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**THE CULTURAL PRESERVATION OF TONGA :
TRADITIONAL PRACTICE AND CURRENT POLICY**

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of
Master of Philosophy in Social Policy
at Massey University

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February 1996

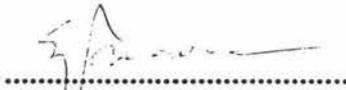
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This thesis is dedicated to my late
grandmother, **'Ilaisaane Fakatupu-'i-taua Havea**,
whose interest in education was highlighted
in her dying wish.

DECLARATION

This thesis is my own work otherwise acknowledged



.....
Sōsefo Fietangata Havea

February 1996

ABSTRACT

Social policy has developed as a discipline since the 1940s, with the coming of the modern welfare state. As a discipline or field of study, social policy has concentrated its vision on modern institutions of government, the constitutional, political and administrative process involved in providing for the welfare of contemporary welfare states. Tonga is an example of an independent State which has grafted a contemporary State onto a highly specialised Polynesian society. With these dual heritages, the question of maintaining Tonga's unique and rich cultural heritage is extremely significant, especially in the context of challenges to the monarchical and aristocratic control of government. This issue is doubly significant because the monarchy has become a crucial element of Tongan tradition, as well as the instrument for maintaining Tonga as an independent nation state, a member of the United Nations and a participant in a large number of international agreements with the obligations these bring. This thesis surveys the institutions which are involved in cultural preservation in Tonga, and contrasts a fundamentally indigenous institution, the kava ceremony, with imported legislative and administrative institutions. It is argued that in dealing with a non-western society, adopting a substantially western form of government, there is a need to examine not just the formal institutions of policy making but also the traditional institutions which continue to influence both the structure of government and its policy objectives. Understanding the interconnection of these different institutions is fundamental to understanding the way that policy, or more importantly, policy reform can be effected.

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The best production is a product of best sacrifice and struggle. What else one can do better - a best of its own, its a best for all, and to live to learn and to die to know.

INTRODUCTION

This thesis examines the cultural conservation of Tonga and its traditional practices and current policy. The attempt to formulate local, national, regional and international policies for cultural preservation has become a popular movement world-wide. The demand for cultural preservation is a Western concept to preserve culture for future generations. This view can be further extended to preserve culture for its own sake. But also to maintain the traditional knowledge and skills practised in the past. Tonga has its own traditions of cultural conservation, which have been maintained for centuries, since the islands were first occupied by Polynesian people. More recently these cultural practices have been augmented by formal statutory and administrative provisions. This thesis compares these two systems of cultural preservations and raises questions about the effectiveness of both for the current needs of Tongan society.

Culture by definition includes the best and permanent productions of the human mind in one's society as a byproduct of the constant interaction between society and nature. There are two major sets of interaction to be pointed out here. First, the social-natural relationship, which manifests the connection between human beings and their environment. This particular relationship enables us to understand the degree and rate of exchange between human beings and the environment, especially in terms of resource exploitation strategies. Secondly, such a human-society relationship is seen in the context of social interaction amongst groups within Tongan society. This relationship determines how the systems and policies are formulated and to what extent the different interests are dominant or subdominant in the decision-making processes. In the former, the social-natural relationship is governed by a human-deity relationship in which the chiefs are considered to be the direct earthly representatives of the gods. Culture is not politically neutral. As a consequence chiefs are seen to have the ultimate right to control and regulate the role of commoners with respect to the exploitation of all means of production within

Tongan society. Nature in this context can be taken as the will of deities, whose will is expressed through the conduct of local chiefs. At the same time, chiefs to a certain extent, are claimed to be earthly representatives of deities.

This study is aimed to identify the mechanisms involved in the processes of cultural survival. The issue of cultural preservation deals with the questions, why is it important to preserve culture and what are the cultural aspects that should be preserved? The former question is based on the assertion that all cultures are equally important. The latter can be seen as an artificial question, which takes cultures as if they were something outside society that can be controlled and predicted. However both traditional and modern means to preserve culture are controlled by the ruling order of society and the Tongan chiefly classes. While in modern times, the Western concept of cultural management, also rests on the general population, and has a potential to undermine and threaten the power base of the chiefly order. The traditional Tongan cultural preservation policy exhibits both the works and interests of chiefs and its meaning rests on the domain of the chiefs. Culture is linked to the works of a ruling class and the role of commoners in the whole production is little acknowledged. To preserve these cultural means also preserves the power of the ruling elites.

Tongan traditional cultural conservation is based on traditional religious beliefs and the politics of the chiefly interests. These Tongan religious beliefs were instituted for the political and economic advantage of the ruling elites. In order for the chiefs to maintain their superiority over the people, there are certain key elements within their relationship with the masses that need to be well secured. The need for security of the chiefs' subjective interests leads to the initial institutionalisation of traditional conservation policy.

The *tapu* (taboo) system was amongst the most effective mechanism for maintaining policies in traditional cultural management. It disqualified commoners' eligibility to have access to certain resources. At the same time, it served as a qualifying

medium for chiefs to exploit such resources. This double-sided concept of the *tapu* system has concealed the essential contradictory element of the chief-commoner relationship.

At the same time, political strategy was developed as a means of cultural conservation. This medium of conservation originated from the traditional religious beliefs, which claimed the Tu'i Tonga as of divine descent. 'Aho'eitu, the first Tu'i Tonga, is the son of the god Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a and an earthly Tongan woman, 'Iaheva (also known as Va'epopua). 'Aho'eitu is said to have lived around the 10th century AD by genealogical reckoning and relative dating. The Tu'i Tonga consolidated his political advantage by declaring himself as having a divine origin. In order to preserve his power certain systems were developed and implemented to prevent any challenge that may have arisen.

It is an argument put forward in this thesis that the development of traditional conservatism advanced the interests of the ruling Tu'i Tonga to protect and maintain their political and economic superiority. Cultural preservation in the traditional sense is a medium of securing the interests of chiefs in social, political, economic and psychological settings.

The *kava* ceremony is a good example of the way the traditional Tongan society has used its own mechanisms for cultural preservation. Although the ceremony has been practised in Tongan society for centuries, it still functions as a major institution for replicating culture within the modern state. According to oral traditions, Lo'au, probably a Samoan chief, instituted the *kava* ceremony, which is one of the most essential cultural concepts in the history of Tonga. The *kava* ceremony is a medium of public exhibition and declaration of one's social and political status. Generally the *kava* ceremony may be seen as the equivalent of the modern parliament and other governing bodies, where decision-making processes are formally created by open public debates and discussions.

However, in Tongan society the *taumafa kava* royal *kava* ceremony also serves as a distributional mechanism of power and titles. The politics of the *kava* ceremony can be

understood by studying the contradictory exchanges between chiefs and commoners who participate in the ceremony. Politics in this context is about the distribution of production and other economic resources. Titles are social in appearance, but they are economic and political in essence. The common definition of politics as power struggle can not make sense, unless it penetrates to the essential desire of, reality in, having such power, where economics and politics are an underpinning factor. The *kava* ceremony can be seen as a political medium of the public declaration of power. The harmonious expression of the *kava* ceremony rests on a multitude of contradictory tensions between the throne and tribal leaders as well as between the population at large.

The serving of one's *fatongia* special duty by a multitude of social classes really reflects its complex stages and processes involved with certain groups support the other by taking advantage of another. *Fatongia* is a given duty and obligation imposed on commoners for the honour of their social opposites, chiefs. This constant reciprocal exchange maintain the cooperation within the *kava* ceremony.

This *fatongia* reciprocal exchange is again exhibited in the setting of the *kava* ceremony, where the *olovaha* on one end of the '*alofi* circle of chiefs and *matapule*, and the *tou'a* are the representatives of commoners as workers of the *kava* ceremony. The seating format of the *kava* ceremony is generally based on the horizontal dimension of social hierarchical structure, where the king is at the top, then followed in order by chiefs, *matāpule* and at the very bottom are the commoners.

The *kava* ceremony itself really indicates the distributional systems of social, political and economic means of production within Tongan society. It politically tends to justify the role and interests of the ruling classes. It also shows how a specific role is carried out by specific classes and lineages. Interestingly the meaning of the *kava* ceremony and its present expansion is different from the traditional sense both in concept and practice. The change of meaning may reflect the attempt to accommodate the changes in the conceptualised social framework of Tongan society.

The more frequent contact with Europeans in the 19th century and the adoption of capitalism by Tongan society marked the transitional shift from traditional communalism to Western individualism. This shift was well incorporated with the traditional models practised within Tongan society, where chiefs are owners of the means of production, while the commoners are mere labourers. Therefore, the emergence of capitalism in Tonga suited the existing socio-political framework with reference to economic advantage of the chiefs themselves. This incorporation was again illustrated in the adoption of Tongan written codes and constitution, where the chiefs are given political advantage based on land ownership, which is the source of economic power.

Internationally, the demand for cultural preservation is based on the demand from the public at large, not only for the future generations, but importantly for the sake of the culture itself. Some classical cultural aspects have unquestionable significance, either by public or individual understanding.

The current cultural preservation law and policy of Tonga are decided by the government, which consists of the King, Privy Council and Cabinet, Legislative Assembly and Judiciary. The members of the first two executive bodies are appointed for life by the King himself, and they are made up the two-third of the legislative assembly. The decision-making processes are dominated by the ruling elites with consideration that economic development is more important than cultural preservation. This is reflected in the lack of concern for cultural preservation. The form of government reflects the dominant element of the ruling class, where more than two-third of the legislative assembly are appointed for life by the king himself. In other words, the political nature of traditional Tongan cultural preservation policy remains within the new system.

The relationship between Tongan traditional cultural preservation policy and modern policy is essentially based on the politics of the chiefly class for economic advantage. These politics were based on the claim that chiefs were divine in origin. While their claims to power are now more secular, their high status is reflected in Tonga's current

form of government. The unwrapping of this divine claim rests on the economic advantage of the chiefly elites and the campaign to sustain their status quo. The current policy rests on the economic interests of the ruling elites, where they are protected under the law. The traditional and modern cultural preservation policies shared the common factor where the economic interests of the chiefly class is to be maintained. Their economic interests in traditional policy was protected by their claim to be divine origin. But in modern practice it is protected by introduced western legal regimes designed and decided by the ruling class itself. Economic interest and political power are the connecting aspects between traditional and modern cultural preservation policies of Tonga.

To demonstrate this link between traditional and modern conservation regimes the thesis examines in four chapters, Tongan culture, traditional policy making practices, the *kava* ceremony and modern practice. Chapter One deals with a discussion of historical development of Tongan society and its complex socio-political organisation and changes associated with through time. Chapter Two discusses Tongan traditional cultural preservation policy showing the extent that this was designed to serve the interests of the ruling class. This traditional policy was based on the traditional religious belief that chiefs are the direct representatives of the deities, which given the chiefs the absolute control over all resources within Tongan society. Chapter Three will examine the royal *kava* ceremony as an example of the how traditional preservation policy works, and how it is maintained. The *kava* ceremony is particularly important in that while it played a central part in traditional cultural preservation, it has adapted its role to the modern state and remains an important cultural institution alongside the modern constitutional system. Chapter Four deals with the current cultural preservation policy and its historical development. It will also discuss the western influences on Tongan legal system in particular, and the form of government in general. Related legal regimes for cultural preservation are discussed as is their inadequacy and ineffectiveness.

Chapter One

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Tongan cultural heritage is made up of both material and non-material properties, historically associated with Tongan society, history and culture as well as material items deposited in overseas museums and archives. Tongan cultural heritage can be generally classified into prehistoric and historic categories. Prehistoric materials are properties dated to the pre-contact era, and historic material since contact with Europe. Within these categories, there are a number of cultural aspects, ranging from archaeological sites to performing arts. There are also some social aspects such as rituals. Archaeological properties are materials which include sites and areas associated with early human activities and settlements of Tongan society. These properties will provide information to assist the reconstruction of how the early Tongans lived and adapted to their new environment. The encounter of the early Tongans with their environment impacted on culture and gave rise to history. Architectural structures are the most prominent archaeological properties well-preserved in the whole of Tonga. Tongan traditional performing arts are aspects of Tongan culture, and have been practised over the centuries, as well as concepts and rituals, such as *fahu*, *'ululmotu'a*, formal burials, weddings and so on.

The attempt to preserve and protect Tongan cultural heritage is a concern to preserve the best and permanent productions of Tongan society, and what is distinctive about the national identity. The concept of cultural identity has recently become popular globally, which holds social, economic and political significance. This chapter deals with the general historical background of the settlement of the Pacific, as well as the settlement of Tonga and development within Tongan society through time. It also discusses the emergence and development of social and political organisation in Tongan society with respect to the three kingly lines, Tu'i Tonga, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and the Tu'i Kanokupolu lines and their associated activities.

The Pacific is conventionally divided into three major groups : Melanesia (*melas* - black), Micronesia (*micros* - small) and Polynesia (*poly* - many, *neesos* - an island). The

Pacific Ocean covers almost half of the earth's surface (see Green 1969, 1974; Groube 1971; Kirch 1980, 1988). Melanesia is in the western Pacific south of the equator; Micronesia is to the western Pacific but north of the equator; and Polynesia comprises islands to the east of the Pacific (see Map 1). These cultural areas are again based on geographical distribution of distinctive cultures and histories (see Davidson 1979; Green 1978).

The Melanesian and Polynesian languages have some great similarities, which further infers that they came from a common ancestral language (see Biggs 1971:467; Burrows 1939; Geraghty 1983; Green 1979; Pawley 1972) (see Figure 1). This linguistic commonality of these groups may also be traced back to their settlement and colonisation. These distinctive but related languages belong to the ancestral Austronesian language family (see Elbert 1953; Green 1966; Pawley 1966, 1967) spoken some 6,000 years ago. But the non-Austronesian languages were spoken by the earliest settlers of Papua New Guinea highlands some 40,000 years ago.

It has been proved archaeologically that Pacific proper was settled initially by Melanesian people some 4000 years ago. Western Polynesia - Fiji, Samoa and Tonga - was the first to have been settled in Polynesia, then followed by the settlement over time of the rest within the Polynesian triangle (see Jennings and Holmer 1980). It took thousands of years of voyaging for the Lapita people to reach Tonga and become its earliest settlers (Havea 1992a). They initially departed from the Bismarck Archipelago and settled first in the coastal areas of New Guinea, when later waves moved on to the Solomons, Vanuatu and finally reached Fiji, Tonga and Samoa. The only difficulty was the Vanuatu-Fiji gap, but the fact that they were great navigators made it possible for them to sail the distance. They sailed against the wind, as this was a safer way of exploration. In case they did not hit landfall, they could still return to their known islands safely with the help of the favourable winds and the current. The navigation was made with the help of the moon, the night stars, and with acute observations of floating objects, the winds, the waves and

different colours and conditions of the sky as reflections of shallow and deep seas. Such conditions were indicators of the whereabouts of atolls, reefs, and unseen landfalls. The current evidence suggests that Fiji was settled first (Best 1984; Birks 1973; Frost 1979; Green 1963; Hunt 1980), and then Tonga (Davidson 1969; Groube 1971, 1979; Kirch 1984; McKern 1929; Poulsen 1964, 1967, 1968, 1983) and Samoa (Green and Davidson 1969, 1974; Jennings and Holmer 1980).

The archaeological reconstruction of the settlement of the Pacific is based on cultural and historical aspects being brought with the settlers from Islands Southeast Asia. They were Austronesian-speakers before they moved out to colonise the islands of the Pacific (see Bellwood, 1986:131; Pawley 1967, 1972). The highlanders of Papua New Guinea and the Australian aborigines are exceptions and arrived earlier migration waves, some 50,000 years ago. As a source, the languages of western Polynesia and Melanesian islands provide some information about the route of earliest settlers showing great similarities in terminologies and grammatical structures, which again suggest they came from a common ancestral stock. A recent study which used blood types again suggests the common ancestral origin of the Pacific peoples.

The earliest settlers of western Polynesia had material culture which has been found throughout Fiji, Samoa and Tonga islands, and even along the route tracing back to the Bismarck archipelago, the homeland of the Lapita people. Lapita was a place in New Caledonia where pottery was first discovered and studied. The margins of the Polynesian triangle: Aotearoa (New Zealand), Hawaii and Rapanui (Easter) Island were settled very late by people from neighbouring islands rather than by Lapita people (see Map 1). The Polynesian culture was originally founded within the Fiji-Samoa-Tonga triangle. Today, these countries maintain these pre-European contact links in terms of sports and political activities, a fact which leads to support the theory that contacts within this western Polynesian triangle have always been two-way, and that they have never ceased (Havea 1992a).

The Samoa islands were likely to have been settled from Tonga at a relatively later stage. But it was from Samoa that eastern Polynesia, beginning with central Polynesia, from which Hawaii in the north, and New Zealand in the South, then Rapanui or Easter island were relatively the last to have been settled. Fiji, Samoa and Tonga in western Polynesia have related in cultural and historical terms. Not only is this due to their settlement connections, but also their geographical proximity and frequent contacts amongst them throughout the centuries.

The Polynesians were highly mobile as great navigators, thus enabling them to sail long distances with sufficient people, plants and animals. Even though they came from west Pacific, bringing with them western Pacific cultural traits, due to respective different environments and adaptive strategies Tonga, Fiji and Samoa have developed their own peculiar cultural identities. They had chiefs, and some relative forms of stratified social organisation; they also manufactured tools from stones, shells, bones and woods (see Kaepler 1978; Kirch 1984). Also, they were great fishermen with different fishing techniques, angling, spearing and netting (see Kirch 1975, 1979, 1980; Kirch and Dye 1979). They had a range of canoe sizes, from single outriggers to huge double-hulled canoes. They also relied on sea and marine food resources for their survival.

Through time, the islands of western Polynesia became isolated from eastern Polynesia, which might have had something to do with less frequent but somehow sustained contacts that gave rise to the development of some cultural boundaries between these islands (see Kirch 1987, 1977, 1975, 1976, 1979; Pawley 1966, 1967, 1972). Another important factor is the role played by the natural environment in fashioning the respective differences between different islands. On the basis of archaeological reconstruction, the Lapita people are regarded as coastal settlers with simple marine-based economy. This is evident from the untouched abundance of shellfish and fish throughout the islands of Tonga at the time. And as Helu (1993:11) suggests :

the diversification of local areal cultures were going apace and this brought with it rivalry and competition in exploitation and travel which in turn led to open inter-island and inter-group conflicts.

1.1 Settlement of Tonga Islands

The Kingdom of Tonga comprises of some 160 islands, which spread from 15° and 23° 30' south latitude and between 170° and 177° west. It covers some 699 square kilometres of land and some 700,000 square kilometres of sea area. The current population of Tonga is around 100,000 people. Tonga is divided into three main groups: Tongatapu (including 'Eua and 'Ata), the political capital and seat of government, Ha'apai and Vava'u, with Niuatoputapu, Tafahi and Niuafo'ou considered as outliers (see Map 2).

The islands of Tonga were settled for the first time by the earliest Lapita settlers some 3500 years ago (see Poulsen 1977, 1987). They came from Fiji as part of a series of migrations into the Pacific from Southeast Asia, via the Melanesian islands. Tongatapu, Niuatoputapu and the Ha'apai groups have been confirmed archaeologically to have been settled by the Lapita people. The islands of Ha'ano, Foa (Faleloa village) and Lifuka (Pangai village) are the confirmed places to have been settled by the Lapita people (see Map 3). The earliest Tongans were settled around the coastal and lagoonal areas of the islands (see Davidson 1969; Poulsen 1964), where there was the necessary shelter and an abundance of marine food resources (see Groube 1971; Havea 1992a; Poulsen 1977). On

Tongatapu island, the Fanga'uta lagoon was amongst the places favoured by the earliest Lapita settlers. During the Lapita Period (3500-1850 years ago), the sea level of Tongatapu was two meters higher than today.

The narrowing of the opening to the Fanga'uta lagoon gradually caused an unhealthy environment for marine organisms including their food resources (see Map 4). The changing sea level forced them to do more agricultural work, which later influenced a shift in the socio-political organisation. The shift from marine economy to agricultural gave rise to earth oven *'umu*, and thought decrease in boiling cooking method and pottery production.

The Lapita pottery was varied in size, shape and decorative motifs. They were made with flat slabs of clay and were highly decorated with a combination of straight and curved lines. They were made by the Lapita people in Bismarck and then brought with them to Polynesia via Melanesia.

At the time of this shift in agriculture, with the corresponding changes in socio-political organisation, was probably when Tonga began to have some settled form. Some form of land tenure system, as indicated in oral traditions, was evident at this time. A system of social organisation, even in land tenure system constitutes the social interaction between humans with their environment in network of relationships.

The over exploitation of marine food resources and population growth also forced the settlement to move inland. Hence, the inland movement marked the end of pottery manufacturing and the decline in marine economy. The food storage facilities, such as those for Tongan bread *mā Tonga* were also introduced to supplement the surplus of

agricultural production, seasonal crops and the prevention of food shortages after natural disasters. Breadfruit *mei* is a seasonal plant and therefore, by devising storage facilities, would have been an ideal means for sustaining food resources during the off-seasons and occasions of natural disasters.

Because of this shift to agricultural production and an emergence of agricultural surplus, there was an essential need to formulate and initiate some form of powerful body so as to control the distribution process within Tongan society (see Māhina 1992). It is suspected that Tongan society was not very highly stratified until they moved inland and to an agricultural-based economy. *Sia* are the archaeological monuments that strongly indicate this inland movement. The functions of these *sia* constructions reflect some kind of stronger socio-political organisation in Tongan society. The first kind of mounds were unfaced *sia* (no supporting stones), and followed by the stone-faced ones as later a development, and the most advance development was the stone slab construction *langi* (royal burial complex).

The only distinctive form of *sia* is the pigeon-snaring mound *sia-heu-lupe*, which has an opening on the top for the catchers to hide in. The largest and most unique *sia-heu-lupe* is situated at Uoleva island in the Ha'apai group (see Map 3). The island is believed to have been used as a sporting ground for Tu'i Tonga and chiefs at the time. At the Popua residential areas (next to Nuku'alofa rubbish dump), there still stand remains of some *sia-heu-lupe*; also at Fatai village (western Tongatapu) and a few other places (Havea 1992a:8).

The conditions of Fanga'uta lagoon are deteriorating due to inevitable land reclamation and the destruction of mangrove and other plant species as spawning habitats of sea life. The drainage system is another major problem, although it does prevent erosion to the lagoon, which again adds to the slow destruction of the lagoon itself. The reserves in the lagoon are also poorly cared for and managed.

As the people moved inland they relied more and more on agricultural products, root crops especially taro *talo*, gaint taro *kape*, yam *'ufi*, coconut *niu*, breadfruit *mei*, and animal such as dogs *kulī*, fowls *moa* for food. The early burial sites were discovered in white coral sands with no grave goods and no clear sign of rank. After the Lapita Period, *sia* burials indicate some sort of ranking, and reflect the emergence of a complex social organisation. Interestingly, the burial orientation (head points) in pre-contact times was orientated to the north-west. This is directed to Pulotu, taken as the Tongan ancestral homeland, an island in the Fiji group called Matuku, where the souls of chiefs returned to reside after death (see Map 5). The east-west orientation of burial practice currently practised throughout Tonga is based on the Christian teaching and beliefs introduced by missionaries at contact.

1.1.1 Economics and Settlement Pattern

The early settlers probably had two primary considerations in mind: shelter and food resources. On the basis of this economic need, a particular form of social organisation,

together with certain institutional values and moralities were developed for the benefit of the community. The material and the social tended to interplay, causing Tongan society at its earliest stage to begin to have some apparent form. And as Helu (1993:9) asserts :

The central place that food has in Polynesian cultures was partly due to the nature of food rationing at sea voyages. Many people huddling together in cramped little spaces found out that they have to be utterly frugal with food and water and then involuntarily constrained to do two things: share and economise. These values though seemingly antithetical to each other do really improve the survival characteristics of a situation. Sharing is in fact a strategy for survival and arises naturally in environment of scarcity and want.

Their zone of marine and land exploitations were simple and very much based on a concept of mobility. The human-environment exchange was as much symmetrical as it was a kind of balance. The shifting of settlements would have been based on a simple land tenure system constructed at the time (see Faka'osi 1993; Māhina 1992). This reflects the widespread location of Lapita sites in coastal and lagoonal areas within a small time scale since their first arrival. The area exploited and rate of exploitation were very limited and minimal with respect to distribution of earliest sites. Again it may have to do with some form of control or some sort of social hierarchy. The highly decorated pottery which was often used in certain burials may reflect an aspect of social hierarchy.

1.1.2 Socio-political Organisation

The arrival of the Lapita people in Tonga is suspected to have brought with them elements of social organization based on the marine economy. This social system was influenced by

the Melanesian Big Man system. This means that there might have been some sort of social organisation associated with Lapita people at their initial settlement (see Faka'osi 1993; Māhina 1992). Then, as Helu says (1991:3) a kind of body that "was created to adjudicate conflicts".

The concept of *tu'i* (lord/king-of-a-place; as in Tu'i Tonga, Lord/King-of-Tonga) is restricted in use to western Polynesian and believed to have originated in eastern Polynesia. On the other hand, the notion of *'eiki* (chiefliness; chief; chiefly) was originally borrowed from eastern Polynesian, indicating the possibility of two-way contacts between eastern and western Polynesia. The *tu'i* notion could possibly be an extension of the *'eiki* concept developed in western Polynesia, and did not, in turn, get back to eastern Polynesia.

