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Paradigm Shifts in Ancient Kingship Traditions in Tonga

A Historical and Anthropological examination of political practices and changes throughout the
bipartite and *tripartite* systems of government 1550-1875 AD:
The Case of *Hau* from 1350 AD.

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Declaration

Except where otherwise indicated
this thesis is my own work.

Siaosi L. Ilaiu

May 2019

ABSTRACT

This study of traditional Tongan kingship system focuses on the emergence of the *hau* authority and redesigned of the political history of this ancient society. The main purpose is to take a close look at key elements such as governorship, secular ruler, absolute sovereign, victor, champion or military skills etc, which propounded by competing views that have contributed or responsible for clouding the role and responsibilities of the *hau* in relation to the rise of the second and third divine dynasties of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and the Tu'i Kanokupolu. It is central to this work to rethink the information transmitted by oral tradition by assessing what is said about the origin and designation of the *hau* office. The purpose therefore is primarily to interpret in light of new evidence the positions of both oral tradition and academic revisionists, and to unveil some material that seems to be missing from the dialogue thus far on the *hau*.

This work aims at restoring some sense of historicity to the understanding of traditional kingship in pre-European Tonga. The study examines the creation of the secular office of the *hau*, why there was the need to implement such a political development, and the recent debate amongst historians and anthropologists on the issue of 'what is *hau*'. The debate started from a challenge on the orthodox version that stated the *hau* was a secular office created by the TT to take over the executive responsibility in about 1350 AD. A leading Pacific historian Niel Gunson argues that there was a system existed way before this date in which the TT title was open for challenge as a rule by a member of his peers.

This idea was disputed in 1982 by another Pacific historian Ian Campbell who argues that there was no set rule for such challenge, it was instead a matter of having the means and opportunity. The study responds to the debate by arguing that there were paradigm shifts in the political history of Tonga that historians and anthropologists have been overlooking and as a consequence have misinterpreted, prolonging the dialogue needlessly. In the light of some new findings, I identify three-paradigm shifts that took place between 1350 AD and 1875 AD. It is the dynamism within this 500-year period that this thesis strives to resuscitate.

Preface

The study of pre-contact Tongan society depends on materials that have been offered by oral traditions. Published accounts are used to mirror images of the past. Writings left by authors of the contact period are useful and is historical. To write a history of Tonga on the basis of information we already have would be a very difficult pursuit to undertake for two reasons. First, a traditional history of Tonga is already in place through transmitted oral medium (*talanoa, talatupu'a, fananga etc.*). Second, observations by non-Tongans commentators have been screened together with the so-called oral traditions through continuous reviews by academics today. That is to say there are oral and written histories of Tonga that have been kept throughout the years with some of them being already examined by modern scholars and such process remains in an untidy form and therefore need a lot of touching up to do. So, to keep writing the history of Tonga again and again for the purpose of underpinning the true and accurate history of the people of this Pacific island society, would not be as productive for it is really a business of writing reviews not history *per se*. Writing reviews is an untidy business, as it generates both necessary and unnecessary debates mostly on rebuilding the same house, so to speak, with different materials believing that the materials used were significant components they are looking for. The best thing to do about this trend in history writing is to rethink the structure of the house whether or not it was single story or was it round, triangular or squared shape. That should be the proper thing to do in order for our understanding of the history of Tonga to be guided well.

The decision to rethink the history of early Tongan polity sprang from a hypothesis addressed in my master's thesis submitted to Massey University in 2007. It was concerned with the political system that was at work in ancient Tongan polity and especially during the 18th and 19th centuries. The information and data collected in the European contact period and also to those of the local orthodox traditions were important particularly because of the contradiction inherent in the accepted Tongan history that remains unresolved. The contradiction allows a trend of 'free for all' interpretation, in which scholars commit anachronism as a result for the popular 'one dimensional' view that a single system was at work in pre-contact times. The tripartite system of government where the dynasties of the TT, TH and TK coexisted for centuries

was not given enough attention. That each dynasty exhibits clearly different political system, which appear to be non-cumulative of one another, was not difficult to notice but research method (was indeed exposed as monolithic view of society) blocks the tendency for perceiving the plasticity of social and cultural realities, which have been forever changing. A realist distinction between a monolith approach and a plastered view of society is that the former represents a static analogy of social reality while the latter delineates society as an organism that is moulded with layers of plaster in which change, as the true character of both natural and social existence unfolded itself.

Despite the fact that the earliest commentators made reports on aspects of Tongan society correctly to an extent and sometimes incorrectly due to unavoidable misconceptions, yet the value of materials collected is tremendous because without them there would not have been anything much to lean on at present. Oral traditions are not totally reliable (on their own) as a reflector of the past and on the other hand, contribution from amateur anthropologists (navigators etc) and practised historians has been recognised as adequate currency to build on. The issue of *hau* is one of the concepts that need rethinking for the amateur scribes (mostly missionaries) could not see through rank critically and their reliable informant (Tamaha 'Amelia) appears to give them too much information that could not be really figured out by some professors of the gospel. What was missing from the missionaries' effort is the 'critical element' in observation, which is hardly their fault for such task, it was a task for trained professional in the field to deal with.

This study is part of a long-term research that began 40 years ago when I was exposed to the wealth of information inherent to Tongan culture and history at 'Atenisi University (Tonga). As the interest went deeper throughout the years I started to explore further into the connection and historical interaction between Tonga and its Island neighbours like Samoa, Fiji and West Polynesia in general.

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Table of Contents

Declaration.....	(ii)
Abstract.....	(iii)
Preface.....	(iv-vii)

Pages

Introduction.....	1-4
Chapter 1 - Literature Review.....	5-38
Chapter 2 – Theory and Method.....	39-81

“Ancient Kingship Traditions in Tonga”

Part 1.

Chapter 3 – The Tu’i Tonga ‘Caste paradigm’.....	82-101
--	--------

Part 2.

Chapter 4 – The Secular Office (<i>Hau</i>) & The Tu’i Ha’atakalaua Dynasty?.....	102-117
---	---------

Part 3.

Chapter 5 – The <i>Quasi</i> -Samoan <i>matai</i> paradigm.....	118-152
---	---------

“Political Transformation and Institutional Changes”

Phase 1.

Chapter 6 – The Tu’i Tonga Rulers.....	153-190
--	---------

(1st TT ‘Aho'eitu to 24th TT Kau’ulufonuafeikai)
(550 to 1350 AD)

Phase 2.

Chapter 7 - Bipartite Coexistence (TT & <i>hau</i>).....	191-205
---	---------

(25th TT Vakafuhu to 29th TT Uluakimata 1)
(1st *hau* Mo’ungamotu’a to Mo’ungatonga 6th *hau* & 1st Tu’i Ha’atakalaua)

(1350 to 1550 AD)

Phase 3.

Chapter 8 – The Tripartite coexistence206-232

30th TT Fatafehi to 32nd TT Uluakimata II
 1st TH Mo'ungatonga to 3rd TH Vaea
 7th hau & 1st Tu'i Kanokupolu Ngata to 9th hau & 3rd TK Mataeletu'apiko
 (1550 to 1865 AD)

Phase 4

Chapter 9 - The ha'a Havea political domination.....233-257

33rd TT Tu'ipulotu 1.....35th TT Tu'ipulotu II
 4th TH Moeakiola.....8th TH Silivaka'ifanga
 10th hau and 4th TK Mataeleha'amea.....13th hau and 7th TK Tupoulahi
 (1650 to 1750 AD)

Phase 5

Chapter 10 - Decentralisation, fragmentation and reunification258-288

36th TT Pau.....39th TT Laufilitonga
 9th TH Fuatakifolaha.....11th TH Mulikiha'amea
 14th hau & 8th TK Maealiuaki.....17th TK king George Tupou 1
 (1750 to 1865)

Hau(s)

Ulukalala II, Vaha'i, Teukava, Takai, Fa'e, King George
 (1798 to 1875)

Conclusion.....289-298

Bibliography.....xii

Appendix.....xviii

Glossary.....xxvii

Index.....xxix

Abbreviation:

TA - Tu'i A'ana.
 Tt – Tu'i Atua.
 TT – Tu'i Tonga.
 TH – Tu'i Ha'atakalaua.
 TK – Tu'i Kanokupolu.
 TMh – Tamaha.
 TTF – Tu'i Tonga Fefine.
 THT – Tu'i Ha'ateiho.
 TM – Tu'i Manu'a.
 TVv – Tu'i Vava'u.
 Thp – Tu'i Ha'apai.
 TE – Tu'i Eua.
 TN – Tu'i Niua.

Tables:

1. Suggested reign of each <i>hau</i> (Neil Gunson).....	12, 13
2. Portraits of chiefs from Dumont d'Urville's visit (1828).....	51-65
3. Map of Western Samoa.....	123
4. Mao of Savai'i, Aiga-'i-le-tai and Upolu.....	127
5. Map of Tongatapu with chiefs' estates	290

Figures:

1. The three kingly lines. (TT, TH and TK).....	45
2. Titles from the three dynasties.....	46
3. The TH alternative succession traditions.....	48
4. Territorial boundaries and seats of each dynasty	77
5. Map of Tongatapu Island	85
6. Map of Vava'u Island	85
7. Map of Tongatapu and Southern Ha'apai.....	86
8. Orthodox version of the TH line.....	106
9. Map of Tongatapu.....	114
10. Alternative view of the TH line	120
11. Malietoa royal line.....	133
12. <i>Tafa'i fa</i> Salamasina and her successors.....	137

13. Genealogy of Samoanagalo	138
14. To'oa title of Tu'imaleali'ifano and Malietoa lines.....	139
15. Claimants to the <i>Tupu</i> title of Samoa	142
16. Ma'itaki of the Tu'i Tonga.....	145
17. The Tupua royal line.....	146
18. Tu'i Tonga dynasty (The Tangaloa line).....	160
19. Tu'i Tonga rulers (pre-'Aho'eitu era).....	164
20. Tu'i Tonga list starting from TT 'Aho'eitu.....	167
21. Alternative dates for each Tu'i Tonga	173
22. Bipartite coexistence	199
23. Tripartite dynastic coexistence	218
24. Vuna line.....	231
25. Tu'i Tonga Fefine and Falefisi.....	237
26. The tripartite relationship	243
27. The new <i>hau</i> paradigm	269
28. The new <i>hau</i> tradition.....	270
29. The 'Ulukalala line	286

Introduction

The political history of Tonga revolves around three kingly lineages. The Tu'i Tonga (estimated date from 550/650 AD to 1865), Tu'i Ha'atakalaua (from 1350 to 1799 AD) and the Tu'i Kanokupolu (from 1550 AD to the present), once coexisted under a hierarchical principle that ranked them according to order of seniority. The mechanics of this coexistence were based on ritual services provided by the junior kingly lines in full recognition of the sacred and senior rank of the Tu'i Tonga dynasty, as god-king. This study contends that the Tu'i Tonga was head of a *caste*-organised system, which is imperceptible in the works of modern historians and anthropologists. Oral tradition speaks of the Tu'i Tonga government network as highly stratified, with rigid hierarchy and politically centralised (Goldman 1955, Sahlins 1958 and Kirch 1984). But around 1350 AD, after the assassinations of the 19th, 22nd and 23rd Tu'i Tonga, the 24th in line appointed his brother as temporal ruler with the ostensible function of protecting the sacred king (Gifford 1929:85). A new residence called Fonuamotu was built for him beside the court of the Tu'i Tonga for that purpose. He was also to carry out the secular affairs of the government as *hau*, an office created for a "temporal ruler" as opposed to the divine authority of the Tu'i Tonga. Its function was to control all secular responsibilities specially to administrate and manage the daily affairs of government. This study argues that this paradigm shift was caused by the need to create a new ruling office; nevertheless the 6th holder of the *hau* office Mo'ungatonga demanded the elevation of his position to sacred kingship status as the so-called Tu'i Ha'atakalaua (Latukefu 1974:3, Campbell 1989:7). Then, around 1620 AD the *Falekanokupolu* and *Faleha'akili* founded a third dynasty based on a Sāmoan '*matai*' system of election, in Hihifo, headed by the Tu'i Kanokupolu. The new system eventually re-ordered all of Tonga under its own network. From Tasman's visit in 1643 onwards, all eyewitnesses' experienced Tongan society under the *ha'a* Ngata and *ha'a* Havea political re-organisation. These eyewitness accounts became the anachronistic sources for discussing ancient Tongan polity as system of government decentralised.

The tripartite era of Tonga's dynastic history lasted from 1550-1865 and was a major change that brought into plays new social and political dynamics that had never existed in Tongan society before. This work illuminates how Tonga was transformed towards

the middle of the 1700s from a highly ordered and politically centralised society into a fragmented network comprised of powerful chiefs vying for local independence. Many of the factors responsible for such a significant shift have not been fully understood. This work introduces new source materials and new theory for understanding political change in ancient Tonga, especially as informed by indigenous perspectives and by historical and anthropological disciplines. History and culture must complement each other, and this work argues that anthropologists need to pay more attention to how a culture unfolds itself over time, with a view to critically assessing the legitimacy of tradition. Likewise, historians need to be alert to paradigm shifts in social organisation. After all, identification of the causes of events and the sources of cultural traits are key to both historical and anthropological endeavours. This work demonstrates the effectiveness of employing this philosophy for correcting assumptions and misconceptions regarding Tongan kingship traditions.

Oral tradition may have been unwritten, but it has been the key source material for written history since contact with the Western world for more than four hundred years ago. Talking about the past, especially events in pre-European times, is a matter of interpreting stories offered in mythologies, oral traditions and folklore. Historians with no other sources have regarded the inherited and reworked oral traditions as possible accounts of actual human activities. Stories about the establishment of the *hau* office and the actual rise of Mo'ungamotu'a as the first temporal ruler of Tonga have invited incoherent theories of that historical event.

This study addresses a number of problems that I believe most revisionists¹ have been unable to recognise in assessing the structure of authority in ancient Tongan polity. First, I am critical of the one-dimensional approach used by anthropologists and historians in describing the nature of Tongan society in pre-European contact times as a network that represents an all-encompassing system. I have demonstrated elsewhere (Ilaiu 2007) that there were two dramatically different social systems in pre-European Tongan society (the tripartite era). Second, the interpretation of kingship traditions is shallow in the sense that the instigations for social change have not been adequately considered even though the social, political, and governmental structures of each

¹ I specifically use the term to refer to those who have done reviews on the political history of Tonga. Among these experts are Niel Gunson, Ian Campbell, Phyllis Herda, Kerry James and others.

existing dynasty were fundamentally different. I have identified major paradigm shifts and their causes. The revised version of ancient Tonga presented by academic scholars has been an anachronistic interpretation; focused on a political reality observed in the 18th and 19th centuries and generalised from it, believing it represented the past also.

Anthropologists Adrian Kaepler 1971 and 1978, Shulamit Decktor-Korn 1974, George Marcus 1980, Elizabeth Wood-Ellem 1981 and 1983, Kerry James 1983, Aletta Biersack 1990 and 1991, and others have made significant contributions to chiefly hierarchy, gender relations, kinship, ranking and social statuses and the value of these works is not dismissed here but the parameters of this study have forced me to concentrate primarily on works that deal directly with political history and especially with the issue of *hau*.

Chapter 1 demonstrates why theories of traditional Tonga could be a misrepresentation because salient innovations in social organisation have been overlooked. The chapter is a critical review of relevant literature with attention to how oral traditions and academic writers have explained the role of *hau* as a secular ruler. Chapter 2 describes kingship traditions in pre-European Tonga. Significant differences in political organisation between the Tu'i Tonga system and the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu establishments are recognised. The chapter identifies the structure of the Tu'i Tonga establishment as a *caste system*. Hocart's theory is the guiding tool in this analysis. Chapter 3 discusses the implanted Tu'i Kanokupolu tradition and the revolutionary practices of the Hihifo government, an area that historians have been overlooked thus far. Central to this discussion is an assessment of the effect of the *quasi-Sāmoan* political influence in determining the role and status of the *hau*. Chapters 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 unfold a set of narratives from which I construct the forces that bound the tripartite relationship and the strategies that maintain the dynastic co-existence of the three kingship lineages in Tonga starting from the creation of the *hau* around 1350 AD.

The narratives are presented in sets of 100-year periods so that the ruling players can be correlated with their contemporary counterparts, Fiji and Western Polynesia. With the aid of genealogical sources this body of narratives is designed to reveal a succession of ingenious social and political innovations that have been overlooked by Tongan and non-Tongan observers. The idea that the *hau* was also a Tu'i Ha'atakalaua is challenged in this study for two reasons. First, being leader of the *ha'a* Takalaua does not infer that

he is Tu'i Ha'atalaau for once kingship is declared to be the case then the temporal office becomes irrelevant.

The *hau* can be either a governor or a prime minister and that is the only capacity that is conceivable with regards to evidence we have, but to associate a temporal office with a more dignified kingship title as representative of that family, the Ha'atalaau does not necessarily make him king (Tu'i Ha'atalaau). To become a governor-king is unheard of in any political situation in the history of humankind. Chapter 9 sums up the findings that have been unfolded by these narratives and in the same vein Chapter 10 unravels the demise of the fragmented *hauship* control and political dominance of the ruling warlords in conjunction with the rise of King George after 1836 who eclipsed the era of political disunity by re-unifying Tonga and reviving the reign of the Tu'i Kanokupolu dynasty.

Chapter 1

Synopsis

Readers are familiar with the concept of sacred kingship and the three royal lineages of Tonga: Tu'i Tonga, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, and Tu'i Kanokupolu. In addition, around 1350 AD the office of hau was newly created for the inheritance of secular power by a junior line of the sacred Tu'i Tonga lineage. This chapter critically examines the literature on Tonga that is relevant to the of *hau* issue. My aim is to correct the general misconceptions that surround the transformation of the hau office during the period from 1350 AD to 1875 AD and to search for the forces and historical contexts that were responsible for technical changes to the office. I will argue that the current literature lacks sufficient method (Huntsman *et al* 1995) to produce a theory of change.

The current enquiry is built on a hypothesis that around 1550 AD the Tu'i Kanokupolu kingship 'Trojan horsed' into Tonga a *quasi-Sāmoan* political system that has been overlooked by observers of Tongan society (Ilaiu, 2007). Until the invisible characters of this alternative political system are identified, puzzling issues in Tonga's past can never be unravelled. Questions raised by Niel Gunson and Ian Campbell in particular will remain unanswerable until the *matai* system that buttressed the Tu'i Kanokupolu kingship is uncovered and described. Only then can we account for the unexplained nature of the *hau* and arrive at a full understanding of the pre-European contact state of Tongan polity. This work has managed to identify the paradigm shifts that hold the key to the political secrets of Tonga's past.

Literature Review:

Since the publication of journals, books and memoirs from the early period of European contact in which *hau* is constantly mentioned (directly and indirectly) by maritime explorers and missionaries alike, there has been no in-depth study of this concept especially in the first generation of Oceanic literature published after the first world war (WW1). Dominating the literature on Tonga from the 1920s onwards were works written by Collocott (1924, 1972), Wood (1932) and Gifford (1929). Following their footsteps were modern historians notably Latukefu (1974) and Rutherford (1977) who touched lightly on the function and political practices assigned by tradition to the *hau* administration.

It was not until 1979 that a real work on *hau* entered the literature for the first time as part of an effort by a Pacific historian, Niel Gunson to review the political history of Tonga. Following the same vein of argument were Ian Campbell 1982 and Phyllis Herda 1988 who pursued the issue of *hau* seriously. Such interests were prompted by the need to revisit the pre-contact political situation in Tonga. Gunson offered a more overarching view of *hau* in Western Polynesia. Earlier views and theories about *hau* had associated the office with the creation of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua dynasty, and these

authors continued to do so. It must be recognised that this is the standard version offered by Tongan oral traditions also.

Apart from oral traditions *per se*, I have focussed attention particularly on the early works presented by Wood (1943) and Gifford (1929), the predecessors of modern historians such as Latukefu (1974) and Rutherford (1977), whose works are in unison with the traditional Tongan orthodoxy. These works are relevant in the sense that they present a set of narratives in which Tonga's past is idealised as a stable society with a strong government.

Recent works by anthropologists Elizabeth Bott (1982) and Kerry James (1995) examine aspects of the character of ancient Tongan polity. Bott seems to adopt a conservative stance by undertaking no controversial critique of the traditional orthodoxy while James tends to adopt the idea that Tongan cultural history has been told from an elitist standpoint. James (1995:59) argues, alongside Campbell (1982) and Herda (1988:37), that the reality of ancient Tongan politics is concealed by the façade of a homogenous tradition sanctioned by the dominant class ideology. This is a relevant body of the literature that could assist my own effort. However, the analytical scope of anthropologists has been limited by the timelessness of the traditional orthodoxy they have adopted. My approach differs radically from the historians and anthropologists in placing the relationships of events to each other in chronological time, and in unearthing radical changes in social organisation at various times, so that assumptions of a continuously traditional society and of a society with a homogeneous structure are shown to be untenable.

This review of the literature will focus on three major themes, which emerge repeatedly throughout the literature. These themes are discussed under the headings, 1. 'divine kingship and secular rulers', 2. 'tripartite coexistence and the dynastic fallout', and 3. 'regional influence' in the political history of Tonga. Although the literature represents these themes in a variety of contexts, this work will place greater focus on the evolution of *hau* and the effects on its form as 'paradigm shifts' occurred. According to Kuhn (1962) a paradigm shift refers to the displacement of an old reality by the new. While Kuhn is referring to paradigms of scientific thought, his model may usefully be applied to other kinds of historical changes.

The first paradigm I have identified is the “caste” system of the old Tu'i Tonga (TT) kingship from around 550 AD to mid 1800s. The conventional dating for 'Aho'eitu, the first Tu'i Tonga, is 950 AD (Collocott 1924:166). It is based on an assumption that there were four to five reigning TT in every hundred years. According to this equation, the maximum duration for every reigning TT is 25 years and Collocott divided the total number of 39 TT with 25 and he got 950 AD as approximate date for 'Aho'eitu the 1st Tu'i Tonga. By contrast, my calculation was based on generation analysis, i.e. from father to eldest son according to the succession principle of primogeniture that the TT line has been practicing since the reign of TT 'Aho'eitu. The record shows (Campbell 1989:34,35) that Laufilitonga the last TT died in 1865 and his grandfather TT Pau was the reigning Tu'i Tonga in 1777 during Captain Cook's 3rd visit to Tonga. Although there were four TT who reigned in that 100 years period, but it is only three generations of proper succession with the odd inclusion of Pau's brother Ma'ulupekotofa as 37th TT. This three TT per hundred years formula would have placed the reign of TT 'Aho'eitu to approximately 650 AD.

The second paradigm is the rise to prominence of the *hau* of Mo'ungamotu'a and six generations of his descendants from around 1350 to 1550. Furthermore, at least in my view, the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua became the new dynasty in the reign of the 6th *hau* who demanded to be elevated into the status of a divine king (Latukeyfu 1974:3). The third paradigm is the *matai* system of the Tu'i Kanokupolu (Ilaiu 2007) established around 1550 and lasting to the Constitution of 1875 when the Tonga Constitution fixed succession to the throne under the Tu'i Kanokupolu title. The fourth paradigm is the career of Tautafa'ahau who defeated TT Laufilitonga in the battle of Velata 1827 and reigned as King George I from 1845. He cut down the *koka* tree at Hihifo, gained the sacred Tu'i Tonga title at Pouono in 1865 (Gifford 1929:86), and in 1875 promulgated the Tonga constitution under which the *hau* could no longer be challenged. He reduced the status of the Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Ha'atakalaua kingship titles to nobles and made the Tu'i Kanokupolu title paramount in perpetuity.

However, sacred rituals of the caste system are still observed exclusively in funerals and wedding rituals among the *kauhala'uta* descendants of the Tu'i Tonga and the Ha'a Falefisi noble families.

Most early theories of 'divine kingship' in Tonga were concerned more with the

structural principles of the Tu'i Tonga system identified as strict hierarchy, rigid stratification and political centralisation. Sahlins (1958), Goldman (1970), and Kirch (1984) argued that ancient Tongan polity had developed a unique form of government that was equaled only by Tahiti and Hawai'i in Polynesia. These works simply reflected oral tradition where homogeneity of social structure was assumed. In the same vein, Collocott (1924) and (1972), Gifford (1929), Latukefu (1974), Rutherford (1977) and Bott (1982) focused heavily on an assumption of homogeneity as their basis for recounting Tongan history.

According to these modern historians and anthropologists, the *hau* was created by the Tu'i Tonga as a secular ruler or a governor. However, recent studies outlined by Gunson (1989, 1990 & 1992), Herda (1987 & 1995), Campbell (1982, 1989 & 1992), and James (1992) suggests that Tonga's elite classes engineered the idea that there was a homogeneous tradition. Gunson (1979) was the first scholar to review Tongan political history and he concluded that in fact transmission of power had been based on a system of challenge instead of hereditary succession because challenging authority was legitimate (ibid :28). However, I argue that Gunson *et al* are also generalising Tonga's kingship traditions from the Sāmoan based Tu'i Kanokupolu paradigm (of which they had no idea it was not a Tongan system at all). Studies by Burrows (1937), Frimigacci (1997 and 2000), Sand (2008) and Ilaiu (2007) describe real incidents, which also challenge the anachronistic assumptions of Gunson *et al*. That is Gunson *et al* have assumed that records from the 1700s and 1800s can be used to describe Tongan society through all time.

Before I proceed with a critical review of literature, it is important to mention that most of the anthropological researches on Tonga have little to say about *hau*. On the other hand, for the purpose of better understanding *hau* and its historical growth as a political office, historians seem to have taken greater interest in the topic even if their analyses appear to bring more confusion into current debate, especially in attempts to pin down the political reality of the European contact period.

The main sources used by both anthropologists and historians come from oral traditions and folklore and most theories have stemmed from that platform. Materials obtained from non-academic observers are useful primary sources, especially the nautical journals of early pioneers such as Schouten and Lemaire, Abel Tasman, Captain Cook

and his officers, and the journals of the early missionaries, Methodist and Catholic. These records display a high degree of objective observation and direct reporting. Regardless of whether the observers are right or wrong, the materials from the contact period are important primary sources and the information is an irreplaceable asset worth reflecting on as a foundation for critical analysis. They did not resort to theorising but more or less reported what they had witnessed, most of which is consistent with certain important changes that were being engineered at the time and gives the genealogical data pinpoint accuracy. For example, rank and status were confused areas for Captain Cook and his officers but information given to them clearly demonstrates the fact that a separation of power and status had already occurred in 1777 and could possibly traced its origin to the reign of TK Mataele Ha'amea around 1650. The *hau* (Finau) was not king but he was the most powerful person in the land whereas the Tu'i Tonga (Pau) held the highest status, highest religious authority and the most sacred kingship title but at best without political power. At least, this much of Cook's information reveals exactly what was happening in Tonga in the 1770s, which oral tradition and genealogy confirm to be true in hindsight, once we have made sense of Cook's anomalous observations.

Out of all the literature that is lined up for review, I choose to start with an unpublished document titled 'Hafoka's Account of *Hau*' (Tonga Traditions Committee 1959). The author was a titled chief of 'Eua island holding a minor title linked to the Ha'a Ngata Motu'a of Hihifo through Ve'ehala, one of the high chiefs of that Ha'a. The interesting thing about this article is that the author has offered a theory of *hau* that seems to be the main source propelling Gunson's review of the political history of Tonga². Hafoka's concept of *hau* is expressed in these 5 sentences:

'Kuonga' [era] was used in almost the same way as 'hau', but the difference is, 'kuonga' could be used for all Tu'i Tonga, whereas 'hau' could not be used for all Tu'i Tonga. 'Hau' applied only to those who achieved a thing through strength.

There was not continuously a hau all the time. It skipped to the man who possessed the might over the land and he then possessed the 'hau'. Therefore, when the [reign of the] hau ended, there were anarchy sometimes when there was no hau.

The time when some haus reigned is not known, but the overlord-reigns (hau) of the Tu'i Tonga are known for sure, because the genealogies of the Tu'i Tonga were kept. Some haus came to power at the same time, for example the overlordship of 'Ulukalala was at the same time with the overlordship of Takai and Fa'ê. Some haus came about at the same time when one person succeeded to the hau-ship in Tongatapu while a different person became hau in Vava'u at the same time.

² Niel Gunson, 1979. "The *Hau* Concept of Leadership in Western Polynesia". *Journal of Pacific History*, 14:28-49.

At any rate, Tongans used the concept of *hau* a lot; it was a very important segment of time to them.

In addition to this theory, Hafoka made a list in which he named 4 *hau* from the Tu'i Tonga line³, 1 from the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua⁴, 4 from the Tu'i Kanokupolu and 4 warlords with no kingship title. There is nowhere in the literature where we can find a story about each of the four Tu'i Tonga having displaced an existing ruler. I can only see that Hafoka was referring to an imperial conquest or whatever his mind tells him, but I cannot link Lihau, Momo or Tu'itatui to a conquering expedition other than being regarded as rulers of the so-called Tongan Empire. Vaea Tangitau is a Tu'i Ha'atakalaua named as *hau* but who did he challenge is a most crucial question that remains unanswered in the literature and in the body of oral traditions. Again, Hafoka named 4 Tu'i Kanokupolu as *hau*: Mataele Ha'amea, Finau Tuku'aho, Taufa'ahau Tupou I and Taufa'ahau Tupou IV.

This is how theorists especially Niel Gunson, Hafoka and Ian Campbell assess those whom they believe to have held the *hau* office.

NG = Niel Gunson's list of paramount holders of secular power (1979:42,43).

H = Hafoka's *hau*, in bold:

TT Lihau /H

Finau 'Ulukalala II /H /NG

TT Momo /H

Takai /NG

TT Tu'itatui /H

Takai and Fa'e /H

TT Kau'ulufonuafeikai /H

TH Vaea Tangitau /H /not in NG

TK Mataele Ha'amea /H /NG

Fusipala /NG

TT Pau /NG

Finau Tu'ihalafatai /NG

Tupou Mohefo /NG

Finau 'Ulukalala /NG

³ This is the order of the Tu'i Tonga who became *hau* in Hafoka's list: 4th TT Lihau, 10th TT Momo, 11th TT Tu'itatui, and 24th TT Kau'ulufonua Fekai.

⁴ TH Vaea Tangitau is named as *hau* but he never challenged a superior monarch for political supremacy.

TT Pau /NG

Tupou Mohefo /NG

Finau Tuku'aho /H /NG

Finau Tuku'aho /NG

Tupou Mohefo /NG

Finau Ulukalala II /NG

Vaha'i 'Uto'i-ikamoana /H /NG

In Hafoka's analysis, 'Ulukalala II and Takai-mo-Fa'e are *hau* simultaneously, whereas in NG the reigns are sequential. This suggests a difference of *hau* concept, which has to be elucidated.

Tupouto'a /NG

Finau 'Ulukalala III /NG

Taufa'ahau Tupou I /H /NG

Taufa'ahau Tupou IV /H

A detailed list prepared by Niel Gunson (1979:42,43), attached below, in his effort to determine the identity of the rulers he considered to have held the *hau* position (pages 12 and 13).

Table 1.

SUGGESTED REIGNS OF TONGAN *hau* SINCE THE END OF THE 17TH CENTURY

TK = Tu'i Kanokupolu THT = Tu'i Ha'atakalaua TT = Tu'i Tonga TV = Tu'i Vava'u

<i>Hau and allied titleholders</i>	<i>Reign</i>	<i>Parties defeated and reasons for decline</i>
Mataeleha'amea (TK)		Died in office.
Vuna I (TV)	c1736	Died peacefully at Tonga according to Thomas. Not listed as TK by West. His son Vuna II driven from Vava'u by Fusipala, fled to Samoa.
Fusipala and Ma'afu 'o tu'itonga (TK)	c1736-65	Fusipala appointed Tuituiohu as TV. Tupoulahi I succeeded Ma'afu 'o tu'itonga as TK.
Pau (TT) (1) and Tupoulahi I (TK)	1765-71	Pau not son of the <i>mohefo</i> so presumably fought for his position; married Tupou Mohefo c. 1765.
Finau Tu'ihalafatai (1747-90) and Maecaliuaki (TK)	1771-77	Finau regarded as the greatest chief in Tonga, not listed as TK by Thomas, but in other lists so obviously <i>hau</i> . Possibly his humiliation by Cook and Cook's patronage of Pau undermined his position. Also his sister Tupou Mohefo politically dominant. Sailed to Fiji and Samoa before 1782 and probably died c. 1790.
Tupou Mohefo (1) and Maecaliuaki (TK)	1777-81	Tupou Mohefo assumes authority of her brother; Finau 'Ulukālala at Ha'apai.
Finau 'Ulukālala I (TV) (1748-97)	1781-82	Finau leading chief in islands. Deposed as TV by Tupou Mohefo and replaced by Vuna III. Retires to Tonga, then Fiji.
Pau (TT) (2) (-1784/8)	1782-84/8	Pau asserts his supremacy over his wife, Vuna III, Mumui and Tuku'aho, Tupouto'a, etc.
Tupou Mohefo (2) and Vuna III (TV)	1784/8-93	Pau defeated and slain by Vuna III about 1784/8. Tupou Mohefo deposes Mumui (THT) and appoints aged Maecaliuaki (THT). Tupoulahi II and Mulikiha'amea TK in succession. Mulikiha'amea gives up TK title and becomes THT.
Tupou Mohefo (TK) (3) (1745-)	1793	Tupou Mohefo deposes Tuku'aho of 'Eua who forms conspiracy at Mu'a.

Finau Tuku'aho (1753-99) and Tupou Mumui (TK) (1733-97)	1793-97	Tupou Mohefo driven out, leads resistance in Ha'apai, retires to Vava'u (see Duff Voyage 248, 270). Mumui dies 29 Apr. 1797.
Finau Tuku'aho (TK) (1753-99)	1797-99	Assassinated 22 Apr. 1799 under orders of Tupou Mohefo.
Tupou Mohefo (4) and Mulikiha'amea (THT)	1799	Mulikiha'amea killed at battle of Ha'ateiho 29 May 1799.
Finau 'Ulukālala II (-1809) (1)	1799	Defeated chiefs of Tongatapu and Ha'apai, then Vuna III (TV); massacres of 'Eua and Atata.
Vaha'i (-1802) Ma'afu 'o limuloa (TK) (-1800) and Tupou Mālohi (TK) (-1812)	1800-02	Vaha'i defeated Finau at battle of Fakalemoa (Tau Langovaka). Ma'afu'olimuloa (TK for one day in 1800) assassinated. Vaha'i died in 1802 and Tupou Mālohi fled to Fiji.
Finau 'Ulukālala II (TV) (-1809) (2)	1802-09	Destroyed Nuku'alofa fortress in 1807. Tākai defeated Tupou Mālohi and Teukava in 1808. Finau died in 1809.
Tākai (-1816) and Fatu (-1842)	1809-12	Destroyed Nuku'alofa fortress (2nd time). Tākai made peace with Tupouto'a who took up challenge of Pāunga.
Tupouto'a (TK) (-1820)	1812-20	Formed alliance with Tākai and defeated Pāunga of Vava'u, contender for <i>hauship</i> . Unable to subdue Fa'e, Tākai's successor in 1820 and died shortly after.
Finau 'Ulukālala III (TV) (-1833)	1820-26/7	No TK appointed because Finau of rival family. Contender for <i>hauship</i> , Laufilitonga defeated by Tāufa'āhau at battle of Velata 1826.
Tāufa'āhau (1797-1893) and Aleamotu'a (TK) (-1845)	1827-45	Defeated Laufilitonga in 1826; siege of Otea and flight of Lua 1832; massacre of Uiha 1837; siege of Ngeleia and Ma'ofanga; massacre of Hule 1837; defeat of Ata at Kolovai 1840; defeat of Hahake chiefs and siege of Pea 1840.
Tāufa'āhau (TK) (1797-1893)	1845-93	Thwarts attempts to make Matekitonga TV. Defeats Houma and Pea fortresses for final time 1852; defeats Mu'a Parliament 1881; persecutes Wesleyan chiefs 1885. Dies in 1893.

In assessing the case of Mataele Ha'amea, it is reported in (Bott 1982 and Campbell 1989) that he successfully displaced the Tu'i Ha'amea and the Tu'i Ha'atu'unga to take complete control of the Ha'amea district at which place his brothers the Ha'a Havea Lahi established their political center. He challenged TH Vaea prior to his Ha'amea campaign and failed only because his father TK Mataletu'apiko stopped him (Herda 1988:78, Campbell 1989:15). There was no challenge for the *hau*. Mataletu'apiko the

3rd TK maintained the *hau* title, which he inherited from his father 2nd TK Atamata'ila, a traditional responsibility bestowed by the TH on the 1st in line TK Ngata. However, Vaea conceded his daughter Kaloafutonga to Mataeleha'amea and this is the reason Hafoka mistakenly claimed that Vaea was *hau*. But there is a problem. The Tu'i Kanokupolu title ranked lower to that of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Mataeleha'amea did not take the TH title from Vaea.

As for Finau Tuku'aho, his moment came when he dethroned the first female Tu'i Kanokupolu, Tupou Mohefo the 10th in line of kings from the Hihifo ruling dynasty (Campbell 1989:18). The number 4 *hau* from the Tu'i Kanokupolu line in Hafoka's list is Taufa'ahau Tupou IV. This is a very interesting choice for this modern Christian king never entertained a war but he became popular for achieving a respectable academic career in which he graduated with a BA LLB degree completed in three years. In his tenure as Premier of Tonga he reformed and developed the education system, agriculture and trade; steps that improved the livelihood of many Tongan citizens at the time. Perhaps Hafoka had confusion about his view of *hau* as a trophy gained from military challenge in incorporating modern concept that realigned *hau* with social and economic success or with an era of reform.

The last *hau(s)* named by Hafoka were warriors from the chiefly class and none of them held a kingship title. He listed Finau 'Ulukalala 'i Feletoa first, maybe for the fact that this warrior murdered TK Tuku'aho, but he did not become Tu'i Kanokupolu as a *hau* was supposed to be. Campbell describes Finau Ulukalala as a rebel and an adventurer (Campbell 1982). A Fo'ui warrior Vaha'i-uto-ikamanu is named by Hafoka as *hau* and the reason would be that he was the one who drove 'Ulukalala out of Tongatapu and defeated his allies in the avenging war of 1800, in which the Hihifo supporters of TK Tuku'aho were victorious. The purpose of challenging an aristocratic person for a royal title is missing from the equation. However, the next two *hau* in Hafoka's list are Takai and his brother Fa'e of Pea. This is asserted from the fact that Takai challenged Teukava, the successor of Vaha'i as chief warrior of Hihifo, and defeated him in the battle at Masilamea in 1806 in the time of TK Tupoumalohi. But this is just a challenge against another warrior for the status of the so-called most powerful ruler of Tongatapu and not a kingship title. Takai was acknowledged as *hau* but he had no interest in the TK title. He also made a truce at a later date with TK Tupouto'a after a confrontation

between the two in 1810. In this case Takai did not challenge Tupouto'a for his title. After the death of Takai in 1816 TK Tupouto'a decided to assert himself again in Tongatapu but Fa'e defeated him (and such a victory made Fa'e *hau*). Now, Fa'e was not proclaimed king or becoming TK but just a *hau* (a powerful warrior/ruler).

