside the presently accepted hierarchy.

The corpus of whaling journals, while filling an important sequential gap in the

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2. See Herda 1987a for a more detailed analysis of the *tohi hohoko*.

3. I saw fourteen different *hohoko* although Marcus (1980:6) claims that they number seventeen. In addition to consulting the various *kau tohi*, it is important to look at the different copies of each *hohoko* as there are occasional differences.

4. Cook (Beagehole 1961-1969; Burney, Journal; Munford 1963), D'Entrecasteaux (Labillardière 1800), Malaspina (Navarrete, Viages; Neé, Relación; Novo y Colson 1885; Pineda, Diario; Viana 1849; see also Herda 1983) D'Urville(Wright, Papers), Waldegrave (Waldegrave, Report; Orlebar 1976), Bethune (Bethune, Remark Book)

European sources (1810-1826) are disappointingly uninformative about events and individuals on the islands they visited. There are occasional descriptions, but overall the whalers seem to have regarded the Tongan islands merely as places of restoration for their supplies and crews.

The journals, papers and correspondence of the early missionaries in Tonga provide many useful descriptions, as well as the occasional historical explanation of a current event. Although the establishment of the L.M.S. mission in Tonga (1797-1799) was not successful, the visit of the mission ship *Duff*, as well as the memoirs of a renegade missionary 'gone native' are valuable for they catalogue the events of a turbulent time in Tongan history (London Missionary Society 1795/1802-1818; Wilson 1799; Vason 1810). With the stationing of the Wesleyan mission in Tonga in 1826[5]. The body of detailed descriptions of Tonga greatly increased because the mission body instructed its missionaries to keep journals of their daily lives and church activities. The journals and private diaries are supplemented by official mission correspondence and family letters.

The most valuable of the Wesleyan missionary sources are those attributable to John Thomas who lived in Tonga from 1826 -1859. In addition to his journals, letters and papers[6] Thomas wrote several accounts and histories of the Tongan islands which were, regrettably, never published[7]. Although Thomas was committed to converting the Tongan people to Christianity, he was also, as evidenced by his writing, interested in Tongan custom, history and the ancient religion. It is, however, probably not coincidental that this phase of his writing did not begin until after the general acceptance of Christianity in the islands. The major drawback of Thomas' work is that the Wesleyan mission was closely aligned with the interests of one political faction; the faction which was, however, ultimately successful in consolidating its rule. As such, Thomas who accepts this rendition without question, presents a history which favours the establishment of the ruling hierarchy. Although Thomas received his overall framework from one source, he did consult other knowledgeable Tongans on questions of history and custom, the most notable among these was the last Tamahā, Fakahikuo'uiha who took the Christian name 'Amelia Seine (Amelia Jane), who died in 1852.

The Tongan Catholic mission was established in 1842; consequently most of the information contained in journals, diaries and correspondence falls out of the relative timespan of this study. There are, however, several histories of Tonga written by various

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5. The Tongan mission was established by Lawry in 1822; although after he left in 1823 there was not an ordained (and journal-keeping) minister in the islands until 1826.

6. Thomas, Papers

7. Thomas, History (n.d.); History (1879); Mythology; Tongatabu

priests of the mission[8]. While the Wesleyans were closely aligned with the Kanokupolu people, many of the Kauhala'uta, Tu'i Tonga Laufilitonga in particular, chose Catholicism as their Christian denomination[9]. The histories compiled by the priests reflect the background of their converts, who naturally were also their sources, with a concentration on early Kauhala'uta material. Reiter's work is particularly interesting because it includes a large collection of traditions in the vernacular.

The largest collections of the early Wesleyan missionary material are held at the Mitchell Library in Sydney; Alexander Turnbull Library in Wellington and the Library of the School of African and Oriental Studies, University of London also hold some items. The bulk of the Catholic collection is available at the Catholic Archives, Nuku'alofa.

The memoirs of William Mariner[10] provides a very detailed account of the period 1806 to 1810 when, after the ship he was travelling on was sacked by the Tongans, he lived under the patronage of the *kau* 'Ulukālala. Fīnau 'Ulukālala-'i-Feletoa was in the process of extending his authority in the archipelago at that time and Mariner's material highlights the manner in which he accomplished it. Included in the publication is a limited vocabulary which proved very useful in comparison with subsequent word lists and dictionaries. In addition, Mariner's memoirs chronologically succeed the surviving L.M.S. accounts and often comment on similiar events and circumstances, thus establishing a running commentary on the sequence of events.

The work of scholars of Tonga from the early part of this century, chiefly in the fields of ethnography, history and archaeology were of some use, especially that of E.E.V. Collocott and Edward Gifford. Collocott, a Wesleyan missionary and principal of Tupou College, lived in Tonga from 1911 - 1924 . In addition to his ecclesiastic and scholastic duties, Collocott was interested in Tongan history and traditional culture and frequently contributed to anthropological journals of the day. These, as well as his *Tales and Poems of Tonga* which he submitted to the University of Melbourne for a D. Litt., are of considerable value for their concentration on Tongan oral traditions. Gifford, a contemporary and acquaintance of Collocott, was a member of the Bayard Dominick Expedition, the great salvage ethnographic research effort of the B.P. Bishop Museum. Unlike many of the Bayard Dominick ethnographers, Gifford embraced Tongan history in his work and *Tongan Society* remains a valuable piece of research as he incorporated

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8. Guitta, Histoire; Reiter 1907; 1917-1918; 1919-1920; 1933; Blanc 1934; although the original French and English translation of Blanc is based, primarily, on Reiter's material who may, in fact, be based on Guitta's work.