Tonga has had several political capitals in the last 1800 years (Havea 1992a). The first was located at the airport site where Toloa and Fua'amotu now stand. Later capitals were located at Heketā, Toloa and Mu'a before Nuku'alofa, the present seat of government (see Map 4). Tonga's first capital, established after the Lapita Period ended 1850 years ago (see Faka'osi 1993; Havea 1992a; Māhina 1992; Spennemann 1986), probably covered a large area which stretched from the western runway of Fua'amotu Airport to where the terminal is situated. It is rather sad to see that only a tiny part of the original area is still kept intact, after the construction of the airport that destroyed the site. The area was marked with a concentration of *sia* or earth mounds. The *sia* had various functions and were used for burials, house foundations, and also for sitting mounds of chiefs.

Tonga's second political capital, Heketā, was established around the 12th or 13th century by the 10th Tu'i Tonga Momo (see Collocott, King Taufa, MS, n.d:19; Gifford 1929; Havea 1992b; Māhina 1986, 1992)(see Map 6). While the capital was still at Toloa at the early reign of Tu'i Tonga Momo, the outlying islands of eastern Tongatapu were, according to traditions, already settled by the Tu'i Lo'au and his people, who were foreigners and more technologically and culturally advanced than the locals (Gifford 1929; Havea 1992b; see also Māhina 1986, 1992;). According to tradition the shift from Toloa to Heketā is said to be an attempt to welcome these new arrivals and possibly to avoid tensions between the Lo'au people and the locals.

Tala'atama, the 13th Tu'i Tonga (see Figure 2) is credited with the founding of Mu'a, the Tu'i Tonga residence, which then functioned as Tonga's third political capital for centuries, prior to the shift to Nuku'alofa, the present capital (see Map 7). Mu'a was where modern Tonga was partly developed, and the place of contact with Europeans, and as Captain Cook was landed. Political tensions erupted about the 14th and 15th centuries and fortification *kolotau* were constructed (Havea 1990; see also Lātūkefu 1975). The rectangular *kolotau* at Mu'a is assumed to be the first built, perhaps as security measures of Tu'i Tonga and the central polity.

Mu'a is also marked by massive stone constructions *langi* (royal burial complex) and other associated monuments (see Havea 1992a; Mckern 1929; spennemann 1989). These *langi* (see Māhina 1992) are rectangular in shape and range in size up to thousands of square meters. According to oral traditions, stones were carved in Uvea and Futuna by people there and transported by the Lomipeau, a double-hulled canoe *kalia* for the building

of the *langi* (see Lātūkefu 1975; Māhina 1992). It is suspected that such traditions are a reflection of the fact that the construction of these *langi* was actually done by Uvean and Futunan "engineers" and stone masons (Havea 1992b).

1.2 Stratification of Tongan Society

Tongan society is largely divided into three major social classes: the royalty *tu'i* and their closest lineages; the chiefs *hou'eiki*; and the commoners *tu'a*. Even within each of these three classes, there is also ranking according to their linkage to the most superior kingly line, which is the Tu'i Tonga. That is, the social reference for this ranking system is basically founded on their Tu'i Tonga connections.

It is assumed that the origin of social hierarchy is dated back to the earliest settlers of Tonga some 3500 years ago. There are two basic features of the early Tongans that I would like to mention which may contribute to a better understanding of this early Tongan society. First, they were colonists which they settled new places along the lagoonal and coastal area of Tonga islands. That is, they settled in a place, and some of them moved to another new places and so on. This claim is connected with the distribution of early archaeological sites throughout the Tongan islands. This expansionist attitude would have been based on a controlling body of some sort. These features and the *'eiki* concept of western Polynesia (see Gifford 1929; Kaeppler 1971; Māhina 1986, 1992; Rogers 1975,

1977; Sahlins 1958; 1985a, 1985b) is argued to have been derived from Eastern Polynesian which was further developed within Tonga to become the *tu'i* concept. But interestingly it never reached back to Eastern Polynesia. It may also have been brought with the earliest Tongans either from Melanesia or as a result of constant contacts within Western Polynesia or both. The western Polynesian connections especially with Samoa at a later stage was very influential in the formalization and enforcing of social stratification that we experience today.

Within Tonga there are complex systems involving rank and status (see Gifford 1923; Kirch 1980, 1984; Sahlins 1958, 1985a). Traditionally, only the Tu'i Tonga has the highest rank of all or *'eiki*, and it is the standard or reference for one's own ranking. The closer to the Tu'i Tonga the higher is one's status. The notion of *'eiki* in a restrict sense is referred to the Tu'i Tonga, who are to be served in all respects and they are not allowed to be doing any work.

Māhina (1992:102) argues that,

The localisation of the notion *'eiki* in Tonga underwent a slight twist, which might have been due to the combinatory double, sacred-secular, content of the *tu'i* concept. That is, certain aspects of the political nature of *'eiki*, in secular terms of conquering, are subsumed to the doubly, secular-sacred, character of the *tu'i* concept (see also Bott 1981, 1982; Campbell 1992; Cummins 1977; Gifford 1929; Kaeppler 1971, 1978; Korn 1974; Marcus 1975; Rogers 1975, 1977; Rutherford 1977).

'Eiki is a relative notion and it applies to other chiefs inclusive of the Tu'i Tonga, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu kingly lines. Even though they have different rates and types of exchange with respect to the socio-political setting. The wider exchanging framework provides equilibrium of flowing of goods and materials. The sister has

advantage over her brother, and at the same time, the brother's wife has the privilege over her brother, and so no. Therefore at the end of the day, there is a form of fairness in the whole process of exchange.

Males control the line of titles and have political power over their younger brothers if they have the same mother, and remain inferior to their father (see Focart 1915). Females on the other hand, are socially superior over their younger sisters and all of their brothers, but again socially and politically inferior to their father and mother. This symmetrical exchange does make the process static, because at the end they more or less have a complementary role to play and there is an equilibrium of exchange.

The commoners *tu'a* are at the bottom of the social pyramid, and they are the producers of the land. The term *kainanga-ē-fonua* (lit. eating upon the land) is also applied to commoners. In this context *kainanga* means commoners, while *fonua* refers to chiefs, the consumers. The producer-consumer relationship alluded to in this term highlights the social distinction between these two social classes. *'Eiki* involves being socially superior over someone, and is manifest at national and local levels. At the national level it relates to the Tu'i Tonga connection. The local is connected to the extended family *kāinga*. Yet they operate in a similar nature with similar principles. At the national level the chiefs could exercise their *'eikiness* over the commoners with a combination of rank *pule* and authority *mafai*. The rank and authority is nothing more than the political manifestation of the control and regulation of production. When it comes to *kāinga*, the rank refers to female, whilst authority relates to male. These senior roles are capable of commanding production activities, where females are producing *koloa* (as obligation *fatongia*), with males

responsible for work *ngāue*. The term *ngāue* in this context has to do with agricultural and fishing activities while *koloa* relates to the production of mats and tapa cloth *ngatu*. The concept of *ngāue* and *fatongia* are both economic in nature, which exhibit the productions of both males and females. The same distinction occurs when we look at *fahu* and *'ulumotu'a* at the *kāinga* level. The *fahu*-based on the female seniority-consists of rank, and *'ulumotu'a* is based on male seniority and associated with authority. However these separate but unified concepts exhibit the social exchange of gender based social roles, while the roles are different, they nevertheless on same principles.

Biersack (1991:236) argued that rank determines the hierarchical emergence, which is to say that the more ancient the title, the more senior it is. This functionalist-structuralist view is problematic because 'ancient' does not guarantee seniority or superiority, with respect to rank. That is, being ancient does not necessarily mean, or at least, guarantee higher rank. In the case of 'Ahoaitu, the first Tu'i Tonga, he was the youngest of Tangaloa 'Eitumātupu'a, but he himself was honoured with the Tu'i Tonga title, rather than his eldest brothers.

Bott (1982:57) suggests that,

It is assumed that rank of rulers relative to one another will vary according to their authority and power. In Tonga, however, the term *'eiki*, which is usually translated as 'chiefs', has a primary connotation of rank and a secondary connotation of

authority ; see also Campbell 1992; Goldman 1970; Kirch 1988; Māhina 1992; Sahlins 1958).

Kaeppler (1971:174) argues that,

In order to understand rank within Tongan society, one must conceptually distinguish social status, governing relationships within a small kin group, from societal ranking, governing relationships within the society as a whole.

The brother-sister relationship determines the social rank, as in the concept of *fahu*. The brother-brother relationship is ranked according to age; as is the sister-sister relationship.

The highest social rank in Tongan society is called *tamatauhala*, which is a daughter of Tu'i Tonga and his sister. Makamālohi is the only known *tamatauhala*. The second highest is *tamahā*, which is applied to children of Falefisi and a daughter of Tu'i Tonga or a female Tu'i Tonga. There have been only six *tamahā* known. The inter-marriages between the *tamahā* and their children were intended to uplift one's social rank, especially the Tu'i Kanokupolu lines (see Figure 3). This was a common practice after its establishment. They started marrying daughters of Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Ha'atakalaua with social, political and economic purposes.

Ceremonial attendant *matāpule* titles are appointed by chiefs as their spokespeople in the public arena. One of their roles is to deliver announcements of the chiefs' to the people. They are also known as talking chiefs, where they do the speaking on behalf of the

chiefs. It may symbolise the divine origin of chiefs that *matāpule* are derived from commoner origins. Another role of the *matāpule* is to protect his chief from any troubles that may arise. This is evident in the selection process, where they are chosen either from the younger brother of the chief or a war warrior.

1.2.1 Tu'i Tonga, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu

Māhina (1992:89) argues that,

'Aho'eitu, the first Tu'i Tonga, who combined both sacred and secular offices in his person ... whose father and mother were of *langi* and *maama* origins, suggests antagonism and fragmentation in the relations between *langi* and *maama*, respectively symbolic of Samoa and Tonga (see also Biersack 1990; Helu 1987; Hocart 1970; Sahlins 1985).

The myth of origin as a product of contradiction of human interests which arises as the interplay of different forms of living in a social setting (Māhina 1992:91). This origin myth of 'Aho'eitu could indicate the expansion of the Manu'an connection to take control of Tonga (see Collocott, King Taufu, MS. n.d. 18; Fraser 1897; Henry 1980; Māhina 1992)(see Figure 4). The appearance of yam and agricultural activities (see Gifford 1924; Māhina 1992) do reflect the social and political system to control agricultural production. It also indicates the Samoan influence on Tongan social and political framework. And the emergence of 'Aho'eitu does reflect the combination of Samoa and Tonga in person of 'Aho'eitu as in the case of 'Ilaheva and Tangaloa.

The marriage of Tangaloa and 'Ilaheva is a social process for her to bear children of high social status. The creation of the Tu'i Tonga title (lit. King [of] Tonga) based on the *maama-langi* (Tonga-Samoa) combination in 'Aho'eitu himself. *Langi* is symbolic name for Samoa, may have to do with the vertical which implies social ranking system to have been derived from Samoa. *Maama* is a symbolic name for Tonga who has not yet developed complex social ranking system. Therefore, the marriage of Tangaloa and 'Ilaheva can be seen as the introduction and adoption of Samoan social system or eastern Polynesian system in general. That is 'Aho'eitu became ultimate ruler of the entire Tonga for the very first time ever. 'Aho'eitu has the sacred role through Tangaloa and secular role through 'Ilaheva, and his celestial half-brothers Talafale was assigned to the title of Tu'ifaleua; Matakehe, Māliepo, Tu'iloloko and Tu'ifolaha were the original *falefā* (lit. four houses) (Māhina 1992). The *falefā* is the advisory council of the Tu'i Tonga office.

During the reign of Momo, the 10th Tu'i Tonga, a wave of Samoan migration arrived and settled at the off islands of Tongatapu under the leadership of Lo'au. Loau was responsible for creating a ranking system, land tenure, navigational skill, the *kava* ceremony and other ceremonial activities. These systems were fully implemented and enforced by Tu'itātui, 11th Tu'i Tonga.

This new arrival lured Momo to move from Toloa to Heketā (lit. Shuffling [by] hitting/beating) as the second political capital of Tonga. Momo married Lo'au's eldest daughter Nua. It is argued that this marriage was a political one, where Momo was desperate to share the technological advancements of these people. It was also to prevent any tension that may have arisen. The political vision of Momo proved him right by his

son, Tu'itātui, 11th Tu'i Tonga. Tu'itātui was responsible for the establishment the Tu'i Tonga Empire which led to the annexation and control of parts of Fiji, Samoa, 'Uvea and Futuna, Niue and Rotuma (see Guiart 1963; Kirch 1984; Māhina 1992). Tu'itātui (lit. king strike [the] knee) was characterised as an oppressive and despotic ruler.

After the death of Tu'itātui, his two sons, Tala'atama and Talaiha'apepe moved the political capital to Mu'a. Threats from the islands in the periphery for the Tu'i Tonga office were inevitable and led to a series of assassinations. The assassinations of Havea I, 19th Tu'i Tonga; Havea II, 22th Tu'i Tonga; Takalaua, 23th Tu'i Tonga can be seen as responses to the oppressive nature of the Tu'i Tonga. As a result, the Tu'i Tonga established a policy of sending chiefs to these islands.

Kau'ulufonua, the 24th Tu'i Tonga, launched a major diplomatic campaign throughout the entire empire in order to maintain peace within the region (Bott 1982, Māhina 1986, 1992). The concept of intermarriage within local islands and islands in the periphery can again be seen as part of a whole peace process. This became a common practice in Fiji, Samoa and Tonga, not only for social and economic advantage, but importantly to establish some political stability in the region. The Tu'i Tonga and his people became Roman Catholics in the mid-19th century (see Campbell 1957, 1992; Gifford 1929; Lātūkefu 1966, 1970, 1974). Tu'i Tonga kingly line became vacant after 1865, following the death of the 39th Tu'i Tonga, Laufilitonga, the last Tu'i Tonga.

The creation of Tu'i Ha'atakalaua kingly line was part of the peace process and political restructuring of the Tu'i Tonga office. Mo'ungāmotu'a, younger brother of Kau'ulufonua became the first Tu'i Ha'atakalaua (see Bott 1982; Campbell 1982, 1989,

1992; Gifford 1929; Kirch 1988; Māhina 1986, 1992; Urbanowicz 1977) (see Figure 5). Tu'i Ha'atakalaua originated the *hau* system, which served a secular function for the Tu'i Tonga by controlling and regulating the flow of annual tribute *'inasi*. The annual tribute was held at Mu'a, where agricultural and fishing productions were brought for the Tu'i Tonga with the belief that he was the direct representative of the gods of various social departments. That is, better harvest for the coming year may determine by tribute paid for the Tu'i Tonga.

The primary role of this newly established kingly line was to carry out the secular duties *ngāue* and *fatongia* on behalf of the Tu'i Tonga. It was also to safeguard the Tu'i Tonga from any direct assassination attempt. The Tu'i Ha'atakalaua is located on reclaimed land, *fonuatanu* specifically to distinguish itself from the Tu'i Tonga residence. It is also known as *kauhalalalo* (lit. seaside of the road), and the Tu'i Tonga is *kauhala'uta* (lit. landside of the road). The establishment of the honorific language again reaffirmed the distinction between the two kingly lines (see Taliai 1989). The honorific language spells out the distinction between the three social classes: king, chiefs and commoners in Tongan society. The resumption of close contact between Tonga and its annexed territories is witnessed in the honorific language. The language for the king is mainly derived from Fijian and Samoan terminologies, while the language for the chiefs is derived from Tongan words, but with innovated meanings. The language for commoners is Tongan words with uncomfortable meaning. For instance, to walk for commoners is said to run.

The spilt of the central polity was seen to have some positive effect for the islands in the periphery, especially Futuna and Uvea. Specialised craftsmen were brought to build

royal tombs *langi* for the Tu'i Tonga at Mu'a. A spouse exchanging scheme was set up between the elites of Fiji, Samoa and Tonga. The Tu'i Ha'atakalaua was the only kingly line that did not have Samoan connections unlike the other two kingly lines who have strong Samoan association. The Tu'i Ha'atakalaua became vacant after 1799.

The first Tu'i Kanokupolu was Ngata appointed by his father, Mo'ungātonga, the 6th Tu'i Ha'atakalaua in the early 17th century (see Figure 6). Ngata's mother, a daughter of a Samoan chief from the Safata village of Upolu. Kanokupolu (lit. content/fresh of 'Upolu) reflects the Samoan connection. It is suspected that the creation of Tu'i Kanokupolu was to bring in the Hihifo district for political and economic purposes. It also marked the initial unification of Tongatapu for the first time. Traditionally, the Hihifo people were opposed to the Tu'i Tonga office at Mu'a, and were also closely associated with Samoans.

The original residence of the Tu'i Kanokupolu was Tatakamotonga (guardian of Tonga), a guardian of the Tu'i Tonga, and situated as part of Mu'a, but it is also to be distinguished from the residences of the other two kingly lines. The Tu'i Kanokupolu's residence at the western district of Tongatapu is called Pangai at Kolovai village. When Ngata first arrived at Hihifo for the very first time, he rested his back against a koka tree for his first royal *kava* ceremony, which soon become the official coronation place of the Tu'i Kanokupolu kingly line. It is believed that the current coronation chair at the palace is made out of wood from this original *koka* tree of the first coronation of the first Tu'i Kanokupolu. This area has been recently protected under the Objects of Archaeological Interest Act.

The establishment of Ngata at Hihifo was successful, and it may have been assisted by his Samoan connection. The appointment of kings was either horizontal, from the father to the son, or vertical, from elder brother to younger brother. Ngata's Samoan connection was responsible for initiating some specific roles to serve the Tu'i Kanokupolu. The main lineage *ha'a* of the Tu'i Kanokupolu line was Ha'a Ngata. New lineages were created with special roles to serve the Tu'i Kanokupolu, except Ha'a Havea was created by dissatisfaction with the appointment of Mataeletu'apiko, the 3rd Tu'i Kanokupolu. Vuna was the founder of the Ha'a Havea, an older brother of Mataeleha'amea. This newly found lineage is higher socially and based on their mother's side. The breakaway *ha'a* and its supporters attempted to establish themselves in Vava'u, but were unsuccessful due to lack of support from other lineages in Vava'u. However, Vuna became Tu'i Kanokupolu after the death of Mataeletu'apiko.

Helu (1993:2) argues that,

the impact of the missionaries' work, especially the Wesleyan ones, was decisive in revolutionising the local culture and is incalculable in its long-term affects. In a very important sense, modern Tonga is a creation of the missionaries. Under their influence and guidance Tonga was constituted into a modern state, and they were a real factor in the circumstances favourable for the Tu'i Kanokupolu rising to the occasion to break the political stalemate that gripped the land at this time and to become the sole ruler and sovereign lord of all Tongans (see also Bott 1982; Campbell 1989, 1992; Lātūkefu 1966, 1975, 1970, 1974; Māhina 1986, 1992).

The arrival of the missionaries with christianity proved persuasive. The commoners do have souls just like their counterparts based on the christian teaching.

The Tu'i Tonga title was pushed out through the political revolutionary campaign by Taufa'ahau, which led him to be established the king of Tonga proper, combining in him

both the sacred and secular roles (see Thomas MS; Thomson 1894; Vason 1810; West 1865; Wilson 1799). Once again the Tu'i Kanokupolu achieved the exact situation of the Tu'i Tonga kingly line. That is, Tautafa'ahau gained the sacred and secular roles by force.

The concept of *moheofo* (lit. sleep to be awakened) is where daughters of Tu'i Kanokupolu were sleeping with Tu'i Tonga in order to have children with high social rank (see Bott 1982; Campbell 1992; Māhina 1992). This process of social engineering seems to be the only mechanism to elevate the Tu'i Kanokupolu kingly line in terms of social rank (see Figure 7). This notion is further practised in modern Tongan society by fixed marriage amongst high chiefly class.

The marriage of Queen Sālote Tupou III and Tungī Mailefihi results in combining the three kingly lines in their children, the present king and his younger brother (see Figure 8). The praising of royal social status is self-evident in the late queen Sālote's composition entitled as Takafalu as a public declaration of the completion and combination of three kingly lines in her children.

TAKAFALU

Ke fakatūlou mo e Takafalu	Excuse me your Majesty
Mo e 'otu laine toputapu	And the sacred kingly lines
Ne fetaulaki 'o tapatolu	They became one in triangle
Holo pe nofo kae lau 'otu	I will explain its history
Ne kamata 'ia 'Aho'eitu	It started from 'Aho'eitu then
Afe 'i tuliki fonuamotu	Next was the corner of fonuamotu
Tu'u mo e tapa 'i 'Ahau	'Āhau was then included
Piliote 'i Pangai e fa'u	Finalised at Pangai once for all

The composition is a historical account of the development of the social status of the Tu'i Kanokupolu kingly line and its current position. *Takafalu* is an honorific term for the back of the Tu'i Tonga, which again acknowledges the social honour and role of the Tu'i Tonga, and other kingly lines, which are one in her children and originally started by 'Aho'eitu. Fonuamotu refers to the creation of Tu'i Ha'atakalua, and 'Āhau is a village of Hihifo which connected with the Tu'i Kanokupolu line. The queen sums up by declaring that the final chapter of Tongan society is closed, which means that the Tu'i Kanokupolu kingly line has a valid claim for both social and political roles.

Tupou I and his greatest contribution for the Tongan society was the establishment of a Tongan constitution in 1875, not only to protect Tonga from being colonised by foreign powers, but also to prevent any diversion of power within Tongan society. Tupou I was well aware that history may repeat itself with respect to the creation of later kingly lines, and he would insist on preventing any further creation of new kingly lines. The constitution was to cement and safeguard this purpose.

Taufa'ahau became the Tu'i Ha'apai in 1820, and Tu'i Vava'u in 1833 and finally became the King of entire Tonga in 1845 followed the death of Laufilitonga, the 39th and last Tu'i Tonga (see Bott 1982; Campbell 1989, 1992; Gunson 1979; Kaeppler 1971; Lātūkefu 1970, 1974, 1975; Marcus 1975).

The arrival of the Lapita people in Tonga and their interaction with their new environment created the fundamental foundation of Tongan culture and history. The emergence of Tongan traditional policy eventuated as a byproduct of this constant

interaction. The shift from a marine economy to agricultural economic orientation was especially a major contributing factor to the initiation of Tongan traditional policy. Particularly, the demand for control of agricultural production on the part of the chiefs, who sought to justify their political and economic interests on the basis of their divine rights, the establishment of policy saw that was an attempt by the chiefs to provide economic sanction against commoners.

TONGAN TRADITIONAL CULTURAL PRESERVATION POLICY

Culture in traditional Tonga, viewed holistically, can never be treated as something outside society. Culture is conventionally defined as activities practised within a society, and classically formulated as the permanent and best productions of the human mind. The best and permanent productions refer to the survived cultural aspects. It may mean only the best aspects that withstand change.

Traditional cultural preservation policy is also the manifestation of the politics of the chiefs to protect and maintain their superiority over the general Tongan society. This policy has religious aspects and commoners are given no alternative to what they are commanded to do through fear and coercion.

Culture is then a byproduct of the interaction between social groups, viz chiefs and commoners. The social rituals are a device imposed on the commoners by the chiefs. And to preserve these social aspects means the preservation of the political, social and economic interests of chiefs. At the same time, the production by commoners is not acknowledged other than as labour-provided.

This chapter will discuss traditional cultural conservation policy and how politics and religion influenced social processes. These processes were based on traditional Tongan religious beliefs, which chiefs claimed to have derived from their divine origins. The interplay between politics and religion illustrates the power struggle within Tongan society. The chief-commoner, ruler-ruled; *hou'eiki-tu'a* relationship is seen as harmonious in appearance and yet it is contradictory in essence. The traditional Tongan religion

influenced the establishment and development of traditional policy. The underpinning factor is a political measure to prevent commoners from having access to resources, and to control agriculture and fishing. The effectiveness of the policy is determined by asymmetrical exchange of social and political power between the chiefs and commoners.

The expansion of the western world set the traditional and "modern" societies apart. Western science in the wider sense is a systematic study of how things are and how they are related and associated with one another. However, these different types of societies are distinguished by space and time.

In traditional Tongan society, people viewed things in holistic terms, treating human relationships as a whole made up of parts. Arts emphasise the natural beauty of human beings and their environment. This ongoing partnership is manifested in myths, which strongly suggests that human beings depend on nature as nature depends on people. As modifier of nature, human beings have a sense of creating order, and enable them to control the flux and processes of nature.

Human beings via their interactions with nature are able to fashion their natural environment for satisfying their needs. Human beings are natural entities, and as such people and nature are continuous. The social is everything that is people-created such as religion and family.

2.1 Myths, Religion and Politics

Myths are stories about the marvels of nature and their miraculous activities of heroic figures (see Helu nd., 1975, 1977, 1984; Helu 1924). These divine beings are believed to be the controllers of human affairs on earth. That is, the desire of those divine beings is expressed in the outcome of human social affairs. Natural phenomena are explained in social terms, rather than in terms of nature itself. Myths are about society and how human beings interact within a social context and their natural environment (Helu 1984; see also Māhina 1992). Events in myths are historical have been wrapped with magical features through time and seen to be ahistorical. As Helu (1992:4) puts it,

The mythical character that attaches to narratives, we hold, is the direct product of orality ... we discuss mythical thought we are at the same time discussing the character of orality ... over time the ordinary events and objects of traditional stories take on fantastic, surreal and magical characteristics ... myths can be deliberately created for all kinds of purposes ... such creations must have mythical characteristics in order to be myths and moreover, that these characteristics can be described as oral ... because of the human and social interest of myths, they are intensely political. Many Tongan myths put up certain types of human behaviour as desirable, as things to be emulated ... In many myths therefore the dividing line between morality and politics is faint indeed (see also Gifford 1924; Māhina 1992).