The important elements of Hafoka's conception of *hau* are very difficult to apply to any of the individual *hau* in his list. The best example of this ill-constructed concept is the case of 'Ulukalala-'i-Feletoa, a great warrior who often subdued his enemies through trickery, and the most remembered incident was the political uprising at Feletoa in Vava'u. After the assassination of Tuku'aho, where he pretended to offer peace only to ambush his rivals when they showed up for the treaty and killed them on the spot. However he never challenged anyone for political supremacy. The names of 4 Tu'i Tonga Hafoka listed as *hau*, appear to have inherited their titles from their fathers. Then Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Vaea was named *hau* after resisting a challenge from Mataeleha'amea who was not a king at the time but later on became a Tu'i Kanokupolu. Hafoka's is a unique theory and it seems to be the source responsible for further radical theories of late as mentioned above (Gunson 1979, Herda 1988 and Campbell 1982). This point will be revisited later on. In fact, Hafoka's concept of *hau* is 'all over the place' so to speak and his definition is not in line with the original version that has been propagated by oral tradition. This might be a good thing and we can hold on to that for now as an alternative to oral tradition or another version from oral tradition.

Accounts by William Mariner (Martin 1827) and George Vason (1840) were among the first to be published on the eve of the 53 year civil war in Tonga, which began in 1799 and in which they were both involved and which highlighted the political involvement of later *hau* that they were associated with. Works by Wood (1932), Collocott (1924), and Gifford (1929) were also published before Hafoka donated his chronicle to the Tonga Traditions Committee in 1959. It is clear that Hafoka did not have access to materials written by students of the Wesleyan mission school at Nafualu, which were compiled and published in Tongan as "Ta'u-e-teau" in 1972 to commemorate the 146th years of the re-establishment of the mission in 1826. Obviously, he had not read any of the English versions of the corpus of oral traditions.

The main reason for addressing Hafoka's concept first is twofold. First, he is Tongan but his definition is not based on oral tradition. Second, the recorded oral traditions seem to

me to represent what the majority of the sources offer in unison. Now, we have two competing indigenous views of *hau* to which we must give close attention. In fact, oral traditions relate the creation of the *hau* to past events where a number of Tu'i Tonga were assassinated in quick succession. Kau'ulufonua Fekai, the eldest son of the last murdered king, after avenging his father's death, then bestowed on his younger brother a new title as *hau* to rule in his stead and to guard the holders of the sacred kingly title. The idea was to ensure the safety of every Tu'i Tonga from further assassination attempts. Latukefu neatly sums up oral traditions:

The Tu'i Tonga was both temporal and spiritual ruler, at least until the fifteenth century. While a fairly small population occupied Tonga, the combining of the spiritual and the temporal authority in the office of the Tu'i Tonga appears to have worked for a time. However, a succession of murders of the Tu'i Tonga during the fifteenth century led the twenty-fourth Tu'i Tonga, Kau'ulufonua Fekai, to create the new office of *hau* (temporal ruler) to take over secular responsibilities while the Tu'i Tonga became '*eiki Toputapu* (sacred ruler). The new position of the *hau* was given to one of Kau'ulufonua Fekai's brothers, Mo'ungamotu'a, who founded the dynasty under the title, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua. Later, the sixth Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, Mo'ungatonga, desiring to become like the Tu'i Tonga himself and be free of the responsibilities of the *hau*, created another dynasty, the Tu'i Kanokupolu, and appointed one of his sons, Ngata, to this position in order that the latter would take the responsibilities of the *hau*. (1974: 2, 3)

This quotation represents the basis on which other theories of *hau* are anchored. In comparing this passage to Hafoka's theory one wonders why there is such a vast difference; after all both views are of indigenous origin. As a matter of fact, Hafoka's assertion clearly states that *hau* was a 'trophy' that could only be earned by someone who successfully subdued a significant opponent such as the titleholders of each kingly line. According to his line of reasoning, a Tu'i Tonga who earned the title through a challenge is remembered by his reign (his *kuonga*) while those who inherited their title were not so-called. Hafoka's theory appears unfounded after a thorough examination of the title succession in the sacred line of the Tu'i Tonga. In assessing the reign of each TT starting from the first in line 'Aho'eitu down to the 39th and last holder of the title Laufilitonga, there is no case that might confirm any challenge ever took place.

There is another story explaining the origin of *hau*, which claims that Mo'ungamotu'a successfully challenged his brother TT Kau'ulufonua Fekai (Campbell 1982: 181 citing an account given by TK George I) after he returned from avenging the death of their father. The apparent defeat of the Tu'i Tonga was followed by a lengthy exile of Kau'ulufonua, presumably in Sāmoa. If this story is true and in accordance with the logic of the challenge theory, then Mo'ungamotu'a should have been installed Tu'i

Tonga and become known as ‘kuonga’ of Mo’ungamotu’a. But, interestingly, his *hauship* was remembered with an alleged new title the so-called Tu’i Ha’atakalaua. It is rather strange for a victor not to take the honours he fought for, but to inherit a new kingship title instead. In other words, the Tu’i Tonga that was supposedly defeated was not displaced.

So, it would seem that Hafoka’s theory is not consistent with the succession tradition of the Tu’i Tonga line. On the other hand, in an assessment of the so-called Tu’i Ha’atakalaua succession tradition we can find two cases that are consistent with the Hafoka hypothesis. In the first case the elder brother Kafoa challenged his younger sibling Moeakiola for the Tu’i Ha’atakalaua title, and was unsuccessful. In the second case Kafoa challenged his uncle TH Tatafu who had inherited the title after the untimely death of TH Moeakiola. Kafoa was successful this time. However the TH was not *hau*; the *hau* was the TK probably Mataele Ha’amea, so Kafoa was not known as a *hau*.

As for the Tu’i Kanokupolu line of kings, three generations after the sixth holder of the title, the number of Tu’i Kanokupolu had reached twelve in total and most of these results were outcomes of successful challenges within the Ha’a Havea lineage. In an interview Queen Salote Tupou III mentioned that the TK was called Tu’i Ha’amo’unga (Bott, 1982: 96) that is leading chief of the lineage taking its name from Tu’i Ha’atakalaua Mo’unga motu’a and Mo’ungatonga. From the time of Ngata, the TK titleholder was the *hau* of Tonga as a secular ruler. By the Sāmoan standard Ngata and his successors were divine kings, whose succession was by election or contest.

In all these cases, identification of victory with a named era (*kuonga*) is missing and is probably not relevant to the definition of *hau*.

Hau as Hafoka sees it, was recognised as a successful challenge by a lower ranking chief for a high title such as that of a king. After TK Tuku’aho died in 1799, ‘Ulukalala was *hau* in a new tradition, as an independent overlord of Ha’apai and Vava’u. Vaha’i was recognised as *hau* in Tongatapu after avenging the death of Tuku’aho. All in all, Hafoka does not give a proper explanation for how it was that these warriors were recognised as *hau*. I believe that his idea about *hau* is in itself self-destructed mainly because he was his own source and every argument in his theory seems to contradict the next from the beginning to the end.

In reviewing the history of Pacific Island societies most modern critics are concerned with how the people were organised by certain principles sanctioned by those who possessed high authority. In Tonga the concept of *hau* cannot be understood in isolation from the common denominator that incubated the tripartite coexistence of the ruling dynasties. The so-called first Tu'i Tonga 'Aho'eitu was a conqueror and he is not regarded in the literature as *hau* (Fred Henry 1992:30). Gifford on the other hand mentions the creation of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua by TT Kau'ulufonua Fekai to serve in a supervisory function (1929:85), organising duties for the people to complete in the annual *'inasi* cycle, reporting progress in harvesting crops, and so on. When Gifford speaks of *hau* he is referring to both the junior dynasties, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu. It appears that he failed to distinguish when each one's turn came about. Rutherford in his study equates the *hau* to the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua (1977:34) and like Gifford he mentions no tradition of challenge associated with the existence of this political institution.

It was in this unfortunate trend that ideas about *hau* became vague and shadowy. Hence, Hafoka's assertion that some Tu'i Tonga were *hau* is based on military credentials. Oral traditions, on the other hand, state that *hau* was a new office created for a new dynasty, the secular line of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Gifford (1929:83), Collocott (1924:179) and Wood (1932:11). Both Capell and Lester conclude that *hau* is indicative of an earlier stratum in Tahiti and Hawai'i (1946:299) and it is found in most of Western Polynesian societies. These positions have created a very unclear designation for the *hau* and the position that we would arrive at is going to be a messy one. Hafoka maintains that challenging a powerful chief with a status higher than the challenger is the required qualification for a person to acquire *hauship* status. But, after the creation of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua dynasty Hafoka does not name anyone from the Tu'i Tonga line, as if no holder of the sacred title ever qualified as *hau*. However there is a report from 'Uvea around 1500s, Guiart (1963:661), Sands (2008:73), that although 'Uvea was governed by a *hau* sent from the Ha'a Takalaua lineage of Tonga, two high chiefs Liaki and Huka sailed to Tonga to seek an audience with the supreme ruler at the time TT Uluakimata 1st (Tele'a) to judge a case regarding a dispute over a boundary stone (Burrows 1937). TT Uluakimata 1st reigned six generations after the inception of the so-called Tu'i Ha'atakalaua dynasty. He had not conquered anybody. The 'Uvea oral tradition spoke of the Tu'i Tonga as both sacred and political ruler in a manner that he is the Emperor of

the Tongan maritime empire⁵.

A realistic option that could resuscitate what is left of *hau* as an element of dynastic design is to revisit the current debate with open eyes. Since the advent of contact with Europe, Western observers have described the political systems and patterns of leadership in various Pacific Islands societies as ‘having a fixed or partially fixed structure.’ (Gunson, 1979:28). This is a direct reference to the rigid content of the orthodox version inherent in Tongan oral traditions. Niel Gunson is accusing mainly anthropologists and modern historians of following the accepted views that were constructed by their predecessors instead of conducting a review, as new source materials were already available. In reviewing works on traditional leadership in Western Polynesian societies, who were under the Tongan sphere of influence, it becomes evident that the accepted views cannot be sustained. Gunson goes on to say:

The old idea was that political power passed through several dynastic lineages in succession and was transmitted by a process of devolution and entitlement. The revised view offered here is that political power, as opposed to sacred status, was always accepted as the prerogative of the most successful chief and that challenge by peers was an essential feature of political life. (Gunson, 1979: 28)

This statement seems to equate with Hafoka’s theoretical argument and in a similar vein Gunson contends in principle that holders of each dynastic kingship title were vulnerable to challenges from members of their own family. In his re-examination of traditional leadership in Tonga, Gunson is convinced that challenging political authority was an essential part of political life and also a prerogative of the most successful chief. He cited few examples as proof of his idea such as the assassinations of TT Havea I, TT Havea II and TT Takalaua, the slaying of TT Pau in a duel by the Vava’u chief Vuna III in 1784, and the assassination of TK Tuku’aho by Tupouniua in 1799. Gunson decided to identify specific elements that warrant *hauship* status.

“The qualifications of the *hau* were as follows: first, membership of the highest caste, consisting usually of a number of royal lineages; second, qualities of leadership, confirmed by holding a major chiefly title; and third, prowess as a warrior, especially the ability when challenged to defeat a rival in single combat.”(1979: 30)

Like Hafoka, he prepared a list comprising every individual *hau* and the tenure of each reign. While Gunson insisted on justifying his point using the case in Tonga he kept referring back to the comfort of the West Polynesian model where evidence was

⁵ Pers Comm, Soane Patita Mulikiha’amea 2012 (Uvea Chief).

consistent with his theory: “The term *hau* appears to be one of the oldest used for describing political concepts in Polynesia” (1979: 30). I feel that this is a convenient way to generalise the issue. For example, in Western Polynesian states which were under Tongan influence: Rotuma, 'Uvea, Eastern Fiji, Mangaia, the *hau / sau* was the war chief. In Lakeba (Fiji), Tonga and in 'Uvea the term applies to the title possessed by the principal chief whether he be a king or a warlord. In 'Uvea the *hau* was the only king and throughout its known history four families⁶ of royal origin contested the title. In Rotuma the *sau* was the title of the sacred chief, which Gunson equates to the status of the Tu'i Tonga, while *fakpure* as secondary or of temporal rank is the equivalent of the Tongan *hau* (1979: 33). Using a Western Polynesian model to inform the status and rank of the *hau* would be a good thing but to claim that there was a *hau* system in that part of the region which recognised the ousting of leaders by challengers of equal designation or peers is of particular interest and worth examining. Gunson has made a remarkable effort in reviewing traditional orthodox views that anthropologists and historians have not questioned. But, I do not agree with Gunson's theory for a number of reasons.

The first response to Gunson's review came from Ian Campbell; a historian who possesses an equal passion for correcting conservative approaches maintained by modern historians and anthropologists, in having seen in Tongan history ‘...the operation of a stable, continuous political system rather than a sequence of discrete, political events’ (1982:178). The orthodox historiography also maintains that political order rested on the ruling dynasties of the Tu'i Tonga, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and the Tu'i Kanokupolu. It is also held that political development in Tonga prior to the 19th century was in a way comparatively smooth and evolved in a continuous manner. Gifford also speaks of an ideal pattern through which things ought to work in Tonga such as the ability to establish a stable government with a centralised political system, rigid stratification and strict hierarchy.

For Campbell the historical approaches to pre-contact Tonga, including Gunson's new source material, the *hau* system, are anachronistic in the sense that they target events that occurred in the 18th and 19th centuries and then make a generalization that things were the same in earlier times. Campbell disputes such generalisations on the grounds

⁶ The four distinct chiefly lineages of 'Uvea are comprised of Kehekehe of Mu'a, Takumasiva of Hihifo, Vehi'ika and Kulitea of Hahake.

that the claims are not based on historical fact but pure supposition. In examining what he believes to be the faults in Gunson's new perception, Campbell argues that the insertion of the *hau* system theory as the answer for what ought to have worked in the political turmoil of 18th and 19th century Tonga is no better than the old conception. By countering the faults that he forcefully dismissed, Campbell made a very controversial statement, which he believes to be an objective way of dealing with the problem that remained unsolved by Gunson's review.

"It will be argued in this paper that the overwhelming reality of Tongan politics in the 18th and 19th centuries was that the system - whatever it was - was *not* working, that the sequence of events (if it can be known) contains its own explanations, and that Tongan political history is not as orderly as has been represented" (1982: 178)

Campbell proposed an examining of the function of Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, which to him is mysterious from the time of its inception and has remained the least clearly defined in the received historiography ("The Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and the ancient constitution of Tonga" published in *Journal of Pacific History* 1982 17:4, 178-194). He begins the review by focusing on how to determine the nature of the unknown and obscure system that prevailed in the midst of political turmoil in the 18th and the 19th century Tonga, at the beginning of the contact period. Like Gunson, Campbell chooses to solve a mystery that is locked in the unclear history of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua.

Campbell was partly successful in establishing doubts about accounts received from oral tradition and works that have been circulated in the literature. In examining the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua succession list he questions the validity of the theory that the *hau* office was created for the purpose of protecting the Tu'i Tonga from further assassination attempts. He argues (1989:9) that a more reasonable explanation for such action would be that Mo'ungamotu'a actually challenged Kau'ulufonua Fekai for political supremacy and won. The evidence comes from an account made by a Methodist missionary Thomas West, who claims that there was a war between the two and the king was defeated and was sent into exile. This is the only account of this alleged challenge in the literature and according to Thomas West, it was given to him by King George and Tamaha 'Amelia (1865:56) also quoted by Campbell (1982:181).

This single evidence was enough for Campbell to draw a conclusion that the system validated challenge as an essential feature of political life at the time. He argues further that the same process occurred in the establishment of the Kanokupolu dynasty.

Campbell claims that Ngata did challenge his father Mo'ungatonga (Campbell 1982:181). That he was victorious and crowned king of Hihifo, and the fact that his elder brother Fotofili was denied the honours of succeeding to the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua title for an extended period is taken as proof of how the system of the day worked. Strangely, Gifford is used here as evidence that Ngata actually seized power from his father (Campbell 1982) as opposed to the orthodox version of a peaceful devolutionary process where his father appointed Ngata. According to Gifford, Ngata also defeated the Hihifo chiefs, and Ngata's personal god Taliaitupou was responsible for his victory since his power was superior to the gods of Hihifo (1929:86). Again, Campbell is satisfied with the information and uses it as evidence, even though Gifford did not name any informant.

However, I believe that Taliaitupou was not Ngata's patron god; though he could have been introduced at a later date, in the reign of his grandson TK Mataeletu'apiko. In fact, Taliaitupou is a Fijian name and Ngata and his followers were Sāmoans, so it is not possible that Gifford is right. A later connection with Fiji took place when Mataeletu'apiko was installed as Tu'i Kanokupolu where a party from Tubou arrived with a double-hulled canoe as a gift for the new king. Mataeletu'apiko gifted the migrants with one of his sons for their chief and also granted them land to settle in Tonga. The patron god of this migrant group was Taliaitupou with their leader Tu'isoso as the head priest⁷.

Campbell turned his attention again to oral tradition to see how the ranking discrepancy in regard to the subordinate positioning of Maealiuaki, Mumui and Mulikiha'amea as holders of the TH title according to reports by visitors in the contact period when matching up the orthodox version of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua against the Tu'i Kanokupolu. Oral tradition maintains that the rank of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua title was next in position to the Tu'i Tonga even when the title became politically inferior to that of the Tu'i Kanokupolu as the result of a change in the system (Campbell 1982:182,184). The political reality in Tonga during the 18th and 19th centuries was as Campbell had argued for, the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua title was passing from one holder to

⁷ TK Mataeletu'apiko replaced Napelupelu with Tu'isoso in performing one of the sacred rituals in the royal kava ceremony so that Tu'isoso would have the right to take the king's portion of the food during his investiture as Tu'i Kanokupolu. (see also Bott 1982)

another five times in total between 1750 and 1799. It was given first to Maealiuaki then to Tupoulahi when he retired from the TK office and then to Mumui and Mulikiha'amea thereafter through Tupoumohefo's scheme and also Toafunaki (Campbell 1989:37,38). And, in the same duration of time there were 12 Tu'i Kanokupolu installed to the kingship title.

Clearly there was something overwhelming happening but no one knows what for sure. In accounts from Cook 1777, Labillardiere 1793, Dumont d'Urville 1827 and George Vason 1796--1801 who was a guest of the supposed last holder of the Tu'i Ha'atalalua title Mulikiha'amea, the TH title was significantly important. These observers have named a number of individuals as Tu'i Ha'atalalua and Tu'i Kanokupolu that cannot be confirmed by either the official list of kings and oral traditions. This major confusion has helped to obscure the system at work (whatever it was), more than it reflects a single element that resonates with some consistent political activity.

As far as the devolution theory is concerned Campbell (1982:181 and Latukefu 1974) disagrees with the orthodox view that the office of the *hau* was created for particular purposes as argued for both the Tu'i Ha'atalalua and the Tu'i Kanokupolu, and with Niel Gunson's claim that there was a system that sanctioned the office in a supervisory or governing role. It seems the 'ghost hunting' mission undertaken by Campbell to unravel the invisible system that dominated the political destiny of Tonga in the first hundred years of active contact with Europe has come to an end without answer. He had raised questions about a system that supposed to be at work during the 1700s, which he tried to solve through a thorough study of the Tu'i Ha'atalalua lineage but to no avail.

Campbell concluded that 'a theory of seizure of power' would be the most meaningful and only solution for the difficulties faced by the devolution theory (1982:181). The first devolution of power to the Tu'i Ha'atalalua could not have avoided assassination of the Tu'i Tonga if there had been an attempt. The second devolution from the TH to the TK was from father to son six generations later; the reason given was to relieve the father of secular duties (Campbell 1982:179). Again, Campbell failed to see any logic in creating a new dynasty so that a father could have a comfortable retirement; the son must have seized power from his father and that is how the system worked (1982:181). Campbell sees in Tonga a system where the kings were vulnerable to challenges from people of the same rank. But is the mysterious history of the Tu'i Ha'atalalua being

unraveled by a number of assumptions that do not have outright proof, I think not. The transfer of the TH title to TK Maaliuaki from Fuatakifolaha (a member of the Tu'i Tonga family whose mother was a daughter of TK Mataeleha'amea and only connected to the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua through his grandmother Longo, a daughter of TH Vaea), is still unsolved. We know that Tupou Mohefo ordered the action (Campbell 1982:40). There was no known seizure of power or a challenge in that process and the dethroning of TH Fuatakifolaha involved no war.

In addition the case where Tupou Mohefo transferred the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua title from Mumui to the TK Mulikiha'amea, son of her deceased uncle TK Maaliuaki, still remains a mystery, as there was no war. Ian Campbell (1982, 1989 and 1992) shares the same faults as Gunson and the modern historians before him. Let me comment that Mumui held the highest rank within the Ha'a Havea because his mother was a daughter of Toafilimoe'unga, the only sister of the Ha'a Havea chiefs (Ma'afu *et al*). Tupou Mohefo's plan in a Sāmoan paradigm shift would have been for the TK title to descend to her son Fuanunuiava in order for him to hold all three titles TT, TH, and TK. She then demanded that the Ha'a Havea install the TK title on herself, but they refused and this led to the division and break down of the Ha'a Havea-led government at the Ha'amea political centre (Bott 1982:72, and Campbell 1982:40). What the historians have regarded as chaos in Tonga was a normal state in a Sāmoan paradigm where peace was an interval in war.

Paraphrasing Campbell, I argue that 'the approach is best made through an examination of the tripartite relationship of the ruling dynasties in order to learn of any pattern(s) of communication inherent to their relationship and to see how their traditional functions worked and from there we will find out how things changed and why, a task that Campbell hesitated to explore. Herda (1988) discusses in detail the relationship between the three royal houses and she agrees with Gunson that the *hau* was the secular ruler. She mentions a marriage pattern in which the daughter of the *hau*, who was initially the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and later on the Tu'i Kanokupolu, married the Tu'i Tonga in each generation for the purpose of renewing the essence of his divinity. Herda is validating Gunson's argument here, that the *hau* was the secular ruler. She shares with Gunson and Campbell the view that oral tradition is faulty in the sense that it describes Tonga's political history, especially the devolution of power and the peaceful coexistence of the

three dynasties (Latukeyu 1974), as processes that were handled smoothly. She also agrees that challenge to the king by any one of his peers was an essential feature of political life in ancient Tonga.

Following the arguments put forward by Gunson (1979) and Campbell (1982) Herda places doubt on the true nature of the political process that actually at work in Tonga during the 18th and 19th centuries. While these historians have insisted on determining the political circumstances in pre-European (contact) Tonga so they can discover what would have caused the political chaos in the early contact era, they have not considered any other possible alternative.

In this work it is proposed that on the Tongatapu landscape there were more than one system operating, in tandem or in direct conflict with each other. This may provide real explanations for all identified irregularities in kingship succession, for the so-called 'mysterious practices' in the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua history, and for the unusual circumstances that led to the demise of the Tu'i Tonga kingship in the 19th century.

According to Herda (1988:86), tripartite rule amongst the three lines of kingship was working well, especially in the sense that it seems to have maintained long-term stability during the 1600s, due to a strong alliance bonded by intermarriage within ranked members of the three houses. The arrangement was for the *hau* to give his eldest daughter as wife for the Tu'i Tonga. Initially, it was the house of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua who provided principal wives in that tradition; they were called the *ma'itaki*. The *ma'itaki* tradition was originally an exclusive privilege of highborn Sāmoan ladies until the newfound connection with the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua was established. Towards the end of the 1600s the daughters of the Tu'i Kanokupolu appear to dominate the choice of a principal wife for the Tu'i Tonga. *Mohefo*, a title given to the daughter of the Tu'i Kanokupolu when she became the principal wife of the sacred ruler, replaced the office of the *ma'itaki*. The Tu'i Tonga continued to take wives from the daughters of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua but no longer as principal wife.

Herda also discusses the *kainga* network as a way of making sense of how the system worked under the social and political practices sanctioned by the tripartite authorities.

The authority of the holders of the three great titles was exercised among the followers of each of them who were organised in fairly identifiable geographical areas and were called the *kainga*

(relatives) of the chief of each area. In turn, these chiefs were related to one of the three great titleholders, or to one of his relatives, through blood, marriage or title, and so were named as part of his *kainga*. (Herda, 1988: 87)

The *kainga* system was one of the political organisations that authorities depended on to maintain other important networks such as the *ha'a*⁸ and *matakali*,⁹ that altogether fused to propel the tripartite coexistence of the three ruling dynasties. The relevant element in Herda's discussion is the identification of the multifarious functions of the *kainga* system. She cites Bott (1982) in her demonstration of how the two senses of *kainga* overlapped each other in practice, as personal kinship relations and as a spatial/political configuration. The overlap existed on the ground where followers of a chief who were his own relatives lived together on his land with those who were not connected to him by blood, but were also regarded as his *kainga*. The *kainga* had a social aspect, where relations are limited to blood ties, and a political identity where membership is expressive of territorial alliance and material ownership (as in a client/proprietor relation).

There is an important implication here that both Bott and Herda could not see. The social and the political entities distinguishable in *kainga* organisation have separate organising principles that can be traced to two entirely different origins. The existence of a non-political entity in the *kainga* system is validated by oral traditions not only in Tonga but also in Sāmoa¹⁰, where it is an organisation that has its basis in blood and kin membership. The traditions point to a pre-*hau* (or pre-Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu) era where the political entity of the *kainga* was not yet part of the equation or seems not to exist within intergroup relations.

Under the Tu'i Tonga *fatongia* system people were organised according to certain duties performed as a lifetime profession; they normally lived in settlements headed by an adept specialist and not by chiefs. The aspects that Bott and Herda have described regarding *kainga* were indeed a later set of social and political practices organised in a 'patron/client' relationship that is quintessential to the Tu'i Kanokupolu government practices. According to Bott (1982:69), membership and size of the political *kainga*

⁸ *Ha'a* is a larger network where people are exclusively organised with assigned duties as their lifetime profession such as stonemasons, warriors, and priests.

⁹ *Matakali* is another large network of the ha'a Falefisi; the duties were mainly to perform certain rituals in state ceremonies.

¹⁰ According to Tuala Sala Auali'itia, in ancient Sāmoa there was always the separation of *aiga* as people who are related by blood, and the existence of a political entity, which regarded a territorial population in a village or district as *aiga* of the *matai* (*ali'i*) such as *aiga Taua'ana* (pers. comm., Upolu, February 2011).

varied with regard to internal composition. Her main source is Cook's description of the settlement pattern. In direct contrast, the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua government was part of the older Tu'i Tonga socio-political system.

Following discussion of the social and territorial/spatial/political configurations of *kainga* relations, Herda (1988:75) shifted attention and questioned the theoretical and practical reality of the traditional *ha'a* organisation in conjunction with the proliferation of titles under the Tu'i Kanokupolu as a new phase in constituting legitimate rule in Tonga. In her in-depth study of 'the transformation of the traditional Tongan polity' she rethought the origins of the *ha'a* and argued that this concept sprang into existence via a new political development that had grown out of the *hau* system. She argued that initially, it appeared first as an element associated with the political practices of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and then was carried on by the Tu'i Kanokupolu regime when they assumed total authority as *hau*. At the same time, she claimed that lesser chiefs sought alliance with the *hau* when the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua 'increased his control over the secular affairs of the country' (1988:74). She also pointed out that the lesser chiefs were acquiring titles from the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua as consolation for support and services rendered, or for forming alliances with the secular authority. In eclipsing the secular authority of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua in controlling the political affairs of Tonga, the Tu'i Kanokupolu duplicated the same process of using titles as a political mechanism to form alliances with less powerful chiefs, or to grant honours to less powerful chiefs who had achieved personal status on merit.

Tongan *ha'a* is cognate with Samoan *sa*. The *sa* in Samoa is a political grouping of chiefly titles. It also refers to the extended family of matai as in *Sa So'oa'emalelagi*, *Sa Tupua*, *Sa Malietoa*, *Sa Tuimaleali'ifano*, *Sa Mu'agututi'a* to name a few. The Tongan *ha'a* were guilds as *ha'a tufunga* (carpenters) and *ha'a toutai* (navigators etc). It was not until 1550 that the introduction of an alien political system that brought about change to the practice of *ha'a* (Ilaiu 2007).

Herda has disputed the idea that *ha'a* organisation was a traditional concept rooted in the patrilineage establishment where land and titles were accumulated according to established principles. She insists that this concept of *ha'a* is a patrilineal bias in the sense that it is structured according to a title's genealogical proximity to the sacred Tu'i Tonga. She believes that *ha'a* is rather "...a titular grouping, which was described in

kinship metaphors and allotted land usufruct rights and controlled tribute collections” (1988:75). Herda is arguing here that the *ha'a* organisation was not an ancient system as many scholars have assumed thus far. It is a new development practiced during the reign of the Tu'i Tonga dynasty, prior to the bipartite system and the tripartite era, the people were organised under the authority of the *sina'e* (younger brothers of the Tu'i Tonga) where duties were assigned on the basis of kinship *kainga* and not of *ha'a*. As chiefs of divine origin the *sina'e* acted as executive organisers; the people were grouped with a *sina'e* and assigned duties to perform. Herda concludes that the new *ha'a* organisation modeled itself on the earlier structure of the *sina'e* system. For Herda, the only difference between the two models is that the *sina'e* organisation was based on kinship grouping while the new *ha'a* system was structured on achievement recognised through titles.

This is obviously a remarkable observation and its originality surpasses any theory of social and political organisation of late for two reasons. First, the theory tackles a textbook model that has been circulated in the literature and regarded as a true representation of the way people were organised in ancient Tongan polity. Second, there is a sense of consistency flowing neatly especially in identifying possible origins for both models. Herda's statement strikes a logical continuity by locating the different contexts in which kinship relations are expressive of an earlier form of ancient grouping, while recognition of achievements associated with title proliferation fits material evidence inherent in political practices invented by the Tu'i Ha'atalaaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu as holders of the *hau* office.

Herda's idea is almost flawless but it is a speculation without historical attestation, not even mentioned in folklore and oral tradition. Two minor details need clarification. First, although Herda is correct to rethink *ha'a* since evidence shows that elements of the concept are expressive of both models, omitting the term *ha'a* from the *sina'e* model creates uneasy clearance. One wonders whether there was a name used with reference to the kinship-based system headed by the *sina'e*. Would it be the *kainga* system that she was discussing earlier on, or perhaps it was just a nameless system, would it be the *fa'ahinga* or *matakali*? Second, *ha'a* is particularly indicative of political elements associated with the Tu'i Kanokupolu establishment rather than that of the Tu'i Ha'atalaaua. Apart from that concern, there is still the need to know why the *sina'e*

system discontinued, how did it happen and what really caused the transition to the so-called *ha'a* system, associated with the *hau*. These issues will be revisited later on. However, I will add one more point for us to reflect on before we discuss other important works relating to our topic. Herda's discussion of the social and political entities of the *kainga* organisation and her interesting theory featuring the *sina'e* kinship organisation versus the *ha'a* title system have shed some light on an opening for two different systems at work either in concert with each other, or one displacing the other but still mirroring surviving elements of the displaced system.

According to Latukefu, *ha'a* is a *class*, 'the largest socio-political unit in Tonga – a loose confederation of genealogically related chiefs and their peoples' (1974: XV). Similarly, Gifford defines the *ha'a* as a patrilineage – that is, a group of people descended through men from a common ancestor – and such a lineage was organised around titles (1929:29-30). Bott (1982:78) also argues that 'Titles are grouped into *ha'a*'. She adds a very interesting statement in recognition of the confusion that revolves around the understanding of this concept: "There has been so much controversy over this Tongan concept that it must be discussed in detail". This was a giant step that she failed to monopolise to her advantage for if she had ever followed up this apparent confusion critically I have no doubt that something productive would have come out of it. In support of Gifford's definition, she emphasised his argument for *ha'a* that 'lineages' were organised around titles.

These definitions seem clear enough and appear to be without puzzlement in that they all suggest an image of *ha'a* as patrilineally organised on a grand scale. The key word here is 'title' or *hingoa-fakanofu*. Gifford in particular concludes in his study of political links between major lineages that commoners are more connected to titled chiefs than had been formerly anticipated. The lineages are patrilineal. Each consists of a nucleus of related chiefs about whom are grouped inferior relatives, the lowest and most remote of whom are commoners. Some commoners are not aware of their lineage as such, but most are, and claim relationship to some chief, usually the one on whose estate they live (1929:30).

According to Gifford, most Tongans render named lineages (*ha'a*) as *tribe*, *class*, and *family*. Among the informants Gifford interviewed were two noblemen both of whom held titles but belonged to different *ha'a*. What they said is worth quoting here.

Tu'ivakano, the late premier of Tonga, equated *ha'a* with the Sāmoan *Sa* (Sacred). The high chief Ata said that *ha'a* is applied to blood relatives, and to people who have some attribute in common, as *ha'a eiki* (chiefs) and *ha'a matapule* (matapules or attendants). [1929:30].

In fact, what 'high chief' Tu'ivakano pointed out is probably the most crucial observation ever made by anyone in the whole literature on Tongan society but unfortunately Gifford failed to detect the exotic implication given by the 'comparison' that Tu'ivakano attempted to address. To equate *ha'a* with the Sāmoan *sa*, one must wonder why this is so and should therefore give serious thought to it at least. Gifford isolated only one meanings of 'sa' ('sacred'), while the term stands also for 'lineage' or 'family'. High chief Ata's definition indicates a sense of exclusion, a general charter of *ha'a* membership, whereby all members must be related by blood and also possess common attribution in terms of group status. This points to the caste system under the Tu'i Tonga where a person's position was utterly unchangeable. In short, *ha'a* according to Ata is *birthright*, a view that certainly strikes a few chords about the reality of the Tu'i Tonga caste system in the pre-Tu'i Kanokupolu era where according to my hypothesis, 'titles' were not necessary and indeed were insignificant in practical terms especially when people were labelled only by their *fatongia* (professional occupation or hereditary duty) alone.

Following Ata, blood relationship goes hand in hand with status and rank. That means, as a rule of thumb, a chief or an aristocrat cannot be related to a commoner and likewise a lowborn individual cannot be related to anyone whose rank and status is hierarchically higher. In this context, rigid stratification was vindicated by the marriage pattern indirectly suggested by Ata. A person could only marry within his or her own class.

When the Tu'i Kanokupolu system was established in Tonga, it introduced a 'fictive' kin relationship between a chief and the people living on his land. This *quasi*-Sāmoan '*aiga*' system, rather than the Tongan *kainga* organisation, was practiced in Hihifo. The Sāmoan '*aiga*' conceptually refers to social groups, large extended families, who are connected and linked to each other through political means. Politics here is defined by

‘titles’ and titleholders in various districts who do belong to the same *aiga* and hold equal voice in decision-making concerning the whole welfare of the group or *Sā* as is the case of *Sā* Tupua, *Sā* Malietoa, *Sā* Levalasi and so on in Sāmoa. The Tongan *kainga* was never a political unit as such but instead a kin group of people related by blood who observed marriage restrictions for up to four generations before the imposed *tapu* released them. This is the basic difference between the two senses of *kainga* in pre-European times: the new *quasi*-Sāmoan *kainga* was political and the indigenous Tongan *kainga* was a kindred. Both usages exist today. The *kainga* of Luani are the people of his estates. A personal *kainga* are blood relations.

In fact, what Ata has brought to our attention is quite consistent with the endogamous marriage arrangement practiced in ancient Tonga prior to the establishment of the Tu’i Kanokupolu. Accordingly, people did marry within the boundary of their own *ha’a* and cross-cousin marriages were becoming more common especially among the members of the upper classes. Social statuses and rankings were impossible to disrupt due to the complete non-existence of social mobility that was also due to the strict regulations imposed by the socio-religious and political interests of the dominant ideology (the Tu’i Tonga system) that gave rise to the practice of endogamy.

Anthropologists and historians have never considered the information offered by these two chiefs carefully as having any significant value, including Gifford himself. Apparently, ‘high chief’ Ata was no stranger to Tu’ivakano’s view, and *vice versa*. Both statements are true evidence-wise. In the first place, *sa* identifies individual lineages mostly by specifying various titles as names of certain chiefly families (see Fred Henry, 1979:174,175,176; Tuangalu, 1988; and Meleisea, 1987:232). However, to be historically specific we must maintain that Ata’s definition describes *ha’a* in its authentic Tongan form. Tu’ivakano’s enumeration is a Sāmoan import, which happened to be the undisputed reality around the contact period and thereafter.

The implication from this discussion of *ha’a* is that the competing views expressed by these high chiefs are both important as they represent two types of social organisation that were characteristically identifiable and appear to have been practiced either at different times or to have coexisted side by side for a certain period. While Ata and Tu’ivakano were representatives from each of the two main branches under the Tu’i

Kanokupolu regime, namely the *ha'a* Ngata Motu'a (Ata) and the *ha'a* Havea Lahi (Tu'ivakano), both views have left out of the equation the more ancient form of *ha'a* organisation in which the people were divided into various types of professional occupation. Remnants remain in Tonga today, particularly in the *Ha'a* Tufunga, the guild of undertakers and carpenters and the *Ha'a* Toutai, the navigators and deep-sea mariners. Both guilds had a multiplicity of categories with exclusivity of craft and lifetime tenure. This is the caste system that gave the Tu'i Tonga establishment its strength.

I believe that the discussion of various senses of *kainga* and *ha'a* has been clear enough to establish that the search for a single system is a futile exercise. I will add another debatable concept to the discussion, which I think confirms the necessity to find out whether other systems were at work in ancient Tongan society before the contact era. Apart from the apparent complexity that surrounds the *kainga* and the *ha'a* systems there is the '*eiki* system that has been present throughout. Marcus (1980) discusses the concept of '*eiki* in "*The Nobility and the Chiefly Tradition in the Modern Kingdom of Tonga*". The book covers the pre-constitution period but is concerned mostly with post-constitutional conceptualisations of chiefly characteristics through a detailed analysis of status, authority and rank. Marcus puts more emphasis on the post constitutional aspects of '*eiki*, which were brought about by the introduction of 'nobility' and of hereditary title which has become the basis of modern chiefly attributions. Marcus acknowledges that title was not a determining factor in the pre-Tupou era.¹¹

According to Marcus, "The origin and uses of formally appointed titles are obscure" and he contends there were criteria of status attribution in which title was not an element (1980: 19). He believes that '*eiki* is essentially a matter of blood (substance) derived from the Tu'i Tonga line as direct descendant of the gods and that authority comes naturally into the equation as part of the package. It follows therefore that those who were descended from the sacred Tu'i Tonga line do not need title to validate their status as '*eiki*. He goes on to say that the creation of the Tu'i Kanokupolu line of kings seems to be associated with the proliferation of titles. With the constitution of 1875, titles degraded the high '*eiki* because under the constitution all chiefs became equal as

¹¹ This is a reference to King George Tupou I of Tonga.

nobles. The titles of the constitution come from two different historical systems, a small number from the Tu'i Tonga descendants (Kalaniuvalu) and the Ha'atakalaua lineages (Tungi, Fotofili, Fakafanua, Luani, Falekaono), and the greater numbers come from the Tu'i Kanokupolu line. Evidence that the titles come from different paradigms barely remains. All newly appointed noble titleholders receive a letter from the Palace office, meaning that the Tu'i Kanokupolu officially confers all titles. However, the Kalaniuvalu titleholder is given extra traditional recognition at Lapaha by the Falefa (who still exist but do not hold noble titles under the Constitution). The Ha'atakalaua titles are survived in the Ha'a Vaea but the Ha'a has no say in conferring the Tungi title, especially now for the current royal family holds the title since Tupou IV (Tungi) was crowned king of Tonga in 1967.