9. The political implications of this denominational division are significant and warrant further research, especially as they suggest an acknowledged dialectic between religion and politics in traditional Tonga.

10. Martin 1827

in it a great amount of primary oral tradition. In addition, his manuscript genealogies provided a useful comparison with the *tohi hohoko*. How much of Gifford's material and approach was directly or indirectly influenced by Collocott is a matter of debate among scholars of Tonga. There is, however, no doubt that they knew one another in Tonga and corresponded after Gifford left the islands.

Of the many modern scholars of Tongan history, ethnography, prehistory and linguistics which have been consulted, this study is particularly indebted to the work of Elizabeth Spillius who publishes under the surname of Bott. During her fieldwork in Tonga in the late 1950s and early 1960s, Spillius had the unique opportunity to conduct extensive interviews with the late Queen Sālote Tupou III over many aspects of traditional Tongan culture and history. Two volumes deposited in the Palace Records Office, entitled, 'Discussions of Tongan Customs by Nua' (Spillius's Tongan Name) and articles in anthropological publications represented, for many years, the only publicly available information from her invaluable research and interviews. Recently, however, an extensive account of her work has been published[11], and her fieldnotes have been placed in the New Zealand and Pacific collection at the University of Auckland Library. These additions profoundly increase the value of Spillius's research to other scholars for it is often possible to distinguish between the ideas and responses of researcher and informant. The greatest strength of Spillius's work (her close association with Queen Sālote) is, however, also its greatest limitation for the account of traditional Tonga which Spillius presents is, unquestionably, that which favours the Tupou dynasty. Spillius, herself, realized this limitation[12], although other scholars, unfortunately, have not been as scrupulous. Many tend to view the history of Tonga as presented by the Tupou dynasty as the complete history of Tonga, it is the aim of this thesis to redress that imbalance. I would not, however, wish this aim to be interpreted as a belittlement of Spillius's work for which I have great respect; without her efforts I would not have been prompted to ask the questions I did.

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11. Bott 1982
12. Spillius (Bott), Discussions (2):n.p.

Appendix B
Tu'i Tonga Succession Lists

'CATHOLIC' LIST	BAKER'S LIST	MOULTON'S LIST
	Kohai	
	Koau	
'Aho'eitu	'Aho'eitu	'Aho'eitu
Lolofakangalo	Lolofakangalo	Lolofakangalo
Fanga'one'one	Fanga'one'one	Fanga'one'one
Lihau	Lihau	Lihau
Kofutu	Kofutu	Kofutu
Kaloa	Ma'uhau	Kaloa
Ma'uhau	Kaloa	Ma'uhau
	Kalivu	
	Lingolingoa	
	Kilukilua	
'Apuanea	'Apuanea	'Apuanea
'Afulunga	'Afulunga	'Afulunga
Momo	Momo	Momo
	Lomi'aetupu'a	
	Ha'avakafuhu	
	Tu'itongailepo	
	Puipuifatu	
	Tu'itongapuipui	
	Kau'ulufonua Motu'a	
	Tapu'osi	

	Talakaifaiki	
	Ha'avakafuhu	
	Talafata	
Tu'itatui	Tu'itatui	Tu'itatui
Tala'atama	Tala'atama	Tala'atama
Tu'itonganui Koe Tamatou	Tu'itonganui Koe Tamatou	Tu'itonganui Tamatou
Talaiha'apepe	Talaiha'apepe	Talaiha'apepe
Talakaifaiki	Tapu'osi	Talakaifaiki
Talafapite	Fatafehi	Talafapite
Tu'itonga Ma'akatoe		
Tu'itonga Puipui		
Havea I	Havea	Havea I
Tatafu'eikimeimu'a	Kau'ulufonua	Tatafu'eikimeimu'a
Lomi'aetupu'a	Tapu'osimonu	
Havea II		
Takalaua	Takalaua	Takalaua
Kau'ulufonuafekai	Kau'ulufonuafekai	Kau'ulufonuafekai
Vakafuhu		Vakafuhu
Puipuifatu		Puipuifatu
Kau'ulufonua		Kau'ulufonua II
Tapu'osi I	Tapu'osi	Tapu'osi
'Uluakimata Tele'a	Tele'a	'Uluakimata I (Tele'a)
Fatafehi	Fatafehi	Fatafehi
Tapu'osi II (Kau'ulufonua III)	Kau'ulufonua	
'Uluakimata II	'Uluakimata	'Uluakimata II
Tu'ipulotu'ilangi Tu'ofefafa	Tu'ipulotu'ilangi Tu'ofefafa	Tu'ipulotu I
Fakana'ana'a	Fakana'ana'a	Fakana'ana'a
Tu'ipulotu'ilangi Tu'oteau	Tu'ipulotu'ilangi Tu'oteau	Tu'ipulotu II
Paulaho	Pau	Pau