Myths, as political charters, are again further used to justify political interests with respect to the status quo (Māhina 1992).

Myths are miraculous and above the ordinary human experiences, thus denying the concept of causality, which is eliminating cause and effect so that the mythical world becomes one of pure possibility (Helu 1987, 1992; see also Māhina). Myths tend to promote powerful policies and politics. Science is opposed to myths, for science upholds causality, recognizing the continuity between human beings and nature. The study of myths

rests on the actual occurrences and their logical connection to the theory of truth. That is, to study myths scientifically is to take them to their objective conclusion.

The concept of the spirit was reinforced by missionary teachings, which introduced the version of devil or evil spirit. However, the unexplaining of something does not necessarily mean it does not exist. One must define the characteristics of the spirit rather than using effect to illustrate its cause. If something exists, it does so independently with or without our knowing them. There are many realities existing on the one level of reality. The insistence on finding concept of the spirit in Tongan society means the semiotic recognition of order in nature, which is referred to matter (Helu 1992:7; see also Collocott 1923; Helu 1987). And as Māhina (1992:30-1) observes that

Myth and history ... observed as formal expressions of the interplay of human demands within a social context ... the opposed nature between myth and history ... defined by the praxis of separating the mythical from the historical, the literal/symbolic from the social/historical, or human illusions from reality. Myth is a social and psychological phenomenon, constituting people's attitudes to both human beings and their environment, characterised by different forms of social activity ... may be regarded as an attempt by people to explain natural and social phenomena, triggered by the marvels of Nature and important deeds of people, in terms of human interests and social organisation ... natural and social events are, thus, wrapped up in human terms, and through orality they put on a miraculous character.

Myths have also a certain political character in maintaining power relationships. In general terms, myths manifest the interests of the ruling order which are upheld above those of the others in the wider society. History as total product of human interaction with the environment is social in content (see Davidson 1966; Finnegan 1970; Firth 1930-31; Handy 1927; Herda 1990). On the other hand, history is unlike myth in that history is "defined as an academic discipline, characterised by the observation of how things work, on the one

hand, and their explanation in utilitarian terms, on the other" (Māhina 1992:33; see also Braithwaite 1953).

Traditional Tongan religion reflects the inequality of distribution of wealth and privileges between chiefs and commoners. This relationship is clearly drawn from all aspects of Tongan society. This one-sided practice in terms of recognition of chiefly class gives rise to maintaining stability and respect from different groups in society. In religious terms, chiefs have the right to rule and enjoy privileges at the expense of commoners. The chiefs have souls, while commoners do not. The ultimate political agenda of the chiefs is to have the power to control all activities about resources and people as resources themselves.

In precontact Tonga, there were rules and regulations sanctioned by the coercive power of both divine and physical sanctions. If demands of chiefs were not carried out by commoners then punishment was inevitable either through natural causes or spiritual ones, even leading to death. The will of gods conceal the interests of chiefs. Chiefs were claimed to be the representatives of gods on earth, and therefore commoners must fully comply with their wishes and demands. These traditional laws did regulate relationships within society which can be described as a system of customary laws. These laws covered the social, economic, psychological and political relationships of different social units of Tongan society.

Helu (1992:2) argues that ancient Tongans 'thought' of spirits as distinct from physical things, and they were originally created by ancient Tongan society the means of explanation of things beyond their reach (see also Firth 1930-31; Handy 1940). The

unexplainable phenomena of life are simply symbolised with other explainable ones. The negative happenings are taken to have been caused by commoners unwilling to carry out their tasks, but positive ones are for the benefits of chiefs in serving their gods. Hence, there is no direct appreciation of the labour done by commoners, given the fact that they were main provider of the whole welfare of Tongan society. However, commoners were forced to believe in this religious concept.

Religion exists within space and time, and related events are about social and historical situations. Tongan society at pre-contact times, traditionally did not have as part of their rationalisation equipment the notions of matter and the spiritual in the Axial Age sense (Helu 1992). Tongans have two basic notions of spirituality, one is the effect of daily occurrences, and the other meaning of causes. The understanding of causes is again explained in terms of the subjective and political interests of the chiefs. Diseases are believed to be caused by spirits (Helu 1992), and as a warning for the sick patient that she or he has violated the tapu system or disobedience to the chiefs and other social superiors within Tongan society. This concept of belief system may have similar foundation and impact in religious belief of modern society.

Throughout the centuries, numerous critiques of religion as a social institution have been developed. Karl Marx was one who has advanced an open critical examination of religion. He once said that religion opiates the masses. However his theory was to illustrate the general frame work of alienation, a concept that has magical elements hardly understood by the societies of the past. By the time private property and means of production were institutionalised, it started to shape up justifications and legitimation of

the rights of the dominant groups as property owners in a society (Cuff 1992:71). Religion as a social institution, like any other conceived social units, has its own aim and purpose to achieve (see Larrain 1983; Malinowski 1948; Nietzsche 1968). That is, they are created by human beings to serve their hidden goals. This makes religion a political and economic institution, because of its ideological nature as it hides the intentions of the powerful being. That is something like us but more powerful than us put together. Human beings have come to forget the real fact that people create their own world. In other words, human beings by controlling nature come to control people themselves.

In Marx's view, religion serves to siphon off potentially revolutionary thoughts and actions by focusing human's attentions on to the next world and immortal soul. The shift from real world to an ideal one is politically effective. Generally speaking religion is seen by people as a means to ease their problems and also something to give them hope. In this context, people tend to distrust themselves by seeking something above and beyond the practical world. In traditional Tongan society, the chiefs psychologically and physically forced the commoners to give the best of everything they had, as if they were for the gods and deities. At the same time, the chiefs in traditional times, and the churches at present are nothing but perfect capitalists, by that I mean the exchange between the material and the non-material. Marx argues that scientific knowledge could deploy mysteries of religion, and be revealed as a means to an end, political and ideological tools to control and rule society. Tongan social norms and values bring people together to form social solidarity. This normative framework is informed by needs and interests of people with higher political and social status, in this case, the Tongan chiefs. Theoretically, people are coming

together with their collective interests to obscure these values. In Tongan society, chiefs have the authority to bring people as producers on which they, as non-producers, come to depend on for their livelihood.

2.2 Society and Nature Relationship

Helu (1982:48-9) asserts that myth is deliberately created by the mind, and consists of aesthetic form and expresses a philosophy, a *Weltanschauung*. Vico (Vico 1725), contested that the content of myth is a social origin and its psychological elements were subsequently infused. These views are common in the notion of conflicting and interplaying of human demands in the social society at large.

The Tongan ecological myths illustrate the human-environment relationships and their opposed but symmetrical exchange, and it brings out the view that the human being and the natural environment are one. All best and permanent production and endeavour of human beings are always resulted in form of great sacrifice and struggle (see Helu 1982, 1987; Māhina 1992). In mythology, gods are referred as part nature and they are 'supervisors' of all natural departments.

Myths may be regarded as a work of art (see Barrere 1961, 1967; Beckwith 1940; Bott 1972; Howard 1983; Kirk 1971), and they influence how people look at things subjectively. Generally, myths restrict the expression of ideas to maintaining a static society. The law of conservation of energy, for example, reveals the equal exchange

between human beings and plants. This cycle gives us a model on which to consider management and conservation policies. People and their environment are distinct, but they are related to the point to maintain continuity.

Social systems are largely culture-bound, and they are as product of the interplay between people and their environment. They may manifest in different forms, in values and moralities, in religion and myths in social organization discovered and understood, not so much as symbols but as realities. Functionalists and structuralist tend to dwell on symbols, for they simply point to social facts. This so called 'modelling situations' approach often contradicts with things as they are themselves. The fixed features for a particular situation are unacceptable due to change is essentially a living process. The theory of existence asserts that things themselves exist independently with or without our knowing. The failure of structuralism and functionalism is based on treatment of human situations as if it is unchanged and fixed, unaware that conflict is the unpinning factor of any human society.

2.2.1 The *Tapu* System as a Religious Institution

The taboo *tapu* system, is a political tool for protecting the social and economic interests of the ruling order. It is established within a religious framework where it is proved to be highly effective. The ideological character of *tapu*, explains fear in people, especially when it is asserted that external powerful beings are responsible for their lives. In fact, the *tapu* system simply conceals the real interests of chiefs. It is mainly aimed at mobilizing the

commoners to reserve such best products of their labour for the disposal of the chiefs, and failing to comply will result in ill fate and serious consequences. Commoners were known, as the *kainanga-ē-fonua* (lit. eaters-of-the-land) are the producers of the land. Land *fonua* in this context is referred to the ruling elites. So commoners are nothing more than producers for the welfare and benefits of the chiefs, that is, a producer-consumer relationship. This form of exchange is vested on the interests of parties involved, in particular, chiefs. This 'one way' notion is essential character of Tongan society, where commoners are believed to be at services of chiefs reinforced by religion and the notion of sacred.

The *tapu* system cuts across the entire spectrum of Tongan society, from the local to the national level. In household level, it is the father protecting his interest at the expense of his wife and children. His personal belongings are not to be touched and his leftovers is again not to be eaten by anyone other than his social superior. In lineage *ha'a*, district and national levels, the same principle applied. Throughout these levels, the 'leaders' are seen to be the economic and security provider. Foods gathered are always prepared for the head of the family as the common practice, and this specific ban reserves the right for the father for the best food. And at the same time it is a sign of respect of his role in the family level.

On the other hand, the father's sister has the right to control the matrimonial destinies of her brother's children (see Hocart 1915). The illness or death of her brother's children is attributed to a failure to observe the *tapu* system. This interpretation used to

justify one's political and subjective interests. Accidental and natural causes are interpreted as intentional for failing to strictly observe the *tapu* system.

The *tapu* system also serves well the concept of conservationism by preventing commoners from over exploiting the resources. Chiefs are allowed to impose any rules they see fit to their own personal advantage. In other words *tapu* system is inapplicable for chiefs, and they can do whatever they want. Murder, theft and adultery were only regarded as offence if they were committed against a chief.

All land and properties are private possession of Tu'i Tonga, this due to the traditional religious belief of his sacredness. Communal property did not exist at this early stage of Tonga society, as we experience in modern times, we called public property. However, they have common denominator that it is vested in the ruling elites.

Marx's concept of fetishism suggests that producers in the production processes are becoming dissociated from the products they produced. That is, these products have been given to their actual form by someone or something else other than those who used their effort and labour. In Tongan society, commoners believe that their production does not belong to them rather it is produced by the willingness of gods and chiefs. This brings back the idea of shifting from the humanistic to theistic support the interests and political advantage of the ruling classes. Marx also argued that this alienates people from their production and sadly from their own society. This form of alienation is found in social relations which are structured by social systems revolving around the sanctity of the private ownership of the means of production. Chiefs are owners of land and they become automatically the consumers who control the means of production more or less equivalent

to modern capitalism. Modern capitalist society dehumanises men and women into mere commodities and labour to be bought and sold on the labour market. As Cuff (1971:70) puts it,

In such a system, the alienative effect of the cash nexus extends beyond economic institutions to shape man's attitudes and behaviour in all of his social relationships. Though, for Marx, alienation exists in all societies which have private property of the means of production, he argued that only in capitalist society had it reached its fullest, most crippling development.

Marx views knowledge historically and culturally relative, where the dominant groups and property owners believed that knowledge is theirs, but they fail to see how 'their culture' shapes their own historical circumstances. He thought that culture is shaped by the sort of prevailing relationships to the means of production or economic base (Cuff 1971; see also Larrain 1983; Levi-Strauss 1963, 1977, 1987). The dominant and permanent ideas in a society are those enforced and subjected to the interests of the dominant and ruling elites, which is melt down to their specific political agenda to control economic resources.

This view of knowledge fails to draw a sharp distinction between thing in itself and thing as we perceived. Knowledge is a byproduct of the interaction between human being and its environment in general, and is not owned by certain people or groups.

Polopolo and *'inasi* is a symbol of thanksgiving for deities for good harvest. Tu'i Tonga as direct descendent of the deities on earth and owner of all land, and production is the good will of the Tu'i Tonga himself. When the Tu'i Kanokupolu came to power, it claimed the ownership of land, which is the source of power. This 'new wine in an old bottle' illustrates the consistency of acknowledgement the power vested on land.

Chiefs were responsible for the adequacy of annual tributes *'inasi* and other productions, and they also serve as councils of the Tu'i Tonga office in enforcing duties and obligations throughout the production processes. Commoners believed they were born to serve the chiefs.

Helu (1991:11) asserts that,

Members of the *kāinga* who gather at such an occasion contribute to the feasts and/or the pool of durable wealth-objects which are redistributed among themselves. I have called this custom 'consumption socialism'. This type of consumption socialism keeps the *kainga* as a whole unit together, for although some members who live close to each other interact all the time, it is only in life-calamity and life-confirming events that the *kainga* is seen in action as a single body (see also Helu 1992; Herda 1987; Hocart 1915).

The distribution of food in such an occasion is again ranked, starting from individual high status to a more general groups. *Ha'a* as sum total of descendants of chiefly brothers, and itself has its own ranking system. This flows from the elevation of sister *tuofefine* over the brother *tuonga'ane* as a result of internal political competition within the lineage *ha'a* (Helu 1991). They have specific role and duties to carry out in specific occasions.

The brother's sister children *fahu* (see Helu 1992; Māhina 1992; Rogers 1975, 1977) is clearly demonstrated as the concept of first fruits *polopolo*, Women have production *koloa* and men have *ngāue* agricultural production and fishing. The brother-sister exchange is based on material and non-material aspects. Occasionally, her social superiority *'eikiness* is exchanged with the inferiority *tu'a* of her brother. At the same it is reversed when it comes to her husband's sister exercising her *'eiki* over him. This social equilibrium maintain social static in wider society, and disputes that may arise are mostly

caused by creating a system which an individual who is trying to benefit from both sides of the exchange processes. The intermarriage among chiefs is politically aimed at elevating their social status to bring in more wealth, which produces more power (Māhina 1986, 1992; see also Marcus 1975a, 1975b, 1976-77, 1980a, 1980b; Morton 1972). In this context, it very important to control large amount of people and land for the purpose. The role of chiefly females is considered important in this notion. The advantage of chiefly female who has large population and land, is that she has the power over her brothers and their wealth.

The chiefs have double roles, the reinforcement the *polopolo*, the produce of the land for an exchange with the gods to assure soil fertility and a good year of harvest, and it also to sustain their socio-political power. This exchange exhibits the sacred connection between chiefs and gods, and the secular, which is between chiefs and commoners. On the other hand the brother-sister exchange principle suggests a similar concept, where brother is suffering from sickness or ill-fate caused by gods as a result of failure to fulfil his role and obligations for his brother. So the other common aspect would be that the chiefs and sisters have common belief that they don't suffer from such bad treatment from gods, because their role is not necessarily to upset the gods. However, this is again coming back to the politics of sustainability of wealth, which gives rise to power. In general terms, *tuofefine* to a certain extent derive her 'eiki concept from the chiefs' notion of power, they both have control and power over the production of brothers on one hand, and commoners on the other. The common distinction between sister and brother rested on the 'eiki (chiefly rank/sacred) and *pule* (political power/secular). But the brother's 'power' is a label

for psychological satisfaction, yet the whole power proper is vested again in the production itself, which is rested on the *tuofefine* and chiefs, and therefore the bottom line would be the fact, that *tuonga'ane* and *tu'a* in this specific context are nothing less than providers of power for the benefit of sister and chiefs. Brothers are providers for their sisters at the family level, while *tu'a* are providers for the chiefs in a national context. It seems that the distribution of productions gives rise to the need to distribute of rank and power. That is, the device of ranking system and power was an attempt to participate in the distribution process. The latest development of this type of politics was the institutionalisation of father's sister *mehikitanga*, which claims right and power over the children of her brother. This expansion really shut out the brother's possibility of regaining his power.

2.2.3 Symmetry, Exchange and Politics

The extended families *kāinga* can be seen as exchanging mechanism, which capable to produce and distribute production. This exchange brings equal distribution amongst the *kāinga* itself. By this exchange mechanism, the togetherness and peacefulness of *kāinga* in maintained appearance, but is conflicting in essence. An important occasion could bring in related ones from distance places with their production as contribution. They wanted to be part of the *kāinga* system as a whole, which again their production is intended to be exchange with their cousins. However, the equal distribution not only satisfies different units or groups at the end of the occasion, but also cement their closeness and willingness

to take part in the whole process. This exchange mechanism reflects that the resources are normally commanded by the *kāinga* more than individual household, and it serves as to enhance security and survival of *kāinga* itself (Helu 1993:7).

The traditional *'api* refers to single nuclear family as the simplest social unit, and *kāinga* is a collective of these social units. *Kāinga* is not necessarily mean to blood related ones only, instead it also means for anyone who willing and voluntarily participated in the occasion. *Kāinga'ofa* (generous and non-related *kāinga*) are referred to those who have not blood linkage to the whole extended family, but they are friends and neighbours, and they are treated in a special way, often said *kāinga faingata'a* (lit. difficult *kāinga*), which means they are not related or supposed to be involved in that specific accession. This attitude is also reflected in the public relations of the *kāinga*, where they always establish their non-*kāinga* relationship to perfect their public image. On the other hand, the *kāinga* members are not necessary to be acknowledged or highly regarded, because if dissatisfaction occurs then they could challenge their own, which is based on the common said *faka'api'i* (household treatment). This means that in ranking or comparison of *kāinga'ofa* and members of *kāinga*, the emphasis is rested on the *kāinga'ofa* and members of *kāinga* is always secondary or to an extreme, does not exist. It is also a diplomatic way of settling differences between two different *kāinga*, yet the *kāinga'ofa* are not related by blood, but they are related to another *kāinga*. However, this special treatment is expected to be reversed when one's *kāinga* members are becoming *kāinga'ofa* to another *kāinga*. This is a common practice, yet special treatment is used throughout in Tongan society and most effective exchange mechanism in politics in the national level. *Tauhi e sola ke lata*

(lit. make one's visitors feel at home) again reflects the hospitality and diplomatic attitude of the host *kāinga*, which is itself an exchange. Yet the public image of the *kāinga* is very important for the benefit of the host *kāinga* and at the same time, it tends to be seen as the best and caring *kāinga*. This special treatment is manifested as competition amongst different *kāinga*, based on their hospitality and generosity, merely to avoid being labelled as *kāinga kaipō* (selfish-ego centric *kāinga*), which is the ultimate shame and embarrassment for a *kāinga*. This negative result would result in one's *kāinga* becoming unpopular, which means less participants and less contribution. Less contribution or production for distribution means an embarrassment to one's *kāinga* and in the long run the capacity to draw in more *kāinga'ofa* is minimal and may mean that only include the *kāinga* members only. This may mean fairer share of the distribution, but in Tonga is a sign of shame and embarrassment for the *kāinga*.

The term *kāinga* is derived from two different lexical parts, which are *kai* (to eat) and *'anga* (upon/on). *Kai* itself in some Austronesian languages means food and something to do with eating processes. *Kakai* (people) may have also derived from the *kai* as basic necessity of people or human beings. However, the lexical *'anga (-nga)* tends to refer for a particular place and/or people where the eating is taken place. So *kāinga* means of food sharing and eating in multitude level of related families. It reflects the communalism of Tongan society. *Kainanga-ē-fonua* (lit. eating place of the chiefs) refers to the commoners *tu'a* as the eating place of the chiefs *'eiki*. *Fonua* (land/country) is referred to the chiefs, where they partake in the production of commoners. Helu (1978:5) argues that,

... it would appear that the *kāinga* as a social substructure originated within the matrix of production and especially consumption, ie. as an economic unit although the productive and consumption functions were discharged differently ... *kāinga*, in all probability, was originally a localised group owning land in common, its members engaged in production patterns received no such standardisation ... units localised groups made up of a head's or chief's retainers (*kāinga*) clustering to some degree, around a central compound.

The *kāinga* in a wider sense is defined as definite known figure head or centre with indefinite circles of boundaries (see Bott 1982; Gailey 1987; Helu 1972; Lātūkefu 1974; Māhina 1992).

'*Ulumotu'a* is the main male head of senior male descendant of a *kāinga* (Māhina 1986, 1992). The fundamental role of the '*Ulumotu'a* is to organise the collection and distribution of the production contributed by gathered lineages and others. On the other hand, the *fahu* responsible for the administration and management of *koloa* (mats and tapa cloth) women is production (Bott 1982; Gailey 1987; Māhina 1986, 1992; Rogers 1975, 1977). This common knowledge acts as a deterrent to innovations in social consumption patterns and is a force for conservatism (Helu 1978).

The complex systems of *kāinga* operation is involves a of multitude of exchange levels. In the *fahu* exchange systems, each *kāinga* 'unit' has two types of *fahu*. First is the distance *fahu* (*lohu loa*), based on a couple of generations back, and secondly, the short *fahu* (*lohu nou*) is restricted to three or less generations. The politics of *fahu* involve social and economic implications as the main determining factor. *Lohu* refers to sticks for picking fruits, which means the system to be used is not universal, rather it is determined by the social and economic status of recipient.

The power of one's chief is very much determined by the apprehension of his people's *fatongia*, and the social and political stability for the society as a whole. At the same time, the strong control of one's *ha'a* or *kāinga* gives rise to a free flow of production from the commoners. To be productive and strong socially and politically, it needs strong mandates to guide the whole processes from start to finish.

The obvious example of this exchange is illustrated in the collapse of the Tu'i Tonga Empire. The emergence of the other two kingly lines did effect the free flow of the production to the Tu'i Tonga office, undermining its whole structural foundation, and collapse was inevitable (see Bott 1982; Herda 1988; Kirch 1984; Māhina 1986, 1992; Ve'ehala and Fanua 1977). However, the Tu'i Kanokupolu kingly line did adopt the whole features of the Tu'i Tonga as the only possible strategy to gain and maintain social and political power. Hence, the shift of *fatongia* from the Tu'i Tonga to the Tu'i Kanokupolu was the essential factor causing the collapse of the Tu'i Tonga.

The *kāinga* can be seen as some form of economic leveller (Helu 1975; 1988), when types and rates of exchanges are occurred. This economic levelling mechanism was devised based on the *fahu* concept (Bott 1982; Collocott 1923; Helu 1988; Māhina 1992), where superior exercises her power over the inferior in an exchange of material with non-material. The *fahu's* superiority is exchanged with the material goods of the inferior parties. At the same time the *kāinga* members are better off economically speaking, while the *fahu* with a low economic level is upgraded through this social exchange. This is an obvious problem facing the Tongan private sector. The businesses are held back by this economic leveller. But in order for Tongan businesses to grow and be competitive as the other

industrialised countries, it needs to adopt the 'one-to-one' concept and be more individualistic and materialistic. The *fahu* system can operate across the social spectrum of Tongan society, and maintain symmetrical exchange with the *kāinga*, but this may not be compatible with business competition.

The current high unemployment of Tonga really illustrates the fact that *kāinga* system and its operation eliminates starvation and poverty experienced by some developed and developing countries throughout the world. Helu (1978:10) argues that,

breakdown of *kāinga* roles is most prominent in the more successful families and *kāinga*. New interpretations are now being pandered about regarding *fahu* and other roles - which were traditionally genealogically determined - to facilitate and justify these to more economically powerful members of the *kāinga*. There especially the better educated who are very critical of these admit to any relationships to them. Independence of nuclear family members which is incident on the employment and other modernisation trends ... could be utilised in measuring *kāinga* breakdown. In many families the household head has been functionally transferred from the father to the member with a good secure salary and illustrates the fact ... of household head and economic provider usually go together.

The *fahu* institution in essence is a exchange mechanism between a family with another. The *mehikitanga* (father's sister) is superior over her brothers, which she has the right to his brother's and his children's production. At the same time, the *mehikitanga*'s husband's father's sisters over power them and their children. So at the end of the line, it more or less an symmetrical exchange, where everybody has sort of equal share of the general production.

The king-noble relations are cemented under the distribution of land. There is an exchange where land is given to prevent and defuse any ill feelings of the chiefs toward the king himself and to constantly support the king in all respects. However, this political

bribery is a common practice to settle differences which are occurred throughout the land reforms carried out by various kingly lines and great chiefs. Hence, an exchange of land (material) with socio-political power (non-material). The inter-marriage of chiefly classes is strongly represented the rank and economic potentiality of one's spouses to be, which is coming down to land and people, as means for power. The *moheofa* concept is where daughters of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and the Tu'i Kanokupolu kingly lines cohabited with Tu'i Tonga in order to have children of high social status.

Throughout Tongan history, different forms of social exchanges were carried out, since the first Tu'i Tonga, 'Aho'eitu up to the time of Taufu'ahau and the constitution of 1875. Land conservation was well controlled due to fact the chiefs have had strict rules and given no rights at all for the commoners. The marriage between Tangaloa and 'Ilaheva was an exchange between Samoan and Tongan chiefly elites, as a result 'Aho'eitu became the first Tu'i Tonga. The first Tu'i Tonga exchange was further extended to the creation of new kingly lines, the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu lines. The creation of Tu'i Ha'atakalaua was an exchange for the benefit of the Tu'i Tonga, as well to take control of secular role of the Tu'i Tonga. The emergence of the Tu'i Kanokupolu line was an exchange to extend the secular duty of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and it was legally consolidated by the constitution of 1875.