About thirty-four years ago, I wrote an essay for one of my papers in social anthropology on the topic "Social Organisation in Ancient Tongan Society". I recognised then that there are two meanings associated with the concepts of *ha'a* and *kainga*. But that essay traces the double meanings of these concepts to two sources known as *kauhala'uta* (Tu'i Tonga tradition) and *kauhalalalo* (The Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and the Tu'i Kanokupolu *hau* tradition). Such differences in meaning were common knowledge in those days and the literature provided the basic sources and materials relating to these concepts. In keeping up my interest in broader Pacific history I extended my readings to cover mostly Sāmoan and Fijian pre-contact connections with Tonga. The result of that effort was more than I expected for I discovered that studying Tonga's historical connections with neighbouring islands was a method for solving 'unexplained' issues in ancient Tongan polity. I realised that human societies are 'plastic' as opposed to 'monolithic' and that (important) changes have been referred to as irregular, unusual, obscure and mysterious only because events are running out of explanation.

As I became familiar with the dynamics of the Sāmoan political system, it reminded me of the structure inherent in the Tu'i Kanokupolu system of government. So, I had to match the two carefully to be sure I was on the right track. Although it is no secret that the Sāmoan followers of Ngata established this dynasty around 1550 AD (my calculation) no one had noticed that the *quasi*-Sāmoan government of the Tu'i Kanokupolu was a replica of the Upolu political system in the 1500s AD. Sacred Kings

and Queens *ali'i pa'ia* ruled the four kingdoms of Upolu.¹² Each kingdom had two ceremonial protectors *tafa'i*; a great council of advisors *faleupolu*; and a national/district council *fono* formed of all titled chiefs and orators. This is the defining feature of the Tu'i Kanokupolu political structure that formed the basis of the Hihifo government. I see Ngata as a Sāmoan *ali'i pa'ia* in that he had two ceremonial protectors forming with him the *Ulutolu* (or Ha'a Latuhifo, i.e. Nuku and Niukapu); his council of advisors *falekanokupolu*; and a great governing body *faleha'akili (fono)*.

This political structure of the Hihifo government cannot be seen as replicating the Tu'i Tonga and the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua political structures where four houses *falefa* served the Tu'i Tonga as his council of advisors. After decades of examining the differences between Tonga's political systems and the Sāmoan *matai* political organisation I therefore concluded that the Hihifo political establishment of the Tu'i Kanokupolu was without doubt a *quasi-matai* system based on Sāmoan principles of leadership. On that note I claim that in Tonga there had been two political systems, or perhaps more, at work simultaneously since 1550 AD. One ceased to exist (in practice) around 1865 on the death of Laufilitonga, the last holder of the Tu'i Tonga title, while the other continued with minor alteration after the promulgation of the Tonga Constitution in 1875. Aspects of the Tu'i Tonga system are still in use today only in ceremonial rituals, as in the *kauhala'uta* royal kava ceremony, which has the Catholic priest presiding as the modern chief of that kava circle. The *falefa* and *ha'a tufunga* of that sacred lineage still observe their traditional duties at funerals when a member of the house of Kalaniuvalu dies. Kalaniuvalu is the princely title that represents the direct line of descent from Laufilitonga, the last Tu'i Tonga.

Critical Examination:

Tonga's historical polity has generated an overwhelming number of published works and reviews over the years but these efforts have contributed less towards solving the centuries old conundrums, especially what forces that might have caused the 18th and 19th century so-called 'political chaos', the mysterious development of the *hau* office, and the misconceived notions about the tripartite coexistence of the ruling dynasties. Reviews undertaken in the past three decades are still one-dimensional. The reviews

¹² Kingdom of A'ana ruled by the Tu'i A'ana, Kingdom of Atua ruled by the Tu'i Atua, Kingdom of north Tuamasaga ruled by Gatoa'itele, and Kingdom of south Tuamasaga ruled by Tamasoali'i.

presented by Gunson, Campbell and Herda in particular were of critical quality but not quite enough, for all they produced were sound arguments without considering a general theory of *change*. The fundamental essence of every existing entities both natural and social is *change*. What was lacking all along in anthropological and historical works on Tonga including recent reviews were thoughts that might develop a *theory of change* 'as means' of injecting depth into our understanding of various processes in Tongan society that do not appear to add up in the final analysis nor are they consistent with the so-called traditional conventions. Ordinarily, views about *hau* have been harnessed to account for how an aspirant was motivated to seize power, what qualification was required for authenticating legitimate authority, and who were recognised as *hau* and when.

The most important question that has been left out is *on what basis* could we accept a list that registers names of *hau* titleholders from different walks of life. For example, according to Gunson's first equation, the *hau* must at least be a *member of the highest caste*, which means anyone from the three royal houses qualifies in that they were aristocrats (Gunson 1979: 30). This is fine as long as the membership qualification remains within the confines of an aristocratic circle, but to insist that chiefs with *leadership qualities* are also qualified as long as they possess certain titles but do not belong to the highest caste (the warriors Vaha'i, Teukava, 'Ulukalala, Takai, Fa'e who were chiefs but not contenders to a kingly title) tells us nothing about how and when non-aristocratic chiefs became *hau* (Gunson 1979: 30). Furthermore, to suggest that *proWess as a warrior* qualifies one with the social mandate to defeat a rival in single combat when being challenged for the *hauship* position is unthinkable. Yet warriors without kingship title (Takai, Fa'e, 'Ulukalala II) held the title of *hau* before the last civil war ended in 1852. The process of history needs explanation.

Gunson was heading in the right direction when he commenced the discussion of *hau* as a Polynesian concept of leadership. It was an opportunity for him to explore a regional theory from the variety of sources that reflect ancient connections between these Western Pacific societies. He discovered that *sau* (cognate of *hau*) is found in Fiji especially in areas that were under Tongan influence like Rotuma and the Lau Islands. In Rotuma *sau* is the title of the royal class while in the Tovata confederation in Fiji it is a ruling prince (Gunson 1979: 30). On the island of Mangaia the political rulers (kings)

were referred to as A'u (*hau*); the position had been chosen from the winning side since the defeat of the Tongan colonisers by Rangi around 15th Century AD. The titles for royalty and priestly classes were hereditary by comparison. The concept was widely used in Eastern Polynesia to describe different forms of government especially in Tahiti and Ra'iatea, which distinguished *hau fenua* (government of the land), *hau Ra'iatea*, *hau arii* (government by the high chiefs), *hau pahu rahi* (government of the royal drum) and many more. In Tonga the *hau* is found among three different social classes: sacred and secular dynasties, paramount chieftains, and powerful warriors. In Uvea and Futuna the *hau* is reserved for ruling families (from royal rulers and political families).

In fact, Gunson was working his way through the issue of kingship, as things were complicated. Herda, as Bott (1982) had done earlier, could identify that titles seemed to accompany the growth of the Tu'i Kanokupolu establishment. Her main failure, and Gunson's too, was the inability to consider that contradictions in the features of *kainga* and *ha'a* indicated that the kingship lines had separate institutional practices. The one thing that was missing from Herda and Gunson's hypotheses was the identification of the *quasi-Sāmoan* system of the Hihifo government. Furthermore, Gunson's model cannot be sustained for two reasons. First, he is unable to account for *change*. For example, his model was tailored exclusively for members of the highest caste, but other powerful chiefs and later on in history warriors too became *hau* in the time of chaos and hypothetical anarchy. Gunson's argument that *hau* was a formal office independent of the major titles appeared to solve the problem but contradictions still existed as far as the qualification criteria is concerned. Second, Gunson like other experts in Tongan history overlooked the fact that the Tu'i Kanokupolu dynasty managed to insert a new political system, Sāmoan by origin, the benefits of which the Hihifo government recognised early and maintained as the dominant ideology. The Sāmoan *matai* organisation empowers people to work harder and to earn respect on merit. This principle, as it grew, forced major political changes in Tonga towards the end of the 1600s. The momentum for this process persisted throughout the 1700s and then the Ha'a Ngata finally established its formidable strength and organising principles as the outright ruling system of the time only to be regarded by historians as political chaos and virtual anarchy (Campbell 1989:156-8).

In critiquing Gunson's model, Campbell dismisses the idea that there were rules for challenge in the *hau* system of leadership, an example being Tupou Mohefo's actions in deposing chiefs from their titles and seizing power to become Tu'i Kanokupolu. Campbell branded Tupou Mohefo's actions as contrary to Tongan custom by asserting that she "over reached by far the known precedents of women meddling in politics in as much as she deposed the holders of the major titles, and seized one of them for herself." (1982: 193). Little did Campbell know, and perhaps Gunson may not have realised either, that Tupou Mohefo had by right the liberty to do what she did under the ruling system at the time, which was the *quasi-Sāmoan (matai)* political system, not the old Tu'i Tonga *caste* tradition. In fact, it is a common practice in the Sāmoan system of government for women to hold royal titles or to challenge one if need be, as in the cases of Gatoa'itele queen of Afega and Tamasoali'i queen of Safata, and not to mention that the first centralised ruler of Sāmoa was a woman, Queen Salamasina. Salamasina reigned as the first Sāmoan monarch who was neither a Tu'i Manu'a nor a Tu'i Tonga but a *tafa'i fa* and *Tupu* of Savai'i, Upolu, and Tutu'ila and of the *aiga-i-le-tai*, Manono and Apolima (i.e. *Tupu* of Sāmoa minus Manu'a) around 1500 AD [Henry 1979, Kramer]. This is something new to be absorbed by revisionists who have had no knowledge of the actual workings on the ground of the Hihifo model of government and the kind of political operation that the system had secretly brewed for the future of Tonga. To regard TK Tupou Mohefo's actions as meddling in the affairs of men is incorrect. The claim reflects a protest made by one of her victims Finau Tuku'aho the deposed governor of 'Eua who eventually challenged her (Campbell 1982: 193). This is the period in which both Gunson and Campbell were trying to account for the system that was at work during the so-called chaos and state of anarchy in post-contact Tonga. To recapitulate Campbell's main argument,

"... the overwhelming reality of Tongan politics in the 18th and 19th Centuries was that the system – whatever it was – was not working, that the sequence of events (if it can be known) contains its own explanations, and that Tongan political history is not as orderly as has been represented." (1982: 178)

If something appears chaotic and seems to be in a state of anarchy, a natural response might be to assume that something wrong is happening. I too would agree, if there was only one political system in the entire history of Tonga and that single system had been

at work during the 18th and 19th Centuries of uncertain political developments. However, this was not so. There were two political systems that could be identified at least between the mid-1500s and the 1800s AD. I argue in this work that the Tu'i Tonga caste system had been slowly overtaken by the quasi-Sāmoan *matai* political system of the Tu'i Kanokupolu dynasty by the end of the 1600s when TK Mataeleha'amea aspired to be king. He attempted to seize the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua from Vaea the 8th holder of that title but was unsuccessful, and then he forcefully asserted his bid for the Tu'i Kanokupolu instead, which he achieved without being challenged by his elder brothers. The two systems continued to co-exist for another hundred years before the caste system became defunct around 1786 on the death of TT Pau while the Hihifo political system rose to the occasion as the source of power that has controlled Tonga since.

I have provided an alternative theory of change that changes the direction of the *hau*. My research suggests that *hau* began as a formal office created by the Tu'i Tonga for the Ha'atakalaua lineage to rule in his stead while he took an appointment abroad to rule as Tu'i Manu'a (Gunson 1979). After five generations the Tu'i Tonga returned; evidence from Uvea suggests that TT Tele'a was still the Emperor and not the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua (Sand 2001). The elevation of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua to divine status made way for the *hau* office to become a responsibility of the Tu'i Kanokupolu. Within three centuries the Sāmoan political system of the Tu'i Kanokupolu government took the *hau* office to a different level, which caused the once most centralised polity in West Polynesia to fragment and divide. The Sāmoan system grew faster in Tonga and in no time the whole of Tonga was replicating the Sāmoa of the era prior to centralisation under Salamasina (1500s AD). In Tonga, the chiefs were titled and became powerful and the fragmentation of Tongan society was completed as the system reached all corners of the archipelago. In the 19th century the *hau* therefore ended up in the possession of warrior chiefs because the Tu'i Kanokupolu family were exhausted fighting each other for the kingship title.

Chapter 2

Theory and Method

This work addresses a need to stimulate the study of culture and history of the Pacific in such a way that scientific practices could elevate ‘social theory’ and ‘method’ to a level at which more convincing and sustainable understanding could be produced and maintained. Such concern was prompted by two basic weaknesses of the existing literature. First, most published works on Polynesian societies have placed a strong emphasis on ‘comparative studies’, a method that generates the danger of writing history ‘out of time’¹³. Second, the ever-present threat of committing ‘anachronism’ in most if not all works written by Polynesianist scholars, which shows a lack of interest in producing a ‘theory of change’ that would undoubtedly enable us to understand what the case in any given social situation is really.

Most significant in this endeavour is the need to upgrade the understanding of regional networks that had been developed by inhabitants of the Pacific in the past and whose endeavours founded societies engaged in inter-societal activities with successful outcomes. A good way of achieving this goal is to examine the degree of influence each society imposed on each other. Tonga, Fiji and Sāmoa as neighbouring societies for more than a millennium have shared interactions in trade, religion, morality development plus ethos and worldview, marriage alliances and warfare. Tonga became dominant in the process and asserted political control over most of her neighbours for more than eight hundred years before the strength of her foundation began to crumble around 1750 AD in Tonga but occurred much earlier in Samoa about 1150 AD (my dating). My own dating is based on proper study of genealogies of kings in both Tonga and Sāmoa. This study recognised that in every hundred years there have been three ruling Tu’i Tonga reigned from father to son succession. This is a consistent practice found at least in the post European contact period. So, in generalising backward in time we conclude that 1150 is closer to the truth than 1250 AD (Collocott 1924:169). Bearing in mind that information from such comparison seems to agree with the kings’ list in both Tonga and Sāmoa.

¹³ Meleisea 1992 quoting Nicholas Thomas in an attempt to insert some sense of historicity towards ahistorical assumptions that still dictate the current understanding of pre-contact polities of Sāmoa and Tonga.

An exact duration of five hundred years is given to this imperial reign of the Tu'i Tonga by Fr Fred Henry i.e. 950-1450 (1992:30) and Malama Meleisea (in Huntsman *et al*, 1995:20). The reason for this is traceable to a customary crisis that unexpectedly erupted shortly after the establishment of the Tu'i Kanokupolu's *quasi*-Sāmoan *matai* government in Hihifo, Tongatapu in about 1550 AD. This new government was built on the principle that leaders were installed to titles through election processes in which the most able candidates had the best chance as selection was only on merit. The Tu'i Tonga system on the other hand, was ideologically centred on birthright. Before this *matai* government came into existence, the so-called 'Participatory politics was never in equation since the heir to the sacred title of the Tu'i Tonga was customarily automatic and undisputed. He was initiated into the 'tala-oe-fonua' as the first-born son and then inherited the title after the death of his father. The 'participatory-politics' of the Hihifo kingship tradition and the 'ascription-oriented' customs of the Tu'i Tonga were doomed to collide from the beginning and as history unfolds the former flourished while the demise of the latter was inevitable.

The main purpose of my research is to study the development of the *hau* office while bearing in mind the effects of Sāmoan political influence in the process¹⁴. It is specifically important to note that once the *hau* was assigned to the Tu'i Kanokupolu line, it's function was no longer the same due to the gravitational pull of the political orbit that buttressed the '*matai*' establishment of the Hihifo government. I will endeavour to examine critically the development and transformation of the *hau* office beginning from its inception right down to the last holder of the title.

Subsidiary to my main aim is an attempt to establish an alternative theory to explain why the *hau* office was a political necessity at the time. This study challenges accepted versions of kingship traditions¹⁵ by presenting arguments based on new evidence and on new grounds. There have been critical attempts to explain the birth of the second dynasty (Tu'i Ha'atakalaua) as being sanctioned by the sacred line of kings (Tu'i Tonga) (Gifford 1929: 55-56; Wood 1972:10-11), and to explain the reason behind the

¹⁴ Ilaiu 2007, (M Phil Thesis Massey University).

¹⁵ Campbell (1989). *Classical Tongan Kingship*. Nuku'alofa. See also Gifford (1929). Tongan Society, Honolulu. Phyllis Herda (1988). *The Transformation of the Traditional Tongan Polity: A Genealogical Consideration of Tonga's Past*, Ph.D. Thesis, Australian National University. And, Sione Latukefu, (1974). *Church and State in Tonga*, Canberra.

creation of the third dynasty (Tu'i Kanokupolu) as sanctioned by the second kingly line (Wood 1972: 11; Bott 1982: 115). Their coexistence is another issue that still carries serious concern. The existing literature on Tongan history seemingly unfolds the nature of relationships between these three royal houses and the reasons for the eventual demise of the first and second dynasties (J. Martin (1827); E. W. Gifford (1929); A. H. Wood (1952); N. Rutherford (ed) 1977; N. Gunson (1979); I. C. Campbell (1982, 1989 and 1992). Yet, the real dynamics that surrounded the fall of the senior kingly lines have been only vaguely portrayed on the part of oral tradition and have remain unnoticed in the works of modern historians and anthropologists.

The supposed subordinate function of the *hau* in its earliest development as a political arm of the sacred Tu'i Tonga has been represented in both oral tradition and written works but this picture does not seem to hold in the late 18th and 19th centuries (Campbell 1992 and Herda 1988). The *hau* in the early 19th century no longer served as the political arm of the sacred Tu'i Tonga and the holder of the title was neither a Tu'i Ha'atakalaua nor a Tu'i Kanokupolu either. He was in his own right the most powerful person in the country as he ruled with authority that was above any king in the country.

The concept of *hau* continued to trouble a number of non-Tongan commentators towards the end of the 18th Century, because recognition was given to a number of notable individuals who acted as *hau* in different parts of Tonga. The idea of having a number of *hau* coexisting side by side is a shift that needs qualification. Defining *hau* is a matter that oral tradition and scholars do not share much agreement on, as around 1760 AD this office had transformed from being a national source of authority to carrying weight at a localised level where powerful chiefs ruled as independent chieftains.

The debate between Niel Gunson's position¹⁶ on the interpretation of *hau* (1979:28-49) and Ian Campbell's¹⁷ critique of that position (1982:178-194) appears to focus more on what the institution 'ought to be' than attending to the dynamics of 'what *hau* is' and why it is explained differently in certain historical contexts. The inability of the debate to gain ground and to create momentum for fruitful analysis is evidenced by the fact that

¹⁶ Niel Gunson (1979) "The Hau Concept of Leadership in Western Polynesia". *Journal of Pacific History* 14 (1): 28-49

¹⁷ Campbell, I.C. 1982. The Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and the Ancient Constitution of Tonga. *Journal of Pacific History* 17 (4): 178-194.

since the revisionist views were launched through *The Journal of Pacific History* in the 1980s there has been no interest or response.

Although this lack of interest could suggest that Campbell in 1989 had solved the problem raised by Gunson yet another possibility cannot be ignored here, that Campbell is wrong as well. The hypothesis proposed in this study openly challenges both positions in the debate. A grey area in the debate seems to arise in associating *hau* (to) and dissociating *hau* (from) holders of Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu titles. Both Campbell (1982:192) and Gunson (1979:43) are uncertain in distinguishing holders of *hau* in conjunction with kingship prerogatives; by each providing a list of holders of the *hau* title however show more than one holder in the same period. Neither historian could provide solutions for the missionary's confusion in naming more than one *hau* in Tongatapu, especially John Thomas 1879 and John Hobbs 1833 who called the Tu'i Kanokupolu *hau* while still referring to the Pea warriors Takai or Fa'e as *hau* and even naming the Vava'u warrior 'Ulukalala-'i-Ma'ufanga as one. Takai and Fa'e were both contemporaries of TK Tupouto'a and TK Tupoumalohi, and only one could have been *hau* according to Gunson and Campbell.

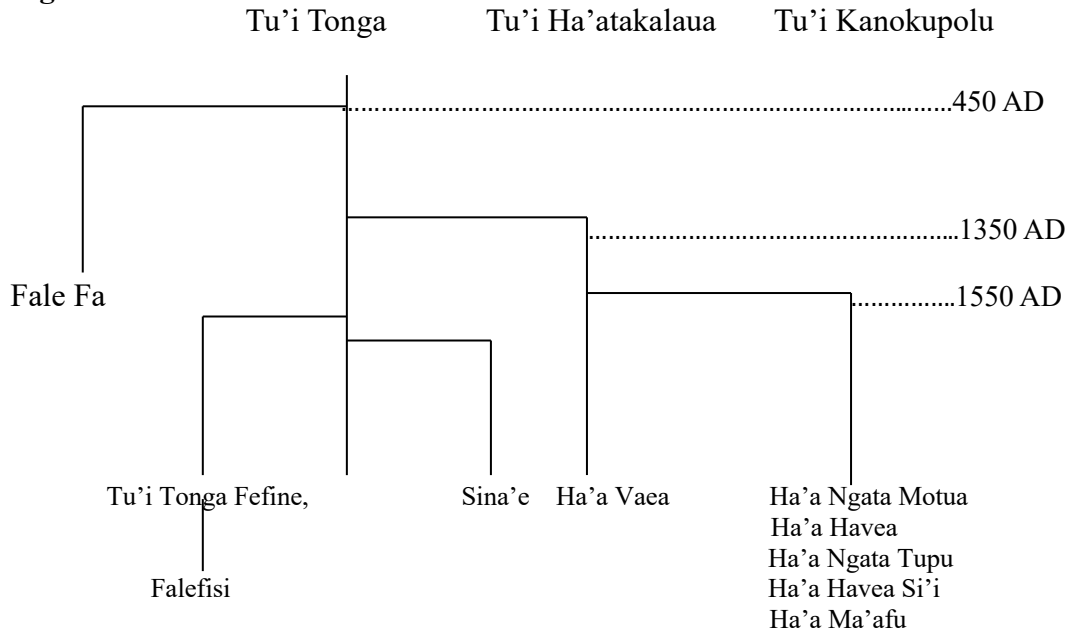
Earlier views by modern historians that include both Tongans and non-Tongans seem to have taken a conservative stance by voicing only what oral tradition offers. The current literature on Tongan culture and history, or most part of it, builds around E. W. Gifford's work *Tongan Society* (1929). Even though E. E. V. Collocott's work 'Experiment on Tongan History' was published at an earlier date (1924), it was sketchy; it involved direct reporting of oral tradition and it lacked the finesse of Gifford's work. Modern historians have said less to improve Gifford's masterwork. Hence, Gifford's view on *hau* and traditional kingship in Tonga dictates still a great number of works in the current literature, for example; Latukefu 1974, Bott 1982, Campbell 1991, Herda 1988 and 1995.

The literature on Tonga depicts a wide variety of political features inherent in the pre-contact structure of Tongan society. Some of these features suggest the existence of a rigid social structure, strict hierarchical system and a centralised polity under the rulership of the Tu'i Tonga (Kirch 1984: 217; see also Sahlins 1958 and Goldman 1970). Most of the works in recent decades speak of political history in Tonga as

processes that feature disunity and decentralisation and when the issue of *hau* is discussed less homogeneity of tradition (Collocott 1924, 1928; Gifford 1924; Reiter 1907, 1917-18; Bott 1982). In general, both anthropological and historical literatures on Tonga have been built on critical foundations and well-argued cases regardless of any contradiction that presents itself (Gunson 1979, Campbell 1989, Phyllis Herda [1995:37-57] and Kerry James [1995:59-83]).

There are a number of historical discontinuities that the literature has not dealt with but that are significant in unearthing the distinctive nature of each kingly line and its traditional form of government. Tongan and non-Tongan scholars have consistently side-lined ways in which kingly traditions were practised, ignoring the ‘dynamism’ by which each of the three forms of government was independently self-expressive of both received and absorbed alien traditions. Should more attention be given to the forces that propelled each kingly tradition, a great amount of information would come to light that would also explain contradictions inherent in each stage of transformation of Tongan social and political history.

The Tu’i Tonga and the Tu’i Ha’atakalaua dynasties traditionally sprang from the same source and shared similar forms of government. The Tu’i Kanokupolu, on the other hand, developed its form of government from a source that was traditionally alien to Tonga. The TT government structure was clearly buttressed by the guidance of the *falefa* since its inception and the TH appear to continue basic some features from that political tradition as it is expressed in the practice of primogeniture in kingship succession and creating leadership posts in every satellite colony to assure support and maintain control over the population. It is hard to find any foreign influences that visibly identifiable against the norm. The TK has a unique form of political structure and definitely alien by character.

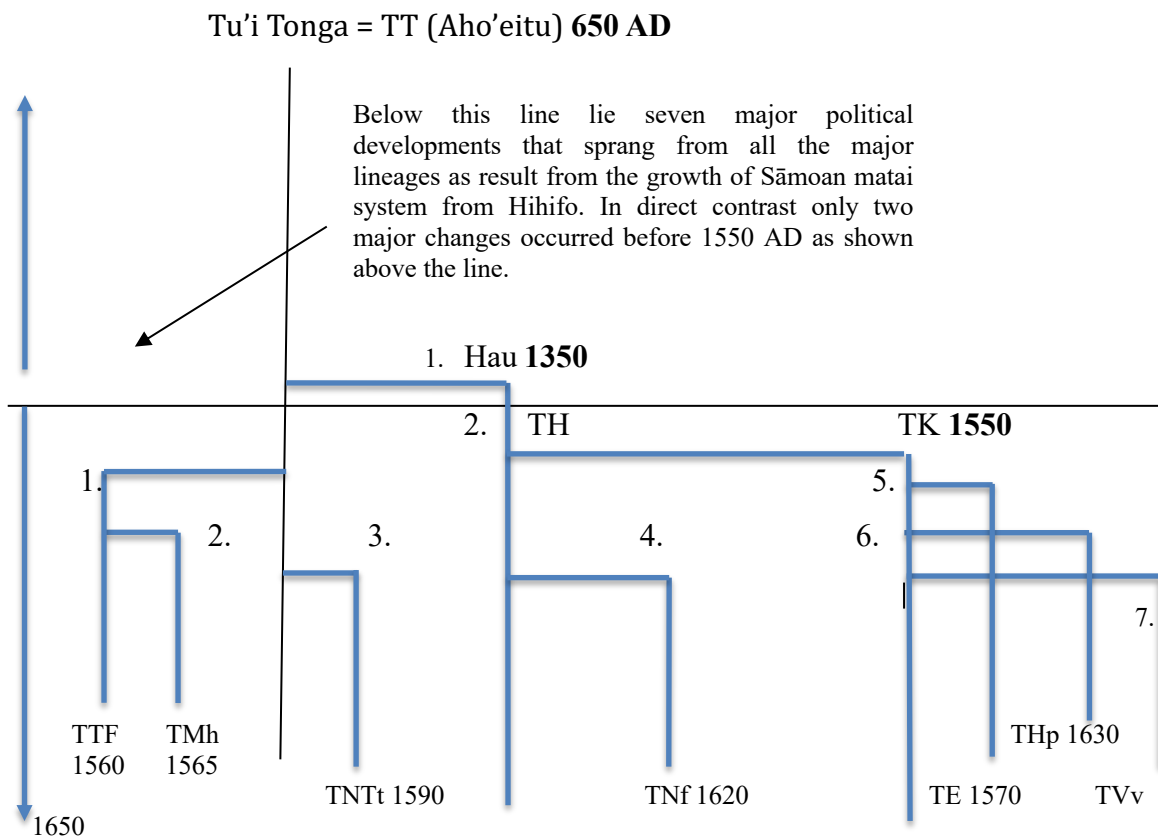
Figure 1.

This is a significant point that has been overlooked in the literature and in the works of those who nowadays call themselves the 'revisionists' (Gunson 1979, Campbell 1982: 180-1, Herda 1987: 203-5, James 1995). This group dwells largely on identifying the political practices of the Tu'i Kanokupolu Dynasty as the real nature of traditional polity in pre-contact Tonga. This leads to an anachronistic trend. A much later form of government (the Tu'i Kanokupolu) is used as a model to generalise the thought that Tonga has never been centralised politically nor ever had a rigid and hierarchical social structure. In a seminal work *Tonga and Sāmoa: Images of Gender and Polity*, ed. Huntsman (1995), the revisionists, Herda, James, Meleisea, and Schofield rethink and review the political circumstances of both Tongan and Sāmoan ancient polities. The review in general was based on a critical study of the Tu'i Kanokupolu political system, which is typically different from the other Dynasties. The third Dynasty was established around 1550 AD; two hundred years after the creation of the second Dynasty and possibly nine hundred years after the first Dynasty came into existence. This is anachronism simply by equating the recent decentralised political system of the Tu'i Kanokupolu dynasty to the ancient political practices that existed over a thousand years before the Hihifo government was established.

While the 'unrevised' literature (Kaepler 1971, Latukefu 1974, Herda 1995 and James 1995) has portrayed images of ancient kingship practices in Tonga, the issue of 'change' has not been given enough attention, and concurrently the distinctiveness of the separate

cultural and political traditions of each of the three Dynasties has not been acknowledged as a relevant factor for critical analyses. It appears that the monolithic approaches inherent in most of the current literature (Collocott 1924, Gifford 1929, Bott 1982,) treat Tongan history as an untouched system, clouding the possibility that outside influences could have already been attached as important elements of the Tu'i Tonga caste system. Narratives relating to events that brought about change are not lacking in the oral traditions, and yet these are internal forces that the revising historians have said little about. Examples are the creation of the Fale Fisi around 1600 AD through a marriage of the first Tu'i Tonga Fefine to a Fijian high chief Tapu'osi; the establishment of the Tu'i Kanokupolu government in Hihifo about 1500 AD by the Sāmoan retainers of Ngata; the delegation of *hau*-ship to non-holders of kingship titles: the "Finau" who escorted Captain Cook's ships in 1777; and the war fought by Tuku'aho against Tupou Mohefo around 1772.

Figure 2.



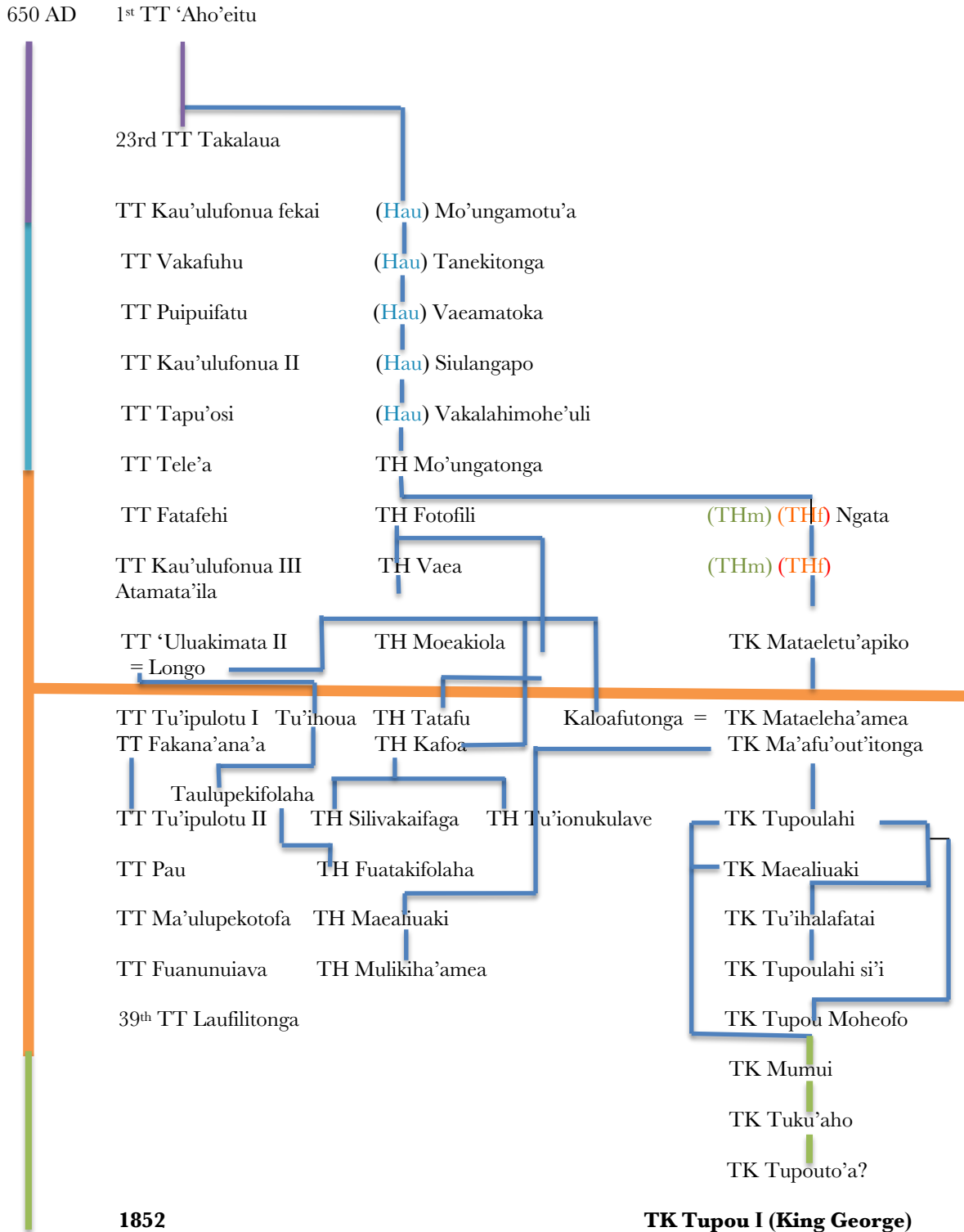
This study focuses mainly on rethinking specific developments associated with each kingship line that current literature does not have a basis for recognising. In doing so, I

conduct a thorough examination of how and why junior kingship lineages developed traditions that were distinct and not cumulative of the traditional cultural and political practices of the first Dynasty. One of the areas of particular interest to this endeavour is the consideration of possible influences from Sāmoa and Fiji, an issue that clearly floats signs alien to ancient Tonga's "traditional" political system. The introduction of the 'title' system coincident with the establishment of the Tu'i Kanokupolu Dynasty is perhaps the cornerstone that would explain longstanding deficiencies in various approaches to political transformation in Tongan history. This new cornerstone accompanied new processes that are consistent with unexplained elements that have been brushed aside due to lack of conclusive evidence.

The development of the *hau* office since its inception is another instance where the evidence is unclear and hard to pinpoint especially when a comparison between the Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Kanokupolu forms of government is made. Contrary to what the literature says about the creation of the second line of kings (Gifford 1929: 55) I believe that the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua (or in my view just a *hau*) was initially of a lesser rank but was later on promoted in conjunction with processes that accompanied the establishment of the third Dynasty. That is, when the 6th *hau* assumed the new title of the (TH) Tu'i Ha'atakalaua the new *hau* line was created almost in an instant and the responsibility of governing the country has been delegated to a half-Sāmoan son Ngata whose supporters from Safata run the business their own way. The identification of Sāmoan political influence in the establishment of the Tu'i Kanokupolu government and providing accounts for how deeply this alien force penetrated into the very foundation of ancient Tongan polity is a further instance of scholars being unaware of evidence that can be drawn from succession to kingship and chiefly titles, ranking systems and status hierarchy. Revealing the distinct characteristics of a new political system in Tongan history would certainly contribute towards understanding political transformation, which traditional rules always found to be inconsistent and which has often resulted in scholars creating odd perspectives that propose anachronism as the only answer available on offer.

The Alternative Version: Hau and Tu'i Ha'atakalaua

Figure 3.



Useful 'primary sources' on *hau* are limited and can be found only in journals, memoirs, biographies and a few books. Authors of these sources can be divided into three categories. First, is a category I call 'post-contact commentators' comprising journals written primarily by navigators, explorers, and missionaries (Cook 1777, Malaspina

1793, Thomas 1879, Thomson 1894, West 1865, Dumont d'Urville 1827). In the second category are writers we could call modern historians whom are mostly academics professing the study of Pacific societies in general (Collocott 1924, Gifford 1929, Wood 1972, Latukefu 1974, Rutherford and Bott 1982). Those who are known as revisionists represent the third category (Gunson 1979, Campbell 1982, 1989 and 1992, Herda 1988, James 1995). Most of the post-contact authors lacked the luxury of time for making full observations in their field of interest. But their keen interest in studying native cultures has been repeatedly drawn on for anthropological and historical discourses of today.

Post-Contact Authors

Captain Abel Tasman *Commander of Heemskerck and Zeehaen* arrived in Hihifo in 1643 and stayed there for three days. He recorded a good description of chiefs who welcomed him and immediately hierarchy was unfolded before his very eyes through attending a number of meetings. The local Hihifo chief whom he first met was undoubtedly a paramount chief as everyone obeyed his commands. When he was introduced to another chief on the second day his host paid homage to him as his superior and Tasman's host and his superior repeated the same act to two more figures that came to meet the visitors. This is the first known face-to-face encounter between Tongan chiefs and European guests, even though Schouten and Le Maire had anchored at Niuatoputapu in 1616, (Wood, 1972:15).

Captain James Cook, the great British navigator visited Tonga three times. He first arrived in 1773 and straight away he and his officers made comprehensive observations of political structure and Tongan culture in general (Collocott, 1924:167). On his subsequent visits in 1774 and 1777 Cook managed to identify with exact accuracy 'who is who' in Tongan society (Collocott 1924, and Bott 1982:23-26). According to Cook the office of the *hau* was subordinated to the Tu'i Tonga but at times the *hau* asserted his prerogative as the military chief and in matters relating to politics (Bott 1982:37, quoted Cook III:I (1967:174-5). This observation is somewhat aligned with oral tradition, but it perplexed Cook's journalists. Cook also witnessed evidence of the Tu'i Tonga tributary system where satellite colonies arrived at Mu'a in great numbers and presented tribute in huge quantities. In 1777 some of Cook's possessions were stolen; Cook ordered his officers to hold Tu'i Tonga Pau hostage until the missing items were

recovered; a powerful figure Finau rescued the sacred ruler by tracking the thieves down, punishing them and returning every missing item. This is possibly the first identification of the *hau* on record as this Finau is probably Finau Tu'ihalafatai, heir to the Tu'i Kanokupolu title who possessed far greater authority than anyone else according to Cook, 2nd Lieutenant James King and Anderson (Bott 1982: 37).