Ma'ulupekotofa

Fatafehi
Fuanunuiava

Laufilitonga

Ma'ulupekotofa

Fuanunuiava

Laufilitonga

Ma'ulupekotofa

Fatafehi
Fuanunuiava

Laufilitonga

Appendix C
The Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Succession

Mo'ungāmotu'a

Tanekitonga

Vaeamatoka

Siulangapō

Vakalahimohe'uli

Mo'ungā-'o-tonga

Fotofili

Vaea

Moeakiola

Tatafu

Kafoa

Tu'ionukulave

Silivaka'ifanga

Fuatakifolaha (possible)

Maealiuaki (possible)

Mulikiha'amea (possible)

Appendix D
The Tu'i Kanokupolu Succession

Ngata

'Atamata'ila

Mataeletu'apiko

Vuna

Mataeleha'amea

Ma'afu'otu'itonga

Tupoulahi

Maealiuaki

Tu'ihalafatai (possible)

Tupoulahisi'i

Tupoumoheofo

Mumui

Tuku'aho

Ma'afulimuloa

Tupoumalohi

Tupouto'a

Aleamotu'a

Tāufa'āhau Tupou I

Tāufa'āhau Tupou II

Sālote Mafile'o Pilolevu Tupou III

Tāufa'āhau Tupou IV

Glossary of Tongan Terms

afa hurricane

fahu 'above the law or *tapu*'

faikava *kava* ceremony

fakafotu female's brother's child

fakanofo to appoint

fakataha meeting, assembly

fakatapui to make *tapu*

fakataumafa 'to provide food for'. presentation to the Tu'i Tonga

faka'apa'apa respect, honour

fale dwelling

fale'alo immediate family of the Tu'i Tonga, especially the Tu'i Tonga Fefine and her children

fananga fictitious story

fanga plurality marker

fatongia duty

fa'itoka chiefly burial

fokonofo secondary wife

fono public assembly

fonua land, but also implies the people on it

foto plurality marker

hala path or road

hau secular ruler

ha'a titular lineage

hingoa fakanofo title

hisitōlia 'history'

hiva song

hohoko genealogy

hopoate war prisoner, slave

hou plurality marker

hūfanga'anga sanctuary

kai fonua common people

kainanga 'ae fonua common people

kāinga kinsmen; the subjects of a chief

kalia large Tongan double canoe, usually built in Fiji

kātoanga public festival

kau plurality marker

kava *Piper methysticum*, a plant used to make a drink

kavenga burden

kie hingoa fine mat

kiki animal produce

kitetama cross-cousin marriage, chiefly prerogative

koloa 'wealth', mainly fine mats and barkcloth

kumete *kava* bowl

langi Tu'i Tonga's tomb

loto'ālahi sanctuary

mala'e open space used for public meetings

matāpule chiefly attendant

mā'itaki principal wife

mehekitanga father's sister

me'a 'ofa gift

me'akai agricultural produce

me'e dance or action song

moana deep sea

moemoe gesture of obeisance

moheofo principal wife of the Tu'i Tonga

muli foreigner

mu'a non-elite, but higher ranking than *tu'a*

nonofo to live together

ngaohi tapu to make *tapu*

ngatu painted barkcloth

olopo'ou a woman's first born child

palā tavake feather headdress

papālangi European

polopolo first fruits, share of the chiefs

pongipongi ceremonial presentation to chiefs

pōpula slaves

puke to seize

pule authority, power

sika'ulutoa chiefly dart game

sinifu non-principal wife

sinifu fonua non-principal wife of the Tu'i Tonga who often accompanied tribute presentations

sino'i 'eiki chiefly, high ranking

talanoa traditions, stories

talatupu'a ancient traditions relating to the gods

tama 'a mehekitanga father's sister's child

tama 'a tu'asina mother's brother's child

tamai father

tapa unpainted barkcloth

tau tahi sea forces

tau 'uta land army

tauhi to look after

taumafa kava *kava* ceremony of the Tu'i Tonga

taupo virgin

ta'anga poem

ta'okete older sibling, same sex

tehina younger sibling, same sex

tohi hohoko genealogy book

tokonaki provisions as tribute

tokoua sibling

tongiaki Tongan double canoe

toto blood

to'a warrior

tukui plurality marker

tuofefine male's sister

tupu'anga ancestor

tu'a common people, non-elite

tu'asina mother's brother

tu'avivi common person of very low rank

tu'i ruler

uho taha 'of one umbilical cord'; sharing the same mother

uho tau 'fighting umbilical cords'; sharing the same father

vai water

'api land allotment

'eiki chiefly

'ilamutu male's sister's child

'ilo kava *kava* ceremony of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua

'inasi first fruits; 'share of the gods'

'ofa love, emotion

'ohomohe late supper

'ufi kahokaho variety of yam presented at the *'inasi*

'ulu head

'ulu motu'a senior kinsman

'umu earth oven

'unoho spouse; marriage ceremony

'uta land, interior land

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