The traditional Tongan performing arts also have the social exchanging mechanism of social and political ranks. There are certain positions allocated for certain social ranks. Yet there is an exception in positioning of performers, which is based on the performers' capacity and creativity, which is purely artistic. Performing art has its own distinctive

features which is different from other social aspects. Its fundamental essence is the symmetrical exchange between poetry *ta'anga*, music *hiva* and movements *haka* in order to produce beauty *mālie* and climax *tau-ē-langi* as its ultimate purpose. The arrangement of row and column of performers is based on artistic and creativity, and social status in national or local level depends on the occasion celebrated. However the whole setting of performing art reflects the social setting, where the only exception is artistic and creative.

The establishment of Tongan traditional policy making environment was further formalized in the royal kava ceremony *taumafa kava* where individual chiefs are seated accordingly to their respective social status and rank. The royal kava ceremony is a public declaration of chief's social and political status at national level. Change in seating positions of royal kava ceremony *taumafa kava* is associated with the change in the ruling office of the ruling kingly lines. That is, promoting and demoting of one's chief or chiefs are determined by a central polity. It also manifests the notion of power to distribute production amongst lineages, and to allocate specifically for each lineages its particular role to play in wider society. The Tongan royal kava ceremony is the blue print of distribution mechanism of social status and political power with reference to economic wealth within Tongan society.

THE TONGAN ROYAL KAVA CEREMONY *TAUMAFI KAVA*

The *kava* ceremony is discussed here to illustrate the implementation processes and effectiveness of Tongan traditional policy-making frameworks. Even though there are different types of *kava* ceremony and they have gone through different changes, the fact that it is a reflection of social hierarchy in Tongan society remains the same. The change in kingly lines and changing of political offices works through in the aims and purposes of the *kava* ceremony as the reflection of the social hierarchical structure of Tongan society.

The seating of *kava* ceremony is ranked according to the individual's social status on national and lineage levels. The monarchy is the highest social status in the *kava* ceremony, and the *kava* makers and mixers at the *tou'a* are the lowest. Both sides of the circle, individual chiefs and accompanied by their *matapule* are seated with reference to their social status between the *olovaha* and the *tou'a* section. Allocation of each position in the *kava* ceremony can be based on traditional or a newly created system, but mainly determined by the connection to the monarchy, either by blood or social relationship.

The presentation during the *kava* ceremony exhibits the role of commoners as providers of the benefits to the aristocrat. The distribution of the presentation is an acknowledgement of the chiefs as non-producers, and commoners as producers.

This chapter discusses the origin of the royal *kava* ceremony and its procedures. The *kava* ceremony will be discussed to illustrate its role with respect to political, social, economic and psychological aspects of changes and influences of traditional cultural

conservation. This section also discusses the change in meaning of the royal *kava* ceremony. The royal *kava* ceremony both in traditional and modern sense was used to serve customary purposes, and it can be seen as political tool to maintain and sustain political and social stability throughout Tongan society. The changes of the meaning of *kava* ceremony reflects the power struggle within the history of Tongan society, but the purpose of both the old and new ceremonies remain reasonably similar.

Kava ceremonial practice is generally regarded as the most important social aspect of Tongan society. This is evident in all respects of cultural activities and practices within a Tongan social setting, where *kava* is highly regarded as a ritual in Tongan society. There are factors involved in this culturally dynamic process, that I will be dealing with here. I would like to dwell on the historical development and changes of the *kava* ceremony through time, and to discuss various aspects with respect to social policy as a cultural heritage and social policy is property, as well as its political, social, economic and psychological facets. A brief outline of the origin and historical background of *kava* ceremony and other important considerations will be made. However the discussion will be based on the royal *kava* ceremony of the Tu'i Kanokupolu kingly line, the third and current ruling kingly line of Tongan society.

3.1 Origin and Distribution of Kava in the Pacific

The *kava* ritual is said to have been introduced from Eastern Polynesia and Melanesia. *Kava* (*piper methysticum*) is known throughout the Pacific as, '*ava, kava, wati, yagona, namoluk* and *choko*.

The question of the origin of *kava* is a complex one due to limited and insufficient sources for this very important cultural aspect of the Pacific way of life. Different approaches have been put forward by historians, commentators and social scientists on this issue.

Labot and Cabalion (1986:19-21) argued that *kava* originated in the highlands of Papua New Guinea. They also suggested that *kava* evolved from other species called *piper wichmanii* common in the east of Papua New Guinea to the west of Vanuatu. On the other hand, Crowley (1990:5) suggested it to be from islands in the northern part of Vanuatu as the most adaptable place for the primal domestication of *kava*. It then spread to the other islands in the Pacific through migratory waves between and amongst these islands, rather than it being brought by the Lapita people some 3500 years ago. The general feeling is that at the *kava* was a recent introduction and believed to have rapidly covered major archipelagoes in a short period of time.

However, the southern isles of Vanuatu did not cultivate *kava* until it was introduced at later stage probably from Fiji. This suggests possible cultural barriers and minimal contacts between the northern and southern regions. It may also suggest both social and geographical difficulties, which include the water gap of Efate-Erromango, mountains and possibly some sort of political hostility.

In Fijian oral history, the *kava* ritual was originally introduced from Tonga. As Crowley (1990:8) argues that,

The Fijian word *taanoa* (wooden *kava* bowl) represents a Tongan borrowing, which be consistent with suggestion that *kava* could have been introduced more than once into Fiji, initially presumably from the west and later again from the east.

Kava is known in Fiji as *yagona*. *Gona* and *kawa* of proto-Polynesian mean bitter or sour, which is related to the taste of *kava*. The naming system of things, plants in this case, is connected to the nature of their physical and chemical properties. *Ya(gona)* in Fijian for bitter may have expressed the taste of *kava*, and *'kona'* in Tongan is bitter.

Kava is said to have been introduced to Micronesian isles by western Polynesians via eastern Polynesia, perhaps through the initial settlement. There is suggestion that *sakau* in Ponapean and *sakau* in Kosraean were borrowed from the Polynesian *kawa* or *kava*. A variety called *kawakawa*, *macropiper excelsum*, a related genus of *kava*, is found in Aotearoa and is being used for medicinal purposes. On the other hand, *kawa* in Maori means *marae* protocol, which is identified with the socio-political character of *kava* ritual practised in western and eastern Polynesia. Generally, a *marae* (meeting house/town hall) is place where different lineages discuss the welfare of the group or community. *Kava* ceremony and *marae* were and are still regarded as a kind of traditional "parliament". It serves as a place for discussing differences amongst different lineages regarding the welfare of the whole country. Hence, *kava* is seen as key feature of a food number of Polynesian societies for a political purposes. Penzer (n.d:316) suggests that *kava* people settled in southern Melanesia, Fiji and Polynesia. In the Santa Cruz archipelago and south-east of Vanikolo, *kava* is drunk on ceremonial occasions, even in Tikopia and Cherry Island.

Crowley (1990:1) stated that *kava* drinking is widely distributed in Vanuatu, Rotuma, Fiji and most of Polynesia (even Hawaii) and Ponape and Kosrae in Micronesia and a very few places in Papua New Guinea; the customs surrounding *kava* consumption in the Pacific vary from place to place. In Polynesia, *kava* ritual is amongst the most important social aspects determined by authority and rank.

3.2 Origin of *Kava* in Tonga

Every important ceremony or ritual in Tongan society has a myth to it. The same applies to the Tongan royal ceremony *taumafa kava*. The following is a version of the origin of *kava* in Tonga.

Once upon time there were a couple in the island of 'Euveiki (north-east of a Tongatapu). The couple called Fevanga and his wife, Fefafa, and their only daughter, Kava, who contracted leprosy. One day, the Tu'i Tonga went out fishing with his royal party and landed at the island. When the couple heard that the Tu'i Tonga and his fishing party had landed in the island, they were panic and desperate to host a royal arrival reception. Fevanga rushed down to the sea shore to collect the only *kape* (*Alocasia macrorrhiza*) plant in the entire island, and the Tu'i Tonga is leaning against it. They could not help it and after some serious consideration, they decided to kill their daughter. They killed their daughter and put her in the earth oven '*umu*. When the Tu'i Tonga heard the incidence, he ordered his men to leave the island and asked the couple never to uncover the '*umu*. Fevanga and Fefafa do accordingly to the request, and the '*umu* became a burial mound. After some time, they noticed two plants growing out of either ends. The plant on the head is branchy with round leaves and the one on the feet was prolong with long leaves. One day they saw a little rat ran up and bite the plant on the head and staggering and after eating the plant in the feet it ran straight. Then, they suspected that plant in the head is poisonous, whilst the other is sweet. The poisonous plant then called *kava* (*piper myhsticum*) and the other called *to* (sugar cane).

(From Māhina 1992)

LAULAU 'O E KAVA

<i>Kava, ko e kilia mei Faa'imata</i>	Kava, the leper of Faa'imata
<i>Ko e tama 'a Fevanga mo Fefafa</i>	Daughter of Fevanga and Fefafa
<i>Fahifahi pea mama</i>	Chopped up and chewed
<i>Ha tano'a mo hono anga</i>	A <i>tano'a</i> and its space
<i>Ha pulu mo hono tata</i>	A <i>pulu</i> as a strainer
<i>Ha pelu ke tau'anga</i>	A <i>pelu</i> to drink with
<i>Ha 'eiki ke olovaha</i>	An 'eiki at the <i>olovaha</i>
<i>Ha mu'a ke 'apa'apa</i>	A <i>mu'a</i> on the <i>olovaha's</i> sides
<i>Fai'anga 'o e fakataumafa</i>	To whom the royal <i>kava</i> is directed

(Transcribed and translated by the author)

The theme of the *kava* origin myth exhibits the duty *fatongia*, where a couple offered their most prestigious treasure, Kavaonau their daughter for the Tu'i Tonga. Such loyalty, as in this extreme case, is typical of the duty *fatongia* values. On the other hand, the human sacrifice reveals a balance of exchange between society and the environment as permanent human productions. Sacrifice involved the appreciation of the role of the environment in the whole development of Tongan society and culture. Fevanga for example became *marāpule* title when the Tu'i Ha'ataklaua came to power.

Māhina (1992:124) asserts that,

The myth of the origin of *kava*, in terms of the creation of the *kava* ceremony, reflects the attempt to cement the structural and functional relationships between the Tu'i Tonga and other groups in society and beyond Tonga, locally providing a sound political platform on which to extend his rule beyond Tonga.

The position of *hou'eiki-tu'a* relationship is reflected in the myth, which is shown in the couple's sacrifice.

The myth also indicates the island of 'Eueiki has been settled, where the *kava* ritual was formalized as a kind of social policy in Tongan society. Lo'au is suspected to be a Samoan high chief who arrived in Tonga with his people during the early part of the reign of the 10th Tu'i Tonga, Momo who settled on the outer islands of Tongatapu, mainly 'Eueiki and 'Eua islands. Nonetheless, when Lo'au heard the story, he himself composed the *Laulau 'o e Kava* (Poem of *Kava*) and directed Fevanga and Fefafa to take the two plants with them and present them to the Tu'i Tonga most likely to be Momo the 10th Tu'i Tonga, who currently residing at Heketā, Tonga's third political capital, and they did accordingly.

Lo'au instructed the couple how the plants are used and they did carry out exactly as he said. And because it was new at the time, there were mixed feelings about these new plants. The formalization of *kava* was one of the many creations of Lo'au, where he gained the title *Tufungafonua* (lit. carpenter-of-the-land) (see Māhina 1992).

3.3 Seating of Royal Kava Circle

The seating of the Tu'i Kanokupolu royal *kava* ceremony *taumafa kava* reflects rank and authority in Tongan society. Different lineages are seated according to their relation to the

Tu'i Kanokupolu kingly line. Olovaha is the highest position in the *kava* circle, and where the Tu'i Kanokupolu resided during the *kava* ceremony facing the *kava* makers section *tou'a* the lowest rank. 'Apa'apa are the two ceremonial attendants *matāpule* seated either side of the *olovaha*, on the right is Motu'apuaka and Lauaki to the left. The title Motu'apuaka was derived from the Faleha'akili lineage. It originated from Tu'i Kanokupolu Ngata's Samoan mother and responsible for all occasions other than funeral. On the other hand, Lauaki derived from the Tu'i Tonga kingly line which originated at the time of 'Ahoaitu with a specific role at the funeral. These two *matāpule* represent different duties to be carried out by different kingly lines. The role of Motu'apuaka exhibits the political and social role of the Tu'i Kanokupolu kingly line and the present ruling kingly line. On the other hand, Lauaki represented the role of the former kingly line, the Tu'i Tonga, and interestingly, being in charge of the funeral which may have to do with the integrating of the Tu'i Tonga kingly line itself.

Each chief sits with his own ceremonial attendant *matāpule*, and only those who have been officially appointed are allowed to take part in any royal *kava* ceremony. They sit in designated position given by their lineage leader which may have come from the king himself. The chiefs' lineage is promoted and demoted by the changing of position. This process is witnessed during the debate and discussion of a royal *kava* ceremony. Solution of a dispute is not instantly implemented, it is rather reserved for another *kava* ceremony or dialogue amongst lineages. The important aspect in this context, is that a solution is not always fixed. However, it is prohibited for two chiefs to sit together, if it would bring the traditional clash and rivalry between lineages, when it comes to settlement of disputes and

differences. It is also obvious that changing of positions is not only based on social and political status, but also on security reason. *Matāpule* can be sat next to each other. The real concern are the chiefs and whatever happened to the ceremonial attendants are of no real matter. The Tu'i Kanokupolu royal kava ceremony was held at Pangailahi, a village of Kolovai at Hihifo, western district of Tongatapu, and it was not until recently shifted to Nuku'alofa to a field called Pangai next to the royal palace.

The original seating of the Tu'i Kanokupolu royal kava ceremony was restricted to its close lineages with minor consideration of the traditional Tu'i Tonga titles. The right hand side of the *kava* circle seated the Faleha'akili derived from its Samoan connection, and the left was designated for the fishermen *toutai*, again of Samoan origin. The Ha'a Ngata lineage is in charge of making and preparing of *kava* in the *tou'a* section. Kalaniuvalu, the only Tu'i Tonga title in the *tou'a*, is a public declaration of the toppling of the Tu'i Tonga kingly line. This is achieved by putting him in the working section of the Tu'i Kanokupolu kingly line.

Everybody must be seated prior to the arrival of the *olovaha*. The *tou'a* section is the final section of the *kava* circle to be seated led by the *holotaumafa* just before the Tu'i Kanokupolu is seated. *Holotaumafa* is a special person responsible for carrying *kava* for the *olovaha*. The entire *kava* circle has only one exit guarded by two *matāpule*, Tovi and Mohulamu. The entrance must be strictly observed, and failing to do so would bring severe consequences. The *Tou'a* section of Tu'i Kanokupolu royal *kava* ceremony represents the commoners in its seating position, and at the same time it comprises descendants of Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Kanokupolu kingly lines.

Tou'a section is divided into three sections. The centre section is comprised of minor titleholders, the left section is comprised of people with no title, and the right section children *fānau* (lit. children, descendants) of titleholders, and those with a specific role to conduct presentation of *ngāue*. *Halangāue* (lit. path-work; path for workers) is located between the left and central sections. The tabooed entrance *halatapu* (lit. sacred path) is located between the right and central sections, which exhibits the social and political superiority of the centre-right combination over the centre-left section. The seating of Tu'i Tonga's direct descendants at the *Tou'a* section may be seen as a public declaration of the Tu'i Kanokupolu as the legitimate ruling kingly line of Tonga, reflecting the social and political stratification of Tonga society in functional and structural terms.

3.4 Presentation

The biannual *'inasi* ceremony is an acknowledgement and thanksgiving to deities through the Tu'i Tonga. It seems that presentation in *kava* ceremony stipulates a version of *'inasi* biannual tribute initiated by the Tu'i Tonga. For presentation in the royal *kava* ceremony, green *kava* and cooked pigs *puaka* and yams *ufi* are the most basic things.

There are seven types of green *kava*. Only four *kava* have *'umu* with pigs *puaka*, and any one of these would be used in *kava* ceremony. *'Umu* in this context means cooked pig and cooked yam, whilst pig *puaka* means for cooked pig only. Green *kava* are used in the royal *kava* ceremony. The green *kava* are brought to the *kava* circle and arranged

according to size. The smaller green *kava* are carried with two hands with the roots toward the olovaha symbolizing the non-operative of the Tu'i Tonga, which they originated the *kava* ceremony. *Kava fuataha* (lit. *kava-carried-by-one-person*) is the highest ranking of *kava* and it is accompanied with three 'umu, and carried by one individual. Hence, the *kava fuataha* seems to be the key *kava* to be presented in a royal *kava* ceremony.

The pigs *puaka* are turned upside down with the liver being poked with a plant twig into the stuffed stomach. The feet and mouth are covered with green banana leaves. The turning up-side-down of pigs *puaka* may symbolize the revolutionary attitude of the Tu'i Kanokupolu towards the Tu'i Tonga. In the Tu'i Tonga *kava* ceremony, the pigs *puaka* were the other way around. However the reverse of the pigs *puaka* and the liver 'ate being poked by a plant twig demonstrate the radical changes by the Tu'i Kanokupolu kingly line and a public display of power.

When the Tu'i Kanokupolu is seated, the presentation then proceeds starting with green *kava* plants. The cooked pigs *puaka* are then brought in similar fashion, and followed by 'umu. The designated servicemen *kau ngāue* are to strictly observe every command given by Motu'apuaka, and the master of ceremony. Throughout the whole process of the presentation, Motu'apuaka would give commands to check and double check the whole presentation. He also chooses the *kava* for the ceremony and to a certain extent he would consider the numbers in the *kava* circles, which means larger *kava* for larger attendance.

After the *kava* is chosen, command to dismantle it is made. In most cases, the *kava* plant breaks up into three pieces, one piece to the tou'a section and the other two are taken and placed in front of Motu'apuaka. The preparation of *kava* is conducted by the Toua

section under the Ha'a Ngata. A pathway is opened up directly to the *olovaha* when the *kava* is ready to serve followed by Motu'apuaka's command. During the preparation of *kava*, debate and discussion are conducted.

Motu'apuaka would request the '*umu* for the *fono* of the *kava* ceremony. *Fono* is '*umu* comprising cooked pig and yams. *Fono* is taken as the share of different lineages in the production which has been presented. The '*umu* is chosen by him based on the number of individuals present in the ceremony. With his instruction, the *puaka* is chopped up into eight piles. The distribution is started by taking the liver, back *tu'affakala'ā* and three yams to the *olovaha*. The remaining pork and yams are equally divided in to three piles, known as *fono vaetolu* (*fono* divided into three). The first *fono* goes to the '*alofi*, second to the *fasi 'alofi* and the third goes to Ve'ehala.

The eating of *fono*, *kai fono*, begins where social superiors come in and take the *fono* beginning with *olovaha*. Over the years, the *kai fono* in the Tu'i Kanokupolu were foreigners due to lack of a local social superior to the king himself.

The serving of *kava* starts in a common sequence based on both political and social status. The *tou'a* would acknowledge to Motu'apuaka that the *kava* is to be served, Motu'apuaka will then designate *kava* to individual persons. The first *kava* goes to the *olovaha* and then both sides of the *kava* circle will be served alternately. Motu'apuaka would hold his *kava* until the entire *kava* circle is served.

Kava ceremony is one of the ceremonies and cultural activities that exhibit the social roles and principles of Tongan society. The Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu

developed their own *kava* ceremonies, but the principles are based on those of the Tu'i Tonga *kava* ceremony.

The *taunga* outer raised block of the *kava* wooden bowl *tano'a* with two hole threaded with sinnet-plaited coconut fibre *kafa* for suspension is directed to Tu'i Tonga himself at the *olovaha*. The Tu'i Kanokupolu *kava* ceremony, the *fulitaunga* is a reverse, with the *taunga* directed to the *tou'a*. This is another radical change by the Tu'i Kanokupolu, who claimed they have the power to control and rule the entirety of Tonga. In this context of change, the Tu'i Kanokupolu engineered their own identity and wanted to be different from the former Tu'i Tonga. It is a political strategy to weaken the role of the Tu'i Tonga.

3.6 Kava Drinking as Social Policy and Political Institutions

Over the centuries, *kava* ceremony has gone through dramatic changes. These changes were the result of internal and external influences. The internal changes caused mainly by the changing of political offices and the rise and fall of kingly lines.

After the contact of 19th century and the introduction of capitalism into the country, major changes occurred including the introduction of *kava* ceremony as an effective fund raising medium. This capitalist attitude is predominant in the thinking of the Tongans both in Tonga and aboard.

Royal *kava* ceremony *taumafa kava* is carried out at coronation and in the initiation of other royal titles. Coronation *hilifaki kalauni* is where the *olovaha* is the newly crowned king or queen. The initiation of one's title *pongipongi* is less formal than the coronation *taumafa kava*. The presentation of *kava* and food is similar to that of coronation.

The royal *kava* ceremony is amongst the surviving distributional mediums from ancient Tonga. It also brings the concept of communalism, where different lineages brought food for the presentation, and then it is equally distributed amongst themselves. The security of the flow of production in local and national levels was the fundamental aspect of the notion of communalism for political and economic welfare. The concept of exchanging spouses within Tonga was another political mechanism in order to have control of production itself. At the same time it also serves as a source of political stability in national politics of the lineages *ha'a*.

The king is the highest senior titleholder, and under him is the *hau*, the largest socio-political unit of Tongan society. The *ha'a* is the subordination of *kāinga* subjected to their leaders, which is of chiefly origin. The general related families *fa'ahinga* are also known as *matakali* (from Fijian *mataqali*) are led by *'ulumotu'a*. However at the very bottom of the social hierarchy of group is household or nuclear family *'api*. The superior of the household *'api* is the father, the economic and welfare provider of the *'api*.

Kava drinking is still a strong customary practice on important occasions, such as all types of construction or any other new undertaking. Traditionally in all undertakings, *kava* is a must as a form of thanksgiving and guarantee to get the work done well. The belief is that, the deities would determine the outcome of such undertaking, and their will

is fully exhibited in the completion of such works. *'A-ki-he-uho* (lit. to-wake-up-for-kava) was one of the Tu'i Tonga's double-hulled canoe *kalia*, literally means the chiefs have nothing to do but to enjoy drinking *kava*, whilst commoners are at the fields working. The other *kalia* was known as *Tonga-fue-sia* (lit. carry/hold-of-Tonga) means to be responsible for the welfare of Tonga. But Tonga in this context means the chiefly class. This naming system has been revitalised in modern names of Tongan vessels, which signify the distinctive roles of chiefs from commoners, *fuakavenga* (lit. carry-duty-on-shoulder) mean the commoners obligation to serve the aristocrats; *ao niu* means to control completely; *tauloto* (lit. two loads on one's person) indicates duties to be fully implemented; *ha'amotaha* to carry on only one's shoulder (see Māhina 1992).

Differences amongst lineages and minor social levels can be peacefully resolved in a *kava* circle, where the involved parties are brought to discuss their disputes. It can be seen as some form of traditional judiciary court as well as a policy formulating body. That is, a solution to a specific dispute tends to bring new problems, and the *kava* ritual would become a permanent forum to constantly accommodate ongoing disputes. Compromise amongst the parties was the common solution for disputes in general.

The process of royal *kava* ceremony to some degree is a symbolic manifestation of communalism, where promotion and demotion of rank in all levels, as a matter of exchange between and amongst individualism and collectivism. In that context, royal *kava* ceremony promotes one's lineage, which benefits others, and other lineages are demoted but still benefit from different lineages indirectly from the directly involved lineages. At the end of the whole process, everyone may be partaking in a form of economic equilibrium.

The political relationships within Tongan society are somehow reinforced by the *kava* ceremony and the distributional procedures of land in general, and it can be seen as a political instrument to control and manipulate one's social and political interests within Tongan society. There are different types of *kava* ceremony with respect to different situations. The formal *kava* ceremony deals with power and prestige, whilst the informal *kava* to a certain extent deals with social recognition. They may be formal or informal *kava* ceremony, but the system of seating may have been based on the general framework of social rank and status. There are few informal *kava* ceremonies in Tongan society. *Tau fakalokua* (lit. fight-of-Lokua-like) is an informal *kava* ceremony and it is more less a forum to discuss daily activities with restricted discussion of current affairs and exchange of experience in one's fields mainly fishing and farming techniques. The elder individual is referred to as the chief in this context, whether he has any chiefly connection or not. *Faikava 'eva* is where men go to a young woman's house most preferably a virgin to make and prepare their *kava*. There is only one man who is interested in this particular woman and it is the purpose of going to her place. This is the traditional way of approach to Tongan women, nowadays a rare experience, replaced by nightclubs and other religious and social activities where young men and women meet and date. The seriousness of the relationship will develop with the support of the two extended-family kingship *kāinga*. That is, the two *kāinga* would become involved, rather than the two individuals themselves. The western concept of love is seen in this context as how well each of the interested woman and man are supported by their parents, the *kāinga* or even the whole

village at large, if they come from different villages. From this point up to wedding day in traditional sense, romance is a responsibility of the two *'ululmotu'a* of the two *kāinga*.

Kalapu kava Tonga (*kava club*) is the most effective fund raising agent in Tongan communities abroad, and villages within Tonga. This form of *kava* clubs are very informal and range of topics are opened for discussion. This *kava* ceremony has been commodified and may be seen as cultural exploitation. There are types of *kava* club, some paid per head, and others open for donation. The *kava* club based on open donation makes more money than any form of *kava* club, especially if it is for church projects.