Captain Malaspina, an Italian national and commander in the Spanish Royal navy visited Vava'u in 1793 and identified a chief named Vuna who acted as *hau* in that island group. Malaspina raised the Spanish flag at the place near the beach of Longomapu and declared Vava'u a colony of Spain. Luckily for Tonga, Malaspina's successful expedition was jeopardised by jealousy in her home country as his expected promotion to the rank of Admiral of the entire Spanish Royal Navy was suspended. His journals were kept out of circulation for almost 200 years before they were published. (Anderson and Pond 1992).

A Frenchman Captain Dumont d'Urville commander of *L'Astrolabe* made two voyages to Tonga. On his first visit in 1828 an Englishman who had lived in Tonga for over 20 years, Mr Singleton, assisted as his interpreter. John Singleton was one of the ill-fated 'Port Au Prince' crew who was spared to show the Tongans how to fire the ship's canons. (Campbell 1982:187-8). Mr Singleton's interpretation proved useful in a number of ways. Captain d'Urville's comprehension of complicated issues and principles regarding hierarchy, stratification and political power is perhaps the most accurate and useful tool mirroring what was going on in 19th century Tonga. He was informed that *hau* is a separate office that few powerful men occupied. Captain d'Urville's findings asserted that Tu'i Tonga was an honorary title while the Tu'i Kanokupolu held power over the country at large. He recognised the superior status attributed to the tamahã both male and female holders. He also met the *hau*, Fa'e of Pea in a meeting that was attended by most of the highest chiefs in Tonga. Apparently, the *hau* hosted the meeting and Captain d'Urville brought artists to make portraits of all attendant chiefs with their names.

The portraits from the expedition are provided below for descendants of those that are named there to see and assess the resemblances.

Table 2.

TONGA-TABOU.

PL. 64.



1. *Samson pua.*

A. Marin. lith.

1. *Paleu, chef de Meva.*
 2. *Tahifi, chef de Beu.*

3. *William, fils de Paleu.*
 4. *Nicollé, parent de Paleu.*

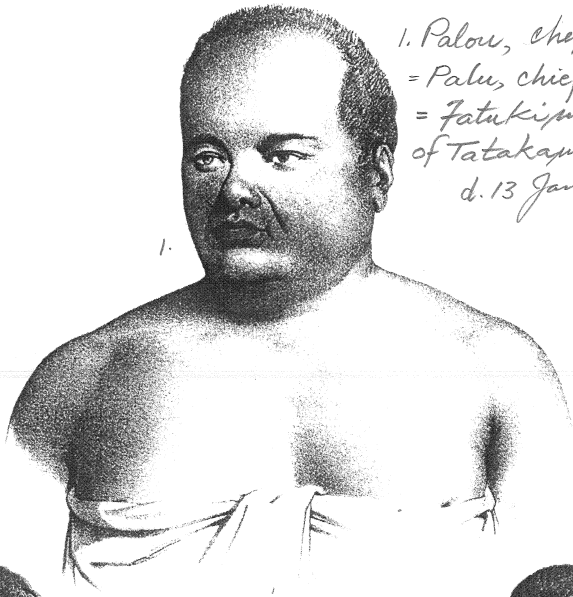
3. *Toua Edouar.*

Lith de Lamerce.

Dumont d'Urville 1827
Plate 64

TONGAREVA.

PL. 64.



1. Palou, chef de Mfua
= Palu, chief of Mfua.
= Fatukimotulalo, seiki
of Tatakamotonga, Mfua.
d. 13 Jan 1842 (Thomas MS).



3. William, fils de Palou
= Witicand, son of Palu
= Niliami Tuponlahi Jungi,
son of Fatukimotulalo,
d. 13 June 1900.



2. Tahofa, chef de Pea
= Tāufa, chief of Pea.
= Tāfē, seiki of Pea; Williams' title of Palou
d. 1835-40 (Moulton)



4. Nioulala, parent de
Palu = Niulala,
relative of Palu =
? Niulala, (1) ^{son} sister of
Whilamoclangi or
(2) child (miff?) of
Whilamoclangi.

1. Palou chef de Mfua

3. William fils de Palou

4. Nioulala parent de Palou

2. Tahofa chef de Pea

Atlas zu der
Entdeckungs-Reise der französischen Corvette
Astrolabe unternommen auf Befehl König
Karls X im dem Jahren 1826-1827-1828-1829,
von dem Schiffskapitain J. Dumont d'Urville.
Historischer Theil.

• Plate 64.

1. Palou, chef de Mone [Palu, chief of Mone]
His wife was named "Holeva". FATUKI MOTULIALO

2. Jahofa, chef de Bea [Jaufa, chief of Bea]
FA'E

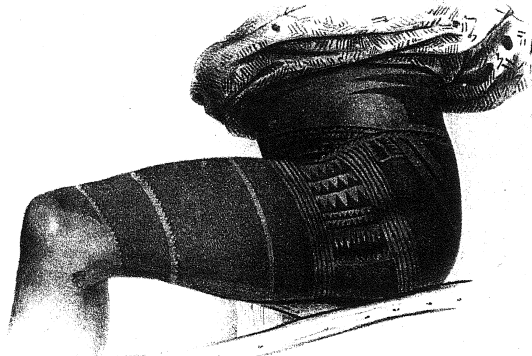
3. William, fils de Palou [William, son of Palu]
WILIAMI TUPOULAHU TUNGI (TUNGI HARATUITUIA)

4. Nioulala, parent de Palou. [Niulala, relative
of Palu]

1. Niulala was a sister of 'Uhila-puelangi and a
granddaughter of Mumi. 2. Niulala was a
child of 'Uhila-puelangi and Ika-huifo LF/18.

TONGA-TABOU.

Pl. 76.



de Robinson ponce

- 1. *Mava, jeune fille*
- 2. *Natif de Cegea habitant des îles Viti.*

à l'usage de la classe des hommes.

- 3. *Héritai, chef division à Nafenge.*
- 4. *Ma, chef chrétien à Nifo.*

J. Taou Editeur.

Lith de L. L. L.

Dumont d'Urville 1827.
Plate 76.

TONGA-VAI

Pl. 76



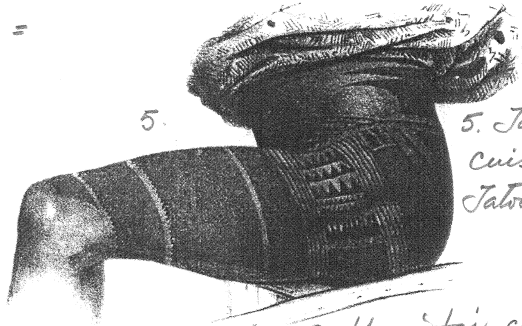
1.

2. Natif de Tonga,
habitant des îles
viti = Native of Tonga,
inhabitant of Fiji.



2.

1. Nau, jeune fille =
Nau, young girl.



5.

5. Tatouage de la
cuisse des hommes =
Tattooing on the thigh
of men.

3. Houitai, chef chrétien à
Mafanga = Huitai, christian
chief of Mafanga = Heilala
Fuhitahi,
nick name of



4.

4. Ata, chef chrétien
à Hifo = Ata,
christian chief of
Hifo = Ata



3.

1. Nau, jeune fille.

2. Natif de Tonga habitant des îles Viti

3. Houitai

5. Tatouage de la Cuisse des hommes

4. Ata

3. Houitai, chef chrétien à Mafanga
Ata, chef chrétien à Hifo.

5. Tatouage de la Cuisse des hommes

Plate 76.

de Sandson pinx
Maurin lith.

1. Naou, jeune fille [Naou, young woman]
? Naupongi

2. Natif de Tonga, habitant des îles Nati.
[Native of Tonga, inhabitant of the Fiji islands]

3. Huitai, chef chrétien à Maofanga
[Huitai, christian chief of Maofanga]

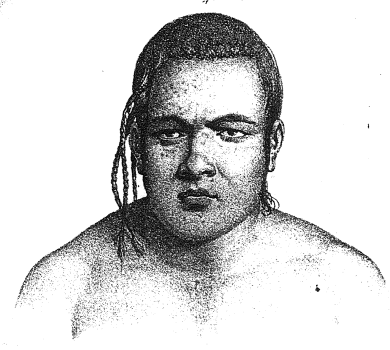
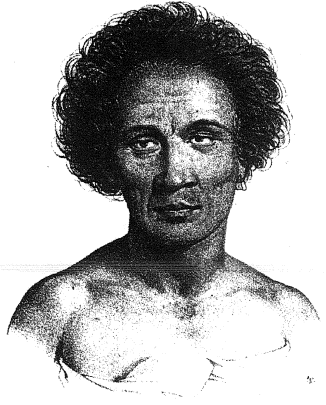
HEILALA FUHI TAHI (SI)

4. Ata, chef chrétien à Hifo
[Ata, christian chief of Hifo]
ATA FISIHAI ?

5. Tatonage de la Cuisse des hommes
[Tattoo of the thigh of men]

TORRELLA - TABORI.

PL. 82.



De Jansen per

Jansen per

- 1. Mo. Nabalou de Bata
- 3. Ni-culivati

- 2. Nici-letu
- Talipi II.

3. Jansen

per Jansen

per de Bata...

Dumont d'Urville 1827
Plate 82.

1. Un Matapoulai de Palu =
à matapule of Palu (Fatukii-
motu lalo) = (3)

? Vahai

2. Vai-totai =

? Veatoutai, son of
Palu, who is daughter
of Naa who is
child of Tungi-
manai'ia and
Finau Langi.
(ET p. 144)



See Plate 56 Vaitotai
sues for peace.

5. Finiaou = Finau = Finau
tase'uloo, son of Fatu
Kismotu lalo. He went to
Fiji in exile with Salote
Pelolemi, fakaongo 1887-1890.



Anania
Baptistal
name

4. Tahofa II = Tāufa =
'Ata'ata, son of
Fa'e and Taka-
kofi, daughter of
Maile Akana,
brother of Jui
Ha'apeho.



3. Kouliwaile =
Kuli'iale, son of Jipoutua,
daughter of Finau 'Ulu'kalala
= i Maifanga.

See Plate
Tahofa II

J. Tassu Editeur
Litho de Kemerion

• Plate 82.

1. Unu - Mataboulai de Palou [Amatopule of Palou]
The rope diagonally across the chest suggests a seafaring
lineage: Tokotoko ve van.

2. Vai-totai

VAEA TOUTAI (SI)

VEATOUTAI ET/144, son of Palu, d. of Nāa, son of
Tungū manaiā and Tenau Langi

3. Kouli vaile

KULI VALE

Kulivale (ET/24) or Paluvale (LF/11) was the son of Tupo
tia, d. of Fu'i Māofanga. See Nuku's family tree. The
last Nuku was Tenau Valevale.

4. Tahofa " [Tanfa "]. See Plate 64(2).

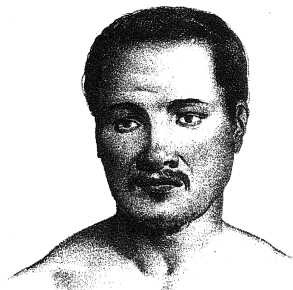
ATA ATA (SI)

*Atarata was the son of Fa'e by Takahofi, daughter
of Mpaile, Rkenu, brother of Jui Hāi Teiho.

5. Fuwaou [Fuwan]

? Fuwau'uiha ET/144

? Fuwau'uiha was the son of Fatukimotu lalo
He was expelled to Fiji.



De Samois par

- 1. *Matalucum de Godefr*
- 2. *Levacha*

3. Tuto Oltine

Samois de

- 1. *Matalucum*
- 2. *Levacha Oltine*

Les de Matalucum avec son de la tribu de

Dumont d'Urville 1827
Plate 83.

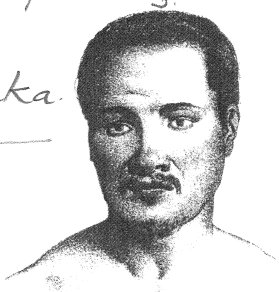
(4)



1, 2. Mata Boulais de Tahofa =
metapules of Fa'e.

4. Houla Kai = Ulakai,
son of TK. Jukeraho.
d. 1839.

3. Lavaka 3. Lavaka.



1. = _____
2. = _____



5. Joubou - Dodai = Tupou Tontai,
son of Japonnina (son of Tinai Ukakale
i Nāufanga). His mother is Japon
Neiongo, daughter of TK Mumui.

Plate 83.

1, 2. Mataboulais de Tahofa
 [Mataboules of Taha]]
 KAU MATAPULE OF FA'Ē

3. Lavaka LAVAKA — .
 ? Lavaka Fanna'uli. Fanna'uli was the
 grandson of TH Taha.]
 Lavaka's name is shown in one of the plates.

4. Houlakai
 ULAKAI d. 1839. Son of Tuku'alo, brother of
 Tupoutia, brother of Mataele

5. Toubo - Oodai
 TUPOU TOUTAI son of Tupouina. His mother
 was Tupouveinga, daughter of TK Muniu.

Pl. 94



de Savenon peint

Musée Luth.

TONGA-TABOU.

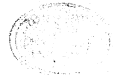
- 1. Foukoko, fille du chef Tabou.
- 2. Foule, jeune fille.

- 5. Kouer, jeune fille.

- 3. Kandoi, fils du chef Tabou.
- 4. Sateu, jeune homme.

J. J. B. Delin.

Lith. de Levesque.



Dumont d'Urville 1827
Plate 94.

2. Tule, jeune fille = ⁽⁵⁾
Tule, a young girl. =

1. Touboho, fille
du chef Palu =
Tupou a han,
daughter of Fatu
ki motu lalo



3. Kaodai, fils du chef Palu
=



5. Kower, young girl
= Uua Kanda

4. Latou, jeune homme
= Katiu, a young man.



De Serres peint

TONGA-TABOU.

Martin. Lith

1. Touboho, fille du chef Palu
2. Tule, jeune fille

5. Kower, jeune fille

3. Kaodai, fils du chef Palu
4. Latou, jeune homme.

Lith de Serres

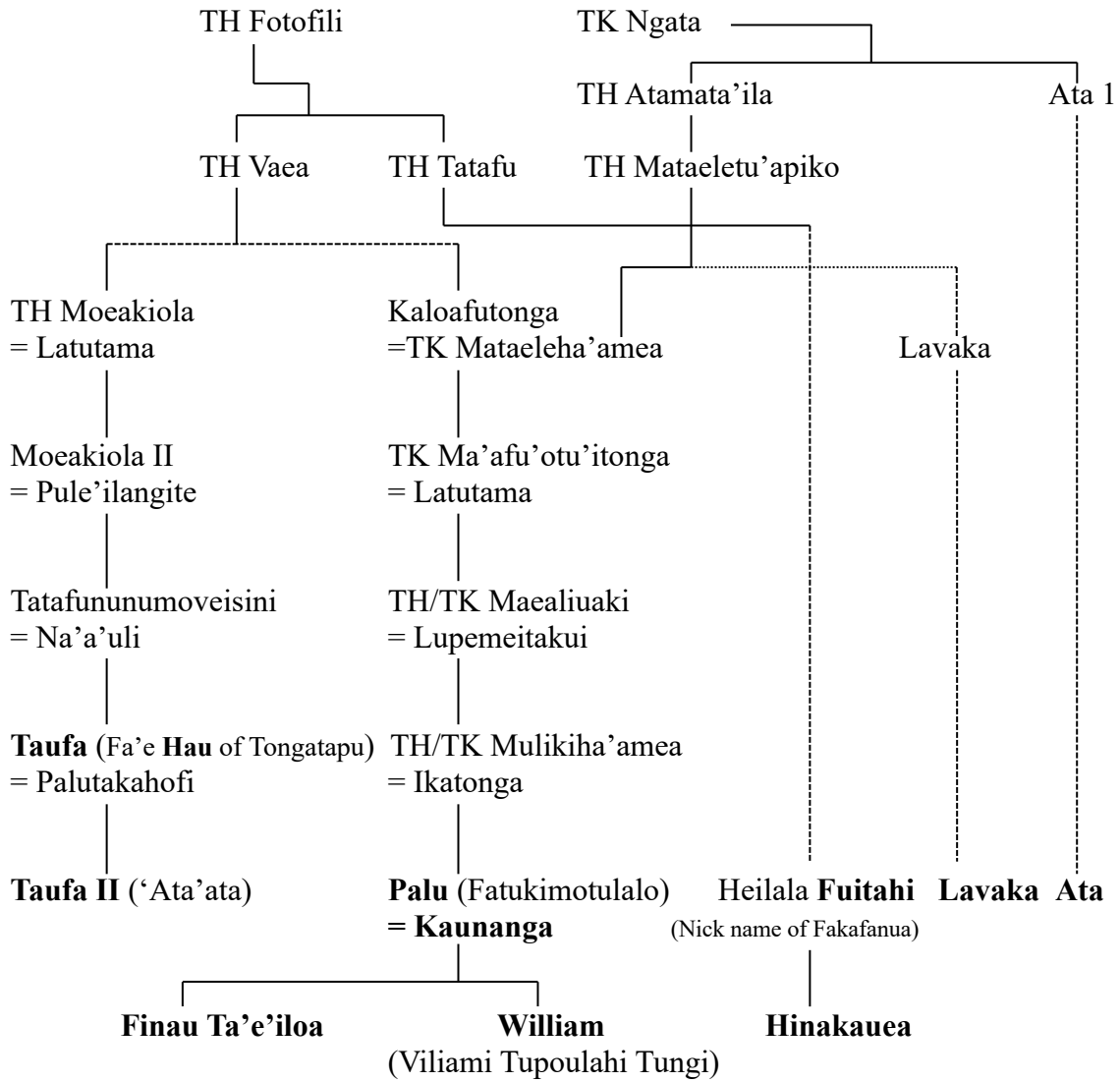
Plate 94.

1. Toubouch fille du chef Palou [daughter of the chief Palou] TUPOU-ĀHĀU, daughter of Fatuki potu lalo. Age ca 24 in 1827. Great care taken of her.
2. Toulé, jeune fille [young woman] TULI KIĀLUPE? TULÉ HUAFAIKANA? wife of ^{Tevaka} ~~Tamagali~~ TULIAKIONO ET/144? Tuli kiālupe was the first wife of Fatuki potu lalo.
3. Kaodai, fils du chef Palou [son of the chief Palou] Kantai was a priest of Tanfatabi, the shark god, at Muiā. Talefa priest. Treated Tanfa-āhan in 1804 when he was nearly dead.
4. Katon, jeune homme [katon, young man]
5. Kover, jeune-fille [? Kaveā, young woman] ^{Note} Kaunanga, wife of Fatuki potu lalo [Note: the Tamaha is called "Fata Kaveā" and "Faka Kana"]. However, this [Kaunanga] was the mother of Teveta-e-iloa, see Plate 82(5) and Tupou-āhan see pl. 94(1)] Hina Kavea

1828 Dumont d'Urville's Visit

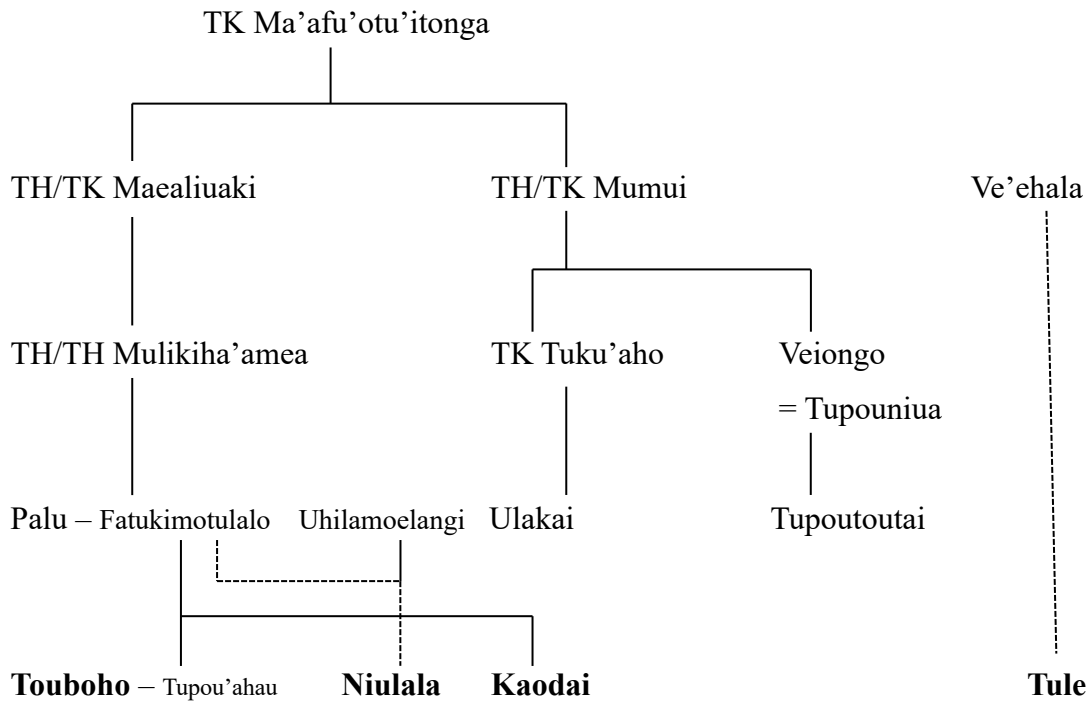
Plates 64, 76 and 82 (Shown Above).

The paintings show four to five figures and identifications of each of them are shown at the bottom of the picture, numbering 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5.



- Key:
- Palu** (Plate 64 # 1)
 - Taufa** (Plate 64 # 2)
 - William** (Plate 64 # 3)
 - Houtahi** (Plate 76 # 3)
 - Ata** (Plate 76 # 4)
 - Lavaka** (Plate 82 # 3)
 - Finau** (Plate 82 # 5)
 - Taufa II** (Plate 82 # 4)
 - Kouwer** (Plate 94 # 5)

Plates 83 and 94 (Portraits above)



Key: Male Figures

- Plate 64 #1 = Palou
- Plate 64 #4 = Niulala
- Plate 83 #3 = Ulukai
- Plate 83 #5 = Tupoutoutai

Female Figures

- Plate 94 #1 = Tupou'ahau
- Plate 94 #2 = Tule
- Plate 94 #3 = Kautai?

This is the closest evidence we have thus far of who were the political actors at the time. Captain d'Urville was accurate in asserting that the *hau* is a direct reference to a man who has the 'political reality of power in his hands'. He also added that this character of the *hau* was not an ancient practice but a matter of recent history.

Thomas West who served as a Methodist missionary in Tonga during the 1840s suggested that *hau* was a chief, mainly Tu'i Ha'atakalaua or Tu'i Kanokupolu, who also had political power in his hands (in Campbell 1982:191) and quoted by Gunson:

'the selection of the king...was restricted wholly within the limits of the *Hau*, or blood royal line...As one chief, if belonging to the *Hau*, acquired sufficient strength, he disputed the title of the reigning prince; and, if successful, his chance of retaining permanency of power was quite as precarious as that of his predecessor. In some instances, the title established by force of arms, remained in the same family for several generations, disturbed, however, by frequent rebellions'. (1979:35).

This assertion is supported by Collocott 1924 in dismissing the idea that *hau* was a particular office but rather someone who possessed the ultimate political power. Another missionary John Thomas (1879) speaks of the *hau* as an authority that chiefly men contest and that is achievable through war. Rev Dr Moulton, a long-term missionary in Tonga insists along this line of argument. He agrees that *hau* was highly prized by those who contend to acquire such authority. In this context, *hau* is seen as a 'territorial trophy' that at one time was taken by Vaha'i after his victory in the 1799 war. Vaha'i then handed over the *hau* to his successor Teukava; both were chiefs of Hihifo and they collectively ruled for a period of six years only (1801–1806). Takai of Pea challenged Teukava for the *hauship* of Tongatapu in 1808, in which he succeeded and his reign lasted for 10 years undisputed (Gunson 1979:44). Takai's brother and successor Fa'e maintained this glory for 20 more years until his death in 1836 after defeating TK Tupouto'a in 1817 (Latukeyu 1974:21) see also (Blanc 1934:33).

As if in ignorance of the missionary grasp of Tongan polity, modern historians of Tonga have offered little information about the *hau* beyond re-echoing oral traditions. E.W. Gifford 1929, A. H. Wood 1932, S. Latukeyu 1974, and N. Rutherford 1977 have reported the tripartite relationship between the three dynasties in Tonga. The common feature in these writings is the hierarchical principle that the three kingly lines are supposed to reflect in their long coexistence, that is Tu'i Tonga at the top then followed by the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and then the Tu'i Kanokupolu at the bottom. These modern

historians perceive *hau* as an office that coincided with the creation of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua. The *hau* office therefore is taken to be synonymous with the kingly title of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua.

This image of ancient Tongan Polity was revised first by Gunson (1979) focusing on *hau* with a new perception that the concept is a separate office from that of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua. Contrary to this view is Campbell's approach that *hau* was and always has been an authority that sprang from challenges made against the existing authority. Campbell assumes, on the basis of an account submitted by Thomas West, that the first Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Mo'ungamotu'a did challenge his brother TT Kau'ulufonua Fekai for political supremacy;

'West says that the Tu'i Tonga party was defeated, agreed to renounce power on the condition that sacred honours and immunities were preserved' (1982:181) see also Campbell (1989:9-10), and Herda (1988:60).

He also adds that the Tu'i Tonga was exiled to Sāmoa as a result (1979:8). The current debate now on the issue of *hau* can be seen as a contest between Gunson's position and that of Campbell's model. Informed examination of Tongan traditions will help in deciding which camp has got it right.

All in all, the early maritime authors (Cook (1809), Martin (1818), Orange (1840)) made significant contributions towards an understanding of *hau* but their records exposed a great lack in continuous documentation. This is due to the fact that they did not have enough time to examine the system fully. Furthermore, making comparisons with European concepts was misleading (Thomas 1879 and Dumont d'Urville 1832) and decoding an alien institution was an unachievable task for navigators who were professed soldiers rather than trained anthropologists or historians. Their work had its limit yet it is significant in historical terms. One of the towering contributions made by naval officers was their interest in rank. This is perhaps a factor that assists historians in identifying who held such title and when. The revisionists in a number of issues unjustly falsified the modern historians' over-reliance on oral tradition.

Although their omission of critical analysis in matters relating to *hau* left a large gap to fill in, Gifford and Latukefu produced indirect implications about conflicts and political chaos in their studies. As for the revisionists, Gunson's effort seems weak in a sense that

he did not clarify the distinction between the *hau* as a political office and the Tu'i Ha'atalalaua as a kingship title (Gunson 1979:44&46). An obvious gap in his discussion rests on identifying holders of the *hau* titles who were Tu'i Kanokupolu. The logic of his theory is maintained in the context where a number of *hau*(s) regarded kingly titles as secondary or irrelevant to their main objective. Campbell's alternative (1982:178) against Gunson's position has a sound basis and is at times more convincing in theoretical terms. His 'political chaos' theory (1982:193) works well when considering incidents in the late 18th century and early to mid-19th century Tonga when political authority appeared to be in a state of confusion or complete misunderstanding of the system as this study argues.

Campbell's weakness becomes obvious when tracing his theory to the origin of *hau*. According to his hypothesis the ultimate outcome in defeating the existing power holder as in the case of TT Kau'ulufonua Fekai and his brother, the vanquished would be humiliated in the form of exile (Campbell 1979:8). This is a logical thing to do when such situations arise but since the Tu'i Tonga were exiled to Sāmoa for five generations so we expect also the Tu'i Ha'atalalaua to suffer the same fate by being sent into exile (perhaps to Fiji). However the Tu'i Kanokupolu did not overthrow or even exile the Tu'i Ha'atalalaua nor did later challengers to the Tu'i Kanokupolu's paramount authority. The exile of *hau* cannot be sustained since the reign of the last two *haus* collectively amounted to 30 odd years in power. Takai stretched his power from Tongatapu to Ha'apai and Vava'u in assisting his son-in-law's bid for power in those northern groups (Campbell 1989:161) and Fa'e dominated Tongatapu until he died. This seems to weaken Campbell's assessment of political reality in Tonga history.

Research Method

This work is based on an idea that in order to understand a history of a particular society one must develop a method that could be useful for regional studies, broadening the scope of study to regard other societies in close vicinity as contributing factors in changes to political paradigms. This is a hard and time-consuming exercise but unfortunately there is no easier way. In this context, should one focus on writing a history of Sāmoa, one must have a commanding knowledge of the histories of Tonga and Fiji as well as Rotuma, Uvea, Futuna, Tuvalu and Niue – the so-called West

Polynesian societies. The same principle applies to the study of East Polynesia or the whole Pacific region as a specific 'cultural area'. This method would reveal influences affecting local politics. This historical and anthropological perspective is applicable to studies of any society in Asia, Europe, Africa and the Americas as distinct cultural areas. As a matter of fact, when I was confronted by a wide variety of problems in trying to solve the 'loose ends' that surround the perception on concepts like '*eiki*, *ha'a* and *kainga*, which refer to at least two different things and strangely found to be true with supporting evidence, there was a feeling that pushed me to look outside of Tonga for answers since similar definitions of these concepts are found in other neighbouring islands of Sāmoa, Tokelau, Uvea, Rarotonga and New Zealand to name a few. After a few years of in-depth study I managed to see how and why these concepts could be referenced to two different things in a single society such as Tonga. Evidently, in observing the term *ha'a* for example, which stands for social grouping where members were exclusively sanctioned by professional occupations and also applied to group of titles given to individuals whose ancestor bear their clan name.

Comparative method is a useful scientific tool but it has limitations of its own. Such limitations become obvious when concepts like culture, politics, kinship, hierarchy, reciprocity, stratification, religion etc. are standardised as basic concept for comparison. To compare is to look for similarities and differences but comparison has an odd way of favouring difference due to preconditions like 'names' of certain islands, 'skin colour' and languages. Where similarities seem to appear, then reference to region comes to the fore as an issue. On the other hand, to devise an alternative for comparative method would be difficult but not impossible.

A laboratory process whereby a colourless light is beamed into one side of a triangular prism in order to refract its constituent colours on the other side attracts my attention with respect to the matter at hand. This process is borrowed in this work as an alternative way for advancing or upgrading 'comparative' method. I call it a 'refractive' model for acquiring facts. This 'refractive' method takes every single society as derivative of regional influences and other forces that surround inter-regional activities. Specification of such processes is expressive of a colourless beam of light that the prism creates in refracting a multiplicity of colours, in the sense that processes such as

colonisation and the like could forcibly add, establish or at worst replace original forms of a society's cultural, structural or political practices (Ilaiu 2007).

A plain way of simplifying this 'alternative method' would be to consider every single society as a 'beam of light'. The beam passing from one medium into another of different optical density is likened to cultural and political transformation where change can be traceable to internal or external causes that could only be detected through a study of historical activities within various regions. At this juncture, I must distinguish the refractive tendency employed in this work with a similar approach propagated in Marshall Sahlins' use of 'diffusionism'. Sahlins demonstrates in a number of his well-known works¹⁸ the power that culture has in shaping people's perceptions and actions.

Sahlins singles out a unique power that pertains to culture in its ability to motivate people throughout their whole evolutionary development. He puts more emphasis on discussing the relationship between history and anthropology and the way different cultures understand and make history. In his analysis of human development, Sahlins divides evolution of societies into what he calls 'general' and 'specific'. Accordingly, a 'general' evolution refers to changes that were 'self-developed' within a society. He argues that such changes have been developed cumulatively from simpler forms of cultural traits that are traditional to the society in question. References here are directed toward the unique power of culture to generate and motivate how people have arranged and rearranged society through making historical developments (Sahlins 1960).

'Specific' evolution refers to changes caused by interacting with other societies through long-term contacts. Sahlins draws a line here between internal and external influences in which case the latter is seen as 'diffusion' or elements that have been identifiably borrowed from cultural intercourse. It is fair to sum up Sahlins' discussion of diffusionist elements as being concerned specifically more with cultural development. He identifies characteristics of 'specific' evolution in cultural development as predominantly inherent in technology. Quite significant in this respect are borrowed technological inventions that are comparably advanced. With regard to diffusion theory alien elements are not only shared with other cultural traditions but such elements have partially or fully replaced original traits like architectural techniques, fishing equipment,

¹⁸ "Evolution and Culture" 1960 and "Culture and Practical Reason" 1976.

warfare weaponry, etc. Quite explicit in Sahlins discussion (1960) of evolutionary processes is the sense that both ‘general’ and ‘specific’ types of evolution have marked a progressive shift from simple to complex and primitive to advanced forms of cultural development.

Tongan Kingship encountered a number of paradigmatic shifts (Ilaiu this work) during its 3,000 years of existence (Campbell 1989:31-35).¹⁹ The first ‘paradigm shift’ took place around 1350 AD as a clear response to assassinations of consecutive Tu’i Tonga. The creation of the *hau* office by the Tu’i Tonga was no doubt a complete deviation from the normal protocol inherent in the Tongan kinship traditions. Although this particular incident is well documented in oral tradition and history books there is still more to the story than has been told. The story lacks continuity, and the detail of the accepted version does not add up cleanly.

The second ‘paradigm shift’ occurred in tandem with the creation of the Tu’i Kanokupolu around 1550 AD. Whether or not the creation of this *hau* began as the establishment of a new Dynasty or whether it was just a Governorship position remains unclear. I have discussed these developments in my Master’s thesis (2007). It is advisable to mention now that the hypothesis introduced in the 2007 thesis was a new idea that had never been addressed. Quite central to my main argument was the notion that a Sāmoan political system was founded in Tonga through the establishment of the Tu’i Kanokupolu government in Hihifo. From that time onward Tongan society had to endure the hardship of carrying the weight of two political systems simultaneously, which eventually drained the power source of one to the other.

I will take a close look at the political situation in Tonga leading up to the creation of the Tu’i Ha’atakalaua kingship as *hau*. This is to find out whether or not the need to create such office was absolutely necessary. If that was not the case then I will trace the political activities in the region at the time to see whether the Tu’i Tonga were involved in other external programs which prompted their intention to move the imperial seat abroad to Sāmoa for a lengthy period. The most practical methods to employ in this

¹⁹ A careful analysis of genealogical records of the Tu’i Tonga line suggests that a possible date for TT ‘Aho’eitu’s reign is between 350 and 450 AD. This is based on a consistent pattern that shows reigns of no more than three Tu’i Tonga per hundred years. There are 39 Tu’i Tonga according to missionaries list but there are 45 in Mr Baker’s list. Should we take Baker’s list then our date would move back to approximately 250 AD or even 50 BC. A better illustration of the reigns of Tu’i Tonga is listed by Ian Campbell 1989.

venture would be to produce at first a chronology of the Tu'i Tonga and the *hau* titleholders in order to make a fair historical comparison of how each tradition coped with the tide of change. I will then use genealogy to mirror the reality of the historical processes that took place at certain points in time since genealogies can serve as a consistency test for a tripartite reading of traditions in Tonga, Fiji and Sāmoa.

Fieldwork Research:

The initial stages of this project were stagnated by anticipated difficulties in light of limited studies offered in the literature on the chosen topic. There was also an ongoing frustration in approaching nobles and high chiefs for interviews because their time was fully committed to parliamentary duties during the transition period before the historic democratic election in 2014. Fortunately, I managed to obtain valuable information from journals such as *The Journal of Pacific History*, *Journal of the Polynesian Society* and earlier journals by Maritime explorers and by Missionaries both Wesleyan ministers and Catholic priests in Tonga. These early readings shed some light on political activities in Tonga within a time span of over two hundred years, beginning with the period of contact with Europe, i.e. from 1616 to 1860s. Succession records of kings and paramount chiefs are numerous but contradictory and lacking in exactitude.

My next task was to seek other sources in genealogy books and the eyewitness accounts of William Mariner, a survivor from the 1806 Port Au Prince massacre in Ha'apai, and LMS missionary George Vason who turned native after the failure of the mission due to ongoing civil unrest in 1799 in Tongatapu.

Fieldwork research was launched at Pea village, the traditional seat of the last two *hau* of Tongatapu before King George 1 reunified Tonga after the last civil war (against Pea) in 1852. The chief of Pea is Lavaka and he was away in Canberra taking up a post as Tongan Ambassador to Australia and acting on his behalf were three titled chiefs (*tehina*) whose duty is to substitute for him in his absence. I took kava with me as a traditional requirement and it was prepared by ceremonial attendants to personally honour our reunion as direct descendants of the last two *hau* Takai and Fa'e. This was the beginning of a series of interviews that lasted for several months. I was welcomed with open arms by the local chiefs as they are my

close relatives who had also heard of my views about the political history of Tonga. Apparently, they revealed to me that they have important information handed down to them by their fathers and grandfathers for safekeeping with a caveat to reveal it only to someone of their own one day. After meeting my messenger, the leader of the local chiefs ‘Uho-‘o-Lototonga’ advised the other two chiefs of my intention and my family history and also proposed to them that I am one of those they have been looking for to write their version of history.

They notified me at our first meeting that it would take months for them to fill me in with the information they tirelessly guarded. This information concerns the disputed childhood history of King George 1. It includes also unwritten accounts of the rivalry between King George’s father TK Tupouto’a and the last *hau*(s) of Tonga (Takai and his brother Fa’e of Pea). Their information will challenge the official version that King George was born and raised in Ha’apai (Latukefu 1974), which is recorded in the literature discussed above. The meetings with these *ha’a* Havea chiefs and *matapule*(s) went deeper into the root of their exclusive political practices including a full history of all the districts under the influence of their leading chiefs, Ma’afu of Vaini, Lavaka of Pea, Tu’ivakano of Nukunuku, Vaea of Houma, Fohe of Puke, Fielakepa of Havelu and Lasike of Lakepa.

I was fortunate enough in 2013 to have meetings with a number of Nobles, HSH Prince Tu’i Pelehake (Mailefihi), Baron Fielakepa of Havelu, Hon Ma’afu- tuku-’i-’aulahi of Vaini, Hon Ve’ehala of Fahefa and Hon Fusitu’a of Niua even though they were very busy at the time. I managed also to hold interviews with high chief Tau’atevalu of Utulau (an associate satellite village of the *ha’a* Havea district)²⁰, high chief Kioa of Ha’utu and high chief Kapukava of *ha’a* Ngata Motu’a. The outcome of these meetings and interviews is significant in terms of the collaborative nature of sharing new information and the commitment given by the chiefs in allowing time out of their heavy schedule to help me.

²⁰ Today Tau’atevalu is still a high chief but the new lord of Utulau is Tupouto’a and he is the head of the *ha’a* Ma’afu clan. Tau’atevalu was originally a title of the *ha’a* Takalaua clan as the first holder of the title was a son of the 5th *hau*, Vakalahimohe’uli.

The next place to cover in the fieldwork was Hihifo - the ancient seat of the Tu'i Kanokupolu (the present ruling Dynasty).²¹ I had a high expectation on listening to local views from all levels of leadership in Hihifo as to how they think in relation to their identity as foreign migrants of Sāmoan descent. The planned interviews would seek information that could lead to identifying names of some families who were the original settlers in Hihifo prior to the arrival of the Sāmoans around 1500 AD. Should this line of questioning lead nowhere then I would focus instead on the Sāmoan lineages only and see if they still had memories of who in the first lot of migrants they were descended from.