The distinction between the formal and *kava* ceremonies is based first on seating and second on the purpose of the *kava* ceremony. The formal *kava* ceremony manifests in the ranking system and order of serving of individual participants. Rank is the politics involved with a chief and his local group, where political alliance is provided through intermarriage and personal ties of kinship. In the events of funeral and wedding display, there is the purest form of operational system of obligations and political alliance, organised according to principles of kinship rather than title and *ha'a*.

The speeches during the royal *kava* ceremony are always in thanksgiving for the *olovaha* with the belief that the welfare and livelihood of people are determined by him. Disagreements with the *olovaha* are not revealed during the *kava* ceremony. That is anything that may offend the *olovaha* is prohibited.

Māhina (1992:123) argues that,

the *kava* ceremony, while standardising social principles and expressing fundamental contradiction in human relationships, conserves social institutions as

it accommodates major structural and functional shifts in the political relationships between titles brought about by the inevitability of change.

Kava ceremony is an art form, which it has its own aesthetics, proportional and symmetrical aspects. We could say the *kava* ceremony is work of art. The right side of the *kava* circle is represented by the dead, which is led by Lauaki, and the right by Motu'apuaka represents the living. *Kava* ceremony has a theme, which distinguished itself from any other rituals in Tongan society. The onset of the royal *kava* ceremony produces the symmetrical and proportional aspects of social rank and title within Tongan society.

Women are prohibited from partaking in a royal *kava* ceremony, and the only exception is if the *olovaha* is a queen. *Kava* ceremony, its seating and serving are based on titles and their genealogy, which is the essence of Tongan culture and history. The late Queen Sālote once asserted, that while other countries write their history in books, Tonga's history is written in the *kava* ritual. In this context, it may also serve as cultural policy which regulates the politics of lineages in national and at a local level.

Every individual in Tongan society belongs to at least two lineages *ha'a*, and it may be an individual decision to which lineage to be identified with. The ranking of *ha'a* is rooted in accordance with rank and authority both in national and local levels. The lineage itself could be a some form of council subordinate to the king. In this context, the upper part of the lineage is the decision making body, while the lower one is the working group. But half of the upper section comprises commoners who have no means of production. That is, commoners by definition are individuals who do not have means of production, and do not have right over their production as product of their labour. In this social

system, groups of individuals play different roles in the division of labour, and their specific role gives rise to a network with fixed norms, in order to outline the duties and prohibitions for a certain social activity.

The arrival of the missionaries had influenced the change of attitude in Tongan society, from the traditional religious belief and values to the western concept of religion, ethic and moral values. As a result of this encounter, Tonga became a part of the political and economic map of the world for the first time. The change came as a byproduct of conflict and contradiction between the traditional and the western concepts of value, right and equality. The fundamental aspect of western concepts introduced by the missionaries in this context was the law for all Tongans. Inevitably chiefs utterly rejected this western notion of law, which undermined their social, political and economic stance. The protection and preservation of Tongan cultural heritage is also a western concept, which aims to preserve the cultural and historical significance of the past, not only for the future generation, but importantly for the Tongan cultural heritage itself. But a new form of cultural preservation policy was introduced by contact with the west.

MODERN CULTURAL PRESERVATION AND MANAGEMENT POLICY

The current legal regimes concerning the protection and preservation of Tongan cultural heritage are examples of modern cultural preservation, which was very much influenced by European notions of preservation. This concept of cultural preservation is to preserve culture for the future generations, but also for the sake of culture itself. In this context, the preservation of cultural heritage is based on its intrinsic significance, and it's not something that we impose on it. And because it does not have any direct economic value it does not necessarily mean it is not important.

Tonga has ineffective legal regimes to preserve its cultural heritage in comparison to laws and policies of other developed nations. This ineffectiveness may refer to lack of interest in the concept of cultural preservation, which is typical for developing nations throughout the world. This threatens the intrinsic value of the cultural heritage, where economic development is generally regarded to be more important than cultural heritage. But in reality they are both important, and their usefulness is not the determining factor at all.

In the 1940's, the international concern for preservation of cultural heritage was emerging in Europe, and it may have to do with acts of war, and other destructive agents including natural disasters. The establishment of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) can be seen as a formal attempt to preserve the cultural heritage of the world. The international concern for the preservation of cultural

heritage has had a great impact on national legal systems throughout the world. Various regional organisations adopted regional agreements on cultural preservation issues. It was not until 1969, that Tonga finally took up the concern for cultural heritage and adopted the first legislation that directly related to cultural heritage, The Preservation of Objects of Archaeological Interest Act 1969. Even though this Act is specifically for archaeological objects, it may serve the concern for the preservation of Tongan cultural heritage to a certain extent.

This chapter will deal with existing cultural preservation laws and policy of Tonga with specific reference to the historical development of the Tonga legal system; decision-making processes; form of Tongan government. The Objects of Archaeological Interest Act, and land law. It ends up with some general recommendations for possible amendments of the existing law and policy by adopting regional and international conventions and protocols.

The protection and preservation of cultural heritage in western law is often determined by the general public through democratic processes. In Tonga constitutional processes have provided legal frameworks for the preservation of cultural heritage. But as the previous chapters have indicated, there are measures must be seen from the context of older and culturally specific features of Tongan political life.

Traditional conservation and management systems are modified by government, new technology and new economic activities introduced with other international influences. The need to have formal conservation measures has flowed from Tonga's place in the international community, and a response to the fast growing environmental

deterioration of the earth. Hence, conservation measures are consciously set up by international bodies. Yet as already discussed indigenous societies and cultures do have their own traditional strategies of carrying out conservation measures, and a place to be found for both.

The emergence of Tongan capitalism created new problems of conservation. Underdeveloped countries, like Tonga, are vulnerable to new cultural and environmental damage. Problems of traditional land use and resource tenures in poor countries make it difficult for areas to be systematically surveyed and protected by government and other related bodies. The responsibility for conservation is the government's and its appropriate Ministry for conducting a thorough survey to identify and locate sites and areas of cultural significance.

Effective programmes of public information, education and training are necessary. Solving conservation problems requires the problems to be identified. This can only be done by exploring the underpinning factors of the problems themselves as well as related issues.

Sustainable development will be achieved when conservation is fully with development and the two are no longer development based on conservation objectives uses resources in a sustainable manner ensuring the long term viability and growth of societies (UNEP 1987:2).

The UNEP defines conservation as the management of the biosphere, both living and non-living things in a sustainable ways to meet present and future generations. The concept of sustainability is problematic due to the contradictory nature of development and conservation.

4.1 Tongan Constitution

The initial attempt to introduce Christianity to Tonga was made by the London Missionary Society in 1797 (Lātūkefu 1975:16). Tongans were disinterested in the new creed which contradicted their traditional religious beliefs. Towards the end of 18th century and beginning of 19th century, three missionaries were killed and the rest escaped to New South Wales. In 1822 the first attempt of the Wesleyan missionaries was made but they experienced similar resistance. In 1827 more missionaries arrived and a station was established in Nuku'alofa under the influence of Aleamotu'a, soon to be Tu'i Kanokupolu.

These missionaries came to Tonga in the early 19th century with traditional views of Wesleyan Methodism, where monarchy and constitution were not to be challenged. This attitude supported the creation of the Tongan monarchical system. The missionaries saw in the political system of the Tu'i Kanokupolu similar models of constitutional monarchy practised in European countries. But political unrest in Tonga made their goal, to spread the Christian faith, inevitably difficult (Lātūkefu, 1975:16). The Tu'i Kanokupolu kingly line was unlike the other two dynastic lines, Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Ha'atakalaua. This political advantage of the Tu'i Kanokupolu very much influenced the missionaries' support and cooperation. The victory of Taufa'ahau's unification campaign put an end to the Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Ha'atakalaua kingly lines, and he himself became the ruler of the entire Tonga. In 1831 Taufa'ahau adopted the name, King George which may have been borrowed from King George of England.

In 1839 King George (Siaosi) promulgated the first ever written code of laws known as the Vava'u code (Lātūkefu 1975). The most essential element of this early written code was to limit the power of chiefs, and was largely based on the influence of the missionaries and their teachings. The code also established magistrate courts to have jurisdiction over everybody. This public trial of offenders was a major change to that practised in customary law. This particular judicial establishment put an end the chiefs' rights to prosecute and punish offenders at will. The chiefs were urged to show love to their people, and to organise them to work the land for the king and chief themselves. Sale of alcohol was prohibited, which mainly targeted the foreign visitors. The code was not only to protect the rights of the locals, but was also to protect against the 'unwanted influences' of foreign visitors.

In 1849, an annual missionaries' meeting was held at Nuku'alofa, led by Rev W. Lawry from New Zealand. The king asked the meeting for legal advice on a Tongan legal system; it later recommended the adoption of a Code of Laws similar to the Society Islands Laws but modified to suit local situations. A code of laws was drafted and sent to the king with strong recommendation that it be adopted and promulgated. After a series of meetings of the king and his chiefs several amendments were made, and it was then re-submitted to the missionaries' annual meeting in 1850. This 1850 code was the revision and enlargement of Vava'u Code of 1849 with several additional provisions. Amongst the most important provisions of 1850 code was the total prohibition of the sale of land. These early codes were very important for the development of the future constitution of Tonga. They limited the power of the chiefs and elevated commoners, and gave the ultimate power and

authority to the Tu'i Kanokupolu kingly line. In the 1850 code, the king had the power to appoint those who should govern, and to command the assembly of chiefs to consult him on whatever matters. He was also the Chief Judge and the supreme authority in any dispute whatsoever, and could impose taxes as he believed to be appropriate.

The missionaries played an important role in promoting and encouraging these written codes, but the king and his chiefs made the final decision on what was to become law. This was unlike the case in other Pacific Islands where, for instance, the Tahitian code of laws was directly and completely drawn up by missionaries of London Missionary Society and the Tahitian chiefs were then invited to ratify it. The right of the local chiefs for decision-making processes was protected under the newly introduced legal codes.

The king was well aware that the 1850 code was inadequate and revision was required, especially on the issue of the maintenance of government. In 1862, the king and his chiefs promulgated a major revision and enlargement of the previous codes of law. This code declared emancipation for all Tongans, but it remained illegal for any one to sell land. King George was always suspicious that foreigners could steal or forcibly take the land of his country. He had also learned of the New Zealand Māori's difficulties with their land and vowed it would not happen in Tonga (Lātūkefu 1975). The 1862 code has some constitutional powers, especially when it deals with king's power and duties.

The establishment of Roman Catholicism in 1842 influenced the social and political stance of the Wesleyan missionaries and undermined their monopoly which led to a competitive attitude amongst these groups of missionaries. The Wesleyan missionaries

were pro-Tu'i Kanokupolu (government), while the Roman Catholics were pro-Tu'i Tonga. The chiefs began to resent the patronising attitudes of the Wesleyan missionaries, and it intensified when missionaries persuaded the chiefs to offer themselves and their people as subjects of the English (Lātūkefu 1975). This was bitterly rejected by the chiefs and was treated as an attempt to annex Tonga by Great Britain, in a similar way as French imperialist activities were viewed in the Pacific. This instance forced the king to consult independent sources other than to fully rely on missionaries' advice.

These early codes were resented by the European community in Tonga, because they thought that they unfairly affected their trading activities, for instance, with the severe restrictions on liquor sale and the complete ban on the sale of land. Tongans were suspicious of foreign activities, and rumours and speculations floated around that great powers would soon or later annex Tonga. This was considered seriously by the king who took advice that the only alternative was to establish sufficient constitutional government to force recognition from European powers.

In 1869, Rev. Baker, Chair of the Wesleyan mission, returned from Sydney after being away for three years (Lātūkefu 1975). Baker disregarded the advice of the Mission Board in Sydney to avoid being involved with local politics of Tonga. Three years later, Baker became the king's physician and advisor in most affairs of the king. Taufa'ahau and Baker thought that a constitution will provide a solution to protect the monarchy from internal and external threats. In his visit to Sydney, he collected laws of the government of New South Wales and a copy of the 1852 Constitution of Hawaii.

The constitution of Tonga was given to the people by their monarchy in 1875, which is unlike the usual experience of in other states, where guarantees of constitutional liberty have usually been wrested from the rulers by popular demand. The Constitution can be seen as an appeal by Baker on behalf of Taufa'ahau for political popularity within Tonga. The process was attacked by the fact that it had never been given time for discussion to include the demands of the majority of population. The establishment of the constitution was to maintain Tonga's independence and to gain international recognition. The constitution comprises 132 Articles and three main sections: (i) Declaration of Right; (ii) Form of Government; and (iii) The Land.

The Form of Government very much followed the 1852 Constitution of Hawaii. It declared that the Tongan form of government was to be a constitutional monarchy and its supreme power was divided into three bodies : (i) the King, Privy Council and Cabinet; (ii) the Legislative Assembly; (iii) and the Judiciary.

The King is the sovereign of all the chiefs and all the people. The person of the King is sacred. He governs the country but his ministers are responsible. All Acts that have passed the Legislative Assembly must bear the King's signature before they become law (section 41, Constitution).

The King is the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces and he shall not declare war without the consent of Legislative Assembly. The King has the power to dissolve the Legislative Assembly at will, but not dismiss any representatives except in cases of treason. The King in person is declared sacred and he governs land and all laws passed by the Legislative Assembly with his signature. He has the power to bestow chiefly titles.

The Privy Council is comprised of the King, all Cabinet Ministers, the Governors and Chief Justice, and its role to advise the King. The Cabinet consists of the Prime Minister, nine Ministers and two governors and are all life-time appointed by the King himself.

Currently, the Legislative Assembly is composed of Cabinet members, nine nobles elected by the 33 nobles and nine representatives are elected by 100,000 people. The Speaker of the House is again a life-time appointment by the King. More than two-thirds of the members of the Legislative Assembly are appointed by the king. When it comes to votes of no confidence, the interests of the population at large can be easily out voted. However the Legislative Assembly has the power to discuss amendments to the Constitution, as long as the amendments do not interfere with the Declaration of Rights, the laws concerning foreigners, the succession to the throne, and the inheritance and titles of the nobles and chiefs of the land (Lātūkefu 1975:47).

The 1875 constitution has remained largely unchanged until the pro-democracy movement in the 1990's. The Pro-democracy movement is a campaign for the people to elect the government just like any democratic system throughout the world. The aim of this movement to elect 30 members of the Legislative Assembly by the people (Convention on the Pro-democracy Movement 1992). The king would appoint the Prime Minister, Ministers of the Crown, two Governors and the Speaker of the House as he sees fit.

The judicial power of the kingdom is vested in the Supreme Court which consists of a Chief Justice and two other associated Justices. These justices are appointed by the king with the consent of the Cabinet, and they have equal rights and powers. They receive

salaries from the government by arrangement made by the king and the Legislative Assembly. It is with the justices of the Supreme Court to arrange the functions of the lower courts, and also to draw out all forms, and make rules for all the business of the same (Lātūkefu 1975:19). Some decades ago, the British government initiated a scheme as aid to provide a high court justice, on three year basis, to work in Tonga. In 1995, the British government suspended this legal aid, and Tongan government has to find its own high court justices.

In 1992, the Court of Appeal was established and consisted of Tonga's Chief Justice, and two overseas High Court Justices. Prior to the establishment of the Court of Appeal, all appeals from the high court were dealt with by the Cabinet itself. The existing Tongan Court of Appeal does not deal with cases of title claims in hereditary estates. That is, title cases are still to be heard in Cabinet rather than the Court of Appeal. This obviously indicates a discrimination against the probable threat for the land and title Tongan elites. But at the same time it is an attempt to preserve the chiefs' status quo. The establishment of Tongan constitution again provides legal regime is seen to be as strategy to maintain the superiority and domination of the ruling elites.

4.2 Land Law

The land in Tonga is divided into three major groups, (i) royal estates; (ii) chiefs' and *matāpule* hereditary estates; (iii) and the government estates. Newly appointed chiefs by

Taufa'ahau were allocated sizable land allotments, as rewards for their support for the Tu'i Kanokupolu kingly line. The Land Act does give the right for commoners to claim land, but it has to be approved by the estate holders. The constitution gives the chiefs the control of their own land. Land has social, political and economic manifestations. Theoretically, the larger the land of one's person means more production means more power.

Capitalism introduces changes in the attitude to land in Tongan society. Disputes between family members over land have become very common in today's Tonga. Chiefs are interested in leasing land to foreign interests, rather than allocation to commoners. In this context, land is seen as resource for financial return, rather than just sources of social and political power in a traditional sense. Land as property means a source of income in either kind or money (Helu 1991). Recently, the Minister of Land, Survey and Natural Resources has publically announced that all lands of Tonga have been allocated. This means that more and more male Tongans have no further access to land spelt out in the constitution.

Traditional and current land tenures share common features. In traditional Tonga chiefs received *'inasi* in terms of fruits, crops and fish. In modern Tonga money is received from land lease and loyalties from foreign businesses, which replaced food stuffs in traditional society. Land is rather leased on business lines, and there is no way for an average Tonga to compete with foreign investors. Clause 105 of the Constitution regarding lease states that the Cabinet will determine the conditions of the lease and it may not exceed 99 years with the consent of His Majesty in Council. The Cabinet determines the rental fee for all Government lands leased. Clause 106 states that the King in Council

must approve the form of deed used for lease, transfer and permits to be made. Leasing of land for agricultural purposes is granted by the Minister of Land, Survey and Natural Resources with the consent of the Cabinet. It is allowed by law for an individual to lease land to a maximum of 20 bush allotments and 10 town allotments. Those advantaged by this section in the Act are the land holders, who are the chiefs. The constitution does not distinguish Tongan from foreigners, and it gives local and non-local a fair opportunity, but local Tongans can not compete with foreign investors in rental fees and other royalties demanded by landholders. In other words, foreign investors do have advantage than the Tongans, because they have access to powerful overseas financial institutions. The original land law was to protect Tongans, but in case of lease, it gives the advantage for the overseas investors plus partnership and joint venture with landowners, chiefs.

The Land Law has given the chiefs some form of protection over their lands, and it can not be changed unless the current political system is changed. In 1983, a Land Commission was established to conduct a survey and study the situation of land holding in Tonga, and a report was submitted to the Privy Council in 1985. This report has never been made public, and it is suspected that it recommends amendments to the existing Land Law.

In the 1850 Code, Section xxxiv (II) - The Law Concerning the Land,

It shall in no wise be lawful for a chief or people in this kingdom of Tonga to sell a piece of land to a foreign people - it is forbidden forever and ever; and should any one break this law he shall work as a convict all the days of his life until he die and his progeny shall be expelled from the land.

Under the Clause 48 of the Constitution,

The lands of the king and the property of the King are his to dispose of as he pleases. The Government shall not touch them nor shall be liable for any Government debt. But the houses built for him by the Government and any inheritance which may be given to him as king shall descend to his successors as the property and inheritance of the royal line.

The king is bound by the constitution not to sell land. In the Royal Estates Act 1927 amendment was made to provide the distribution of royal estates amongst the members of the royal family.

Hereditary estates as defined in the constitution are lands granted by the king to chiefs and *matāpule* as their hereditary estates through their lawful heirs; the heir is the eldest son, born in wedlock, not insane and over 21 years of age, and the king would approve with the consent of the Privy Council. Crown land may be granted to holders of hereditary estates by the king with the consent of Privy Council. The Land Act prohibits a person to hold two bush or town allotments, except the king, royal members and chiefs, who may have many estates.

The Minister of Land, Survey and Natural Resources with the consent of the Cabinet can reserve Crown land for public purposes, such as roads, cemeteries, schools, government uses and other public activities. The king with the consent of the Privy Council has the power to call upon any land holder to give up possession of land held by him for public purposes. Land can be exchanged and compensation is paid out for damages of crops, and other valuable properties in the land by the government. The Land Tenure System defines in the Interpretation Act 1903 the hereditary estates of nobles and ceremonial attendants *matāpule*, bush and town allotments, leaseholds and interests in lands of every description.

The hereditary estates *tofi'a* were granted for the 21 nobles by Taufa'ahau, and currently there are 35 titles altogether in Tongan society today. The constitution gives power for the nobles to control their lands generating first fruits *polopolo*, annual tributes *'inasi*, and lease and rent from the local people. The concept of *'inasi* and *polopolo* has been weakened by capitalism and the global economy. Chiefs are reluctant to allocate their lands to commoners, because ownership serves as form of political control. Land owning commoners do not provide services and duties for the chiefs. Estates without heirs revert to the crown, but the king has the power to reallocate them at will. Land management is a western concept and vaguely understood throughout Tonga. Authority and landowners have conflicting interests on this issue.

4.3 Planning Law

The concerns of conservation including land, air, water and sea resources as basic components of life, which interact with human beings and produce history and culture. As described by the United Nations Environmental Programme,

Conservation is the Management of human use of the biosphere to yield the great sustainable benefits to present generations while maintaining potential to meet the needs and aspirations of the future generation. Thus conservation is positive, embracing preservation, maintenance, sustainable utilisation, restoration and enhancement of the natural environment. It is concerned with both living and non-living resources (UNEP 1987:1).

The Parks and Reserves Act 1976 initiated power to protect, and manage and develop natural areas in Tonga. The Act states that,

Every park subject to any conditions and restrictions which the Authority may impose shall be administered for the benefit and enjoyment of the people of Tonga. Every reserve, subject to any conditions and restrictions which the Authority may impose, shall be administered for the protection, preservation and maintenance of any valuable feature of such reserve and activities therein and entry thereto shall be strictly in accordance with any restrictions and conditions.

The Parks and Reserves Act, Nos.11, 1976 and Cap.89, 1988, provides for the Establishment of a Park and Reserves Authority and for the Establishment, Preservation and Administration of Parks and Reserves. The Act is very important for setting up both Land and Marine Parks and Reserves. The Parks and Reserves Act provides authority for the Privy Council to appoint members of the Parks and Reserves Authority (PRA).

There are three types of Protected Areas: Parks, Land Reserves and Marine Reserves. Section 7, Part III of Parks and Reserves Act, states that a Park is administered for the benefit and enjoyment of the people of Tonga and that there shall be free of entry and recreation therein by all patrons. Section 8 deals with protection of any valuable features on any land reserves. Section 9 deals with land reserves and marine reserves,

Every marine reserve shall be administered for the protection, preservation and control of any aquatic form of life and any organic matter therein.

Section 10, states the requirement to have visible public notices on land reserve sites only. Under this Act, the Privy Council can declare an area as a park or reserve. It should be published in Gazette with its name, location and other related details. The Act requires the area to be recorded and registered under the Land Act, and the minister of land to devise regulations, which include conditions and restrictions for the purpose of protection,

preservation and maintenance of natural, historic, scientific or other valuable features. The Act provides the prerogative to prescribe an admission fee for any park, which may assist the operation expenses of the place.

Since 1979 five parks and reserves and more sites have been gazetted to improve production of wildlife. There are 26 more that have not been declared as reserve parks, but may come under the Preservation of Object of Archaeological Interest Act. These areas urgently need to be declared protected areas.

Despite the absence of legal forms, there is a fundamental requirement to protect the environment from destructive projects and to preserve by environmentally managing development. Generally, the project impact on the environment should be studied prior to permission being granted, which means a thorough description of the project, and a guarantee that the project will comply with environmental requirements should the project be approved. There is no law to ensure Environment Impact Assessment (EIA) in the Ministry of Land and Natural Resources. All development proposals are assessed by the Central Planning Department (CPD) and it may call experts to assess the proposal. The draft of the Land Use, Natural and Environmental Planning Bill 1990, yet to become law, provides EIA assessment be conducted prior to any consideration of the development applications.

Tonga's Sixth Development Plan 1991-95 stresses the government's environmental conservation objectives, to improve lands, uses of settlement, mineral resources exploitation, industry and tourism. It also acknowledges the protection of natural resources with respect to their social and cultural functions. The Plan acknowledges management of

natural resources for sustainable development, and its objectives focus on economic development, making it hard to take conservation seriously. Major development projects are funded by loans from major powerful financial institutions loans, for instance, the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. These institutions need to consider the impact of the project on the historic sites and other cultural and environmental aspects by including them in their policies.

The Sixth Development Plan 1991-95 states some important considerations for sustainable agricultural activities within the framework of environmental concerns. This plan outlines preventive measures to avoid environmental damage that may result from agricultural activities. It also makes some important suggestions including study of soil quality and the effects of chemicals and how they harm the environment at large. These suggestions have not been put in legislation, and it would be beneficial for the environment if this is done.

4.5 Historic Sites

The only Act which is directly related to the preservation of Tongan cultural heritage was drafted in 1969, adopted and was finally assented to in 31 March 1970, The Preservation of Objects of Archaeological Interest Act. The Act comprises 9 sections and 16 subsections, which makes it the shortest Act passed by the Tongan Parliament. This may reflect, to a certain extent, the fact that the protection of cultural heritage is not a priority

within the legal framework of Tonga. The Act itself has never been amended since it came into force in 1970. The definition of 'objects' of archaeological interest is,

any structure, erection, memorial, tumulus, cairn, place of interment, pit dwelling, trench fortification, irrigation work, mound, excavation, cave, rock, rockdrawing, painting, sculpture, inscription, monolith, or any remains thereof, fossil remains of man or animals or plants or any bed or beds containing such fossil remains thereof, or any object (or any remains thereof) which is or are of archaeological, prehistoric, or historic interest, and includes:the site on which such object of archaeological interest was discovered or exists; and such portion of land adjoining the said as may be required for fencing or covering in or otherwise preserving such object of archaeological interest; and the means of access to and convenient inspection of such object of archaeological interest (Act No. 15 of 1969, sect. 2).

It also includes sites on which an object of archaeological interest was discovered or exists (section 2a); any such portion of land adjoining the said site as may be required for fencing or covering in or otherwise preserving such objects of archaeological interest (section 2b); and a means of access to, and convenient inspection of, such object of archaeological interest (section 2c).