But, unfortunately, I was told that the *ha'a* Ngata is not encouraging the local gatekeepers to share their secrets with researchers for one reason. Their knowledge is sacred and they have to defend it well so that their traditions are not published without their permission. I respected their stance and decided to seek other avenues instead. I managed to interview Hon. Eseta Fulivai Fusitu'a (Minister of Information) who possesses historical and genealogical knowledge that traces her line to one of the original navigators Fulivai who brought the Sāmoans from Safata to Tonga. She linked the Fulivai title to its seat in Safata (Sāmoa) where her extended family there are still bestowing the same title up to now.

Pertinent to the intended series of interviews would be to ascertain the original names of places that existed prior to and after the arrival of the Sāmoans in Hihifo. Some questions would be directed towards describing the new settlement pattern especially residences of high chiefs and where exactly orators and the rest of the people lived. I would also see whether they remembered the name of each plot described by explorers and missionaries in their journals. It is important to have a better understanding of the geographical layout of Hihifo at the time of the explorer's visits as it will help in identifying which Tu'i Kanokupolu was ruling at a particular time.

²¹ The catalysts for major political changes in pre-contact Tonga were incubated in Hihifo after the establishment of the Tu'i ha'a Mo'unga, which is commonly known as Tu'i Hihifo and later on called Tu'i Kanokupolu.

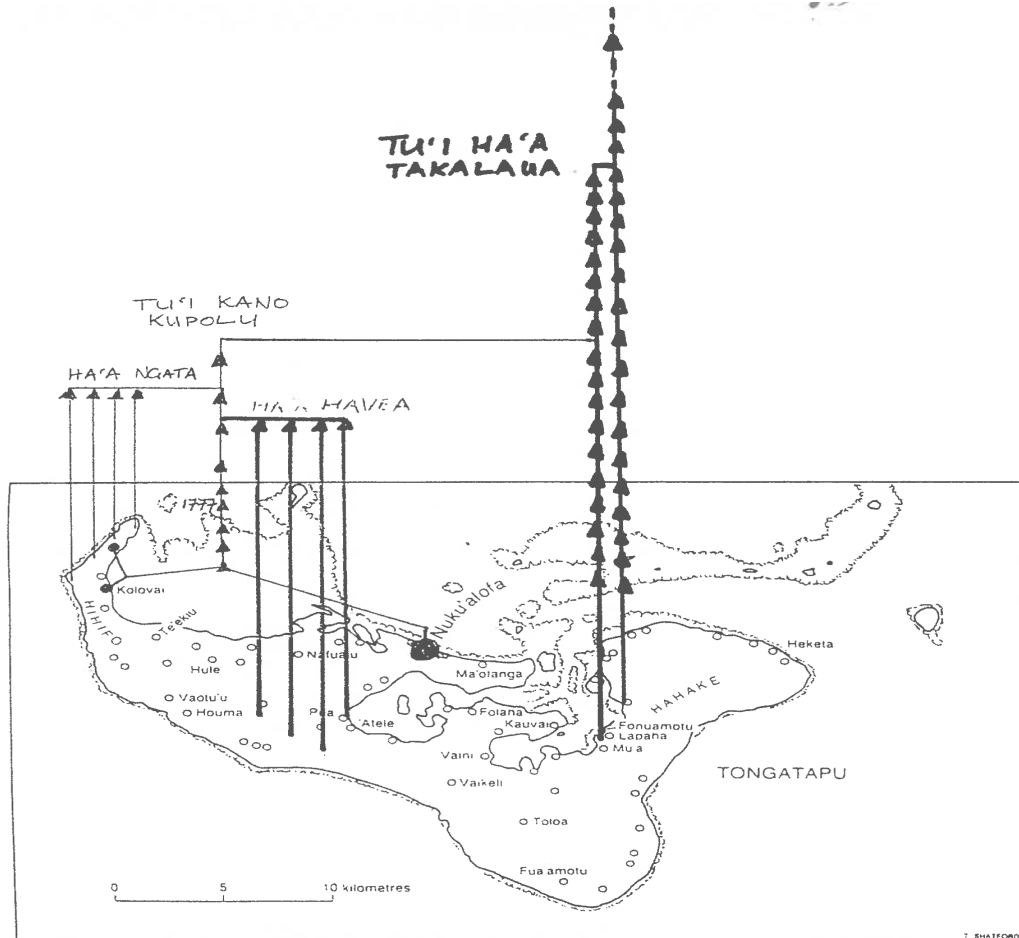


Figure 3: Tongatapu

The visitors mention sometimes names of chief's estates as did surgeon Anderson with Cook in 1777, Captain Wilson with the Duff missionaries in 1797, Vason with Mulikiha'amea in 1797, and Mariner with Finau 'Ulukalala-'i Feletoa in 1806-1810.

One of the main purposes in writing an ethno-history of Hihifo is to be able to trace the footsteps of the rulers. As the Tu'i Kanokupolu lineages multiplied in the Sāmoan political arena a number of them moved out of the narrow confines of Hihifo. Two major lineages became fully established in only three generations i.e. the Ha'a Ngata Motu'a (descendants of the first in line Ngata) and the Ha'a Havea (descendants of the third Tu'i Kanokupolu Mataeletu'apiko). While the Ha'a Ngata took control of the Hihifo district the Ha'a Havea moved out and established exclusive control over the central part of the main Island Tongatapu. It is not known where most of the Tu'i Kanokupolu from the Ha'a Havea division are buried.

To acquire this kind of information in particular there must be sound evidence to determine (approximate or exact) dates and durations that each Tu'i Kanokupolu reign. When Captain Cook returned on his last voyage in 1777 he met three chiefs with governing powers: the younger Finau, the Old Tupou, and the aging Maealiuaki who was retired from politics (Bott 1982:28). The presence of all three confused Cook as to who actually reigned as Tu'i Kanokupolu. This is an example of the difficulty that faces researchers when attempting to match accounts from journals and local knowledge inherited in oral tradition.

The anthropological and historical approaches to Pacific History have been too one-dimensional in neglecting the issue that Pacific islands societies may have developed social and political systems dissimilar to one another despite the fact that their centuries old coexistence and common origin would identify them as one people. Marshall Sahlins (1958:131), Irvin Goldman (1970:21) and C. W. Gailey (1987) have neatly worked out an important distinction between the two most ancient Pacific Island neighbours of Tonga and Sāmoa, describing Tonga as highly stratified, hierarchically rigid and politically centralised while Sāmoa is seen as the opposite. Meanwhile revisionists Ian Campbell (1982:180), Phyllis Herda (1995:37-43), Kerry James (1995:59) and Judith Huntsman (1995:9-10) on the contrary see this as a mistake. They insist that oral traditions have been misleading due to the apparent homogeneity of the Tongan elite traditions (Huntsman *et al* 1995:9).

That argument leads revisionists to ignore 'change' as a fundamental character of societal development by resorting to anachronism in contending that Tonga was always a politically divided society like Sāmoa, and by basing their arguments on an analysis of 19th century political divisions in Tonga. Ignorance of change has resurfaced in debate over the issue of *hau*. Gunson bracketed the holder of the *hau*, created around 1350 AD (my approximate date), with title Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, calling it an 'office' in direct contrast to the sacred 'title' of the Tu'i Tonga (1979:38) and also Campbell (1982:179). Gunson argued further that the Tu'i Tonga was also *hau* (by referring to Collocott's 'Tales and Poems of Tonga') and I will provide evidence in support when I examine the succession of early Tu'i Tonga. However it appears that Gunson may have contradicted himself because he is so clear about why he termed *hau* as an 'office' based on direct

reference to something new. I will argue that the nature of *hau* changed as political paradigms changed.

The theoretical approaches of anthropology have not been useful in the present quest to define the concept of *hau*. In spite of direct reporting of culture and history the fine line between ancient traditions and the new ones is not given proper identification not because the line itself is obscure or undetectable but because the anthropologist does not observe the situation correctly. Elizabeth Bott, for example, discusses concepts like *ha'a*, *kainga* and *'eiki* without considering the issue of origin. She was confronted by the anomaly of finding Kauhala'uta titles that formed into *ha'a* while some do not (1982:107) and simultaneously a discussion of the Kauhala'uta *ha'a* system is given in detail without addressing the difference between the systems (1982:78). Following in the same vein is work on Tongan chiefly system by George Marcus where he also struggles to explain why people without title are recognised with higher degree of chieftainship than those with titles since his equation for chiefly essence comprises of body, authority and title (1980:19 & 45). It appears that titles are somehow irrelevant for some reason. But if only he traced the reason why his equation is problematic then he would have found out that *change* is a fact of life. I must also add that what we may consider 'ancient' with regard to traditions by comparison could have been at one time the 'new traditions' replacing the old and so on. History on the other hand does take events at face value, which in most cases limits theory to remaining static while observation blinds the theorist from seeing progress as a product of change. All facts are forced to fit an 'out of date' theory even if some of the facts cannot fit. The real problem that this work faces is to find a view that provides the most effective strategy for analysis.

The best I can do, to improve our knowledge with regard to the confusion surrounding the meaning, practice and reality inherent in the institution of *hau* is to employ realism. Realism, in this sense, refers to a general theory of existence, which examines 'ways of being', rather than 'ways of knowing'. In short, realism as a philosophical doctrine insists on 'how things are' rather than 'how things are supposed to be'. Lastly, realism as opposed to other philosophical doctrines such as rationalism and idealism among others, contests that everything exists on the 'one level of existence', and that things –

be they social, mental or natural – exist independently of our knowing them (Anderson 1962:15).

As a theory of independence, realism takes ‘conflict’ to be the fundamental character of human society. That is, society is a multiplicity of interests, made up of groups or ‘ways of life’ which are complementary in nature as they are opposed in character. In this context, a realist view of the human situation is opposed to solidarism, voluntarism and social atomism. In place of these problematic ideologies are put pluralism, determinism and social dynamism (Baker 1979:11-23). Moreover, ‘solidarism’, ‘voluntarism’ and ‘social atomism’ are not only essentially ‘asocial’ but they are also over and above history or ‘matters of fact’. Such notions systematically conceal the true character of society, which is essentially ‘conflicting’ in nature. From the realist point of view, ‘order’ and ‘change’ are one and the same thing, for ‘order’ is in itself a form of change. Such ‘order’, ‘harmony’ or ‘solidarity’ is an expression of ‘conflict’ in essence. To say that society is ‘harmonious’, for example, is simply to say that different interests are well represented in the social scene. That is really to say, that such different interests do not simply disappear into the undefined arena of ‘harmony’ or ‘cooperation’, but that they come to arrange themselves in a social context such that realist notions like ‘pluralism’, ‘determinism’ and ‘social dynamism’, are meaningfully understood as actual human phenomena.

Within the realist scope of my discussion and argument I will dwell on unearthing the real character of things rather than what they are supposed to be. In dealing with the pluralistic nature of Tongan society, which is comprised of many traditions and cultural variations, one has to identify traits and customs by measuring differences not on the basis of supposition but through the difficult process of characterising what is traditional as opposed to what is not. This work insists that the title system introduced to Tonga by the *falekanokupolu* from 1550 on, is a subset of a larger Sāmoan system called *matai* to which other systems such as *'aiga/kainga* (extended family), *sa/ha'a* (titles founded by an important ruler), and *ali'i/'eiki* (chiefs descended from the gods) are linked together as one. Pinpointing special Tongan characters within the overarching Tongan social and political networks is not easy, since the character of Tongan polity has become widely *Sāmoanised* without proper acknowledgement.

There are other cultural traditions still in circulation today that were neither Tongan nor *Sāmoan* in origin. This hidden variety of cultural systems in Tonga had its origin further back in history when waves of migrating foreigners established themselves in Tonga as their final residence. As *per se* practices have been interchangeably shared in the process of cohabiting closely together, with the outcome that in contemporary society concepts like *kainga*, *ha'a* and *eiki* have come to be used in a number of contexts with different definitions and applications.

The real problem that this work faces is to find a proper perspective that provides the most effective strategy for analysis. So far, the theoretical approaches of anthropology have not been useful in examining *hau* since 'direct reporting' and other ways of analysing this concept have failed to account for the ever-changing characteristics that this concept historically represents. Philosophical approaches, on the other hand, would be useful for our task here in the sense that they would provide a logical explanation that is in line with a 'theory of change' wherein *hau* as a social and human phenomenon could be realised to the fullest. Apart from Anderson's realism, and Baker's pluralism, determinism and social dynamism by which social reality is underpinned with absolute clarity, Thomas Kuhn's 'paradigm shift' would also contribute to our understanding of the concept of 'change' and how that process works.

According to Kuhn, one way to look at scientific progress is to see the world as a collection of facts represented by natural, physical and cultural entities, which we observe from time to time. From these observations we add new findings to those we already had and it appears that progress is a process of addition. Observations do not exist in a vacuum; instead they are contained within a theory. The theory is a story that explains the significance of the observations, just to philosophise about how things are. A number of great observations within a discipline at any time may develop many theories as a result but in the end the dominant theory is referred to as a paradigm. So, future observations are placed within that paradigm until facts no longer appear to fit what the paradigm represents. The problem occurs when observations are made that do not fit the dominant paradigm. If this problem occurs a crisis is reached and when too many of these new observations do not fit the old paradigm then a new theory is required to accommodate the facts.

Having laid down the problems to tackle in this study and how they happened to persist over the years unrecognised and the proposed ideas that may provide the answer we seek, I believe that a good theory will always be good until a new way of looking at things would atrophy old idea and replacing it with the new.

The purpose of building a strong method for research such as this one is to make sure that errors are minimised in order for us to have clear understanding of where we go and how deep we could manage to dig and most importantly what would we find in the end.

Chapter 3

Ancient Kingship Traditions in Tonga:

(Part 1)

Tu'i Tonga *Caste* paradigm

Synopsis

Three distinctly different political paradigms are identifiable in 'pre-European contact' Tongan polity. The Tu'i Tonga system (550-1350 AD) was highly centralised in character. The *hau* office created around 1350 AD represents another paradigm, the secular authority. It was displaced around 1550 by a Sāmoan system that intrinsically divided and fragmented in character. This chapter argues that the Tu'i Tonga dynasty that emerged around 550 AD was expressive of a 'caste' system.

Dumont²² argued that India alone has what is called the caste system. He based his definition on the superiority of the priesthood. Hocart²³ on the other hand insisted that the centre of a caste system is the king and that the functions of the castes are to maintain the purity of the king. The priests are the most polluted caste because they remove the impurities from all castes.

Caste in India is a *Varna* system based on jati (hereditary and non-hereditary professions). The English and Portuguese made the system rigid and unique. There are not four castes as identified by Dumont; in India there are thousands of jati.

In this chapter I argue that the characteristics of strict hierarchy, rigid structure, and political centralisation maintained by the *Fale Fa* identify the Tu'i Tonga paradigm as the most complete caste system known. The Tongan *ha'a* were guilds of lifetime and exclusive professions serving the Tu'i Tonga and they were in the hundreds.

(i) The Tu'i Tonga Caste System: (550 – 1350 AD)

Tongan antiquity can be revisited through folklore, oral traditions and mythology (Collocott 1924, 1929; Cummins 1977 and Rutherford 1971). However, all these mediums do not speak in unison about events in the past. The business of ascertaining factual statements rests on the uncertain twist of fortune. Despite the fact that ideas about Polynesian kingship are well contained in the 'dominant theory' or the existing paradigm, the Tongan case represents what Kuhn calls a crisis (1970:45). This is because earlier observations were guided by the principles of the contemporary paradigm while recent observations have suggested that the facts are better contained in a new theory. In this case, the unique characters of the Tu'i Tonga system appear to defy all notions upheld by the dominant theory for a Tongan kingship tradition, in which, Niel Gunson (1979) and Ian Campbell (1982 and 1989) argue. The key to kingship is

²² Dumont, Louis., 1972 *Homo Hierarchicus: The Caste System and its Implications*. London. Paladin.

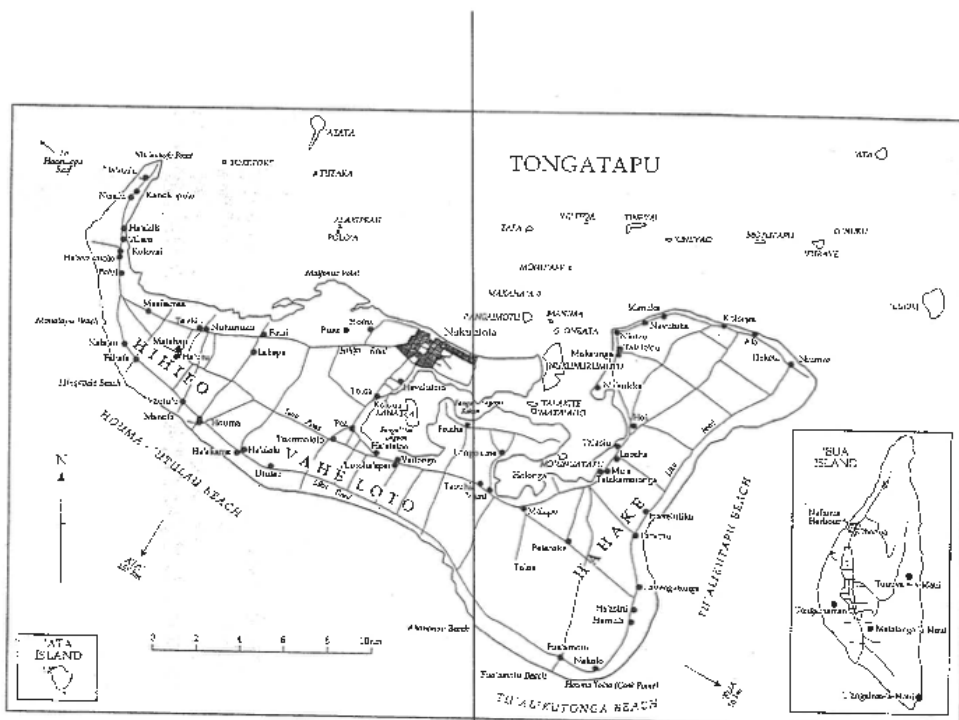
²³ Hocart, A. M., 1950 [1938] *Caste: A Comparative Study*. London. Methuen.

challenge of the titleholder on the battlefield by a peer and the victor becomes king.²⁴ Thus after defeating the Tu'i Tonga Laufilitonga in the war at Velata in 1827 (Latukefu 1974:86), Taufa'ahau seized his wife (Lupepau'u) and his estates and in 1875 he reunited Tonga under a constitution which secured his own lineage as the rulers of Tonga in perpetuity. This ingenious political improvisation of King George is often mistaken as modelling on a Westminster style of government. I believe that the constitution reordered Tonga in a TT principle of government as featured in the reviving of primogeniture hereditary succession for title and land ownership etc.

Traditional Tongan kingship and its history is not known for certain since everything started with the gods (Gifford 1924:25,38; Wood 1932:5) and it is hard to trace when their offspring become god-kings. The story of the gods populating the Tongan group is an interesting tale and it was the Tangaloa pantheon that performed this task (Herda 1988:20 and Latukefu 1974:4, Collocott 1921:152-3, Thomson 1894:23). According to oral tradition, the first known dynasties sprang from a maggot that was cut into three pieces by a tern. There is no indication that these early dynasties were connected to the gods. It was not until the rise of 'Aho'eitu, son of supreme god Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a, around 550 AD that legitimate connections of Tongan rulers with the gods were established.

²⁹ I.C. Campbell, 1982. The Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and the ancient constitution of Tonga JPH, Vol. 17, No. 4, pp. 178-194.

Figure 5.



MAP 5: Tongatapu Group (Tueki, Eua, 'A'a and small off-shore islands)

Figure 6.

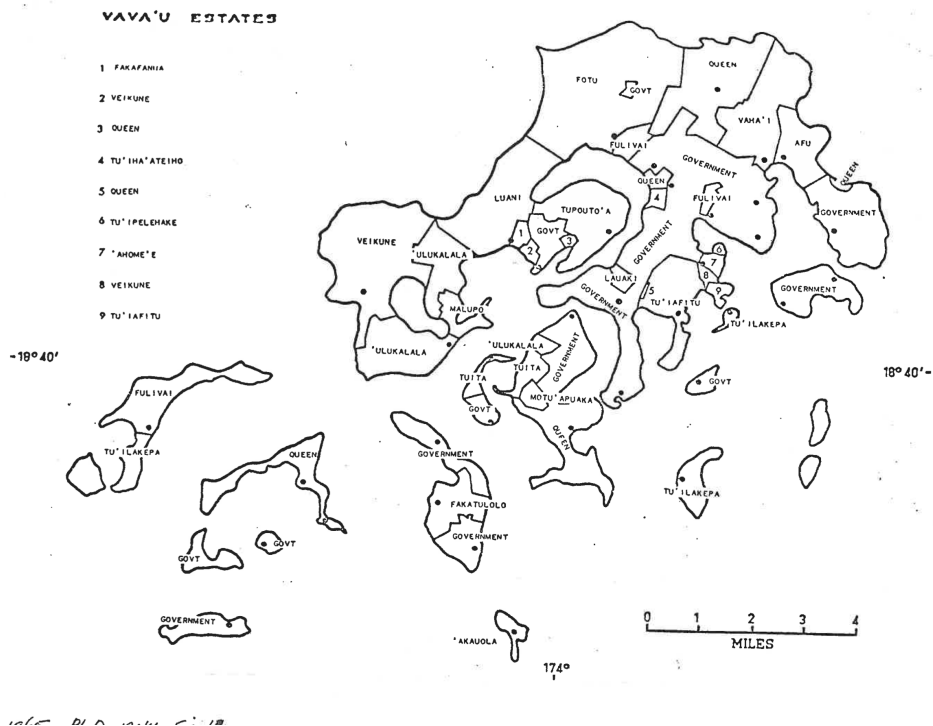
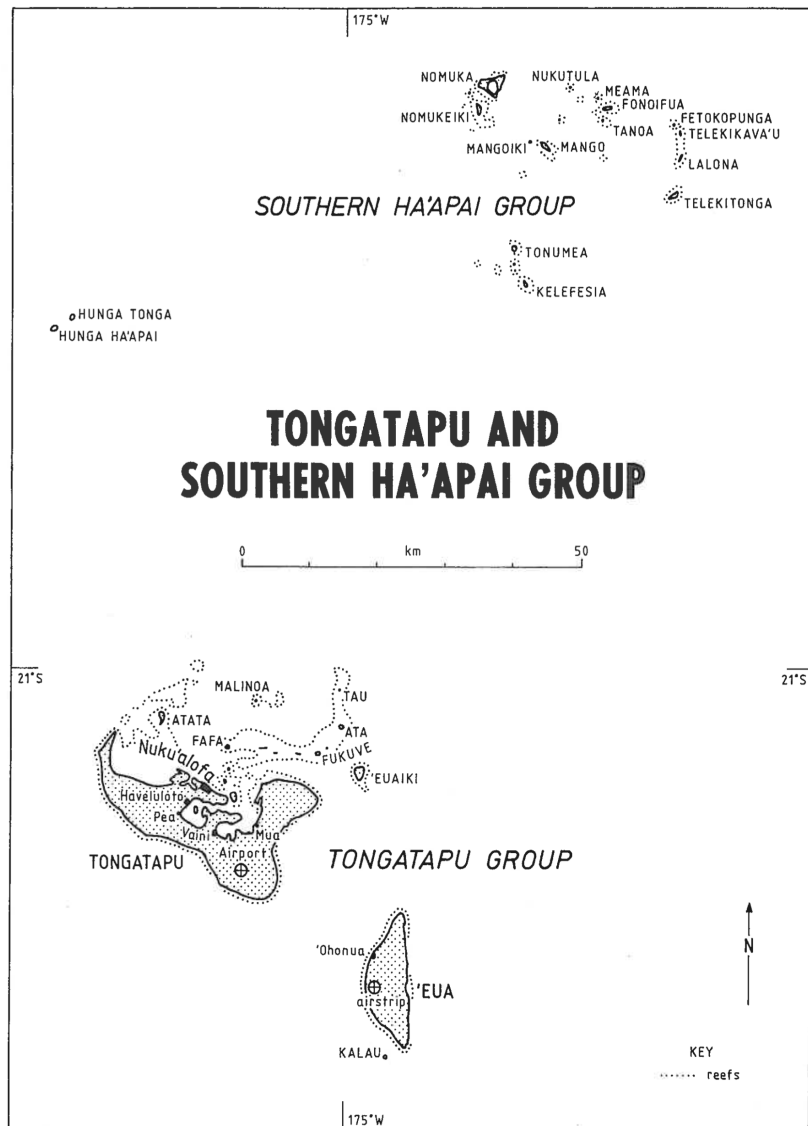


Figure 7.



Apparently, the gods had created men to populate the island of 'Ata. Phyllis Herda neatly sums the tale.

“As the island of 'Ata was, as yet, without vegetation, Tangaloa gave his son Tangaloa 'Atulongolongo a seed to plant. 'Atulongolongo took the form of a bird and descended to 'Ata and planted the seed. Soon a creeper covered the whole island. Tangaloa directed 'Atulongolongo to go down and break the stem of the creeper with his beak, which he did. After some time, 'Atulongolongo returned to find the creeper decayed and with a large maggot ('uanga) on it. He pecked the maggot into two pieces, as Tangaloa had told him. From the head was formed a man called Kohai ['Who is it?'] and from the tail was formed a man called Koau ['It is I']. Before 'Atulongolongo left the island he felt a bit of the maggot on his beak. He shook it off and it, too, became a man called Momo ('fragment'). At about this time the *kau* Maui returned from their land fishing expedition and saw that the three men had no wives with them, so they went to Puluotu and brought back wives for them.” (1988: 26)

This chapter proposes a number of considerations regarding the political make up of early Tonga, which I believe the revisionists' radar failed to detect, in particular that

there had been more than one political system in Tonga before contact with the Western world. Oral tradition has made no secret of the political structure of 'Aho'eitu's established government – the so-called 1st Tu'i Tonga and his four royal retainers *falefa* (Gifford 1929:29; Ve'ehala and Fanua 1977:28). According to the myth of 'Aho'eitu's ascendancy to the kingship of Tonga, he was the last among his peers to enter the heavens (there are nine heavens altogether) and all his half-brothers had already been there for quite some time. Evidently that day, they were in the middle of a sporting competition, which 'Aho'eitu entered last and to the surprise of their father, the creator god Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a, the newcomer won every event with commanding skill. The brothers were jealous of his success and resorted to kill him (Herda 1988:29). Having done so, they decided to consume his body, the only means of getting rid of the evidence so to speak.

Somehow, the father found out what had happened and not without the brothers lying to him at first. He then ordered the brothers to bring a large wooden bowl (*kumete*) into which they all vomited up what they had consumed of their brother. Tangaloa then placed medicinal leaves over the scattered remains of 'Aho'eitu and left the brew there for three days (Herda 1988:29; cited Pers. Comm with Kerry James 1988 and Garth Rogers 1977). Towards the end of the third day the body reassembled itself and 'Aho'eitu was alive again. Tangaloa pronounced that since 'Aho'eitu was the real victor he was to become Tu'i Tonga and his elder brothers were to serve him as his retainers.

The eldest son Talafale (Tu'i Faleua) and his house were to be the substitute for the kingship of Tonga should 'Aho'eitu's reign fail (Gifford 1929:33-34). There were four other kings ('lords' in Gifford 1929:38) serving 'Aho'eitu under the Falefa paradigm: Maliepo, Tu'i Loloko, Tu'i Folaha and Matakehe. They were to perform sacred functions for the sake of maintaining the divinity of 'Aho'eitu as God-king and his house forever (Herda 1988:29). They are collectively called *falefa* (house of four). They were given special duties, which they exclusively performed and were of a religious nature (Gifford 1929:66-67). Maliepo's duty is to supervise the sacred rituals for the Tu'i Tonga's funeral. He is head priest and his descendants will become royal undertakers. In matters concerning entertainment, Tu'i Loloko will make it his duty to provide the best dances and adept performers from all over the empire depending on the requirements of the occasion. Tu'i Folaha is to oversee the development and preparation

of the military for both the royal naval fleet and armed forces on land. He is the commander of the Tu'i Tonga's combined military forces in time of war. Matakehe will take on the duty of monitoring the health of the Tu'i Tonga. He is the medical doctor and he will recruit and train specialists from his own house to undertake this exclusive task (Gifford 1924:29, and Herda 1988:29). Traditional rituals associated with this particular social system are still performed exclusively for direct descendants of the Tu'i Tonga lineage in matters concerning funeral rites, marriage arrangements, kava ceremonial rituals, and so on.

This chapter argues that the Tu'i Tonga presided over a caste system. The study of Tongan society is theoretically problematic; it has been treated as an untouched or fossilized entity and as a (social) network that is incapable of response to change. I will, therefore, inject a sense of historicity into the understanding of hierarchy and stratification in Tonga by putting *ha'a* (or in my view of caste) right in its proper place.

I will start by dealing with a basic question that even students of 'caste' today are confronting still, as one of the greatest Indologists around, Celestin Bouglé, clearly pointed out in *Essays On the Caste System* (1971), when he asked; Is the caste system a universal phenomenon common to all civilizations or is it a unique phenomenon peculiar to India? Surely I will argue for the exclusion of the latter. I will also argue that the indo-centricity of caste analysis is questionable due to the perpetual inability, on the part of indologists, to separate Hinduism from caste organization or from culture *per se*. The commonality of deflating, reducing and confusing the meaning of caste has led indologist experts to privilege ideology over reality and culture above history. These are some of the issues that will be given more attention here especially when I attempt to define caste from a realist standpoint.

The idea that forms the basis of my arguments in this work is a belief that wherever we find castes there must be in existence a single logic (or a cardinal principle) that we may identify as an *anti-equality* morality. This is a code of ethics that represents the essence of what caste is and what it is (all) about. Celestin Bouglé echoes a similar view when he speaks of the 'spirit of caste'. We have heard of claims that caste is purely about hierarchy, a type of theoretical reductionism championed by Louis Dumont. The post-Dumontian scholars have, on the contrary, positioned themselves on the opposite extreme of the continuum by reviving the Hocartian 'horizontal' representation of caste

organization as opposed to a ladder-like vertical structure. The debate will be critically assessed on the merit of what ‘realism’ has to offer.

Simultaneously, I will redefine the concept of the Tongan *ha'a* system. It will be seen there is another crucial problem, which is the issue of identifying misconceptions and confusions with regard to the ‘true’ nature of *ha'a* in Tonga.

To argue that ‘ancient’ class traditions in Tonga are really in essence a ‘caste system’ may need more than an anthropological or sociological explanation in order to demonstrate the validity of the system’s organisational logic. Bear in mind the fact that caste is usually conceived as relating only to Hindu social organisation. It is a challenge that is worth pursuing, not just to satisfy any kind of “*a priori*” assumptions but rather to pinpoint a notion that corresponds with the historical development of human society, or in particular that of Tonga. The very idea that caste is a phenomenon that unequivocally precedes the existence of any (social) system known to human society must be carefully examined (for example, Dumont 1970).

Indologist scholars such as Celestin Bougle and Declan Quigley are convinced that Dumont has a point in asserting that only in India that a most complete form of caste system can be found. According to Dumont (1966), caste cannot be found in its *most complete* form anywhere else but in India. In fact, to speak of caste as a system that exhibits special characteristics of its own is logically possible but it does not follow that such special characteristics are indicative of one single system alone otherwise we would be exhausting all the possible terms that we can think of in naming each and every social system that is likely to have a degree of exceptional exclusiveness pertaining to its existence (as a unique singularity). Such an idealistic tendency could qualify unhesitatingly any form of unique social organisation in the world, whereby I might argue that the epithet 'Tongan caste-system' is utterly a standard form on its own.

We may interpret the myth of 'Aho'eitu's origins to mean that the rise of the first imperial ruler of Tonga ‘Aho’eitu in 550 AD was accompanied by a major reorganisation of hierarchy and stratification whereby in particular new institutions were created to cater and serve the many requirements prescribed by the dominant ideology and structure of the new polity. First, the Tu'i Tonga was given exclusive specialists, as mentioned above, for all the services required for the maintenance of his

absolute divinity. In this respect, duties were assigned to foreigners to perform as lifetime occupations in serving the Tu'i Tonga for they are free of *tapu*.

The idea behind this new dominant ideology suggests that the *mana* of the sacred-King was protected and undiminished when foreigners made direct contact with him, as only they were free from *tapu*. Tongan people by contrast would diminish the *mana* of the Tu'i Tonga if contact were made and on the other hand the resultant force of *mana* in the actual contact would be catastrophic for the lives of commoners with death always the inevitable result. Such a belief is attributable to the fact that common people are vulnerable if the Tu'i Tonga is in the vicinity because they have no 'soul' and this alone would cause them to refrain from making contact with someone who possesses supernatural power (*mana*). Common people do, under this particular ideology, accept that they are not equal to their superior counterparts (the chiefs).

The seed of anti-equality morality (or ethics) was disseminated right in this period. The Tu'i Tonga and his *mana* and the divine attributes associated with it were to be protected by a quaternion of chosen (foreign) specialists, the *Falefa*.²⁵ They represent, in reality, four different professions in terms of ceremonial and daily services performed for the Tu'i Tonga in order not to diminish the utmost divinity of his godly attributes. Their actual presence itself functioned as guarantor of the *mana* that was duly possessed by the Tu'i Tonga. Religious and political pressures somehow, in a Machiavellian way, prevailed in causing *anti-equality* ethics to come to be the dominant ideology of the national culture in Tonga, as represented by the 'centralised power' of the Tu'i Tonga. People today still observing the ethic, as expressed in the sayings "Oua 'e hikihiki kau'a", which means 'do not overstep, shift or change your traditional boundary'; and "Oua 'e tangi ke tatau, or 'oku tapu 'ae fakatatau" which mean 'do not imitate or wish to be equal to your superiors' or 'imitating what your superiors do is forbidden'.

Under this structure the common people were organised into various professions (*ha'a*) that were specialised and hereditary and predominantly for the purpose of production.

²⁵ There is a considerable body of interpretation about the necessity for the *Falefa* hereditary professional specialisation which has focussed on 'sanctity' and 'divinity', see Rutherford (1977), Latukefu (1975), Gunson (1977). None of them has highlighted the significance of maintaining the 'purity' of the monarch, to follow Hocart's view for a while.

Dumont has demonstrated the significance of notifying the process of 'change' by distinguishing the 'traditional' Indian caste practices from the said 'modern' representations but, so far, he has been unsuccessful in executing that task. His idea of purity and pollution dominated the post-World War II sociology of caste analysis; indeed, it convinced most Indologists to follow his view in their study of caste in small villages. Andre Beteille is the best example here. Caste under Dumont's seductive spell is to be explained by the hierarchical opposition of *purity* and *impurity*.

I hold the view that Dumont has not injected a breath of historicity into its origin, an effort that would have been beneficial to his whole work (and for the understanding of caste system in general) if so taken. His notion of social 'ranking' is rather an idiosyncratic one especially in the areas where the Brahmin are involved in the most polluted service of dealing with death is functionally regarded as the highest of the untouchables. Furthermore, there is the failure of the common equation, under which caste is realised, to determine or solve the theoretical difficulty that is constantly posed by the logical uncertainty of the relative ranks of the Brahmins and the Kshatriyas. The Brahmin out-ranked the Kshatriya ritually, while the Kshatriya out-ranked the Brahmin politically and militarily. The religious subordination of the king to the priest is succinctly propounded by Dumont, but his conceptualised principles of caste ranking system cannot be sustained merit-wise, at least theoretically and less so practically.

The post-Dumontians, on the other hand dismiss quite vehemently the ladder-like vertical representation of caste and instead propose a 'linear' or 'horizontal' representation that puts more focus on the empirical connection between the dominant caste and the rest. Again, the caste equation is radically reversed in that the king's purity is the central feature that needs protection here. Declan Quigley takes this debate to the fullest in his book *The Interpretation of Caste* 1993. This position was a pre-Dumontian argument echoed in Hocart's early work but revived and reviewed by Quigley. Caste systems in this case are the product of a certain degree of centralisation '...which involved the organisation of ritual and other services around the king and the dominant lineages' (Quigley in Searle-Chatterjee and Sharma et al., 1994: 25).

Hocart's idea by contrast to that of Dumont, is less contradictory when the opposition of *purity* and *pollution* is examined. Hocart's hypothesis is a provocative one and also well backed up by historical facts, which shaped the structure of caste-organised

communities in a way dissimilar to Dumont's theory. While Dumont's idea is a theory of hierarchy based on Brahmanic religious values and influence, Hocart's theory of caste is a theory of kingship based solely on the ritual centrality of the monarch. Let us look deeper into Hocart's theory and his main arguments, so as to make sense of the post-Dumontian Indologists' decision to focus more on kingship and why they are not convinced fully by Dumont.

Hocart did his fieldwork in Sri Lanka, and in Fiji where he observed the *mataqali* lineage practices in serving the high chiefs and came to the conclusion that this was the best example of a caste system. Had Hocart studied the lineages serving the Tu'i Tonga he would have found greater rigidity and a system better fitting his theory of caste.

Hocart's theory of caste (1950) revolves around four basic concepts, i.e. kinship, domination, ritual and decay (or pollution). According to Hocart, caste is a sacrificial organization and "... the aristocracy are feudal lords constantly involved in rites for which they require vassals or serfs, because some of these services involve pollution from which the lord must remain free" (Hocart, 1950:3). He goes on to say on the same page that castes are families assigned by heredity to various offices in the ritual. This is, in general, Hocart's definition of caste and the ultimate message here is that the rulers must be *pure* and it is therefore the ritual task of other families to keep their ruling family free from pollution. The most important implication here, once again, is that the sacrifice officiated by a ruler would bear fruits for the ruled if his purity were constantly maintained in the process. In short, Hocart puts no emphasis on hierarchy; in fact he does not recognise it at all apart from the way he places the ruler or monarch over the ruled or other families.

The hereditary tasks of various offices in the ritual sacrifice are there to serve one purpose only, that is, to ensure the protection of the king's purity, but the tasks are not arranged or graded into a ranking hierarchy based on some religious significance. In this context, the function of the king is by far the most crucial one for two reasons. First, the prime function of the king is to be the patron of the state sacrifice and he is also in this capacity the sole person to command all sacrifices aimed at generating the cosmic order. Following thereafter his second function is to guarantee the well-being of the community. This is the reason Hocart invokes the epithet 'the first caste' for the kings.

Although this point is clearly stated and holds true on all counts, Hocart also argues that other families can become the 'first caste'. This is a very interesting point and it coincides with his alternative to Dumont's religious hierarchy, although Hocart did not argue that the status of other families or castes is determined by their closeness to the king. For Hocart, at least in my interpretation, the hereditary function of various families is sanctioned by their ritual tasks in the state sacrifices. Such ritual duties are not extended to what people should do in their everyday life. Heredity, argues Hocart, is not only a matter of birth but 'initiation', so one must not depend on birth alone with regard to the issue of caste membership but also, more importantly, on initiation. This last point here sums up Hocart's view of caste membership in two major ways. First, birth is insufficient to establish caste membership and descent may at times be dispensed with, while initiation is indispensable.

Using his experience of the Sri Lankan caste system, Hocart adds that under certain circumstances, initiation can override kinship (1950: 56-71). As an illustration, priests are recruited from the farmer caste, since in Sri Lanka caste does not dictate what people do. Farmers are not necessarily cultivators and not all washermen wash and it goes for other castes too (1950:2 and 120). This picture is empirically indicative of what is going on in India also and reports of members of the Brahmin caste who are full time farmers and Kshatriyas who become priests were not uncommon in pre-colonial India (Sinha 1982). These images have merits that the post-Dumontians cannot ignore. Let us look at some of the major works offered by the Neo-Hocartian scholars (or post-Dumontian theorists, the name they are commonly known by) and how they approach the issue of caste.

According to Raheja and Quigley, major figures whose productive contributions shaped the study of caste in recent decades; caste is what Hocart argues for and 'kingship' is the centre of caste organization, not 'priesthood' as it often believed.

The most important work after Dumont must be by Gloria Goodwin Raheja²⁶ on kingship in Northern India. Raheja's contribution really marks a point of departure from

²⁶ 'India: Caste, Kingship and Dominance Rediscovered' (1988b). *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 17:497-522. *The Poison in the Gift: Prestation and the Dominant Caste in a North Indian Village*. (1988a) Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

the Dumontian tradition and as with Hocart's work it was not fully recognized until comments on its significance surfaced (Quigley 1990 [Review of Raheja (1988a in Cambridge Anthropology 14(1): 78-81)], and Quigley 1993 and 1994). Equally important are Nicholas Dirks' works on kingship in southern India²⁷. Dirks brings to light a possible image of the Dravidian pre-colonial caste organisation under which the system was directed, orchestrated and controlled by values, not those of the priestly ideology but those of kingship.

It is useful at this stage to introduce Quigley's theory of caste and the solution he proposes in critiquing Dumont's model. In his 1994 article²⁸ he raises a number of interesting arguments that can be summed up as follows:

The argument here is that caste results from an uneasy stalemate between the pull of localised lineage organisation and the forces of political, ritual and economic centralisation encapsulated in monarchical institutions. Caste systems are the product of a certain degree of centralisation, which involves the organisation of ritual and other services around the king and dominant lineages. The central institution is (as Hocart suggested) the monarchy, and not (as Dumont suggested) the *Brahman* priesthood. (Quigley 1994: 25-26).

This is basically what Quigley perceives caste to be, but more importantly he formulates a model by which he believes the general structure of caste systems is best represented: caste systems are relatively centralised forms of political organisation (1994: 40). Unlike Dumont's ladder-like model, Quigley's alternative can be viewed as *horizontal, linear*, or in his own words 'on the ground' in which the king is placed in the centre and encircled by other lineage groups, an explicit attempt to do away with the stratification model altogether. Following Hocart, Quigley argues that "the priest is an instrument or vessel who facilitates the king's kingship or the noble's nobility: caste organisation, which requires some members of all non-noble lineages to provide ritual services, is a continual striving to make this possible" (Ibid 1994: 42). He strongly emphasises the fact that although the Hindu monarchical institutions ceased to exist after the British occupation of India, the political and ritual centrality of monarchy is still encapsulated in religious and other practices of dominant land-owning castes, a point that is well documented in Dirks' study of small kingdoms in southern India.

²⁷ 1987, *The Hollow Crown: Ethno-history of an Indian Kingdom*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1989, 'The Original Caste: Power, History and Hierarchy in South Asia'. Contributions to Indian Sociology, NS 23(1): 59-77.

²⁸ "Is a theory of caste still possible" (1994: 26-48, in *Contextualising caste* (edited by Mary Searle-Chatterjee and Ursula Sharma). This chapter is a condensed form of his 1993 major work "The Interpretation of Caste".

In this case, it is the king's purity and not the Brahmin's that both 'noble' and 'non-noble' lineages have modelled themselves on in their day-to-day lives. As a matter of fact, and following Hocart still, the *need* for the king to be 'pure', and not that he is himself pure, is the issue that Quigley emphasises in pointing out why other lineages emulate the model provided by the whole process of executing that need. This particular revelation certainly challenges Dumont's argument in favour of the purity of the priests since no caste groups aspire to duplicate the model provided by the priesthood ideology. On the other hand, Dumont would have made a better argument on the same grounds by insisting that the need for the king to be pure, which requires purificatory-proceedings, can only be emulated by impure castes as they aspire not to be regarded as impure. Then again, the association of some priestly professions with pollution as in funeral rites would certainly diminish Dumont's position once more.

Moreover, Quigley's model, which I prefer to label as "centring from a mid-point", simplifies some points that remain obscure in Dumont's theory especially when 'rank' is displayed empirically. For example, the (jatis) castes that supply the king's priests would quite often claim higher status than their peers who serve the farmers' and other landowners. Quigley's model, once again, demonstrates that higher position (or status) of any caste group depends on how close it is to the (royal) centre (ibid 1994: 41-42). In this context, supplying services to the king adheres to the right of certain castes but such right is also dependent on group 'loyalty'. Since merchant castes, for example, have links to more than one caste location and sometimes their services are terminated and continued by another group. In fact, Vaishyas do not in various instances belong to a particular caste system in terms of territory as they move from place to place in playing middlemen for separate caste systems. In this case, Dumont's view that every group is part of the whole is defective, as merchants are not necessarily regarded as part of the system in the extreme sense.

A further simplification of Quigley's alternative model correctly underpins the significance of wealth in determining inter-caste status differentiations. As I mentioned above, some well to do households even from Sudra castes paid for services only to replicate the lifestyle that the dominant caste inherited by tradition. Such services required specialists to attend to matters concerning initiation ceremonies, weddings and the like. As Quigley pointed out, this is where jati castes broke up to form new castes, as

a great number of jati households could afford the luxury of employing the services of other castes. Consequently, those who do have great resources would end up forming exclusive relationships among themselves, particularly through marriage alliances, which are typically formed on a permanent basis. This time they see themselves as different from their own caste 'peers', something that Dumont sees as sub-castes, and quite often the new group goes even further to elevate themselves by following higher castes' ways of life. This also leads to separating themselves from their caste of origin and consequently change in status has always resulted in change of caste. Change in caste is not uncommon but Dumont's ladder-like model mystifies the vivacity involved in the real caste situation.

Quigley argues further, and in fact agreeing with Dumont, that the concept of caste cannot be applied to situations outside India especially those of the racial segregation in southern USA, the South African apartheid system, or ethnic cleansing in eastern Europe, because the level of separation "concerns a very small number of groups, usually two or three, whose opposition to each other is crude and straightforward" (1994: 26). Quigley's opposition to Dumont's stratification approach is reasonable, but I do not accept that India is truly unique to the extent that it is where caste exhibits its most complete form. What is unique in India is a rigid ideology imposed and enforced by the English and Portuguese. There is nowhere in the world that Dumont could possibly impose his 'necessary contradiction' (1980:71-72) ²⁹ and get away with it but in India. Quigley falsifies Dumont's Brahmanic view of caste by insisting that kings in south Asia did possess magico-religious attributes and were sole masters of state rituals. Dumont dismisses uncritically similar situations outside India where monarchs are both god and king, and whose function is to restore and regenerate the cosmic balance of the universe. As a matter of fact, Quigley is partly drawn into the orbit of Dumont's theorisation, as his utter persistence in disqualifying non-Hindu caste systems has to do with the centrality of the functions of king and priest in various aspects of the ritual proceeding in both the state and other sacrifices. Quigley shares Dumont's belief that caste is an Indian phenomenon based on a claim that there are certain elements that must be found together in a particular situation in order to register the existence of caste. He identifies the elements as follows:

²⁹ This is a direct reference to Dumont's admitted contradiction, the so-called 'disjunction between status and power' that I will re-quote here: "In theory, power is ultimately subordinate to priesthood, whereas in fact priesthood submits to power".

One's position is determined by birth right; Kinship organisation is in terms of lineages; Noble and other lineages are differentiated; marriage is restricted within group of lineages; Pervasiveness of ritual as a mechanism for structuring social relations; Pollution concepts which place an ideological emphasis on the purity of women, or of lineages, or of kings, or of priests; There must be monarchical institutions whether they are material (palace complexes etc), social (courtly lineages and royal retainers), or ideological (royal rituals etc); The issue of untouchability and scapegoatism must be present (Quigley 1994: 35-36).

According to Quigley, some of these elements are present in societies outside India but not together at the same time, and thus caste cannot be pronounced to exist at all under such circumstances. There is a great difficulty with this kind of argument as evidence shows that not all of the above elements are found together throughout the whole history of India. In fact, some of them do not even exist at present and India is still referred to as a caste society. If this is the case, then we must agree that other societies should qualify as well in that regard. But if we conform to the yardstick prescribed by 'logic' as a scientific tool, then the only verdict we can arrive at is that India is not a caste society after all. But since these elements are not alone in the Hindu caste system, as there are others that are found to be in circulation alongside the ones identified here, we cannot therefore assume as Quigley did that caste is determined by a few selected elements. In Quigley's forceful defence of his Hocartian position he discarded elements like somatic features that would support the idea that caste may be based on race or anything else. Some of Quigley's 'unselected' elements in a way strongly point in the direction of race and occupation as determining factors of caste organisation. Somatic features and marriage practices are good examples of discarded possibilities. One of these is expressed through the ubiquitous occurrence of 'hypergamy' (marriage of low caste females to high caste males), let alone the common practice of 'isogamy' on the other hand, which directly contradicts 'endogamy' as a caste 'rule of thumb' in India, and the list goes on. All in all, Quigley's solution for identifying caste through a process of detecting selected elements cannot be sustained, as they are not the only ones present in any given caste situation.

Dwelling still on the post-Dumontian theorisation, there is the *subaltern* school of thought, which in the beginning of the 1980s, insisted on listening to the voice of lower

caste groups especially in the context of their historical experiences. Members of this school are historians and they use the term caste in the same way Gramsci first employed it to mean 'peasant'. Their main aim is to rewrite Indian history focussing on lower class and caste communities especially the study of peasant protests and other forms of political upheaval and ethnic grievance. The need to understand subaltern politics, according to these historians, is imperative as it certainly brings important insights to the fore in the study of social organisation in India. And some of the unselected elements have been central in political demonstrations by the lower castes in recent decades. The subaltern approach was developed in response to the historiography of colonial south Asia (Unnithan 1994: 99). Such concern highlights basic difficulties faced by different castes during the colonial rule of the British Raj, which primarily involve identity claims. But most significant to this upheaval is the explicit critique of the Brahmanic assertion that Hindu hegemony represents a traditional form of political or religious centralisation. Members of the Sudra caste, mainly Dalits, insist on validating basic facts relating to separate ethnic origin and denying the myth of religious unity, which the Brahmanic ideology deliberately holds to be true and tends to have advocated for a long time on the basis of anti-equality ethics.

In general, the subaltern thesis opens up a therapeutic sphere for fresh new debate, as other caste groups now contest the Brahmin's position as the only force that deserves consideration. With the voices of other caste groups being heard new conclusions will be arrived at and certainly new images will come to light and most definitely contrary to Brahmanic representation of South Asian hierarchical ideology. Retreating from the Dumontian or Brahmanic point of view is a profitable exercise as alternative equations spring into consideration, especially those proposed by the post-Dumontian and subaltern schools. Moreover, there is the 'conspiracy theory' where it is argued that the Brahmins have instigated significant changes through a systematic falsification and distortion of certain facts especially the forging of religious texts and related documents that are inimical to their own discourse. There is of course concrete evidence in support of the 'conspiracy theory' cited in the literature that should be addressed with confidence alongside Hocart's clear analysis of what caste is.

The logic in Hocart's theory can be considered as passing the 'consistency' test while Dumont's theory should be temporarily given a fail mark pending the result of our

coming verdict. We do have two controversial views here and as normally prescribed by the rule of debate, there must be a verification process. It is imperative also to state the guidelines under which our test is conducted. The leading point to check is the validity of the basic assumption about the rigidity of the system. The second and final point to examine is whether or not hierarchy is observed as prescribed by the strict ranking order of caste in terms of superior and inferior ascribed statuses.

In matters concerning marriage regulations, both theories fail to offer succinct explanations for the ubiquitous occurrences of isogamous, exogamous and hypergamous marriages within the so-called rigid system that is governed by different rules of contact prohibition. It seems that the 'most complete' form of caste attributed to Hindu society is not so complete after all. One might say, that such a judgement is too harsh but still we cannot turn a blind eye to some instances no matter how minor they may appear. The question now is if the Indian caste system is based on caste ideology alone, I would accede to that with no difficulty but if rigidity is to be understood differently – that is, the occasional deviation from the caste 'norm' such as the on-going practices of isogamy, exogamy and hypergamy instead of observing endogamy only – I can only add that we must redefine caste without considering endogamy as necessary to the system. So far, the Indian caste system under our standard measurement is disqualifying itself as a rigid society.

Let's look at our second concern, the ranking principles of hierarchy. Dumont's idea is partly sustained here in view of his insistence that the priestly castes occupy the top of the social ladder. However, when he attempts to account for the interchanging subordination existing between the religious status of the Brahmin and the political status of the Kshatriya, questions start to pour in quite profusely. First, Hocart sees the king as a symbol of both religious and ideological purity and that the Brahmin functions only to ensure that the religious rituals are kept intact. On the other hand, Dumont is saying that the subordination of the priest to the king is a matter that is only for defence purposes. Nevertheless, he concedes that in such an instance the status of the priest is questionable. That is, he is inferior to the king. Hierarchy as representing a system of status gradation implies many things, but it ultimately infers a simple logic, which is that the superiority attributed to the highest caste, for example, is unchangeable. Such an inference is sufficient to dismiss Dumont's argument from the picture while Hocart's

equation without any doubt stands up to our test, and following Hocart, the Tu'i Tonga paradigm is the most complete development of a caste system on record.

Addressing these issues has been central to my argument that ancient Tonga was in fact a caste society. In this context, published literature and Tongan oral traditions are well supported by surviving ideologies and genealogies which indicate the strict rigidity of ancient Tongan society whereby endogamy was strictly observed with no special exception as demonstrated by the Indian caste system for one. And, on the other hand the king's purity was unique in the whole of Polynesia in that he was, in terms of circumcision, taken away to a foreign country to avoid pollution, that part of his body being especially symbolically sacred (Gifford 1929; see also Martin 1991: 289).

The *jati* of India equate with the Tongan ha'a. Categories in Tongan ha'a were in the hundreds with lifetime tenure. Remnants remain in Tonga today, particularly in the Ha'a Tufunga the guild of undertakers (*nima tapu*), carpenters, house builders, canoe makers, cart manufacturers, stonemasons (*tufunga ta maka*), orators, composers (*tufunga lea*), and the Ha'a Toutai, the guild of navigators, fishermen, and deep-sea mariners. Gifford (1929: 38) discusses the functions of different *ha'a* and notes the multiplicity of occupations within the duties of the *falefa*, *tufunga* and the *toutai* respectively (see also Martin (1991:294-295) for more details).

Marcus (1980:31) relates *ha'a* to the significance of rituals performed by specialists in recognition of the sacred status and divine attribution of the Tu'i Tonga. Bott (1982: 66) touches on the division of *ha'a* into a *kauhala'uta* tradition traceable to the Tu'i Tonga line and a *kauhalalalo* tradition traceable to the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu. Mariner (Martin 1991: 293, Fifth edition) describes in detail the *ha'a* system of Vava'u in 1808, listing a number of professions to which people were assigned as their fulltime occupations and those tasks that were exclusive to certain ranks ranging from *taula* (priestly class), *matapule* (chief's attendants), *mu'a* (sub-class of the chiefly caste) and *tu'a* (commoners). The most important professions were hereditary with a few exceptions that could be performed by anyone. Among the hereditary professions reserved for people of rank were canoe builders, cutters of whale-teeth ornaments, superintendents of funeral rites, stone masons and makers of stone vaults, net makers, and large house-builders. Lower ranking people formed the cooks and the peasants. The

club-carvers, tattoo specialists and barbers or shavers of shells were not hereditary (Martin 1991: 295, Fifth edition).

Ha'a organisation was not associated with titles but was headed by specialists. Amongst the *toutai* for instance were navigators and fishermen; the crafts of this *ha'a* numbered in the hundreds and were exclusively assigned especially in the fishermen category where the shark catchers for instance had their own ritual led by the most experienced adept at the art of fishing. Those assigned to the task of catching whales, deep ocean turtles and so on observed the same exclusivity of craft. Oral tradition speaks of how rigorously the rules concerning exclusive occupation were observed by the *ha'a tufunga* and the *ha'a toutai* in performing their assigned duties. The boat builders were not allowed to profess any duty other than building boats and they spent most of their lives away from Tonga in pursuit of the best product for their services. The restrictions served a purpose in the hereditary professions of lifting the skills of each to high levels of achievement and quality. Tongan boats were regarded as the most reliable in long distance voyages. The strength and prowess of the Tongan warrior classes won them reputation in war. Cook's expedition in 1777 witnessed the skills of Tongan engineering when a number of individuals speedily erected a thirty metre high structure to display two 500 pound boars. Cook also witnessed the speed of the Tongan double-hulled canoes, which sailed circles round his ship while it was under weigh.

The strength of Tongan warriors and their prowess and reputation in war were expressive of high levels of proficiency and demonstrated the fruits of professional exclusivism. It follows therefore that the accomplishments of the caste system were responsible for the conquests that eventuated in the establishment of the so-called maritime empire of the Tu'i Tonga. But, the height of political development in this era were compromised by a number events that can be traced to bad management in the part of the ruling elite in dealing with colonised subjects. For instance, the failure of TT Talakaifaiki in the Sāmoan uprising of about 1120 AD (see Fred Henry 1992 and Meleisea 1995:20) was a big blow to the dignity and status of the Tu'i Tonga sacred office. It was a terrible and harsh rule accompanied by a practice of cannibalism, which in the end fuelled a rebellious spirit among Sāmoan warriors to put an end to Tongan domination in their dominion. Such development must have put the position of the gods into question and the people must have had doubts on the spiritual strength of their

guardian god Tangaloa. This study noticed that after four generations from the reign of the 'tyrant' Talakaifaiki, the royal line of the Tu'i Tonga started to use a name of one of the gods as personal name. It looked as though that a major religious revolution had already taken place for the name of the 19th holder of the title TT Havea I was aligned with the introduction of Havea Hikule'o as the new patron god of the Tu'i Tonga line.

As history unfolds, assassination became the norm as two holders of the sacred office Havea I and Havea II were both murdered possibly by rival supporters of the old god who showed disapproval of recognising another but their own. I am convinced that the only abominable issue that could motivate assassinations of god-kings were dissatisfaction with change regarding religious dogma. Replacing a national god would as a consequence bring resistance especially from those who served the old god, as sacred responsibilities for the new god will enter new administration with people other than them to carry the prescribe duties that were needed. The creation of secular authority in the form of establishing a political office called *hau* is evidence to that effect. With the secular power vested on a political office as temporal ruler, this had now marked the permanent separation of the sacred and non-sacred authority to which the direction for the future of Tonga has become more uncertain as *caste* principles is being compromised.

Undermining divinity as source of authority under the caste system continues, as the secular administration of the *hau* grew stronger in every facet of life in Tonga. The function of the TT court deteriorated, as the religious principles that buttress this ancient institution were no longer maintaining its original currency. This happened due to the fact that another sacred line, as this study identifies, the so-called TH (Tu'i Ha'atakalaua) entered the scene around 1550 AD. That extra weight weakens in the long run the already oversized load that society has afforded for the TT alone. The next chapter will show how and why Tongan society had stuck to the policy of carrying only one divine dynasty for centuries and the impracticality of managing two.

Chapter 4

Ancient Kingship Traditions:

(Part 2)

The secular office (*hau*) and the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua dynasty? (1350 – 1550)

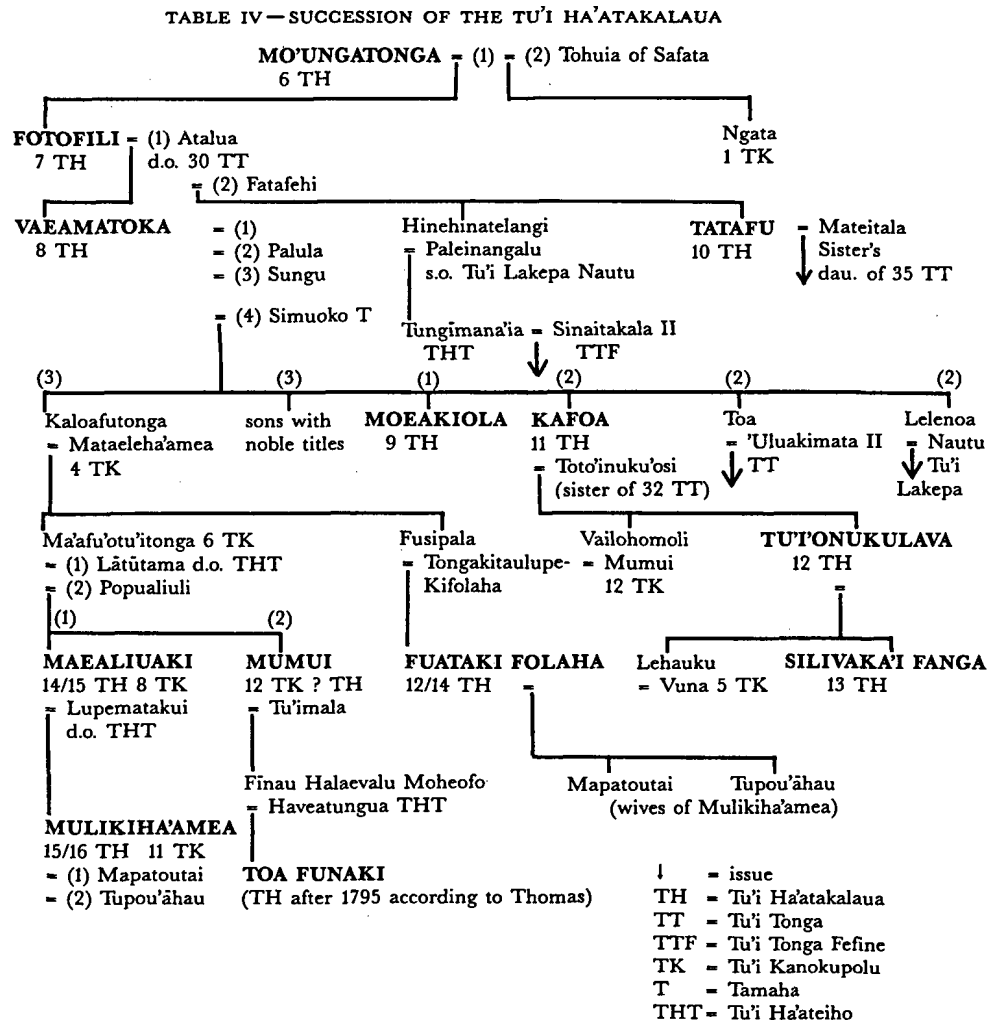
Synopsis

The founding of the second dynasty in conjunction with the creation of the *hau* office (as a new phenomenon in the political organisation of pre-contact Tonga) is a confusing set of ideas that cannot be premised together successfully. Oral traditions have no difficulty in propagating the 'secular' function given to the holder of the *hau* and the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua kingship title as one and the same thing. It is also a surprise that historians and anthropologists have never thought about the novel nature of installing a *hau* as king to be the head of a new dynasty. This study will argue that the *hau* was created first and two hundred years after its inception the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua dynasty was founded by the 6th holder, who relinquished the *hau*ship authority before being made divine in order to legitimise his status and kingship right. I argue further that the failure of this dynasty was brought about by the inability of latter successors to maintain the divine requirement expected of them by traditional kingship customs.

The Tu'i Ha'atakalaua office is in fact a new concept that was brought about by a serious need to restore order in Tonga around 1350 AD. Oral tradition insists that this dynasty was established to regulate 'secular' authority so that the Tu'i Tonga could attend to his divine duty on a full time basis (Campbell 1989:7). This was a historical event and it marked the first major reorganisation of Tongan political practices in yester-millennia. It was a 'revolutionary change', in which the secular authority became the responsibility of the *hau* as temporal ruler, called by Campbell the 'working chief' (1989:7). The *hau* office and the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua are perceived as one and the same thing in this regard. To question the validity of this information especially from oral tradition would make one wonder why such office was created considering the stories that surround its original purpose. Common sense tells us that to create a new dynasty is only necessary if it is meant to replace a ruler by another. But the important issue to rethink here is whether the reason that forced in such change was factual or forgery. In my view, the idea must be examined carefully in direct contrast to the original opinion that the 'temporal office' was established to secure the safety of the Tu'i Tonga from assassination attempts (Gifford 1929:56; Rutherford, 1977:35 and Burley 1995:161-162). Attached to this basic duty is the idea that the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua was a deputy

king as mentioned above. He is to rule in the stead of the TT during his lengthy absence, possibly by taking up the position of Tu'i Manu'a (Gunson, 1979:147).

Figure 8.



According to Campbell (1989:9) and Herda (1988), the Tu'i Tonga left for Sāmoa right after the creation of the *hau* and the so-called Tu'i Ha'atalau dynasty. According to Niel Gunson, Kau'ulufonua Fekai was given the royal title Tui Manu'a, a right that he inherited from his mother for she was a female Tu'i Manu'a (1997:146). This reason alone cannot provide a definitive explanation for the Tu'i Tonga's absence for nearly two hundred years. The incident needs clarification at least from the Manu'a kingship lists and oral records, which is more complicated than the Tongan inheritance tradition and for now things remain unclear. Tongan oral tradition speaks of the Tu'i Tonga's absence without being lucid about why he left and for what purpose. Shortly I will

recount two fantastic stories that have been stored up for centuries regarding the aftermath of avenging TT Takalaua's death. Debates today are based on those versions without considering the Tu'i Manu'a theory that Gunson believes to be the answer we are looking for.

The competing versions:

It is said (Gifford 1929:54-55) that TT Kau'ulufonuafeikai pursued Tamasia and Malofafa, the assassins who murdered his father Takalaua, in an epic warring expedition that lasted ten years. This legendary mission started in the main island of Tongatapu, then went to the island of 'Eua and continued to Ha'apai and the Vava'u groups and then to Fiji, Sāmoa, Futuna and then finally caught them in Uvea or Wallis Island (Burrows 1937:26-29; Bott 1982:95; Herda 1988:50-51; Ve'ehala and Fanua 1977:35 in Rutherford *et al*; Campbell 1989:7). TT Kau'ulufonuafeikai waged successful wars wherever the assassins sought refuge and some historians regarded these conquests as the beginning of Tongan imperialism in the Pacific (Gunson 1987:150). According to oral tradition, 'Aho'eitu established a 'maritime empire' in about 950 AD (Blanc 1910:87; Collocott 1924:169) [my calculation points to 550 or 650 AD for that era]. After 800 years of political stability TT Kau'ulufonuafeikai used the assassination of Takalaua to reassert the hegemony of Tonga in the region (Gunson 1979). As it happened, the assassins were brought back to Tonga to face the consequence of their wrong doing so that the body of the dead king could be buried with honour and with the religious dignity that befitted his god-king status. Again, oral tradition insists that TT Kau'ulufonuafeikai appointed Mo'ungamotu'a his younger brother to a new office called the *hau* or Tu'i Ha'atalakalaua to protect the Tu'i Tonga from further attempts on his life (Gifford 1929:56).

The second version seemed to gain popular acceptance in the mid 1800s and was written with confidence by Thomas West, a Methodist missionary, because it was told by the highest authorities of the day i.e. the *Tamaha* ('Amelia) and King George himself (West 1865:55; and Herda 1988:52). The story asserts that after Kau'ulufonuafeikai disposed of his father's assassins his siblings saw an opportunity to overthrow him and his weakened army as he was badly injured during the war against the brave warriors of Futuna. This rather inspired one of his younger brothers Mo'ungamotu'a to overthrow

him and his tired army (Campbell 1979:9-10; Herda 1988:60). A war is said to have occurred between the two camps and the younger brother was victorious and the defeated Kau'ulufonuafeikai was exiled to Sāmoa as a consequence (Thomas 1865:55; Burrows 1937:19, 27-29). Both stories are extremely important in their own right and debate as to which version is true might be too difficult to achieve as there is no corroborating evidence available other than oral traditions. This study seeks to solve this anomaly by assessing a number of historical contexts that are logical and factual. There might be a few more stories about the origin of these new political offices but I believe that the themes would not be so different from the ones already established above.

As I pointed out in previous chapters, the need to create the *hau* office has had nothing to do with recognising or rewarding one's service nor was it a symbolic gesture in honouring personal achievement; it was a serious response to threats towards the life of the Tu'i Tonga. Oral tradition holds that the high frequencies of assassinations (between 1230 and 1350 AD)³⁰ in which three Tu'i Tonga were murdered in five consecutive generations is the reason for this historic political adjustment. As already mentioned, Kau'ulufonua Fekai appointed his younger brother Mo'ungamotu'a to become the first secular ruler in the history of Tonga (Latukeyu 1974:2). The purpose was initially to upgrade security measures for assuring the safety of the sacred Tu'i Tonga and also to establish a 'temporal regime' to regulate secular duties and responsibilities (Gifford 1929:56; Rutherford 1977:35).

A significant element pertaining to the existence of Kingship and its associated traditions (in pre-contact Tonga) was the need to observe and maintain the divine and sacred status of the Tu'i Tonga title. This basic need was continuously observed from the beginning when 'Aho'eitu was appointed by the creator god Tangaloa as the first sacred king of that line (Gifford 1924:25; Wood 1932:5). This state of affairs is documented in an interview of high chief Tu'ivakano by E. W. Gifford, which needs to be quoted in full;

The Tu'i Tonga were the spiritual rulers of the country and did not interest themselves with the ordinary government of the country. Their persons were sacred to such an extent that they were almost worshiped as gods. Only a special few and foreigners were

³⁰ This is from my own approximate dating and not from oral tradition.

allowed to associate with him. The Tu'i Ha'atala and the Tu'i Kanokupolu were from the same origin (as the Tu'i Tonga). (1929:48)

This statement reveals how chiefs, in a number of ways, think about the essence of kingship as a distinct human entity. As stated above, kingship is essentially about divinity and is associated with the belief that descendants of the gods required this vital element to guarantee acceptance of their legitimate authority and the perpetuity of their sacred status. This is inherent in the traditional ideology of the Tu'i Tonga line and its survival was dependent on the connection with the gods (Campbell 1989:7) and should that link cease to exist the kingship office would, as a matter of fact, become redundant. It is important to understand that the kingship office must not be secularised for a number of reasons. Firstly, the link with the gods cannot be put at risk especially in marriage choice; for example, an union with low-born women would diminish the divine substance that connects the oneness of the Tu'i Tonga and the gods. Should such practice fail to continue the connection would completely diminish.

Further, the support and confidence of the people in their king would depend on the strength of the link between the Tu'i Tonga and the gods. Good fortune in both national and communal activities such as fishing expedition, successful harvest, and so on was often taken as proof of such undiminished relationships (Campbell 1992:29-33 and Collocott 1924). Again, the force that gravitates the people towards the orbit of the sacred king rests on the belief in the divine attributes of the Tu'i Tonga as descendants of the gods and nothing less. In short, it is the chiefs' (blue) blood, so to speak, that was expected to continue uninterrupted in every generation so that divine perpetuity of the royal line of kings keeps attracting the blessing of the gods and therefore secures the lives of everyone in society. To achieve this task the Tu'i Tonga must search elsewhere for a proper spouse as he has no 'equals' in Tonga to qualify (local) lesser ranked ladies as principal wives (Gifford 1929:30-31).

This delicate process was neatly selected through 'arranged marriages' with daughters of paramount chiefs recognisably ranked in the divine level. As always happened, the choices for the principal wives throughout the ages had fallen on daughters of Sāmoan sacred chiefs (*ali'i pa'ia*) (Kramer 1999:648-649). For instance, the first Tu'i Tonga Aho'eitu had as principal wife the daughter of Tu'i Manu'a Moe (Henry 1992:20,29 and 30). He was the highest-ranking chief of the Sāmoa group at the time. In later times

when the *papa* of the Tui Aana and Tui Atua became paramount titles in the Western Islands of Tutu'ila, Upolu and Savai'i, these too were important sources for the Tu'i Tonga to widen the circle for acquiring highborn principal wives. The significance of pursuing Sāmoan highborn ladies was to possess the great *mana* inherited by their fathers whom tradition revered as living gods (Pratt 1890:663; Meleisea 1995:24)), a commodity that ranked Tongans were lacking.

To recapitulate, it is clear from Tu'ivakano's characterisation of the three kingly lineages that the issue of divinity has played a key role in forming the foundation for new kingship titles. Since each dynasty sprang from the same divine origin, one would ask why should the two junior lines of kings be classed secular in rank, as portrayed by oral tradition, without assessing the essential criteria pertaining to kingship itself. Tu'ivakano maintains that the new dynasties of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and the Tu'i Kanokupolu were also divine lines on the basis of their origin. Oral traditions have often propagated the view that both the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and the Tu'i Kanokupolu were secular dynasties by contrast to the rank and status of the Tu'i Tonga as divine offspring of the gods (Thomas 1879:27; Latukefu 1974:2&3; Herda 1988:51&52; Campbell 1989:6; 1992:16). Tu'ivakano's view is important as a guide for reflecting on pre-contact values and status hierarchy, that kingship represents divine links with the gods and as I argue in other chapters of this study, it is a mistake to regard the secular office of the *hau* as a dynastic kingship title. My argument insists that so-called secular Tu'i Ha'atakalaua was in fact a divine line founded by Mo'ungatonga the 6th *hau* and 1st Tu'i Ha'atakalaua.

In my opinion, the distinction between the divine and the secular represents opposite extremes of status gradation whereby the *hau* could have, most sensibly, held just one title only. He can either be secular or be divine as 'king' without the temporal authority as *hau*, it cannot be both but as circumstances changed the Tu'i Kanokupolu was allowed an exception in the sense that its divinity was not principally in accord with the Tongan system. It was in essence Sāmoan and it has been misunderstood since its inception between 1530 and 1550 AD. The Tu'i Kanokupolu therefore became the first dynasty, as argued in this study, to undertake the dual function of kingship and *hau* simultaneously. According to this study, Mo'ungatonga was *hau* before he became the first (TH) Tu'i Ha'atakalaua. He never held these offices together because he nominated

Ngata to the office of the *hau* right after his elevation to divine status as Tu'i Ha'atakalaua (Bott 1982). If the *hau* office was a subset of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua package as portrayed by oral tradition, then why did not Mo'ungatonga give both *hau* and TK offices to Ngata should they meant to be one or inseparable. That tells us that it is more than likely that *hau* was not a part of the TH office as the latter was created later.

High chief Tu'ivakano based his notion of divinity on a tripartite set of circumstances where the Tu'i Tonga was no longer the only king in Tonga and kingship *per se* was an entity that existed within the boundary of the 'divine'. In his characterisation of the kingly lines, he mentioned the apparent dissociation of the Tu'i Tonga from certain responsibilities in his capacity as spiritual ruler, which was a new development after the creation of the new office for the *hau*. Such distinction attracted unnecessary dichotomising of the so-called divine and secular responsibilities that were once part and parcel of a single category.

Either way, the *hau* issue is in itself clearly understood from the point of view that it was a 'deputy' to the Tu'i Tonga and in that capacity it was a supervisor or 'working chief' (Gunson 1989:150; Campbell 1989:7). But, the problem that is hard to resolve has to do with the dual status given to the same person who was appointed as secular ruler i.e. to be (also) the head of a new (divine) Tu'i Ha'atakalaua dynasty. This is a question that has been left in the dark for over five hundred years to date. It seems that the power of oral tradition has been convincingly presented to observers of Tongan society (past and present) as an unchallenged set of narratives that truly mirrored Tonga's past. It has become the ultimate authoritative source of information and it is hardly touched and sometimes they are accepted without question. So far, no observer of Tongan society has reviewed the uncharacteristic fusing of the 'secular' and the 'divine' regarding the office of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua. It is the intention of this study to take the case of Mo'ungatonga as evidence that disproves the position held by oral tradition of forcing together the offices of the *hau* and the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua into a single entity. These offices were brought into existence in a period when Tonga had faced a dramatic political reform where "...by the middle of the nineteenth century the long revolution in Tongan politics had finally been accomplished." (Campbell 1989:29). First, we must look at the sequence of events that came about in the post 1350s AD,

which will undoubtedly show how the authors of oral tradition may have perceived an event differently.

Whatever happened between Kau'ulufonuafeikai and Mo'ungamotu'a before the *hau* office was created and whichever version of each story is believed to be correct, no one would know for a fact the truth about this saga without proper investigation. In pursuit of logical explanation, this study will begin with a hypothesis that the secular authority given to the 1st *hau* office of Mo'ungamotu'a was the only political adjustment made originally, and that it was made without the kingship title of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua. This study believes that the elevation of the 6th *hau* Mo'ungatonga in the 1520s to a divine kingship status was negotiated as a response to the re-establishing of TT Tapu'osi's reign on his return to the ancient seat of the Tu'i Tonga at Lapaha. Mo'ungatonga therefore became the first Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and his son Ngata was appointed *hau* and also installed with a title Tu'i Hihifo (Lord of Hihifo) or Tu'i Ha'amo'unga as insisted by Queen Salote when interviewed by Elizabeth Bott (1982:116). He is to rule Hihifo and also carry out all temporal responsibilities in his capacity as secular ruler.

Reference to the Tu'i Kanokupolu as the third dynasty was possibly not recognised until the reign of Mataeletu'apiko the 3rd Tu'i Hihifo (Herda 1988:73 and Campbell 1989:12). Or perhaps the title was installed on Ngata as most versions suggested (Latukefu 1974, Bott 1982, Gifford 1929). According to other authorities (Herda 1988 and Campbell 1989), Mataeletu'apiko was probably the first to use the title Tu'i Kanokupolu. But, Ngata was, in my view, the first to have held two ruling titles conjointly (i.e. the *hau* and the Tu'i Hihifo or Tu'i Kanokupolu) in direct contrast to the misguided assumption that Mo'ungamotu'a and his successors held the *hau* office conjointly with the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua title from beginning.

On the other hand, while the early rulership titles Tu'i Hihifo and Tu'i Ha'amo'unga were not divine kingship titles, the title Tu'i Kanokupolu was indeed a divine kingship honour in accordance with the Sāmoan political procedure ³¹. The dual function inherited by this Hihifo chieftain, as Tu'i Kanokupolu was to report to the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua as *hau* with the annual dues brought from all over Tonga including gratuities from satellite colonies still under Tongan control (Herda 1988:87), then the

³¹ This is a significant point that I will discuss in great detail in the following chapter.

Tu'i Ha'atalaaua, in theory, presented the dues as *inasi*³² to the Tu'i Tonga. This whole ritual was a grand recognition of the spiritual superiority of the Tu'i Tonga over and above all things as intermediary between men and gods (Collocott 1924).