Ship wrecks and other objects of archaeological interest at sea seem excluded from the Act's interpretation. In relation to investigation purposes, an archaeological site is also referred to as an area or place which is directly or indirectly related to the history and culture of Tonga. The definition of the objects of archaeological interest does not include historic buildings and other structures. Generally, there is a need to introduce a wider and more comprehensive definition of archaeological interest, cultural property and historic sites.

Tonga needs urgently to develop its cataloguing and recording systems of archaeological, and other historic sites both in land and sea. These systems would serve

as a protective measure by systematically recording sites not only for the purpose of future research but importantly for the sake of the sites themselves. Land owners should be notified that there are historic sites situated in their lands and these sites should be protected under the appropriate legislation.

In the early 1950s, a Committee was established to protect and control the objects of archaeological interest. The Committee was initiated by the late Queen Salote, as a result of her ambition and appreciation for the preservation of Tongan cultural heritage. The Committee is known as the Committee on Tongan Traditions *Komiti Tala Fakafonua*, and its members and their successors are appointed by the King himself from time to time. The Committee rules allow anyone to conduct research for objects or sites of archaeological interest. A permit must be issued with the consent of landholder and Cabinet (section 3(1)), and the committee will also ensure the applicant(s) meets the professional requirements to undertake any archaeological research. It also considers the technical, financial and intellectual capacity of the applicant based on scientific methods, funding sources and other related aspects. Amongst the conditions required by the permit would be two complete written reports or publications of the exploration or excavation which are to be sent to the Committee up to two years following the project's completion.

The Act gives the Committee authority to issue permits for research, but there is no provision protecting objects or sites of archaeological interest from damage and injury. In the current Act, sites and objects may be destroyed and damaged. Archaeological excavation means destroying the site, while revealing some significant historical and cultural information. The Act does not provide guidelines on balancing the two.

Basically there are two types of archaeological sites, (i) sites which can be archaeologically excavated (rescue excavation) due to lesser significance or because they are to be modified by development (ii) sites which are never to be destroyed by any means whatsoever. This distinction is not acknowledged in the Act. Another problem to be addressed is the fact that the members of Committee and Cabinet and the landowners do not have any formal training in the nature of archaeological excavation and prevention measures of cultural heritage. This is evident in the simple permit form to be filled for research in Tonga. The lack of relevant experts in decision-making bodies may result in destruction of cultural heritage. There is a need for a detailed description of the nature of the archaeological investigation to be included in the application. For instance, the place the research is to be undertaken, methods which will be used, the impact on the site, and the historical and cultural significance of the research. The Committee members should include relevant and appropriate experts in cultural conservation, legal, and other related fields.

The Committee should involve the public in meetings to acknowledge the significance of Tongan cultural heritage, and to assist in the identification, cataloguing, registration and restoration of areas, structures or objects of cultural or historical significant. Signs and notices erected on historic sites would assist public awareness. Historic sites under private ownership should be exchanged with government lands or other appropriate forms of exchange.

The Committee needs to look at any sites before to any construction works are carried out. Unfortunately, Tonga has not exercised this important aspect, and the

destruction of historic sites is subsequently inevitable. Tonga is rich in archaeological and historic sites, but without the appropriate legal tools, then there is no hope for preserving these in the future. Farming with heavy machinery is threatening historic sites, because there is no control over the types of farming permissible in specific places.

The Committee should have an annual budget allocated by parliament just like any other governmental body in order to be active, effective and sufficient, in terms of implementation and enforcement processes. A close network with other related Government Ministries and Departments would also be beneficial for the protection and preservation of the Tongan cultural heritage.

A recent policy development is the requirement of a deposit of \$1000 to the Prime Minister's office as a bond over any research to be conducted in Tonga. The deposit is refundable after two copies of reports are submitted to the office. Unfortunately this policy is poorly enforced, except for archaeological research or research which is dealt directly with the government departments. Deposits may be seen as guarantee for the return of the result of the research.

The return of cultural property has never been properly addressed. Over the years, there has never been a single artefact returned, and may be this is due to the reluctance of the Tongan government to press ahead for their return. Almost all archaeologists which have conducted research in Tonga were postgraduate scholars from various universities, and after their study the artifacts are usually left behind in the universities. The universities are responsible for their safety.

The Committee with the approval of the Cabinet may revoke a permit at will. In section 4 of the Act, a permit issued by the Committee has conditions attached to protect any object of archaeological interest from injury, removal or dispersion, or may authorise excavation and removal of any such object to any place within the kingdom, subject to such limitations and conditions as to the Committee shall seem fit. These limitations and conditions are not mentioned in the Act, and the lack of expertise in the Committee would be potentially devastating in regard to permits for the removal of cultural property. In a case of the discovery of objects of archaeological interest, the permit-holder must notify the committee without delay, providing necessary information about the objects discovered. Instructions of the Committee concerning the discovered object must be fully complied with by the permit-holder. Failing to comply with the Committee's instruction will result in a fine of up to \$200 or imprisonment of not more than 3 years or both. Interestingly, there has never been a single case in Tonga on this issue, which means the implementation and enforcement of the Act, and Committee regulations and policy, are very poor. There has never been a single court case regarding the damage, even removal of objects of archaeological interest. On a daily basis, the local radio and newspapers advertises that people are interested to buy antiques and ancient objects. Stalls situated in Nuku'alofa, Tongatapu, and Neiafu, Vava'u are selling ancient artifacts. This attitude clearly shows that enforcement of this particular Act is beyond the administrative imagination. If this is the case, then there is no hope for the safety of objects of archaeological interest in the long run.

The Committee may inspect the progress of the work from time to time and may order the cessation of work until further instruction from Cabinet. Disregarding such orders will result in a fine of \$200 or imprisonment for not more than three years, or both. The implementation of such inspections is again very poor. Most archaeological excavations are carried out in remote islands and villages. These areas do not have the appropriate civil servants to inspect the work. This problem could be overcome if professional people are assigned to this particular task.

No object of archaeological interest shall be removed from the Kingdom unless a permit is granted by the Committee with the approval of the Cabinet for such an act (section 2(6)). The permit issued by the Committee may be for either for temporary scientific examination or display, or for permanent removal. The Committee with the consent of the Cabinet imposes conditions it sees fit for the temporary or permanent removal of objects of archaeological interest. This section of the Act indicates concern for the significance of objects with archaeological interest as a part of the Tongan cultural heritage. The permanent removal provision reflects the lack of government interest in such cultural property. The Act should have provided a specific time frame for objects to be studied and returned, and also outlined a detailed guarantee for their safe return. In the case of returning these cultural materials, Tonga would face another problem, which is establishing and maintaining an appropriate place to accommodate these cultural materials. Tonga has yet to build an international standard museum to cope with fragile artifacts and other cultural materials. A museum is needed as a safe place for all movable cultural properties for display and protection and preservation purposes.

The application for a removal permit is made 30 days from the intended removal date with a full description of all archaeological objects. The Committee will inspect all objects of archaeological interest prior to the permit's issue. The Act, also authorizes a customs officer to confiscate any cultural objects removed without proper document and permit.

Any person may commit an offence against this Act or regulations under this Act will be liable to a fine of \$100 or imprisonment not more than six months or both, otherwise in cases provided. Breach of the Act should be severely fined up to \$10,000 and imprisonment. In this context, Tonga needs to sign and ratify various international conventions on the protection of cultural heritage, so other countries could implement strict measures to combat the illegally importing of cultural property. It is important for Tonga to up-date its international commitment for the protection of the cultural heritage. The current international commitment of Tonga is non-existent especially with regard to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) conventions and other related regional conventions and protocols. Tonga also needs professional advice and other technical expertise from developed states for the purpose of the protection and preserving cultural heritage.

The law of Tonga relating to protection of objects of archaeological interest needs serious work, including amendment and enlargement, in order to cope with the developments within in Tongan society. Pulea (1992) recommended a separate comprehensive Heritage Protection Act to include all categories of antiquities, artifacts and historic sites. In 1990 meeting of The Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the

Pacific (ESCAP) showed interest in amendments of the current Act directly concerning objects of archaeological interest.

However, the political system is an obstacle to be overcome, especially where the decision making process rests in Cabinet. In that case, there is a need for lobby groups and other non-government organizations (NGOs) to press ahead with demands for the protection and preservation of the Tongan cultural heritage. In addition to public workshops and other educational measures provided by some relevant governmental departments and ministries, there is a need for local organisations and groups to conduct a public series of workshops on the protection and preservation of cultural heritage.

The Land Use, Natural Resource and Environmental Planning Bill 1990 has provision for the protection of historic places and sites. In section 26, the minister and the authority with the consent of the Privy Council may make regulations consistent with the provisions, which provides for the rehabilitation of exploited areas, preservation or conservation of any land, marine area, object or building having historic, scientific, architectural, archaeological or other value, interest or appeal. It also controls the layout, design, construction, maintenance and demolition of buildings. In Schedule II, Matters for Regional Planning Schemes of this particular Bill and Social, Economic Natural Resources and Environment, Cultural Facilities and Amenities are provided for, but matters relating directly to places or sites of historic importance or significance are not specifically mentioned. It is clear that historic places or sites could easily be included. Under schedule V Matters for Maritime Planning Schemes among the matters that may be included are, the preservation and/or conservation of, structures, objects and areas of historic or other

interest, or of visual appeal. In both Schedule VI Matters for a National Planning Scheme and Schedule VII Matters for Environmental Assessment, there are provisions that could include historic places and historic sites.

In the case of an easement, it can be granted with or without compensation. It begins with formal dedication, a recorded agreement committing into a public trust an easement with or without public access. This can increase formal agreement to reinforce local management based on customary practices with or without public access. These options require effective legislation and good faith between parties.

4.6 Other Cultural Property

Small island states with highly dependent economics, massive foreign debts, lack of effective control over their actual resources, corruption, military dictatorship, vested interests of the world super powers and rising political and economic elites, are common patterns which could lead to inappropriate development and mismanagement of natural resources (UNEP 1987:35).

The wealth of Pacific region fully relied on agricultural and fishing resources. Aid dependency and the impact of tourism on Tonga have affected the general frame work of cultural management policy.

In 1981, the United Nations Committee on Human Rights established a working group of experts to examine the right to development, and reported to the commission on Human Rights based on the right to development, and means of economic, social, and

cultural rights are enunciated in the various international instruments, especially for developing countries.

In 1976, the first convention on conservation of nature in the South Pacific was an initial attempt to promote co-operation on environmental matters on a regional level. The convention encourages the creation of protected areas, protection of indigenous flora and fauna, and discourages indiscriminate acts of hunting and killing of specimens in national parks. Lands and seas under customary ownership can be subject to mineral resource exploration.

In 1982 Rarotonga conference endorses:

countries should be encouraged and assisted to establish mechanism for effective environmental assessment suited to their own particular conditions, cultures, resources and needs (Report of the Conference on the Human Environment in the South Pacific, Rarotonga, 1982:41).

Traditional knowledge and practices such as local history, culture and mythology should be included in drafting of law for cultural conservation Natural environment and its cultural significance and natural habitat and the historic sites should be included. Traditional knowledge should be assessed and negotiated for planning to establish protection sites.

Workshops and conventions run by South Pacific Island Nations under the United Nations sponsored programmes and other international sponsorships do recognise customary knowledge and practices to have had positive impact on conservation objectives (Pulea 1992; see also UNCED 1992). Customary knowledge and practices are encouraged to be included in drafting of current resources management programmes.

The economic utilisation of land and sea resources should be based on sustainable production. Traditional conservation practices must also be considered in formulating processes of resource management policy and law. Decision-making processes for resources management must all encourage people of the area to be involved and participate.

CONCLUSION

The attempt to protect and preserve of Tongan cultural heritage is obscured by norms of economic development, especially in developing countries such as Tonga. The concern for cultural heritage and the environment are currently popular issues world wide. Even though they are related throughout, they are treated separately. In traditional Tongan society, these two concepts are inseparable, because one can not exist without the other.

The collective attitude of Tongan society is to a certain economic in nature, and the attempt to preserve the Tongan cultural heritage is an unpopular idea in the mind of the Tongans. This utilitarian view remains a barrier for the preservation of Tongan cultural heritage. In this context, short term economic value is seen to be the determining factor in deciding what is important. Cultural preservation and economic development should have no logical distinction whatsoever. That being economic and being cultural are both equally important.

Tongan traditional policy implies the complex politics between the chiefs and commoners, where chiefs are consumers and commoners are producers. Policy primarily served the interests of the chiefs at the expense of the commoners. The concept of taboo *tapu* is an effective regime employed to protect the rights of chiefs and their access to all resources, whilst the commoners were largely excluded. This taboo *tapu* system reinforced by the traditional religious belief, where the chiefs are claimed to be divine in origin. The traditional policy is a political concealment of the chiefs' hidden interests. Commoners *tu'a* are excluded from all decision-making processes. Chiefs' decision must be obliged fully and

not challenged in any manner by the commoners, and failure to observe this taboo *tapu* system had severe consequences.

The royal *kava* ceremony *taumafa kava* is a reflection of Tongan social hierarchical structure, where the monarch is seated on the very top of the *kava* circle. The *tou'a* section is the lowest social status, and the chiefs and their accompanied ceremonial attendants are seated accordingly to their respective social status. Theoretically, the closer to the *olovaha* means the higher one's social status, and closer to the *tou'a* section is the lower of one's self. But there is a complex system operated, and can not be always true and applicable to all situations in the seating processes. For instance, Kalaniuvalu is the direct descendant of the Tu'i Tonga is seated at the *Tou'a* section, which socially higher than most of the chiefs at the *kava* circle, but these chiefs may have political and social connection with the *olovaha*.

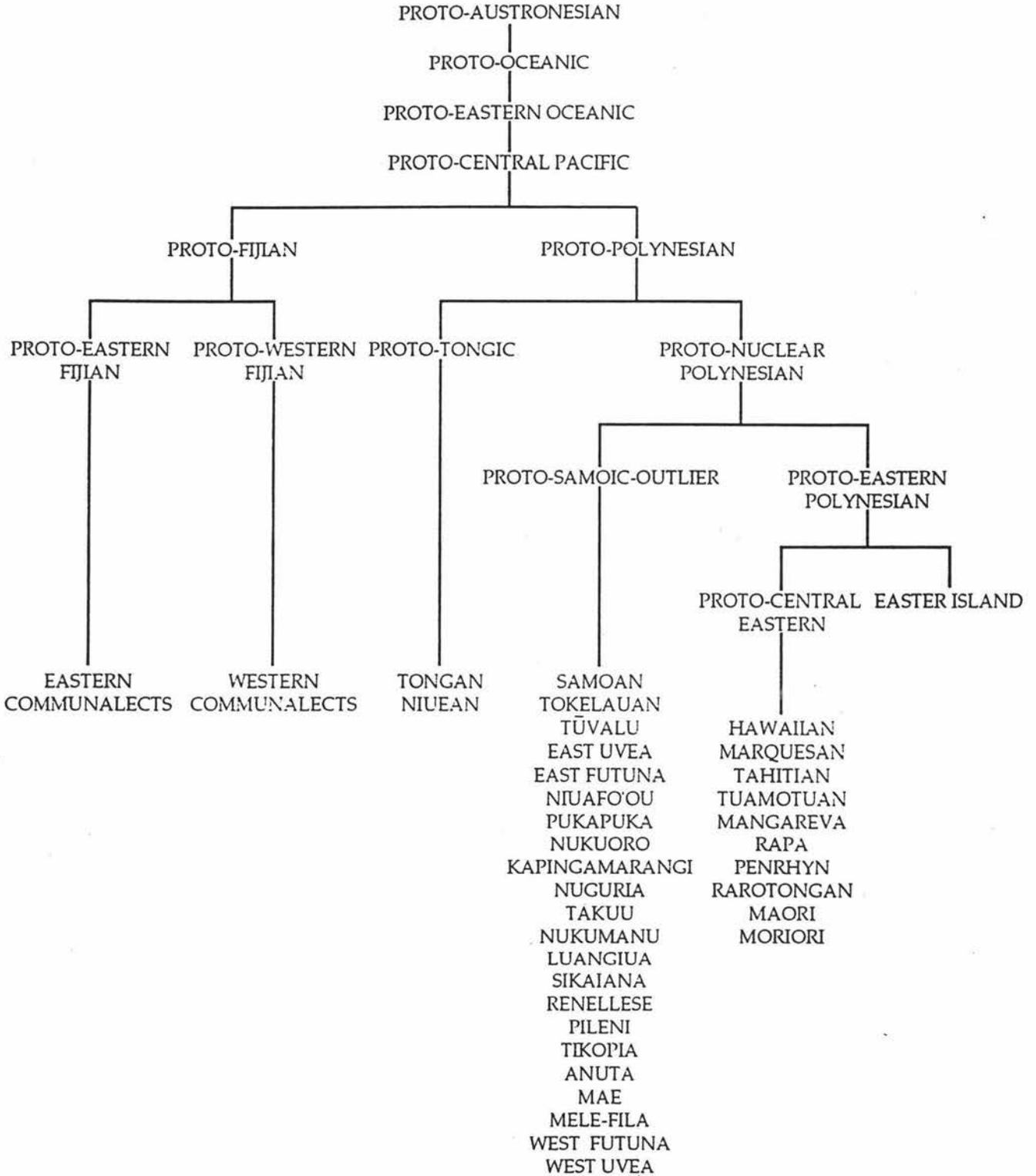
The western concept of cultural preservation policy is to protect and preserve the Tongan cultural heritage by legal regimes for future generations, and for the sake of the cultural heritage itself. The current legal measures dealing with cultural property need major amendments to bring hope for the cultural heritage of Tonga. This inadequate legal regimes may reflect the lack of appreciation of cultural heritage, and the existing emphasis of Tongan government's policy. As discussed above, the unequal distribution of power and wealth within Tongan society has put powerful restrictions on the public interest.

The current law of Tonga concerning the protection of cultural heritage is ineffective in both implementation and enforcement. There is a lot to be done to this

cultural heritage law of Tonga, in order to cope with the fast growing of economic development, and other destructing agents threatened Tongan cultural heritage.

In addition, Tonga needs to sign and ratify relevant international conventions on protection and preservation of cultural heritage. Various international conventions and organizations have included cultural protection policy in their objectives. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) under the United Nations has taken up the purpose of protection of cultural heritage. This organization provides specific initiatives for local, regional and international levels. The international concern for protection of cultural heritage emerged in 1900's and it was taken seriously by the developing states, especially in Europe after the two world wars. However, a cooperation in local, regional and international levels would give hope for the cultural heritage of Tonga. What is to be understood with reference to cultural heritage is not something can be recycled, and when lost is gone forever.

The Fijian and Polynesian Subgroupings
of the Austronesian Language Family



(After Bellwood 1978; Clark 1979; Pawley 1966)

FIGURE 1
(From Māhina 1992)

TU'I TONGA (TT) LIST

- | | |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. 'Aho'eitu | 21. Lomi'aetupu'a |
| 2. Lolofakangalo | 22. Havea II |
| 3. Fanga'one'one | 23. Takalaua |
| 4. Lihau | 24. Kau'ulufonua I Fekai |
| 5. Kofutu | 25. Vakafuhu |
| 6. Kaloa | 26. Puipuífatu |
| 7. Ma'uhau | 27. Kau'ulufonua II |
| 8. 'Apuanea | 28. Tapu'osi I |
| 9. 'Afulunga | 29. 'Uluakimata I or Tele'a |
| 10. Momo | 30. Fatafehi |
| 11. Tu'itātui | 31. Tapu'osi II or Kau'ulufonua III |
| 12. Talatama | 32. 'Uluakimata II |
| 13. Tu'itonganui-Koe-Tamatou | 33. Tu'ipulotu-'i-Langi-Tu'ofefafa |
| 14. Talaiha'apepe | 34. Fakana'ana'a |
| 15. Talakaifaiki | 35. Tu'ipulotu-'i-Langi-Tu'oteau |
| 16. Talafāpíte | 36. Pau or Paulaho |
| 17. Tu'itonga-Ma'akatoe | 37. Ma'ulupekotofa |
| 18. Tu'itonga-Puipui | 38. Fatafehi Fuanunuiava |
| 19. Havea I | 39. Laufilitonga |
| 20. Tatafu'eikimeimu'a | |

FIGURE 2

The Tu'i Tonga list based on the Catholic List and Moulton's List (see Herda 1988:143-145; Māhina 1986:190; *Koe Makasini 'a Koliji*, first issued 1987; Ve'ehala and Fanua 1977:29-30. Cf. Bastian 1881:296-297; Gifford 1929a:50; Tregear 1969:670; Wood 1943:66).

(From Māhina 1992)

1. Ngata AD 1610
Ngata; lit. Termination; first Tu'i Kanokupolu (*Kano-kupolu*/'Upolu); lit. Flesh/Umbilical-cord-of-kupolu/'Upolu), symbolically representing his Samoan mother, Tohu'ia, from 'Upolu; settled in 'Aha and Kanokupolu, sent by his father, Mo'ungatonga, from Fonuamotu in Mu'a, to rule Hihifo; by enforcing *polopolo* and *'inasi*, his duty was also to "end" aggression of Hihifo people, threatening TT and TH.

2. 'Atamata'ila
'Ata-mata-'ila; lit. Shadow-face-(with)-mole; a possible symbolic reference to the king, "secular" *mata* of TT and TH, tainted by his Samoan descent (*'ila*), making their power felt by his presence (*'ata*) in Hihifo. Otherwise, he literally had a mole on his face.

3. Mataeletu'apiko
Mata-ele-tu'a-piko; lit. Face-(of)-soil-(the)-hunch-back; probably literally symbolic of the Samoan descent (*'ele*; Samoan term for earth, but it, as it is for *kelekele* or *fonua* in Tonga, socially means "people") of the king, "earthly" *mata* of TT and TH, who, through oppression symbolised by *tu'apiko* (an idiom for people burdened with *fatongia*), was able to exert control in Hihifo.

4. Vuna
Vuna also nicknamed Tu'i'oetau (*Tu'i-'oe-tau*; lit. King-of-battle), suggesting secular nature of duties of new Hau, TK, conqueror.

5. Mataeleha'amea
Mata-ele-ha'amea/*Ha'amea*; lit. Face-(of)-(brown/red)-soil-(of)-ha'amea/Ha'amea; literally, name is possibly symbolic of enduring Samoan influences, Ha'amea/Ha'amoia, connected with Lo'au, of possible Samoan descent, and *'ele*, symbolising Ngata's Samoan mother, Tohu'ia, in local affairs of Tonga.

6. Ma'afu'otu'itonga
Ma'afu-'o-tu'i/Tu'i-tonga/Tonga; lit. Bottom/Guiding-star-of-tu'i/Tu'i-tonga/Tonga; a probable symbol of *tu'a-'eiki* tributary relations of Hau to TT, respective temporal and divine kings.

7. Tupoulahi
Tupou-lahi; lit. Tupou-(the)-senior/big; Tupou, common Tu'i Kanokupolu name, differentiated only by either social or physical attributes of respective holders.

8. Maealiuaki
Also 15th TH (see TH list).

9. Tu'ihalafatai
Tu'i-hala-fatai; lit. King-(of)-road-(of)-*fatai*; *fatai* is a *kakala vale* ("fool's" or commoner flowers), but it becomes a *kakala 'eiki* (chiefly flowers) when it's woven into *ve'eve'e* garlands (hence, the expression *si'i pe si'i loufatai ka ko e ve'eve'e mei he Paki* (minor though it may be the *fatai* leaves but it, as *ve'eve'e*, is garland from Mu'a (TT), symbolised by Paki). Similarly, TK, though he is *tu'a* in status, is socially linked to TT.
10. Tupoulahisi'i
Tupoulahi-si'i; lit. Tupoulahi-(the)-junior.
11. Mulukiha'amea
 Also 16th TH (see TH list).
12. Tupoumohefo
Tupou-mohe-fo; lit. Tupou-(the)-sleep-(and)-wake; Mohefo, eldest daughters of TH and TK, presented as wives to the TT, as was Tupoumohefo, wife of TT Pau.
13. Mumui AD 1793-AD 1797
Mumu-i; lit. Assembled-at; probable symbolic reference to TK actual power of amassing social and material resources through *polopolo* and *'inasi* during his rule.
14. Tuku'aho
 assassinated;
 AD 1797-AD 1799.
Tuku-'aho; lit. Parted-(at)-dawn; probable symbolic reference, through *tu'a*'s life of service, to his long subjection (*tuku'aho*) of people to his oppressive rule, resulting in his death.
15. Ma'afulimuloa
Ma'afu-limu-loa; lit. Bottom/Guiding-star-(of)-seaweeds-(that-grow)-tall; indicating some navigational or marine duties, possibly of people to chiefs, or TK to TT and TH.
16. Tupoumālohi
Tupou-mālohi; lit. Tupou-(the)-victor; this Tupou, differentiated by being victorious, was possibly symbolic of the conquering role of TK.
17. Tupouto'a
 AD 1812-AD 1820
Tupou-to'a; lit. Tupou-(the)-warrior/brave; like Tupoumalohi, this Tupou, as a secular king, was characterised by one of warfare, living chiefly but heroic value of *to'a*.
18. Aleamotu'a
 (Tupou Faletuipapai)
 AD 1826-AD 1845
Aleamotu'a; lit. Arguing-(of)-old; probably a symbolic reference to traditional patterns, as between TT and Hau, of power conflicts; nicknamed Tupou Faletuipapai (*Tupou Fale-tui-papai*; lit. Tupou [the]-House-[for]-plaiting-necklace-[of-red-pandanus-fruits]) suggesting some tributary *tu'a* relationships of TK to TT.
19. George Tāufa'āhau Tupou I
 AD 1845-AD 1893
Tāufa-'āhau/'Ahau; lit. Taufa-(at)-'ahau/'Ahau; originally named

Nginingini ofolanga (*Nginingini-ofolanga/Ofolanga*; lit. Shrivelled-[inside-of-coconut]-[from]-Ofolanga), for reasons that he was fed at birth with coconut milk from Ofolanga island, associated with TT; later named Tāufa'āhau to commemorate the fact that he was healed by Kautai, priest of 'Āhau oracle, whose shark god, was Tāufāitahi (*Tāufa-'i-tahi*; lit. Tāufa-at-sea).