Despite the insistence on the part of oral tradition that the *hau* and the kingship title of the Tu'i Ha'atalaaua were titles both held by Mo'ungamotu'a, the first in line, whatever really pushed forward this political development can only confirm the creation of the *hau* office, and I argue that additional evidence shows that the new kingship dynasty was founded at a later date (This study). That is, the *hau* was created for the purpose of protecting the Tu'i Tonga primarily from any further assassination attempt. It is strange however to create a dynasty just for this important task, and especially strange from the perspective that kingship is a divine office. A wise king would not create another kingship line during his reign, as it would be detrimental to his own course and the future of his own dynasty. The *hau* is rightly regarded as a secular office for it was created particularly to enforce tasks that were secular.

³² The term '*inasi*' means tribute. It refers to the best produce taken from the harvest season. These portions of crops and fine animals were collected as ritual gifts for the Tu'i Tonga in full recognition of his role as progenitor of good fortune for it is he who can guarantee success in all aspects of life and ensure the cooperation of the gods.

from divine to secular and *vice versa*. In my view, all Tu'i Tonga were divine kings and to engage in secular affairs such as fighting wars and ruling an empire or making important decisions regarding the affairs of the so-called Tongan 'metropolis' did not make them temporal rulers. All these activities are inherent in divine patronage, and not on their own 'secular' in the sense that secular affairs were underlined as un-divine. The Tu'i Tonga was rather a divine king whose involvement in societal activities, which were patronised always by various gods, would dismiss the unwarranted notion that he is both 'spiritual and temporal ruler' as his tenure did stipulate an encompassing generality rather than a singularised particularity.

This study argues that the responsibilities of the Tu'i Tonga did not exclude any section of society whether it was spiritual or not. To say that a Tu'i Tonga was both divine and temporal ruler would imply that he had two different statuses and that he must transform from one to become the other in order to fulfil his multifarious sacred responsibilities. If that were so, then he would only be a divine ruler when he performed his sacred duties in commanding state rituals etc, and then he is temporal ruler when a secular duty is called for. This is a dangerous line of reasoning for there is no evidence that the Tu'i Tonga ever wore two hats. It is a different matter to say that his responsibilities included divine and secular obligations. Being the only divine king, at the said period, he was responsible for everything that involved his dominions regardless of what they were.

To recapitulate, the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua as depicted by oral tradition is a mystery and also a contradiction. He is said to be a *hau* (temporal ruler), a monarch of a new dynasty (king), and deputy to guard the Tu'i Tonga (Burley 1995:61-62). The *hau* office and the inheriting secular responsibilities would strongly support the argument that Mo'ungamotu'a was elevated through appointment under a royal degree. As a king the title Tu'i Ha'atakalaua would possess undisputed authority, which would turn the debate in favour of the 'challenge theory'. This is a notion that appears to be inconsistent with the re-establishment of the reign of TT Tapu'osi on his return to Tonga in about 1520s AD when the Tu'i Tonga title appeared to be revered as absolute ruler in the oral traditions of Uvea (Sand 2001) and Sāmoa (Henry 1992) at least. The seizure of power by Mo'ungamotu'a seems to be questionable, as Vakalahimohe'uli did not resist the authority of TT Tapu'osi at the time of his arrival from Sāmoa a hundred years after.

Instead, the *hau* (or Tu'i Ha'atalaau) Vakalahimohe'uli welcomed the returning Tu'i Tonga (Tapu'osi) and demonstrated his subordination to him clearly by marrying his daughter Talahiva to Uluakimata (Tele'a) the son and successor of TT Tapu'osi. The re-establishment of TT Tapu'osi's reign in the ancient seat of the Tu'i Tonga at Lapaha and the uncomplicated welcome given by Vakalahimohe'uli the *hau* or Tu'i Ha'atalaau at the time can only be described as nothing other than a convivial reunion. This complimentary act by the Tu'i Ha'atalaau or the *hau* (in my view) suggests that he was still subordinated to the Tu'i Tonga and this is a sensible reason to negate the exile hypothesis that has become so popular in the works of revisionists in the past three decades of intense reviews of the political history of Tonga. I will now present one of the revisionist interpretations.

Both Niel Gunson (1979:36) and Ian Campbell (1982:181) agree that his younger brother Mo'ungamotu'a in a showdown for political supremacy defeated TT Kau'ulufonuafeikai in about 1350 AD. They argue that from that point onwards the successors of Mo'ungamotu'a were inheriting both the *hau* and Tu'i Ha'atalaau titles. As such Tanekitonga son of Mo'ungamotu'a became the 2nd Tu'i Ha'atalaau, then his son Vaeamatoka was installed the 3rd in line and his son Siulangapo was the 4th and his successor Vakalahimohe'uli was the 5th in line. The 6th *hau* and Tu'i Ha'atalaau in that tradition was Mo'ungatonga. On the other hand, I contend that he became popular in demanding divine status for himself and his successors in about 1530 AD (Ilaiu 2007). This significant status change gave way to the establishment of a 3rd dynasty called the Tu'i Kanokupolu. This study suggests that Mo'ungatonga, now a Tu'i Ha'atalaau and no longer the *hau*, appointed a younger son Ngata to be the new *hau* while his eldest son Fotofili was named the 2nd Tu'i Ha'atalaau (at least in my view). There had been nothing significant associated with the reigns of the so-called Tu'i Ha'atalaau apart from being secular rulers for six generations before Mo'ungatonga aspired to become divine.

In Chapters 6 and 7 of this thesis, I addressed a challenge against the traditional orthodox view that the *hau* was conferred with the kingship title known as the Tu'i Ha'atalaau. My argument is based on the utter silence on the part of oral tradition regarding the names of principal wives of the so-called Tu'i Ha'atalaau line starting

from the first holder of such title Mo'ungamotu'a down to the fifth holder Vakalahimohe'uli. In all the genealogies narrated by the Tamaha in the mid 1800s to Rev John Thomas (Statham 2013:25) together with the written copies collected for the 'Tonga Tradition Committee' by request of HM Queen Salote Tupou III in the 1940s onwards, the wives of the first five Tu'i Ha'atakalaua are said only that they were from the village of Hamula. The implication from this information is that the unnamed wives were not highborn Sāmoan ladies or even members of other Polynesian royal families.

If these wives were of any political significance, their names would have been remembered, as has been the case with the wives from Mo'ungatonga on to the 11th Tu'i Ha'atakalaua according to the current accepted oral tradition's list. For instance, after Mo'ungatonga's elevation to divine rank, his apparent successor was Fotofili whose mother came from a local chiefly family in Ha'ano (a daughter of Vake) and it seems likely that this was the common practise of this line of kings to make connection with minor chiefs in order to maintain effective hegemonic dominance. But, one of TH Mo'ungatonga's wives was a highborn Sāmoan lady Tohu'ia the daughter of high chief Ama from Safata (Sāmoa) and such marriage success would have been the result of recognising his status upgrade to the new divine kingship title (according of course to my argument that he was the first Tu'i Ha'atakalaua).

The *hau* and the so-called Tu'i Ha'atakalaua lines appear to adhere to the same pattern of succession tradition as practiced by the Tu'i Tonga dynasty. For instance, the right to succeed to the sacred title of the Tu'i Tonga was always that of the eldest son by the principal wife, as the wish of the gods (Gifford 1929:84). Sons by the secondary wives appear to have accepted the legitimacy of primogeniture. Successors to the Tu'i Tonga title have never been challenged by offspring of secondary wives. The successful effect of centralised control under the primogeniture system was preserved and continued in the succession tradition of the *hau* and the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua title. Although the *hau* line was duly ranked in the secular plateau of societal gradation, the new dynasty of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua on the other hand had to be ranked in the sacred sphere of divine hierarchy, at least in the opinion of this study. In my view, the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua must have practiced similar rituals to those performed by the Tu'i Tonga in order to maintain and foster his close association with the gods. The Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, however, was a newcomer therefore not in any way regarded as deliverer of good fortune despite being

elevated to divine status. The place of the Tu'i Tonga was well founded and irreplaceable even if it did not possess political power.

Thus, the elevation of the 6th *hau* to divine kingship status posed no threats to the rank of the Tu'i Tonga from the beginning of bipartite dynastic coexistence. There was an ideological (sacred) line that positioned each dynasty physically. An ancient pathway separated the official residence of each in a symbolic manner. The seaward side was called '*kauhalalalo*' (lower side of the road) and there resided the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua. The higher side of the pathway was called '*Kauhala'uta*' (landward side of the road), which is [physically higher and it was] where the Tu'i Tonga lived. In symbolic terms, the lower side of the road suggests junior in rank and the upper side indicates the senior line and there is no reference here to inferior/superior dichotomy as both lines were divine by status.

To recapitulate, my argument has been that the first Tu'i Ha'atakalaua was Mo'ungatonga from the fact that he was made divine king around 1520. He was the 6th *hau* and not the sixth Tu'i Ha'atakalaua as oral tradition suggested. The whole argument for this hypothesis is argued in chapter 7 (this work) where an attempt to account for the origin of the tripartite coexistence of the ruling dynasties will be clarified.

As clearly demonstrated above that the separation of status and political authority was demonstrated in the relationship between the divine authority of the Tu'i Tonga and the secular power vested in the *hau* as temporal ruler were duly observed continuously for six generations. It also shown that being divine was an unchallenged status because the Tu'i Tonga was perceived as a living god (Farmer 1855:129-130; Collocott 1928:78-79; Gifford 1929:76,103 and Herda 1988:32) and that possibly be the motive behind the odd aspiration of the 6th *hau* (Mo'ungatonga) to become one since the bipartite coexistence commenced at the time of TT Tapu'osi's re-established his court back in Tonga. But, Tongan society under its caste structure was, since time immemorial, tailored for only one divine ruler and the insertion of another would bound to be a problem in the long run.

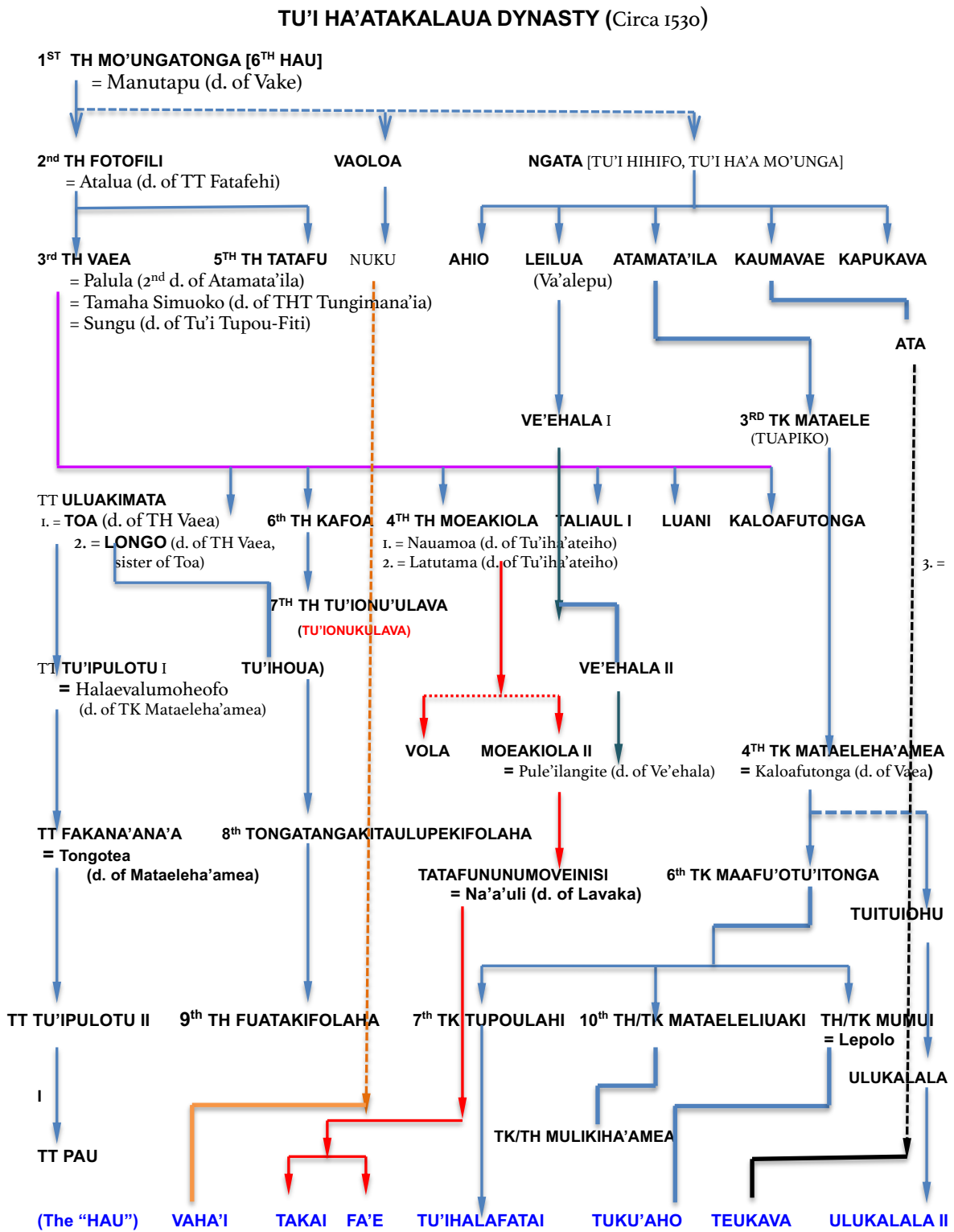
This problem did materialise when Mo'ungatonga appointed the new *hau* after the establishment of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua as argued in this study. What we will see in the

next chapter is that the foundation of the new temporal government of the *hau*³³ was based not on a Tongan political system but rather on a Sāmoan customary network that has been overlooked thus far. This new *hau* regime will show that its strength would in the long run bring new goals for chiefs to organise and develop their own power exclusively from the mainstream authority of the political king the TK (Tu'i Kanokupolu) and also disregarded any customary obligations to the senior dynasties, the TT and the TH also. We will see how the Sāmoan political system in the 1500s AD became the catalyst for major changes in the 1700s and 1800s political turmoil in Tonga and the reunification process that was achieved after the last war of 1852. In the meantime we should look at the ancient Sāmoan political system and how it works so that we could understand what had happened in post-contact Tongan society.

In order to understand the dynamics of the *Quasi-Sāmoan* political system that buttresses the strong government of the TK dynasty and guided its unstoppable expansion from the small territory of Hihifo to dominate the rest of Tonga in the middle of the 19th Century, we must look at a short history of pre-contact Sāmoa for full appreciation of the aspects of the *Matai* system and its associated practices.

³³ The creation of the office of the Tu'i Ha'a Mo'unga also known as Tu'i Hihifo or the Tu'i Kanokupolu as it is the official title of the 3rd dynasty. The political system practiced by this royal line was in fact dissimilar to the orthodox government practices of the Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Ha'atakalaua dynasties.

Figure 10. Alternative Theory.



Chapter 5

Ancient Kingship traditions in Tonga

Part 3:

The Tu'i Kanokupolu *Matai* Paradigm

Synopsis

This chapter identifies another paradigm shift in the political history of Tonga whereby a new lineage of sacred kingship arose in Tongatapu around 1550 AD in conjunction with the establishment of the Tu'i Kanokupolu dynasty at Hihifo. The argument presented here is that the political structure of the Hihifo government was built on the Sāmoan *matai* title system, especially as it had been practised in Upolu around 1550 AD before Sāmoan polity was centralised under *Tafa'ifa* Salamasina.

(iii) The Tu'ikanokupolu *Quasi-Sāmoan* government

The re-establishment of Tu'i Tonga Tapu'osi's court at Lapaha around the 1500s AD together with the unexpected elevation of the sixth *hau* Mo'ungatonga to the status of divine kingship³⁴ with the royal title the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua in about 1530 AD, are apparent reasons for the creation of a new ruling line of *hau* in the western (Hihifo) part of Tongatapu. This area seems to have been occupied by "fierce" people who had for some reason resisted being governed by the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua right from beginning (Rutherford 1977:36). Rulers of this new line may have held the titles Tu'i Ha'a Mo'unga or Tu'i Hihifo.³⁵ They established for themselves a dynasty that is popularly known by the title Tu'i Kanokupolu. Ama came from Tuamasaga, which lies in the centre of Upolu between the districts of Atua and A'ana. According to Queen Salote, as Bott recorded;

“ It is not known for certain when the title Tu'i Kanokupolu came into general use, but it must have been very near the beginning. It is derived from a Sāmoan word *a'ano*, meaning 'flesh' or 'centre', and '*Upolu*, one of the main islands of Sāmoa. (1982:117)

The inception of this new secular dynasty is not without controversy. It is claimed by a local Hihifo tradition (see also Bott 1982:115) that Kili ('Ili in Sāmoan) may have pressured TH Mo'ungatonga into entering a commitment that unnecessarily crippled the very foundation of political stability in Tonga around 1520 AD.³⁶ The incident occurred

³⁴ Bott 1982 discusses this particular event but offers no explanation, saying only that Mo'ungatonga did demand to be of the same status as the Tu'i Tonga.

³⁵ This transition is discussed in Bott 1982.

³⁶ Ilaiu, 2007 (MPhil Thesis) Massey University, New Zealand.

when appointing the successor to the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua title became a serious issue. Consideration of family histories was a necessity in naming heirs to the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua since Mo'ungatonga, in my view, had just been made a divine ruler and it was necessary to ensure that his selected heir should not be outranked.

Customarily, as has been the case in the primogeniture tradition practiced by the TT line, the status of each son's mother would determine the outcome of the selection process regarding, in this circumstance, the successor for the TH (Tu'i Ha'atakalaua) title. As such, Mo'ungatonga's first wife Manutapu, mother of Fotofili and his full brothers, was a daughter of chief Vake of Ha'ano (Ha'apai), (Herda 1988:70). On the other hand, Ngata was the youngest son but his mother Tohu'ia was a daughter of the Sāmoan high chief Ama of Safata (Gifford 1929:86-87). Obviously, there is an issue that needs urgent remedy, as offspring from different mothers would vie to take the father's title on the occasion of his death. The eldest son Fotofili was in the end named successor to the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua kingship, but not without consolation for the highest born and youngest son Ngata who was dispatched as the new *hau* and ruler of the western district of Tongatapu. The result was congruent with the expectation of the foreign cavaliers of the new ruler. This was an honour that had satisfied Ama and the crafty Sāmoan supporters of Ngata for it was just what they were after (Bott 1982:115).

It is crucial at this juncture to divert the reader's attention to a short tour of pre-contact Sāmoa so that we could make some sense of the possible mechanism that impelled the course of the Hihifo *quasi*-Sāmoan political system.

Malama Meleisea (1995:19)³⁷ has rightly pinpointed this issue by insisting that the accepted model for Sāmoan social order and political organisation was not entirely correct. He cites Freeman (1964) whose study of chiefly stratification in Sāmoa was thorough. According to Professor Meleisea, an element of anachronism is responsible for the misconception surrounding the real character of Sāmoan society before the contact with Europe took place. European observers in the so-called contact era have witnessed an already transformed society in which independent polities had doubled in number. The ‘*matai* system’ evidently grew in tandem with that transformation by producing more district and sub-district titles in conjunction with the growth of royal lineages, whose offspring became rulers of the old and the newly created districts (Meleisea 1995: p.34).

In the post-contact era *matai* created a great number of new *ali'i pa'ia*, *ali'i*, *tulafale-ali'i* and *tulafale* titles in each of the independent polities (Meleisea 1992:58-64) due to rewards given for services rendered, especially in the process of making alliances in preparation for war and many other means (Henry 1992:166-167, see also Kraemer 1999 and Meleisea 1987). Most common in this development were the last wills and dying wishes of a number of great chiefs and kings as demonstrated throughout the reigns of Salamasina's royal line and equally memorable were those pronounced by Taufau, Faumuina, King Fonoti, King Mu'agututi'a, King Tupua and King Galumalemana (Henry 1992:162-1920). Feuds among the *Sa* Tupua offspring and the *Sa* Malietoa line later on in the late 1800s and early part of the 20th century were indicative of this proliferation of titles. Great wars were fought in the wake of the 19th century and Sāmoa was rightly observed to be comprised of a number of decentralised states whose leaders made every effort to outdo each other for the purpose of establishing political supremacy or ‘*malo*’ (Gilson, 1970:58, Tuagalu, 1988:2). A desire for centralised government with a king at its head was the common ideal that kept *matai*(s) busy, especially the *tulafale* category who displayed their skills in the art of diplomacy by organising and weaving strategies that would bring good fortune, political benefit and economic wealth for their candidate to the national title (Fred Henry 1992:103,106-109). In order to achieve this task, certain titles had to be secured and this

³⁷ In a chapter titled “To whom gods and men crowded”: chieftainship and hierarchy in ancient Sāmoa [in] “Tonga and Sāmoa: Images of Gender and Polity” (Huntsman *et al*).

often resulted in military confrontation. The whole business of vying for the national title of “*O le tafa’i fa*” gave each political centre one alternative for achieving their goal and that was war, a moment that made life more meaningful for all Sāmoans, as politics is essentially what fills the veins of chiefs and commoners alike. That is why Sāmoans would risk their lives at any cost to acquire titles at the national level. The highest title of any district was always a source of pride and orators were determined at all times to maintain such honour on their paramount chief³⁸.

Meleisea has nicely charted the kinship connection of *matai* and their titles to the gods (1995:24). By ranking each title from village to national level, his chart demonstrates the value of ancient titles with their celestial origin, in direct contrast with the newly created and lesser titles. According to the chart, the highest national title is the *tafa’i fa*, which is also designated *tupu* (king of Sāmoa minus the chiefdom of Manu’a) see also Fr Fred Henry (1992:109) and Tuagalu (1988). Beneath this kingship title are each district's most sacred ranked chiefs called *ali’i pa’ia*. Their national titles are divided into two categories, the *papa* and *ao* (Meleisea 1995:22). The *papa* titles are acquired by a contender of rank and are a necessary honour for kingship office. The *ao* titles, such as those of Malietoa, Lilomaiava, Tonumaip’e’a etc, are paramount honours given to district chiefs of the *ali’i pa’ia* class but they are not a necessary requirement for kingship status (Meleisea 1995:22). The sub-district level is controlled or ruled by chiefs of the *ali’i* class while the village level is controlled by *matai* (both *ali’i* and *tulafale*).

In this context, *matai* is a status-system that conjoins the sacred *decorum* of the *ali’i* and the executive *auctoritas* of the *tulafale* as heads of families, but disjoins the functions and roles of each through assigned rights. The symbolic reverence that buttresses the dignity of the *ali’i*, together with the executive authority that cements the political identity of the *tulafale*, represents the soul of Sāmoan cultural existence in the sense that the people at large control from the grassroots level of society, the power vested in their rulers through the titles they gift to them. This balancing device mirrors a fair system of government especially when the mechanism that controls the distribution of power is uniquely designed to resist dictatorship. The election system is a primary mechanism for

³⁸ Pers. Comm. Fonoti 2012 (Apia).

determining the ability of candidates for leadership offices³⁹. The system of electing leaders selects the best of those who are to be bestowed with family titles, district titles and most significantly the national titles. This character of Sāmoan politics, especially at district level, injects coherence into the longevity of the social order, and fosters political competency and the over-arching national ideology even if the crux of political reality has been sometimes influenced by vile desire and the unbending wills of certain individuals. Examples of these incidences can be unfolded through the ambitions of Tupuivao son of TA/TN Taufau verses Faumuina, and that of Afoa (fouvale) verses Galumalemana among others (Henry 1992:163,177).

Chiefly rank in ancient Sāmoa was epitomised by a complex system of title hierarchy where the most common titles could still be recognised as hold comparable significance with those of the highest category of titles, for two reasons. First, all titles were family gifts that were bestowed on trustworthy members to represent their *'aiga* in the village *fono*. Titled representatives of the *fono* comprised both *ali'i* and *tulafale* ranks (Meleisea, *et al* 1987:27). Within each *itu* (district) a few renowned *tulafale* (orators) were selected, in honour of services rendered such as prowess in war etc, to be members of the *faleupolu* (councils of advisors to independent monarchs). The *faleupolu* equates the *falefa* (house of four) of the Tu'i Manu'a; *faleono* (house of six) of the Tu'i Atua; *Faleta'ita'i* (or Tu'i Samau) of Afega; *Alataua* of Safata; *faleiva* (house of nine) of A'ana and the *falevalu* (house of eight) of Safune in Savai'i (Henry 1992:22). Second, the higher the rank of a title the higher the status it possessed and the older the title the more sacred its holder was, and as these titles were mostly held by monarchs, they were next only to the gods if not gods themselves. Their influence was purely ceremonial in theory but in practice it was the existence of such national symbols that made life meaningful and dynamic for all Sāmoans since the parameters of every activity they performed were measured in social, economic and political terms that befitted the dignity of the *ao* and *papa* they served⁴⁰.

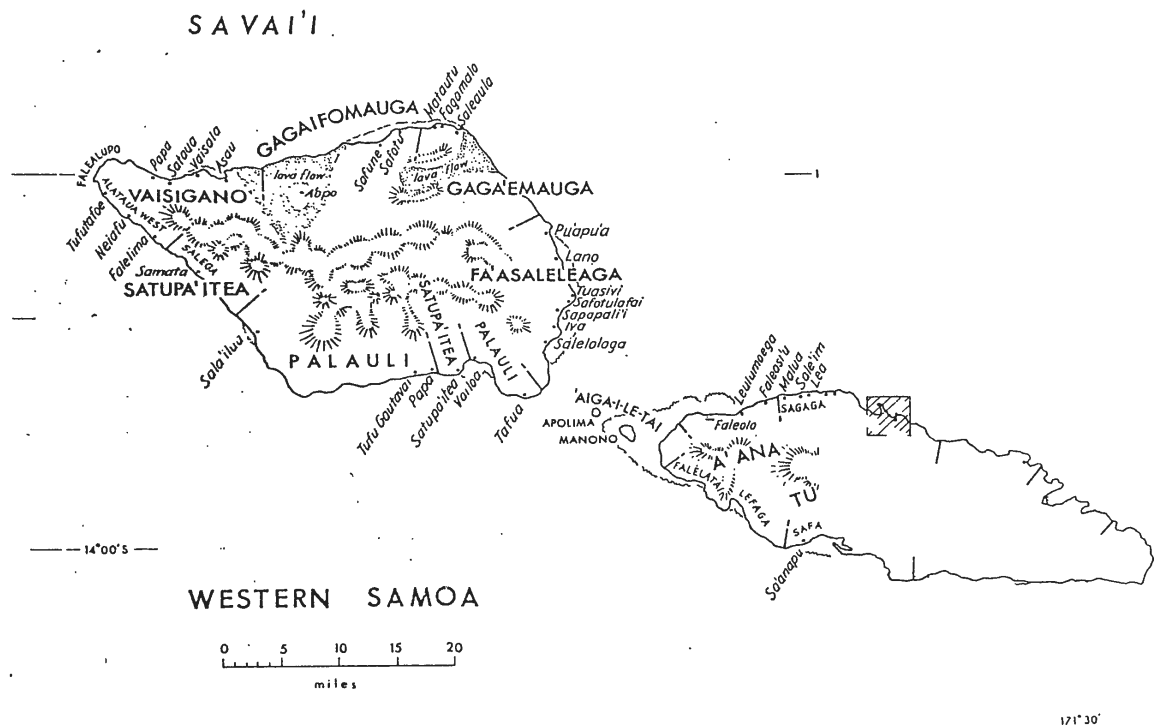
The Sāmoan title system can be depicted as a continuum where power and status represent extreme ends. As a matter of fact, the distinct separation between power and status truly reflects the real functions of the *tulafale* and the *ali'i* in the sense that power

³⁹ Pers Comm. Tuala Auali'itia (2012) Apia

⁴⁰ Pers Comm. Tuala Auali'itia (2012) Apia

or political power does not inhere within status and *vice versa* (Shore 1982). On the one hand, power is custom-made for the *tulafale* as their main function is to serve, promote and protect the interests of the *ali'i* (Tuagalu 1988:8). *Tulafale* (orator groups) have the authority to confer the highest of all titles but they cannot be rulers for the reason that their titles are not of the sacred category⁴¹. Rank-wise, the *tulafale* may appear to be hierarchically lower than the *ali'i* by status but that does not follow that they are politically inferior. Their influence in all compartments of society, especially in the political sphere, is limitless. On the other hand, the *ali'i* and *ali'i pa'ia* do outranked the titles of the *tulafale* but it cannot be assumed that rank goes hand in hand with political authority.

Table 4.



⁴¹ Pers. Comm. Fonoti 2012 (Apia)

The ‘*ao*’ and ‘*papa*’ honours are ceremonial titles (Shore 1977:444, and Tuangalu 1988:8) that have been from the beginning controlled by orator groups comprised only of *tulafale* whose power determines the destiny of their highest chiefs. Holders of minor titles could improve their stance by competing for higher titles. What one can do is to win support from different branches of the extended families and through strategic manoeuvres and other means be bestowed with the highest title. This is the reason that one cannot assume that the *ali’i* is higher in rank than the *tulafale* just on the basis of the function each represents because they could both trace their genealogical pedigree to the same sacred origin. And, it is not untypical for a *tulafale* to be conferred with an *ali’i* title at some stage of his political career (Meleisea 1987:27)

These two types of *matai* may have been ranked unevenly with regard to assigned functions, where the *ali’i* symbolises the most celebrated dignity in society and the *tulafale* professes a more secular undertaking in serving his superior, but strangely the authority of the *tulafale* is superior in political terms to that of his *ali’i* counterpart. As a matter of fact, the *tulafale* executes mediatory services that link the *ali’i* and the people with the land they customarily belong to. Each family and extended family bestows their title on an *ali’i* or a *tulafale* as their head. In each village, depending on how big the community is, the number of titleholders alone can tell us how many families reside therein. On average, the *tulafale* titles have always outnumbered those of the *ali’i* (Ibid p.27).

The most celebrated criterion in the livelihood of every Sāmoan is ‘trust’ and the *matai* system is the device that provides just that virtue⁴². People at large belong to individual families and also to a wider network of extended families that are represented by titled persons as head. Each family and extended family is referred to as an ‘*aiga*. This is the basic socio-political unit that each village council establishes from elected representatives of every family within its territorial boundary. Family members would engage in fierce competition for the title that traditionally represented them. Every elected head of an extended family is representative of the ultimate trust given by all members to him, to serve them as their voice in the village *fono* (Meleisea 1987:28). There are *ali’i* oriented villages and also *tulafale* oriented villages.

⁴² Pers. Comm. Fonoti and Sa’ena 2012 (Apia)

The standards set for interested candidates were high and only someone with a spotless resume would be elected and of course that person must be the most able individual whose knowledge in respected areas such as genealogy, oral traditions, material culture, diplomacy, and warfare were significant credentials expected of a head of the family (Tuagalu 1988:9), ‘ulu o le ‘aiga⁴³. Once again, the quality of an elected head of a family was based on trustworthiness as his performance in making important decisions for his family plus his representative role in the fono were expected to produce above par excellence. Election for titled head of an extended family was not always easy as one family could produce ten or more able candidates but sadly in reality only one could hold the position.

The fono (village council) is comprised of titled chiefs only and their primary task is to look after the wellbeing of the *nu’u* (village). Every extended family in each *nu’u* has to be represented by one matai. Every *nu’u* in this regard has always had strong government as the fono is comprised of the best brains from each extended family who stands up to represent the rest of the community.

The ‘aiga own the land of the *nu’u* but the fono remains the paramount authority in its capacity to finalise decisions over unresolved issues discussed and debated by family heads in council meetings. The function of the fono is to assess every issue brought forward for discussion and the main aim is to achieve unanimity in the voting process. Should abstention or disagreement occur after a discussion the head *ali’i* would be the judge as to whether there was a need for the meeting to recommence in order to obtain unanimous agreement? Unanimity is the target (Holmes 1987:49)⁴⁴ and that reflects the strength of the village council in representing the welfare of the *nu’u*. Discussions in the village *fono* are more informal in the sense that *tulafale* (orators) can exchange views with the *ali’i* present and with the head *ali’i*. Such informality often makes room for issues to be better understood since *ali’i* are customarily distant from the debating arena as their dignity is beyond the secular function of the *tulafale* who are the professional negotiators and masters in the art of debate and diplomacy.

⁴³ In his work, MATAAFA IOSEFO AND THE IDEA OF KINGSHIP IN SĀMOA. (MA Thesis, University of Auckland 1988).

⁴⁴ Lowell D. Holmes; Quest for the real Sāmoa, the Mead/Freeman controversy and beyond, Massachusetts.

At district level (*itu*), a similar proceeding is transacted in electing candidates to the high titles by orator groups (*faleupolu*) who control the conferment of the highest titles. The *faleupolu* alone has the right to confer the *ao* or *papa* titles that are in their possession. Evidently, the *faleupolu* of the A'ana district is known as *tumua* (first in line); it is formed of nine orators called the '*faleiva*' (house of nine) and confer the Tui A'ana. The Atua district is controlled by another *tumua* that consists of six orators known as the '*faleono*' (house of six) and confer the Tui Atua. In Tuamasaga the right to confer the *papa* of Afega (Gatoa'itele) is held by the Tuisamau also known as *Faleta'ita'i*. The Alataua together with Satunumafono control the *papa* of Safata, Tamasoali'i (Henry 1992:143).

Pre-European Contact' Sāmoan Society

Around 550 AD, Pili an offspring of the Tui Manu'a rose to prominence on the island of Upolu. His success was partly due to his important marriages to local high born (chiefly) women who provided him with four children. He divided Upolu into three main districts (Henry 1992:27) for each of his three sons (Ana, Tua and Saga). His only daughter (Tolufale) was given the islands of Manono and Apolima situated between Upolu and Savai'i, which collectively are called "*aiga-i-le-tai*". The division of Upolu gave rise to an establishment of three kingdoms: Tua founded the Atua dynasty with a royal title Tui Atua as paramount ruler of East Upolu. Ana created another dynasty in West Upolu and assumed the royal title Tui A'ana. Saga established himself in the heart of the island.

Tua's dominion came to be called Atua and Ana's chiefdom was duly named A'ana. Saga's estate was named Tuamasaga as it is told by local tradition that Saga actually had a twin brother Tua who was brought to help him with the customary duty of ceremonial oration for their older brothers Tui A'ana and Tui Atua (Henry 1992:27). By this time Sāmoa had recognised the authority and power of the newly established dynasties and places like Tutu'ila, Manono and Apolima who had no resident monarch were inclined to form allegiance with the Tui A'ana and Tui Atua on the basis of historical connection. Tuamasaga remained neutral due to its above-mentioned customary duty. Manono and Apolima made a diplomatic stance in choosing whom to support between the two chiefdoms should war against each other eventuate but at some stage they formed a long-term alliance with A'ana (Henry 1992:27-28). Savai'i had its own chiefly

organisation independent of the Upolu dynastic establishments; its chiefly lineages descended from Le Alali an offspring of Pili at a later date. Orators (*tulafale*) in their finest speeches constantly reference this era of ancient Sāmoa as “‘*O Sāmoa ua ta’oto, a o se i’a mai moana, aua o le i’a a Sāmoa ua uma ona aisa*”, which metaphorically means that Sāmoa is like a fish from the deep sea which has been divided into sections (Meleisea *et al*, 1987:29).

The true image of pre-Christian Sāmoan society is epitomized in yet another ancient proverb “*E tala tau Toga ae Tala tofi Sāmoa*” which means that Tongan stories (traditions) are those of war whereas those of Sāmoa are about divisions (Meleisea 1987:29).⁴⁵ According to Sāmoan oral traditions, political divisions are traceable to last wills and bequests (*mavaega*) given by paramount chiefs for services rendered by families, villages and districts, and traceable of course to wars due to which the victors redrew territorial boundaries. This basic phenomenon has made it hard for anyone to construct an accepted history of Sāmoa, as traditions from various districts offer different views of history and not a single important event in the past is generally agreed upon. This has occurred frequently when the *malo* (territorial trophy⁴⁶ meaning the victor or winner’s seat of government) changed hands. A number of works on the history of Sāmoa have also mentioned this fact that it is impossible to accomplish such a task since the civil wars of the nineteenth century produced no result and the outcome therefore was a stalemate.⁴⁷

History in the Sāmoan context would be easier to comprehend if there was a winning side so that the establishment of the *malo* would provide undisputed support for claims made as to what actually occurred while the seat of government maintained its grip on power. The factors bearing on the dilemma of producing a unified history of Sāmoa are manifold and difficult for outsiders to understand while Sāmoans themselves admit that this aberration cannot be dealt with. Meleisea (1995: 34) succinctly sums up this point:

“...Sāmoan past is so controversial that attempts to write even the most innocuous histories are officially discouraged. If it is true that orthodox histories are written by or at least in support of, the winning side, it is understandable that history is such a problem for the Sāmoans.”

⁴⁵ These expressions are considered as true reflection of the political system in these ancient Polynesian societies before the contact with the Western world took place. LAGAGAA short History of Sāmoa.

⁴⁶ I employ this metaphor as it fits the description of the Sāmoan political practices of the period.

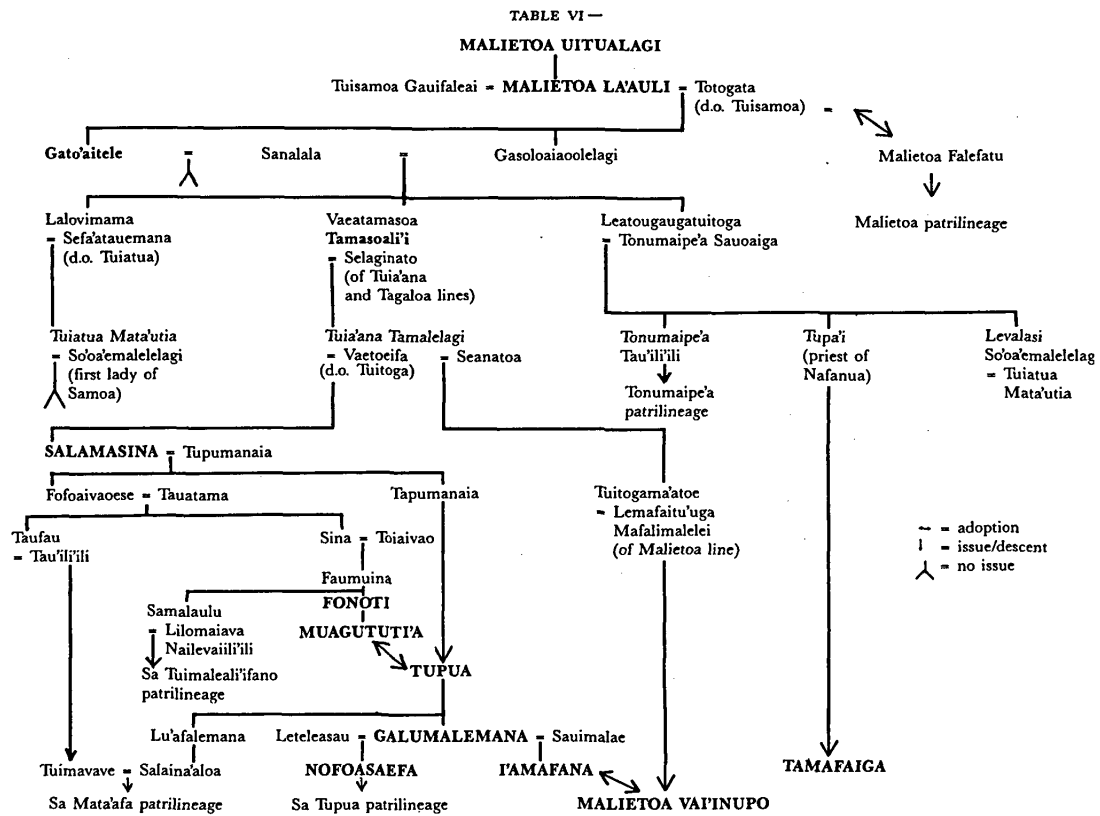
⁴⁷ Meleisea discusses this point very clearly in his chapter in “Tonga and Sāmoa: Images of Gender and Polity) 1995 [Huntsman *et al*].