20. George Tāufa'āhau
Tupou II
AD 1893-AD 1918

While George (Siaosi) is of British origin, Tupou has remained the common TK name, combining the introduced and the indigenous in title.

21. Sālote Māfile'o Pilolevu
Tupou III
AD 1918-AD 1965

Similarly, Charlotte (Sālote) is also British in origin.

22. Tāufa'āhau Tupou IV
AD 1965-

FIGURE 3

The list of Tu'i Kanokupolu, with literal meaning of names and approximate dates of reign of each Tu'i Kanokupolu, based on Tamaha 'Amelia's List (see Māhina 1986:194; Ve'ehala and Fanua 1977:36-37. Cf. Gifford 1929a:100; Herda 1988:147; Wood 1943:66-67).

(From Māhina 1992)

The Origin Myth of 'Aho'eitu

Seketo'a, chief of Niuatoputapu, had a beautiful daughter, 'Ilaheva. Since there was no man of comparable rank to marry her in Niuatoputapu, Niuafu'ou and Samoa, Seketo'a ordered his people to take her in a canoe to look for a husband in Vava'u and Ha'apai. She refused to land in those islands because of Vava'u's rugged features and the active volcano of Kao in Ha'apai. Thus, they set sail for Tongatapu, where she was put ashore at Popua in Ma'ofanga. Unfamiliar with the place, 'Ilaheva hid behind the woods. Occasionally, she would sneak out of hiding to collect shellfish in the lagoon, so the people of Popua had only a glimpse of her. Struck by her great beauty, they named her Va'epopua. But on one offshore island, To'onangakava, grew a huge toa tree reaching *Langi*, the abode of Tangaloa 'Eiki and his children. Tangaloa 'Eitumātupu'a used to climb down the tree from *Langi* to *Maama*, where on one occasion he sighted Va'epopua collecting shellfish. They then had sex in a particular spot of one island, afterward named Mohenga and the island Ha'angakafa. The couple overslept in One island, when long after dawn a flying tern woke them by its cries, and on another island they slept till late, waking up to find the light of day. As a commemoration of their sleep, the respective islands were named Talakite and Mata'aho. In time, Va'epopua got pregnant, then gave birth to a male child, whom his father named 'Aho'eitu. On returning to *Langi*, his father poured down clay forming a mound called Holohiufi for his son's garden, then brought a yam named Heketala for 'Aho'eitu to cultivate. One day 'Aho'eitu said to his mother that he wanted to see his father. Va'epopua anointed him with oil, then gave him a piece of bark cloth to take as a present. She advised 'Aho'eitu that, by climbing up the tree to *Langi*, he would find his father snaring pigeons on a roadside mound. Overcome by handsome 'Aho'eitu, Tangaloa 'Eitumātupu'a sat down in obeisance, but he told him to rise because he was his son from *Maama*. Food and kava were prepared for his reception. Afterwards he sent 'Aho'eitu to meet his brothers, who were playing *sika'ulutoa* on the *mala'e*. His beautiful physique and skills in the sport sparked jealousy in his brothers, who killed and ate him, then threw his head into a clump of hoi plants. When they returned, 'Aho'eitu was without them. So Tangaloa 'Eitumātupu'a, suspecting 'Aho'eitu to have been murdered, summoned his sons before him. They were made to vomit, throwing up 'Aho'eitu's flesh and blood into a bowl. The head was added, and the bowl covered with nonu leaves. After a few days, 'Aho'eitu's dismembered body reunited and came back to life. As a consequence, he ordered that 'Aho'eitu had to descend to *Maama* and become the first Tu'i Tonga, while his *Langi* brothers, Talafale, Matakehe, Maliēpo, Tu'iloloko and Tu'ifolaha, were to serve him. The eldest, Talafale, was to become the Tu'ifaleua, while Matakehe, Maliēpo, Tu'iloloko, Tu'ifolaha were to form the first *Falefā*. While Matakehe and Maliēpo were to guard the Tu'i Tonga, Tu'iloloko and Tu'ifolaha were to help him govern and conduct his funeral.

FIGURE 4 : 'Aho'eitu Myth of Origin

(From Māhina 1992:91-2)

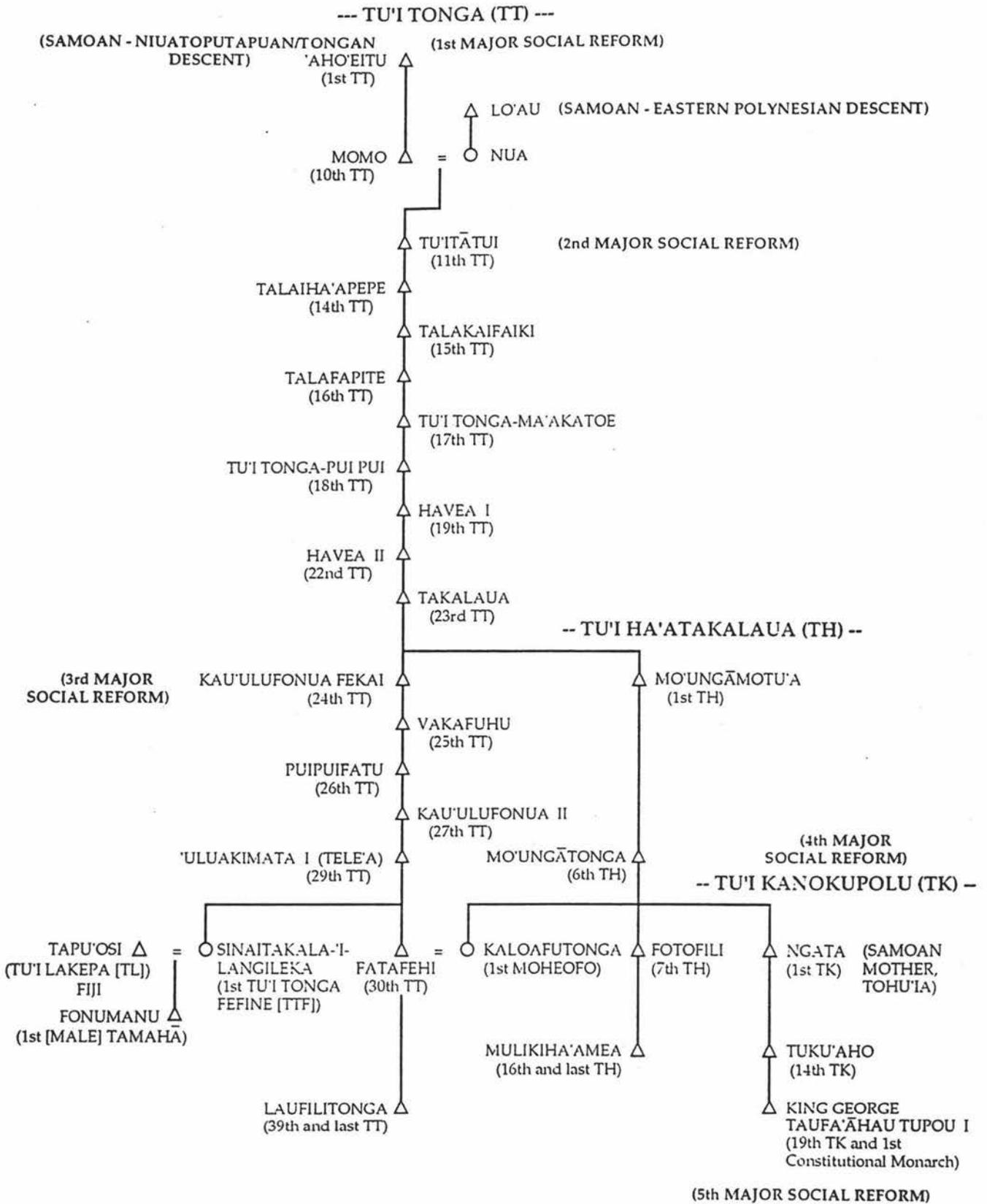


FIGURE 5 : The rise of the Tu'i Tonga and the collateral segmentation of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu, associated with influential figures, resulting in the emergence of major social institutions of great economic and political significance.

(From Māhina 1992)

1. Mo'ungāmotu'a AD 1470
Mo'ungā-motu'a; lit. Mount-(of)-old/ancient; term *mo'unga*, as in idiomatic expression *tu'umo'unga* (*tu'u-mo'unga*; lit. rising/standing-mount), socially refers to political hegemony; probable reference to TH, segmenting from former TT line.

2. Tanekitonga
Tane-ki-tonga/Tonga; lit. Tane-to-tonga/Tonga; possible variation of *tanakitonga* (*tanaki-ki-tonga/Tonga*; lit. assembled-to-tonga/Tonga), may be reference to local-regional TH's duties of mobilisation of socio-economic resources via *'inasi* and *polopolo*.

3. Vaeomatoka
Vae-o-ma/Ma-toka/matoka/Matoka; lit. Feet/Portion-of-the-defeated/Matoka probable symbolic reference to portion of first fruits of the land specially reserved (*vae*) by the oppressed (*toka*) for the chiefs.

4. Siulangapō
Siu-langa-pō; lit. Fishing-risen-(at)-night; allegorical reference to love life (*siu*) of Siulangapō, said in traditions to have courted (*siu*) many beautiful women for sex, symbolised by *langapō*.

5. Vakalahimohe'uli
Vaka-lahi-mohe-'uli; lit. Vaka/Boat-senior/big-(the)-sleep-(with)-dirt(unwashed); probably representative of this TH, as often the case in Tonga, having subjected his people to work that they had no time to wash themselves; if not, this king had the habit of being *mohe'uli*.

6. Mo'ungātonga AD 1610
Mo'ungā-tonga/Tonga; lit. Mount-(of)-tonga/Tonga; probable reference to hegemony of TK, through his son, Ngata, whose Samoan mother, Tohu'ia, suggested some kind of Samoan tributary relationships to Tonga.

7. Fotofili
Foto-fili; lit. Sting-(the)-chosen-(one); *foto*, as of stingray and penis, is symbolic of sex manipulation through marriage, hence Fotofili, the chosen king.

8. Vaea
Vae-a; lit. Allocated-be-(it); allocation possibly of power or *'inasi* and *polopolo*.

9. Moeakiola
Moeaki-ola; Sleep/Sex-(with)-consequence; may be symbolic reference to desired sexual union through marriage.

10. Tatafu
Tata-fu; lit. Scraped-up-(earth)-(then)-clap-(hands-often-to-get-off-dirts); *tata* and *fu* are associated with *fei'umu*, earth-oven cooking, lowest of profession connected with *tu'a*, and major undertaking such as building of *langi* et cetera; probable symbolic reference to oppression.
11. Kafoa
Kafo-a; lit. Wounded-be-(it); possibly originated in the *to'a* cult, where chiefly heroic values were cultivated, but it might also symbolically refer to the *tu'a*'s life of service to the chiefs through domination.
12. Tu'ionukulava
Tu'i-'o-nukulava/Nukulava; lit. King-of-Nukulava; *nuku* is ancient term for island or land; probably a place the king, as often the case, used to frequent for recreation.
13. Silivakaifanga
Sili-vaka-'i-fanga; lit. Netfishing-boat-at-(the)-beach/port; possibly referring TH for overseeing secular matters, as in the case of Hele and Monuafē, assigned by Kau'ulufonua Fekai to fish with net for TT daily meals (see Chapter Six).
14. Fuatakifolaha
Fua-taki-folaha/Folaha; lit. Primary-leader-(is)-folaha/Folaha; probably referring to Lufe, of Folaha and relative of TT, designated with Vailahi and Kula by Kau'ulufonua Fekai as principal *toutai* (fisherman) for TT's *'inasi* (see Chapter Six).
15. Maealiuaki
D. 1777; met Cook; also 8th TK
(see TK list).
Maea-liuaki; lit. Rope-(of-the)-return-(voyage/trip); literally *maea* (rope, as in *maea palaivai* (lit. rope rotting in [sea] water, left hanging from the boat for emergency purposes, made often of coconut fibre) is probable symbol for TT power through his imperial activities, and linked to TH.
16. Mulikiha'amea
killed at the Battle of Te'ekiu.
1799; also 11th TK (see TK list).
Muli-ki-ha'amea/Ha'amea; lit. Return-to-ha'amea/Ha'amea; Ha'amea, in Central Tongatapu, residence of Lo'au. Tu'i Ha'amea, thought to have had Samoan descent (Ha'amea/Ha'amoā); probable reference to revival of Lo'au's skills in social organisation, or simply role played by Samoans in local politics.

FIGURE 6

The list of Tu'i Ha'atalaia, with literal meaning of names and approximate dates of reign of each Tu'i Ha'atalaia, based on Tamaha 'Amelia's List (see Māhina 1986:193; Ve'ehala and Fanua 1977:35-36. Cf. Gifford 1929a:83; Herda 1988:146; Wood 1943:66).

(From Māhina 1992)

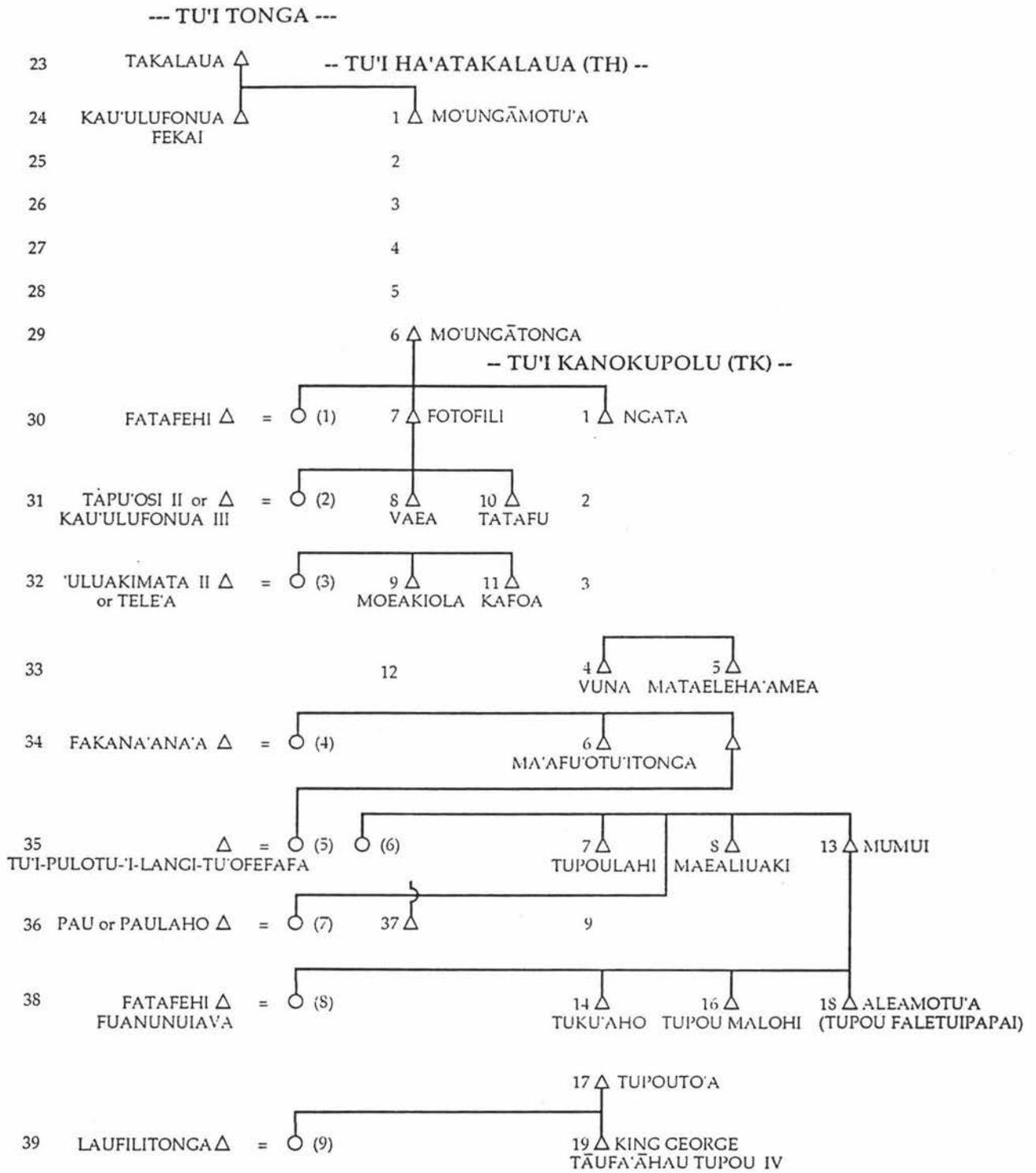


FIGURE 7 : The structural operation of the Mohefo institution between the Tu'i Tonga and the new Hau, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu, where the latter stood as wife-giver to the former: (1) Kaloafutonga; (2) Takala; (3) Toa; (4) Tongotea; (5) Laumanukilupe; (6) 'Ānaukihesina; (7) Tupoumohefo; (8) Tupouveiongo; and (9) Halaevalumata'aho.

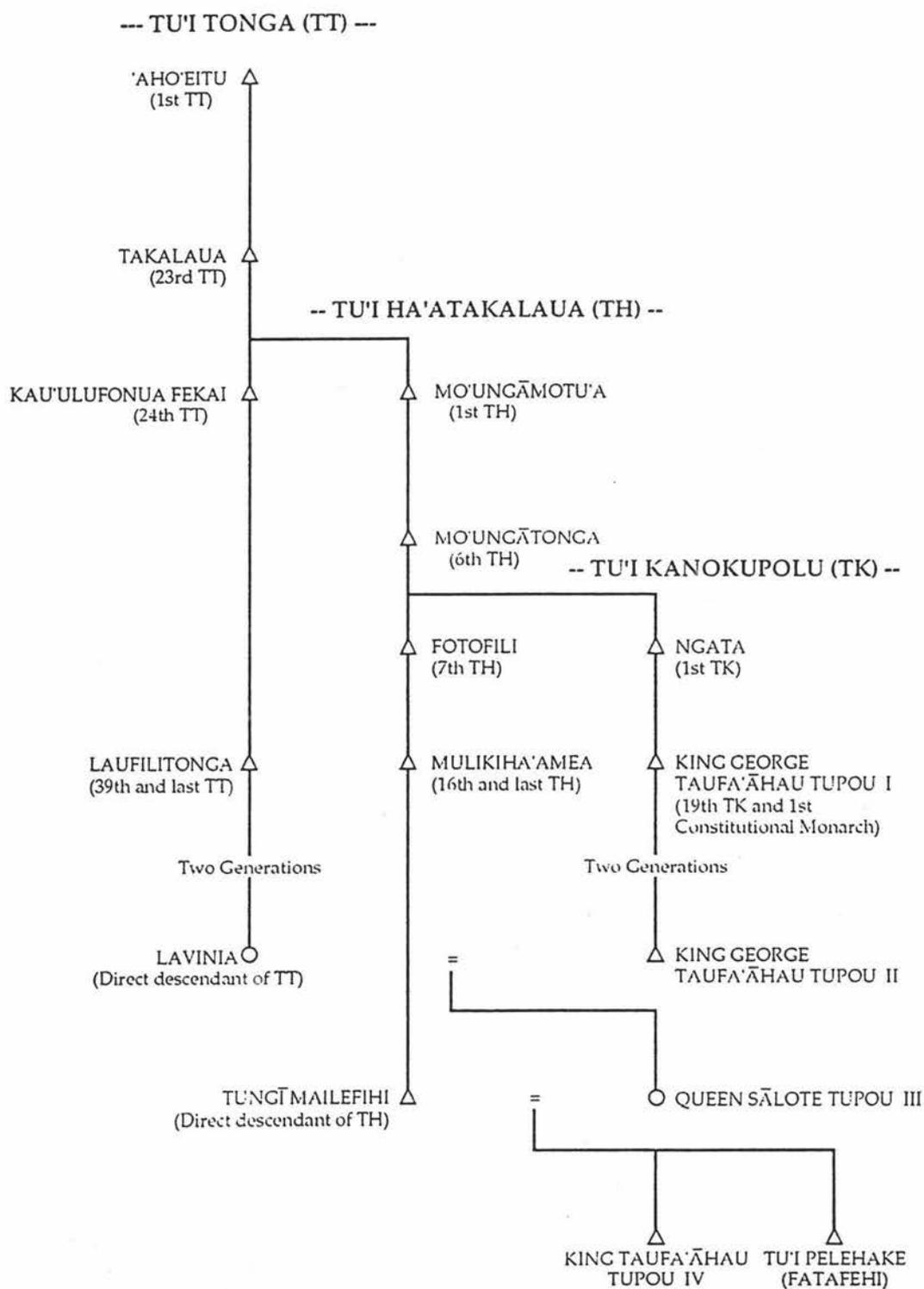
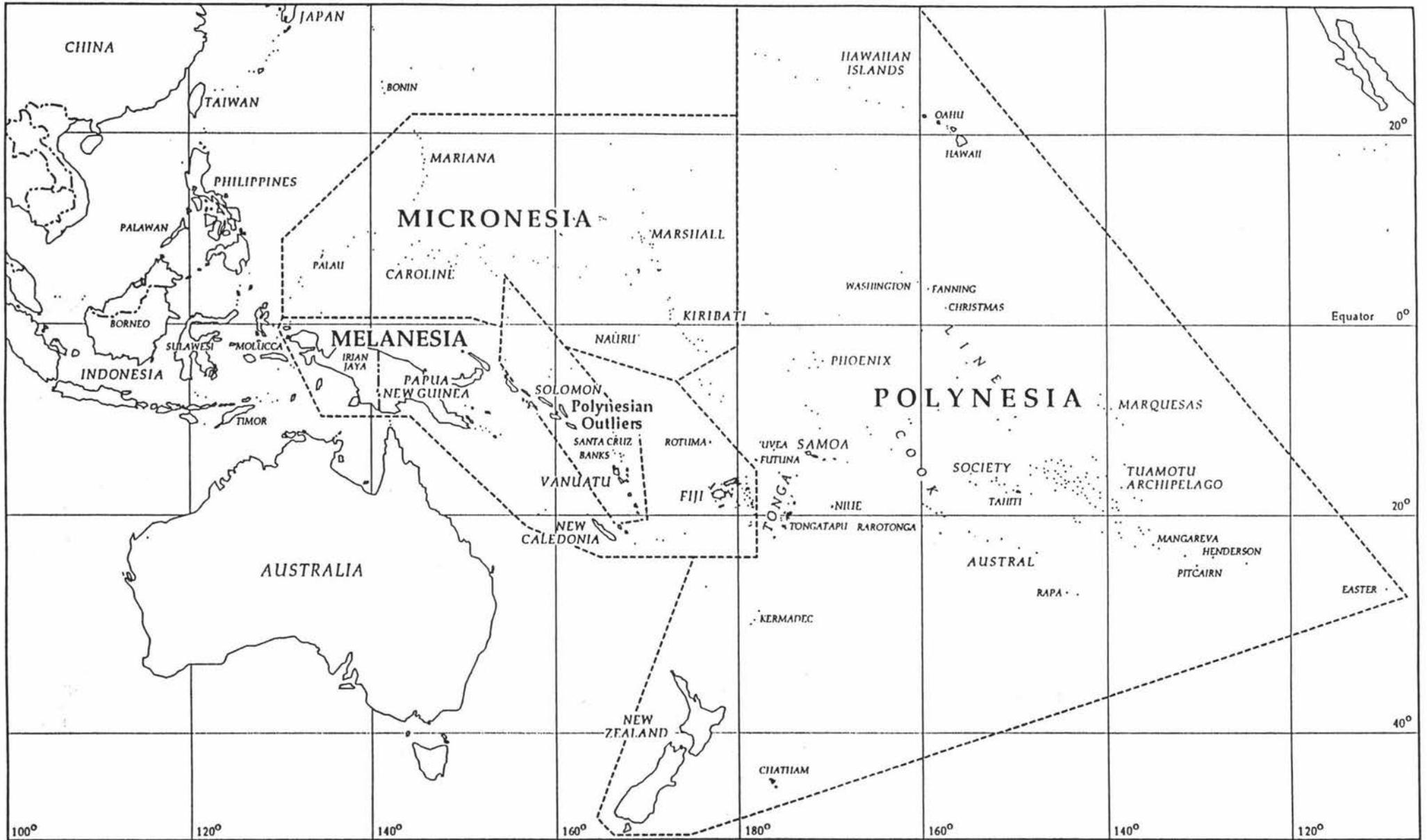


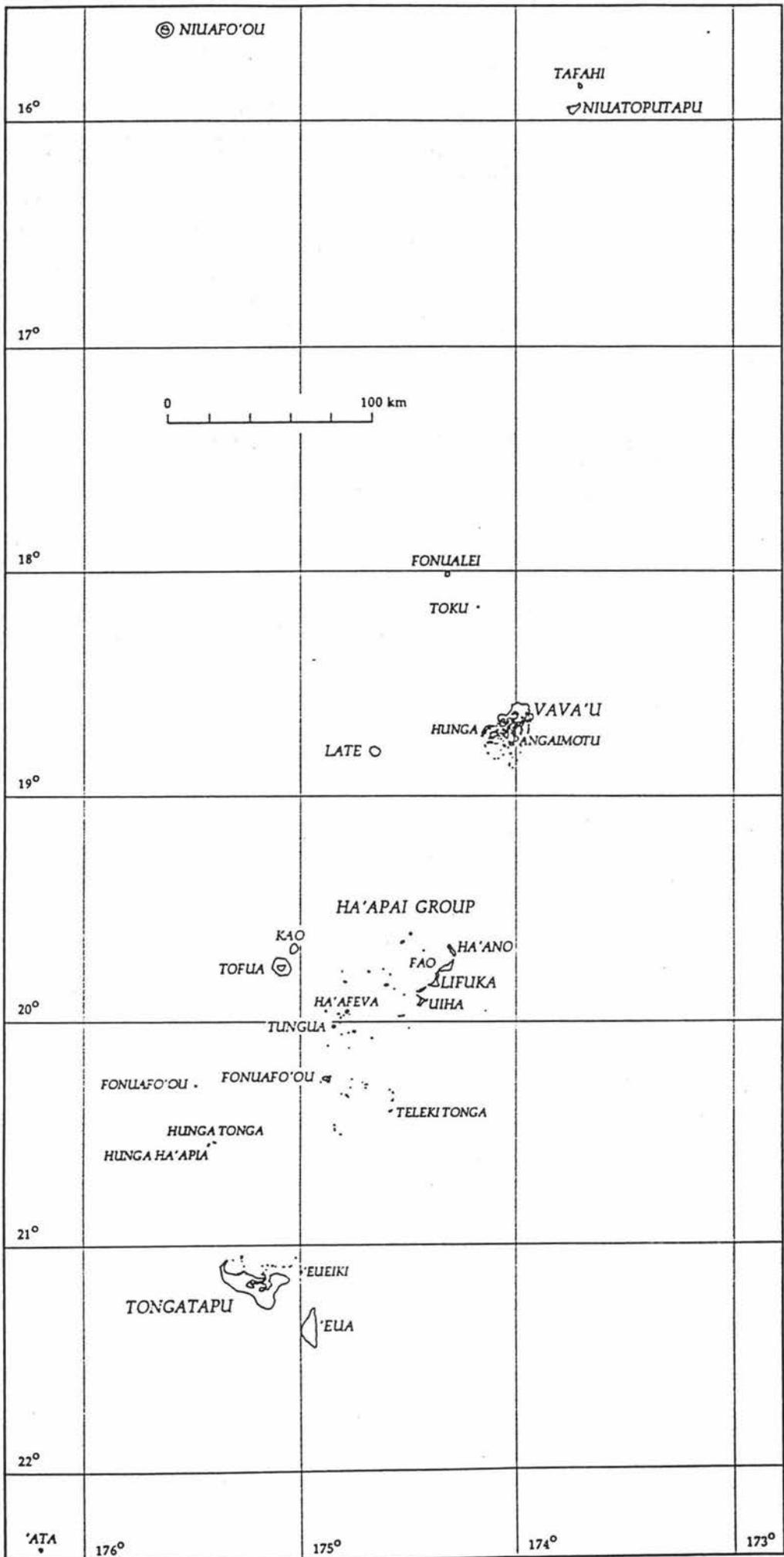
FIGURE 8 : The structural relationships between the three related but competing royal titles, Tu'i Tonga, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu, showing how Queen Sālote's children, Taufa'āhau Tupou IV and Fatafehi Tu'i Pelehake, combined the three blood lines in their persons.

(From Māhina 1992)

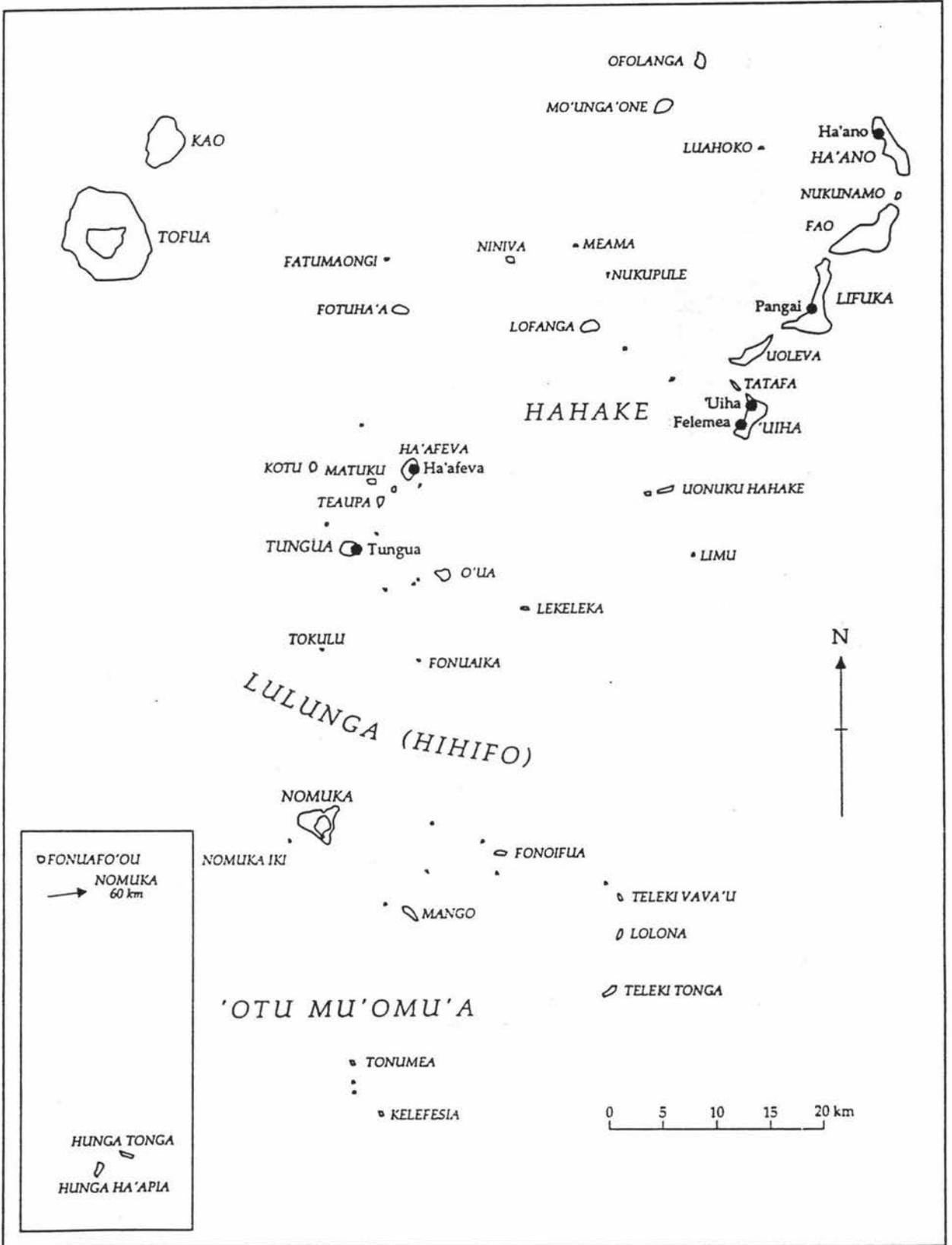


MAP 1: Pacific (Micronesia, Melanesia and Polynesia) and South East Asia

(From Māhina 1992)

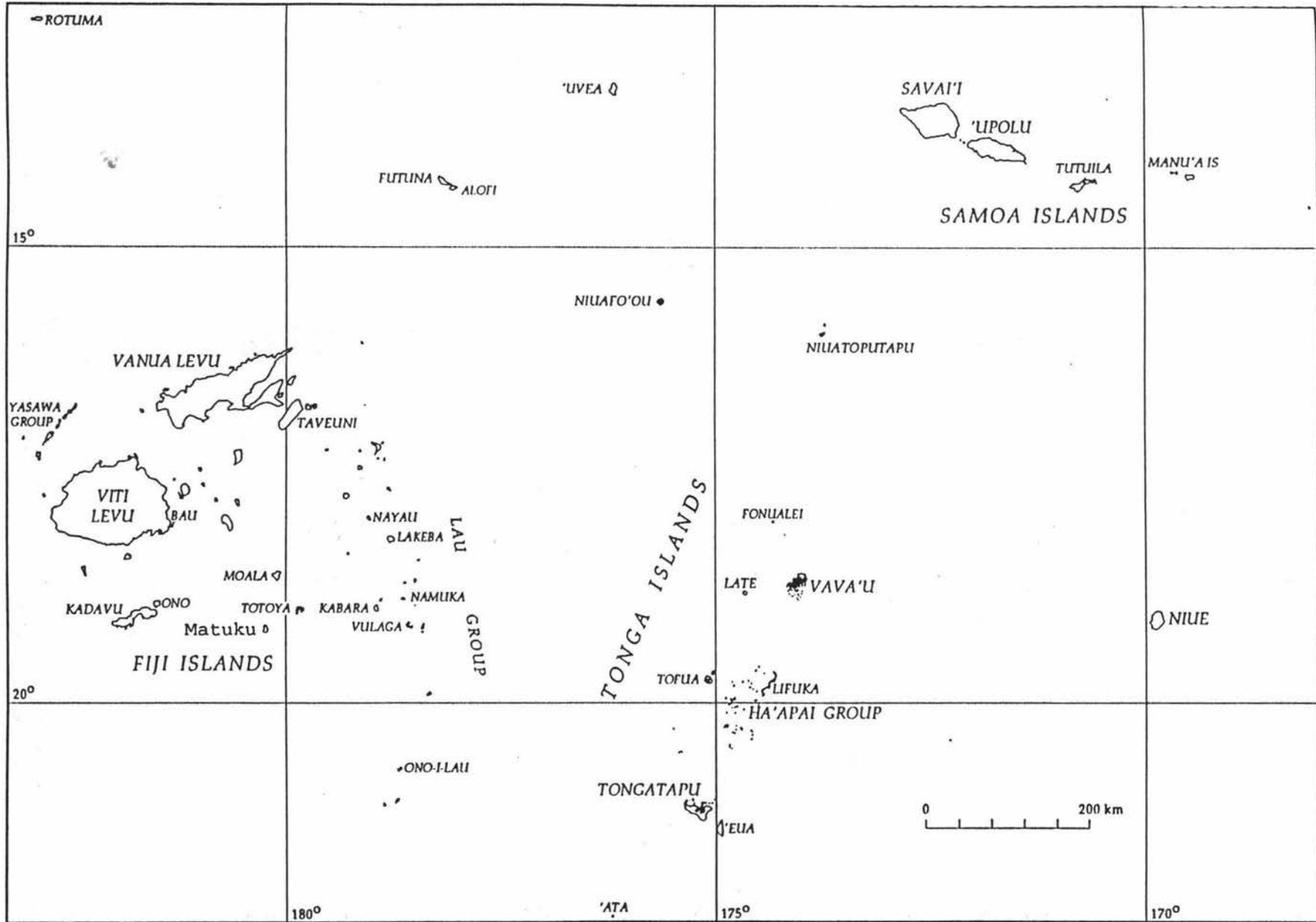


MAP 2 : Tongan Islands
(From Māhina 1992)



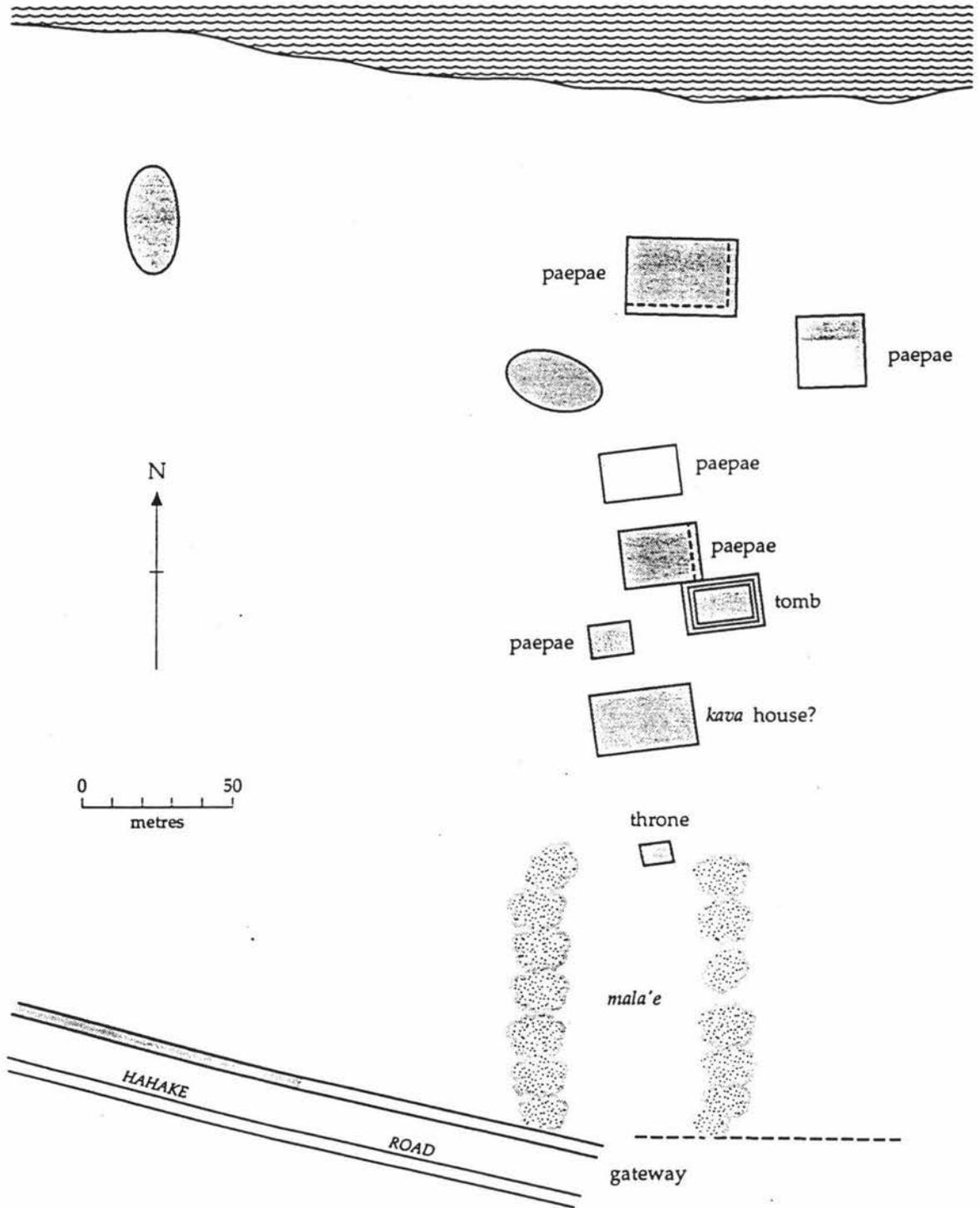
MAP 3 : Ha'apai Group

(From Māhina 1992)



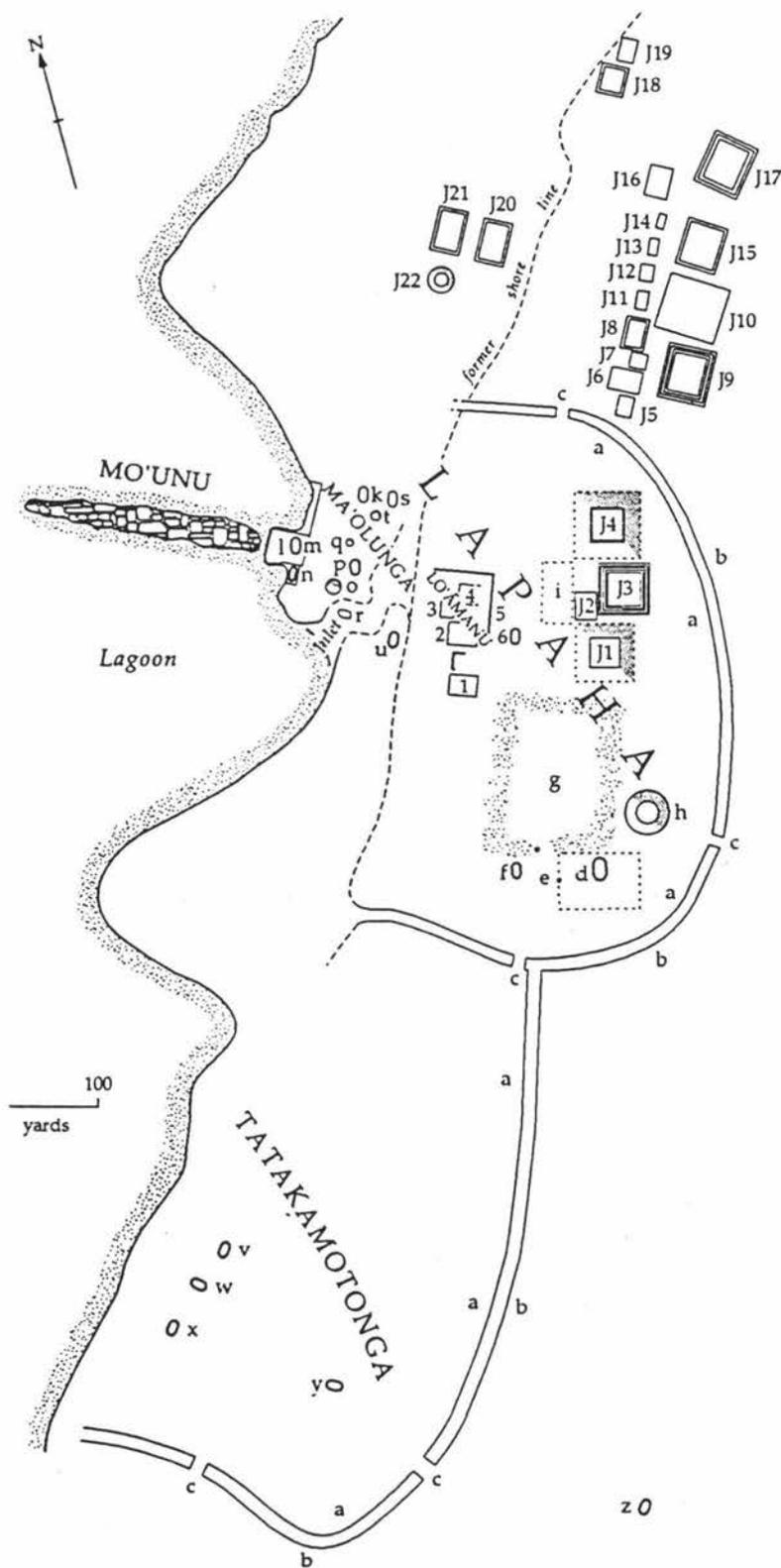
MAP 5 : Western Polynesia

The physical lay-out of the Tu'i Tonga centre at Heketā, Niutoua



Heketā physical lay-out: Gateway: Ha'amonga-'a-Maui; throne: Makafakinanga; tomb: *Langi Heketā*; paepae: house mounds; *kava* house: probable *kava* drinking centre (after Spennemann 1989).

The physical lay-out of the Tu'i Tonga centre at Lapaha, Mu'a



Lapaha proper (Kauhala'uta): Tu'i Tonga

- a: fortification wall
- b: fortification moat
- c: gateway
- d: 'Olotele, enclosure and house of the Tu'i Tonga
- e: Tokomatupa, stone post
- f: house of priest Kautai
- g: Feingakotone, *mala'e*, ceremonial and festival ground, of the Tu'i Tonga
- h: mound ('esi) Takuilau
- i: Fanakava, *mala'e*, ceremonial and religious space, for the priest, Kautai
- j: royal tombs (*langi*): 1 Tu'oteau; 2 Tau'atonga; 3 Kātoa; 4 Tu'ofefafa; 5 Sinai; 6 Taetaeā; 7 unnamed *langi*; 8 Tāfua; 9 Leka; 10 Tauhala; 11 Nukulau (a); 12 Nukulau (b); 13 unnamed *langi*; 14 unnamed *langi*; 15 Fāpite; 16 Malu'atonga; 17 Puipui; 18 Nukulukilangi; 19 Langalangafehi; 20 Paepae'otele'a; 21 Nāmoala; 22 unnamed *fa'itoka* (grave)

Ma'olunga (Kauhalalalo): Tu'i Ha'atakalaua

- k: Fonuamotu, or Fonuatanu, residence of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua
- l: Nukukausia
- m: Falesinifu, house of Tu'i Ha'atakalaua's concubines
- n: cohabital house
- o: *fa'itoka* (grave) for the wives of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua
- p: Falekili
- q: well
- v: Vakaniua, anchorage island
- s: Tukumotofa, house of Lauaki, a *mata'pule* (ceremonial spokesman), for Tu'i Ha'atakalaua
- t: Malama, bathing place
- u: Milo, a house

Mo'unu: anchorage for the imperial fleet of the Tu'i Tonga

Lo'āmanu, burial place of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua:

- 1 Falepulemalō; 2 Lo'āmanu;
- 3 Faletuipapai; 4 Luani's cemetery;
- 5 stone wall; 6 house of Afu Ha'alaufulu, caretaker

Tatakamotonga (Kauhalalalo): Tu'i Kanokupolu

- v: house of Tu'i Kanokupolu
- w: Ava'ui, house of priest
- x: the house of Matangipuomai
- y: Falehau, king's guest house
- z: the god-house Kikiloi

(after McKern 1929)

Lapaha physical lay-out, representing the Tu'i Tonga and the collateral segmentation of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu

GLOSSARY

- 'apa'apa** - king's *matāpule* each sitting on both sides of the *olovaha*, the king or queen
'api - household/smallest social unit
'api kolo - town allotment
'api 'uta - bush (tax) allotment
'eiki - chiefly; chief; secular expression of divinity
fahu - social superiority; father's sister; form of Moheofo, Tamahā, Tamatauhala, Tu'i Tonga Fefine; eldest sister; institution cult on men's/brother's interests
faka'api'i - treat as one of us/no special
falefā - Tu'i Tonga advisory council
fananga - myth
fatongia - specific obligation or duty
fena - stale yam; symbolic for non-virgin woman
fonua - land; soil; people
fulitaunga - Tu'i Tonga royal *kava* ceremony
ha'a - lineage
ha'a tu'i - kingly line
hahake - east
haka - dance movements
hau - victor; winner; symbolic of secular office of Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu
hihifo - western
hiva - sing/song/musical composition
'inasi - Tu'i Tonga annual tribute
kai - eat
kāinga - extended family kinship
kakai - people
kakala - socialized sweet-smelling flowers
kalia - double-hulled canoe
kauhalalalo - symbolic name for Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu
kauhala'uta - symbolic name for the Tu'i Tonga
kainanga-ē-fonua - commoner
kāingafaingata'a - one connected to a kin group through non-blood means
kāinga'ofa - same as *kaingafaingata'a*
kava - informal kava drinking; piper mythysticum plant
kavenga - burden; duty
kelekele - soil/land
koloa - products of women's work, fine matts and bark cloth
kumete - wooden kava bowl
langi - sky; symbolic for Samoa
lau'eiki - enumerating chiefly connection
laumālie - soul
lohu - fruit-picking stick; symbolic of *fahu*
lohuloa - extended *fahu*

- lohunou** - shortened *fahu*
maama - earth; symbolic for Tonga
mafai - political power associated with men
mālie - beauty intrinsic to work of art
matāpule - ceremonial attendant; talking chief
mehikitanga - father's sister
mohefo - form of *fahu*; system of marriage exchange between Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu; sister or daughter of Tu'i Ha'atakalaua or Tu'i Knokupolu married to Tu'i Tonga
mu'a - front space; Mu'a - third political capital of Tonga; permanent seat of Tu'i Tonga
muli - foreigner; non-Tongan
ngāue - product of men's work, especially agricultural productions and other duties
'ofa - love
olovaha - symbol for king or queen; king's or queen's seat in the *Taumafa kava*
polopolo - first fruits of annual harvest
pōpula - slave; serf
pule - authoritative status or power associated with women
pulotu - symbolic of Fiji; Tongan after world
sia - earth mound; symbolic of chiefs
sia-heu-lupe - pigeon-snaring mound
sika'ulutoa - kind of sport; javelin-throwing
takafalu - honorific term for the Tu'i Tonga's back
talatupu'a - creation myth
tamahā - child of Tu'i Tonga fefine
tamatauhala - child of male Falefisi adopted by female Falefisi
tāno'a - wooden kava bowl
tauēlangi - aesthetically-pleasing; state of climax in Tongan *faiva* performing arts; excitement
taumafa kava - royal *kava* ceremony
tapu - taboo
taula - priest
tofi'a - estate
tofi'a tukufakaholo - hereditary estate
to'a - warrior; bravery
tokelau - north; northerly islands
tonga - south
toputapu - sacred of sacred; most sacred
tou'a - kava-maker/mixer
toutai - fisherman; navigator; fishing
tu'a - commoner; slave
tufunga - skilled person; craftsperson
tukufakaholo - hereditary; traditions; history
tuofefine - sister

tuonga'ane - brother

'ufi - yam

'ulumotu'a - head of a kāinga; eldest brother; institution built on men's/brother's interests

'umu - earth oven

vaka - canoe; boat

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