This work assesses the Upolu political renaissance in the fifteenth century with the view that Sāmoan Politics may not be the proper epithet to use in discussing ancient political organisations of Sāmoa. Political divisions and rivalries among the royal families of A'ana, Atua and Tuamasaga could be understood as an all-Upolu affair that predictably engaged and influenced other independent polities in Savai'i, Manono and Tutu'ila in the process. The fact that Upolu produced more sacred chiefly titles in the highest category of *ali'i pa'ia* status, especially the four *papa* which are apparently absent in the hierarchy of chiefly ranking in other islands of the Sāmoa group, would imply that the ancient reverence regarding the Tui Manu'a and his god-like status has now been replaced for ever.

At first, the *papa*⁴⁸ of the Tui A'ana and the Tui Atua were the highest titles in the whole of Upolu and also revered in Savai'i, Manono and Tutu'ila (Henry 1992:27,28). These sacred titles were revered due to the fact that their origins were traceable to the creator god Tagaloa via Tangaloa's progenitor the Tui Manu'a Fitiaumua and his son Pili whose four sons Ana, Tua, Saga and Tolufale were made lords of Upolu and Manono (Ibid p.27).

⁴⁸ This is a term that represents the highest sacred titles. The 'ali'i pa'ia' (sacred chiefs) comprise of a wide variety of titles that sprang from the divine link between the royal line of kings especially from the Sa Tupua and from the Sa Malietoa at a later date.

Figure 11.



Tuamasaga was left with no *papa* until the rise of the Malietoa family (sa Malietoa) around 1150 AD. General support and approval from all corners of Sāmoa for the legacy of Malietoa as saviour of the nation from Tongan rule did materialise in the approval of Sagagaimuli's mavaega (Henry 1992:72), which were for La'auli's daughters to become mothers of all Sāmoa and to create their names as *papa* fafine (female royal titles). In direct accord with the 'last will' of Malietoa Uitualagi, Tuamasaga became prominent like A'ana and Atua when Gato'itele and Gatoloai'ao'olelangi (daughters of Malietoa La'auli) were made sacred and given titles that equalled the rank of sa Tupua titles. Uitualagi had decreed that his adopted son Laauli should succeed him and should a son be born to him his birth should be proclaimed with prescribed customary protocol fit for a great chief. And his daughters '...shall be the mothers of Sāmoa and their names shall become titles like those of the Tui'ana and Tuiatua' (Henry 1992: 56).

I do need to direct my attention to this recently organised Upolu political development as it marked a direct challenge that was purposefully constructed to surpass the traditional recognition of Manu'a as the highest chiefdom in all of Sāmoa. The *papa(s)*

of A'ana and Atua were called *papa tane* (male *papa* titles), which were created before the Tongan occupation of Sāmoa around 500 AD (Ilaiu 2007). The Tuamasaga sacred titles became known as *papa fafine* (female *papa* titles) and were created around 1450 AD (Henry 1992:72,73) and (Tuagalu 1988:1). The capital of the Tui A'ana government was Le'ulumoega and Lufilufi was the centre of the Tui Atua kingship. In Tuamasaga, Gatoa'itele set up her seat of government at Afega while Tamasoali'i's government was established in the south at Safata. Each *papa* had a pair of ceremonial protectors called *tafa'i* (sides of the chief). In Le'ulumoega (A'ana) the pair of *tafa'i* for the Tui A'ana were *tulafale* Umaga and Pasese, and at Lufilufi (Atua) Tupa'i and Ta'inau were the *tafa'i* of the Tu'i Atua. At Afega, Fata and Maulolo were elected *tafa'i* for the new *papa* of Gatoa'itele and in Safata Fuga and Mauava became *tafa'i* for Tamasoali'i (Fred Henry 1992:78,109).

Upolu at this stage became the land of sacred chiefs as all its districts served the four highest titles in Sāmoa. In the Tuamasaga district a special emphasis on developing the governments of the new monarchs of Afega and Safata seemed to neglect the significance of Malie the seat of the Malietoa chiefdom. This process proved to be detrimental for the status of the warrior king Malietoa and even worse Malie was directly located in the vicinity of Gatoa'itele's territory where every movement in Afega was monitored quietly. At about 1460 AD the glorious reign of King Malietoa was finally eclipsed by the existence of the *papa fafine* titles in Tuamasaga, a development that he saw as an insult and that could not easily be ignored. As a matter of fact, feuds developed between rivals for the *papa* titles of A'ana, Atua, Afega and Safata and were intensified to the point that differences could not be settled other than war (Ibid p.70).

Wars of Succession

At about 1450 AD, a young highborn chief by the name Tamalelagi was proclaimed Tui A'ana in Leulumoega (A'ana) by the leading orators of the district Alipia and Suluga (Henry 1992:67). Apparently, the title had been already bestowed on another chief Sagate (Ibid p70). He was in the eyes of the people of A'ana the legitimate holder of the Tui A'ana title. The choice made by Alipia and Suluga was based on the status of Tamalelagi's line of descent as his father was descended through male lines from the Tui A'ana and from Tagaloa of Savai'i and through his mother he was a direct descendant of Malietoa and the Tu'i Tonga. Tamalelagi's ancestry would bring respect to A'ana from all over Sāmoa and simultaneously catapult the dignity of the Tui A'ana title. Sagate and his supporters were hesitant to challenge the new Tui A'ana but tensions between camps had reached a point that confrontation could not be avoided (Ibid p.71-72). Tamalelagi decided to prepare for war, for which purpose he sought assistance from the goddess of war Nafanua from Falealupo whose magic clubs (Fesilafa'i and Faauliulito) were renowned for producing victories in many wars. The goddess granted her support for Tamalelagi and thereafter victory was achieved but at a cost: the papa of the Tui A'ana was taken to Falealupo as a reward for Nafanua's assistance.

Shortly after the A'ana war, a situation had been developing for quite some time between Malietoa Sagagaimuli and the protectors of Gatoaitete and it finally burst out. Actually, Malietoa had observed the greater respect given to Afega by the Sa Malietoa and other chiefly lineages of Sāmoa in building the new dynasty of Gatoa'itele at Afega (Henry 1992:73). He had been used to indulge such honours for years before the creation of the *papa fafine* titles. That made him quite jealous of Gatoaitete's new position and especially the powerful strength exhibited by her government. And fearing the inability of his own resources to match the support for Afega he demanded that the Sa Malietoa recognise him first and not Gatoa'itele. He then confronted Fata and Maulolo (protectors of the *papa* title) to recognise himself as lord of the whole district (Ibid p.72). This insult gave Gatoa'itele no choice but to declare war on Malietoa.

Nafanua was summoned for assistance and Tupa'i with armies led by A'ana and Falealupo put a swift end to Malietoa's resistance in a short war (Ibid p. 72-73). The

victory was marked by the removal of the appellation "*Laumua*"⁴⁹ that had applied to Malie in recognition of its being the seat of the first Malietoa. Afega was made capital of Tuamasaga and *Laumua* was transferred to Afega as its appellation. Tupa'i then established a government on the Mala'e Tanumafili but took the *papa* to Falealupo as agreed, to be placed in the care of Nafanua (Henry 1992:73). At this point (1410 AD) the goddess of war Nafanua had in her possession two of the four *papa* titles.

Towards the end of the Afega and Malie war for the undisputed rulership of North Tuamasaga, Tui Atua Mata'utia died without an heir. Two claimants, Fogaoloula of Lufilufi and Foganiutea of Fagalua, launched claims to the Tu'i Atua title (Henry 1992:75). Apparently, both claimants used the Tui Atua title. According to TA Tupua Tamasese Efi, (1994:67) Fogaolo'ula and Foganiutea are names of residence sites, which also stands as metaphors representing a mother TA Sefa'atauemana and her daughter TA Sefa'atauemana sharing the same name.

A conflict developed among the ladies over the husband of the mother, Amituana'i from Aleipata who indulged seeing both of them (Tupua 1994:68). Leading orators of Atua tried to settle the dispute with a view to resolving the differences peacefully but to no avail so both sides resorted to the battlefield. On learning of the reasons behind the victories of Tamalelagi and Gatoa'itele, Foganiutea decided to seek assistance from Nafanua while knowing very well the risk of winning the war and losing the title to Falealupo. Tupa'i was again sent by Nafanua with the army of Tonumaie'a to take up Foganiutea's cause. Fogaoloula was badly defeated and Tupa'i established the government at Pulema'ava in east Lufilufi following the formal announcement that the Tui Atua title would be taken to the goddess Nafanua as agreed (Henry 1992:76).

Immediately after the Atua war, the Alataua clique of the Safata confederacy headed by high chief Ama challenged its counterpart Satunumafono who were supporting the established authority of Tamasoali'i (the new Queen of Safata). As had often happened in previous wars of succession, Satunumafono dispatched an envoy to Nafanua asking for help (Henry 1992:76-77). The request was granted but with the same terms that had applied to A'ana, Afega and Atua that the title would be taken to Nafanua. Since

⁴⁹ This term refers to the honour inherent in the dynastic recognition of the Malietoa stance in the district of Tuamasaga, which is comparable to the *Tumua* of the Sa Tupua in A'ana and Atua.

Satunumafono and Tamasoali'i thought of nothing else other than to defeat Alataua, the terms given by Tupa'i were welcomed. The war was swift. Alataua surrendered; Tupa'i established a government at Togamau, the mala'e of Vaie'e (Safata) (Ibid p.77); and Ama, defeated fled from Sāmoa, taking his two daughters, Tohu'ia and a younger sister to the court of the first Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Mo'ungatonga at Tatakamotonga in Tongatapu (Ilaiu 2007:38).

Figure 12.

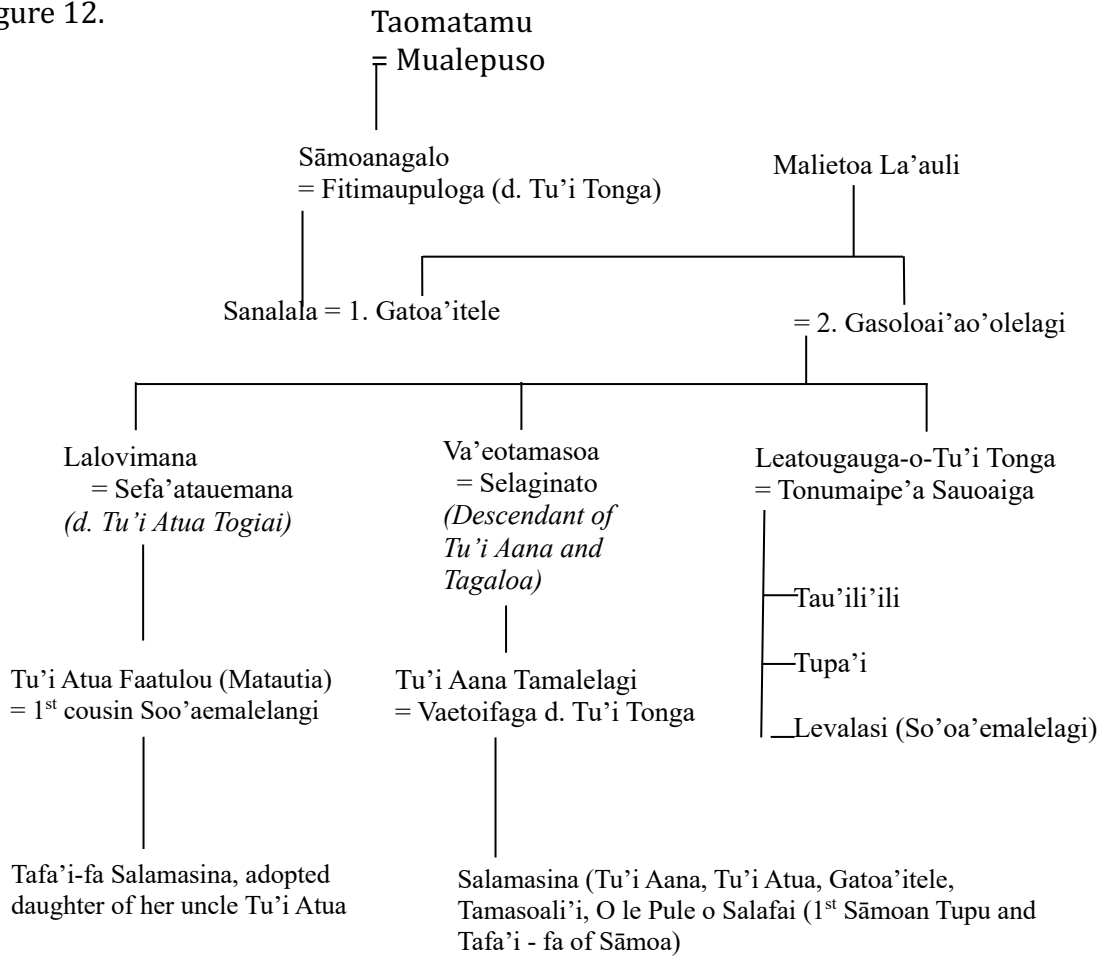


Figure 13. Rulers of Savai'i, Upolu, Manono & Tutu'ila

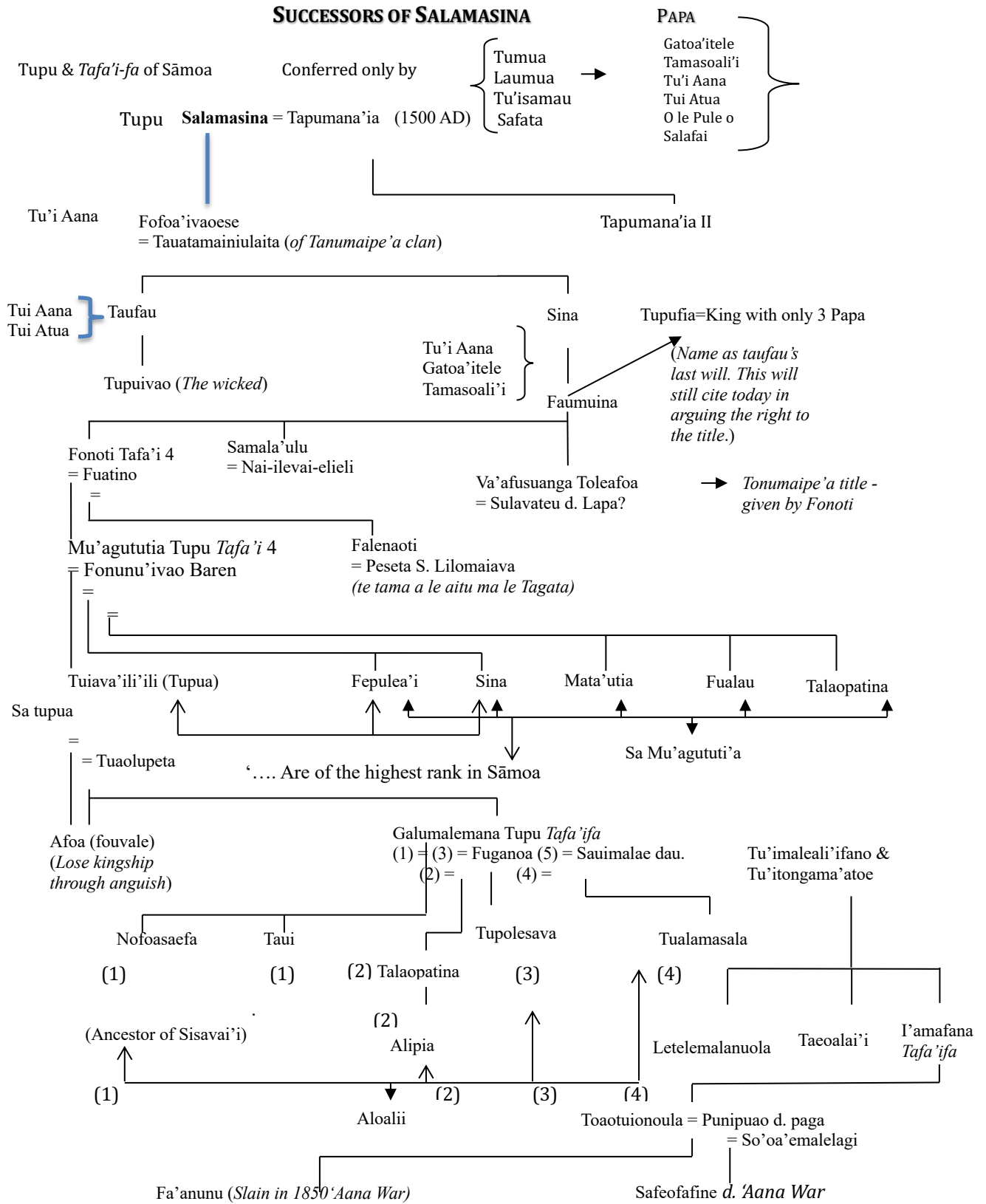
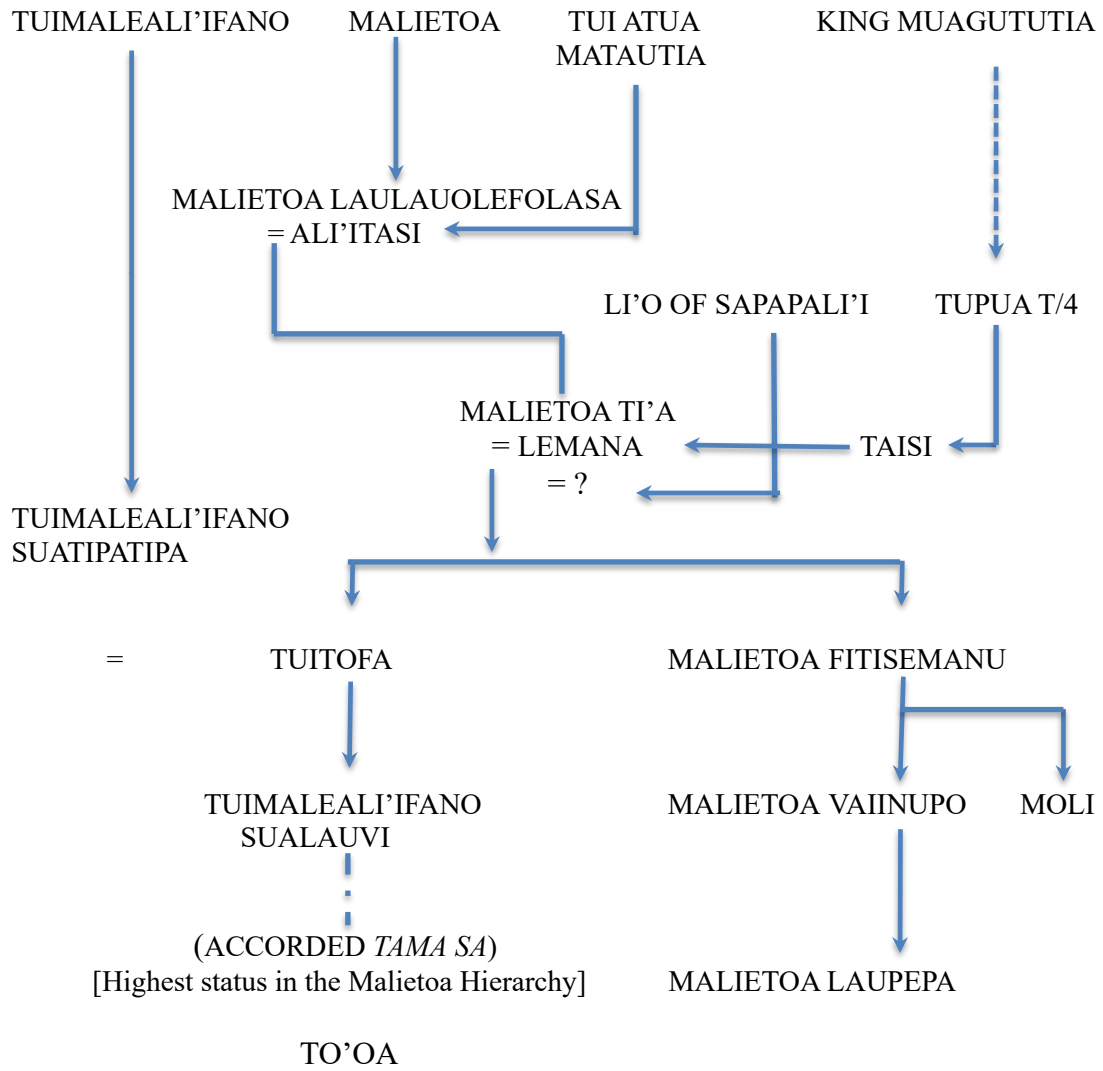


Figure 14.

TO'OA TITLE



Political Centralisation in Sāmoa (1500 AD)

At this moment in time the goddess of war Nafanua had in her possession the four *papa(s)* of Upolu. The paramount chiefs of A'ana, Afega, Atua and Safata were rulers without their designated titles (Henry 1992:76). It was an embarrassing situation for the chiefs and for the *faleupolu* (orator groups) who controlled these ancient polities to lose the pride of their nation, the *papa* to which people and land are bound by tradition. The association between titles of all categories with the chiefs, orators and the people of the district together with the land is a sacred entity that must be maintained. When a part was not present the network would use every ounce of its power to restore the missing element that the system needed.

Apparently, Nafanua did have an ulterior motive for holding the four *papa* titles under her care. After Tongan rule in Sāmoa had ended about 1105 AD the chiefly families of Savai'i, Manono, Upolu and Tutu'ila had dissociated themselves from all connection with the Tui Manu'a dynasty possibly because the Tui Manu'a title had been held by Tu'i Tonga Kau'ulufonua and his descendants (Gunson 1997:147). The bond between the Tui Manu'a and the Tu'i Tonga appeared to be responsible for the political development of the Western islands of Samoa in the 15th century AD. According to Professor Morgan Tuimaleali'ifano,

“Tongan presence in western Samoa under the Tu'i Tonga dynasty was maintained with the assistance of the Tui Manu'a. In the wake of Tongan expulsion, the office of *tafa'ifa* was created by the westerner in response to two other titles. It was the westerner's answer to the Tu'i Tonga dynasty and second to the overbearing antiquity of the Tui Manu'a title.” (1998:92-93).

This is an information of great historical value in light of the westerner's effort, for one, in searching for an alternative title to replace the once undisputed authority of the Tui Manu'a as Samoa's divine ruler and progenitor of post-ancient chieftainship. On the other hand, we might be able to develop from this information the whereabouts of TT Kau'ulufonua fekai and his offspring of three generations who supposedly in exile somewhere in Samoa. Perhaps Gunson's theory might be credible after all (1997:147).

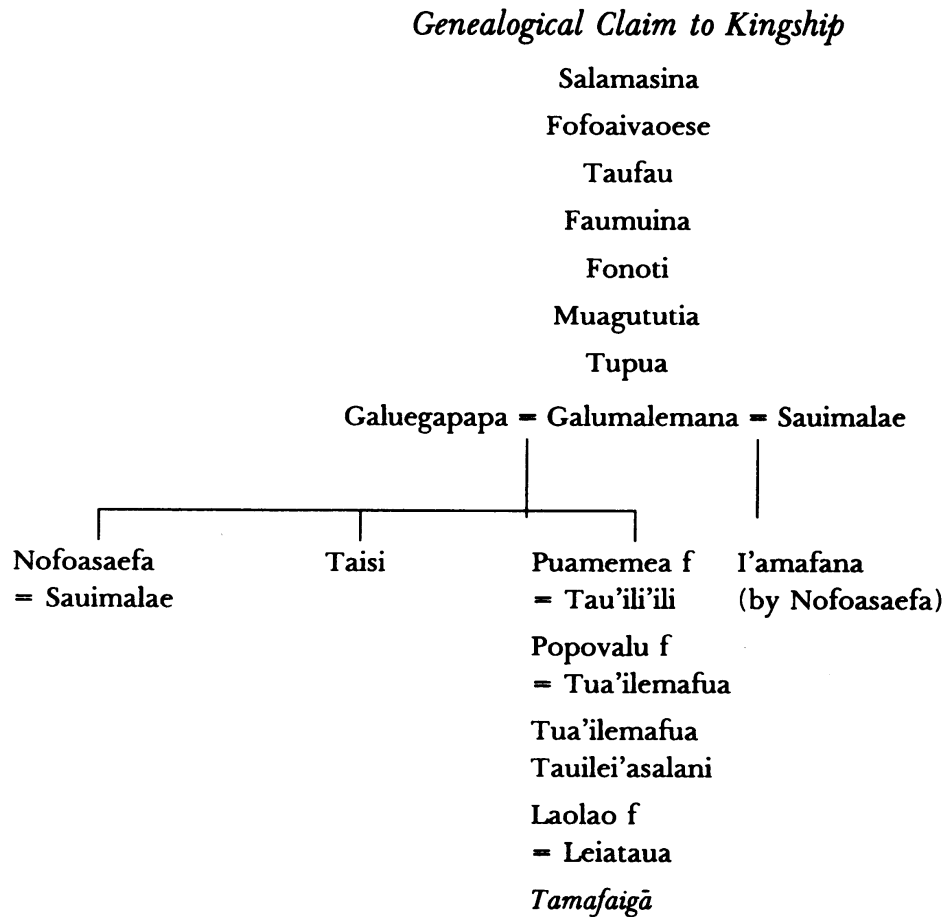
With the creation of the female *papa fafine* of Afega and Safata the idea of ending the deadlock of fragmentary political disunity in Sāmoa had a sound foundation that emerged in real terms. Despite continuous attempts made by A'ana and Atua to restore

the *papa* to each of their paramount chiefs, Nafanua had something else in mind: she decided to confer all the titles of Upolu together with the high honours of Savai'i (*O le Pule o Sa Lafai*) on a person of her choice so that Sāmoa would have a unified ruler.

So'oa'emalelagi the *Taupou* of Leulumoega was the chosen one due to her illustrious ancestry. Her father Tonumaip'e'a was descended from the ruling house of Savai'i (Sa Lafai) and she was connected by blood to Nafanua. Through her mother's side she was a direct descendant of Malietoa, Tui A'ana, Tu'i Tonga, Tu'i Fiti and the Tui Manu'a. This choice was satisfactory to the two Tumua of Leulumoega and Lufilufi and to the Laumua of Afega and also the Alataua of Safata together with the blessing of the Sa Malietoa. Their approval unexpectedly hit a sour note when So'oa'emalelagi refused the offer three times in favour of her adopted daughter and niece Salamasina, the daughter of her brother Tui A'ana Tamalelagi and Va'etoifaga (daughter of Tu'i Tonga Kau'ulufonua II). Nafanua finally conceded to So'oa'emalelagi's wish and reasons behind it around 1500 AD. Tupa'i was sent by Nafanua to inform the Tumua and Laumua to install Salamasina in Leulumoega with the new title "*O le tafa'ifa*" (The four sides, representing the union of the four *papa*); to bestow on her the designated honours of Savai'i "*O le Pule o Sa Lafai*"; and to proclaim her Tupu (Queen of all Sāmoa). This was successfully executed and around 1500 AD. Sāmoa finally managed to overcome the impossible by allowing room for a Centralise ruler who was not Tongan or from Manu'a but a Sāmoan.

The establishment of a centralised form of government marked the reign of Queen Salamasina whereby the four pairs of *tafa'i* for *papa* titles together with blessing of *Sa Lafai* (Savai'i) came together as one body and served only one lord for the first time. This was in a time when duties had been exclusively distributed to certain families as lifetime professions and district boundaries were levelled for the purpose of serving national unity. Satunumafono in A'ana is one of the surviving families who were awarded with an exclusive duty before the *Tafa'ifa* confederacy collapsed after the death of Queen Salamasina.

Figure 15.



Even though political divisions were inherent in the newfound unity under the *Tafa'i fa* administration, the centralisation bug bit deep enough for contending paramount chiefs to aspire to be Tupu and kingship became a desired commodity but not without a price as demand for the newfound honours grew stronger. Centralised power proved costly in the long run as a great number of human lives were lost in the process as brutal wars took place one after another. Apparently, Salamasina's nominated successor (*mavaega*) was acceptable only to the *tumua* of A'ana. Her daughter Fofoaivao'ese was bestowed with the papa title of the Tu'i A'ana. At the same time Atua, Afega and Safata took their papa with them to be conferred on a high chief of their choice. However, it became clear that Sāmoa was already bewitched with the *Tafa'i fa* syndrome, although the tradition of *mavaega* was no longer an effective method for maintaining national unity and instead war became the sought-after alternative. As long as the four *papa* titles were in the

possession of a victorious contender he or she would be declared *Tupu* and *Tafa'i fa* of Sāmoa.

Political Centralisation at Risk. (1540 - 1830)

The title of A'ana was passed on from Tui A'ana Fofoaivao'ese to her eldest daughter Taufau who managed later to acquire the other sacred title of the Tui Atua to her possession (Fred Henry, 2nd edition 1992:162). In her last days she assembled the *Tumua* and *Faleupolu* of A'ana and Atua advising them of her wish that her son Tupuivao would be her successor (Ibid: 163). Efforts were made repeatedly to bring him back to Leulumoega but he was deeply involved in the pigeon-hunting season. Taufau realised that her son had no leadership quality in him and for that reason she nominated her sister's son Faumuina to succeed her (Ibid: 164). The *faleupolu* announced the mavaega of Taufau after her death and the *tumua* of A'ana installed the royal title (*papa*) of Tu'i A'ana on Faumuina. Tupuivao claimed the Tui Atua title for himself with the backing of his powerful Salemuliana clan. A war broke out in which Tupuivao's supporters were badly defeated and he was exiled to Tutu'ila. As a result, both *papa* of the sa Malietoa were conferred on the victor in support and recognition of his personal quality fit for a king. Although Faumuina was proclaimed *Tupu* (King of all Sāmoa) he was designated *Tupufia* (the King who only holds three *Papa*) because the Tui Atua title was withheld from him.

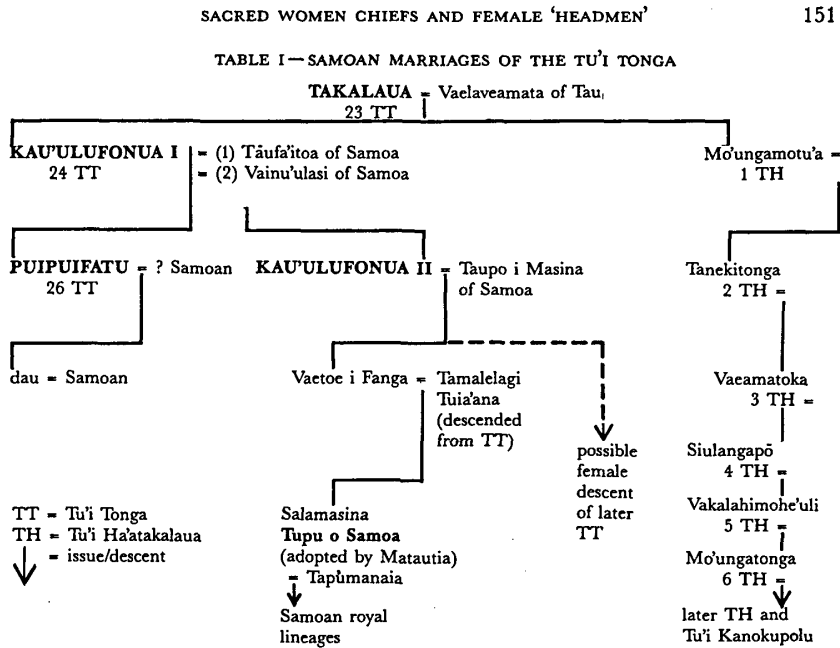
Shortly after Tu'i A'ana Faumuina died, his children Fonoti, Toleafoa and Samala'ulu who were of different mothers began to quarrel among themselves over the issue of kingship. Their maternal relations of each contender resorted to war (Henry 1992:166). Samala'ulu and Toleafoa formed an alliance to defeat Fonoti (Ibid: 166-167). They bestowed titles on those who pledged to join them in the war to come. As it turned out, the smaller forces of Fonoti and his allies defeated the larger army of Samala'ulu and Toleafoa. Apparently, Tuamasaga and Savai'i supported the losing side and for that reason Fonoti became *Tafa'i fa* as the royal titles of Tuamasaga and the high honours of Savai'i were surrendered to him. Kingship was once again restored around 1550 AD and Sāmoa enjoyed peace for a number of decades (Ibid: 169).

Fonoti had one son known by the name Mu'agututi'a. He succeeded his father as *Tafa'ifa* with the blessings of the two *Tumua* (Leulumoega and Lufilufi), Laumua

(Afega) and Safata and of the whole of Savai'i, Manono and Tutu'ila. His reign was a peaceful one that somehow equalled Salamasina's golden age as Queen of Sāmoa (Ibid: 173-174). But before he died *Tafa'ifa* Mu'agututi'a made a surprise announcement that his adopted son Tupua would succeed him as King of Sāmoa and the king's son Fepulea'i is to serve and support Tupua (Henry 1992:174). The two Tumua at first were doubtful of the boy's ancestry and resorted therefore to launch a full investigation into who he really was but, being satisfied with the findings together with the realisation that his family connections would bring them wealth in the process, they wasted no time in proceeding with the installation of Tupua as *Tafa'ifa* of Sāmoa (Henry: 176-177). The biological children of King Mu'agututi'a were designated Sa Mu'agututi'a. Descendants of king Tupua were designated Sa Tupua and from that time onwards they become the highest families in all of Sāmoa (Ibid: 177).

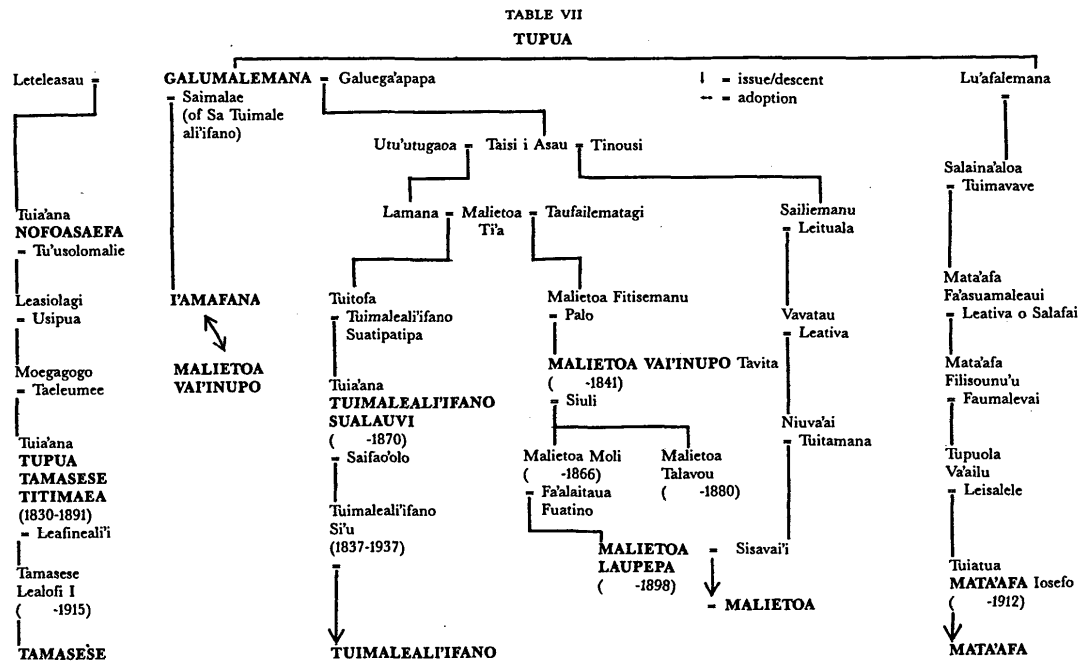
There was no war during the reign of *Tafa'ifa* Tupua, since Mu'agututi'a's other sons had accepted their father's nomination. Tupua had a number of marriages producing two sons by different mothers of whom Afoa was the eldest and Galumalemana the younger son. Before his death, Tupua made his wish known to all the *faleupolu* that Afoa should be his successor and the house of orators agreed. In accordance with Tupua's wish Afoa was duly installed *Tafa'ifa* (Henry 1992:178) in Leulumoega while his half-brother Galumalemana was proclaimed king in another place by his own supporters. A war was certainly in the making for there had to be one king according to the dying wish of king Tupua. In the process of recruiting allies, king Afoa and his rival contender did meet each other by chance at the village of Falealili in Atua, as each needed the support of that district.

Figure 16.



A formal meeting was set up for them on neutral ground well known as a sacred asylum at Falepunaoa. During the meeting Galumalemana was asked by Talo, one the leading orators of Atua district, to go and kiss the feet of the king and beg for his forgiveness, which he readily acceded to do. King Afoa refused to extend his feet and insisted on going to war (Henry 1992:179-180). Galumalemana was wrong in accepting his supporters' scheme, but King Afoa's behaviour at the peace talk made Talo angry and he stood up and broke his spear in half, giving them one piece each and telling them to go and fight for Leulumoega (seat of the malo) and let the winner be king of Sāmoa (Ibid: 179). The matter was settled in the battlefield in a dual between the contenders. King Afoa was defeated by Galumalemana. The downfall of king Afoa was due to his inability to subdue his anger together with his failure to take the advice of the high council of Atua, which for everyone present was an unforgivable insult showing how unfit he was to rule.

Figure 17.



All the *Faleupolu* holding right to confer the *Papa* as gifts of the major districts of Upolu installed Galumalemana king and bestowed their titles on him in Le'ulumoega. He became *Tafa'ifa* and Tupu of Sāmoa. Once again this king lived a long life and reigned peacefully. He married five times. This chiefly practice always brought an uncertain future for the nation for every son and daughter conceived of him would vie to become *Tafa'ifa* as they had different mothers who came from powerful family networks. However, Galumalemana made a very unusual last will for his successor. As strange as it may appear, the choice fell on an unborn child carried by his last wife (Henry1992:184), an act that his grown up children evidently found very unsatisfactory, especially his eldest son Nofoaesea. When the king died Nofoaesea managed to acquire the Tu'i A'ana title from the Faleiva of Leulumoega without resistance.

The *Faleupolu* (house of orators) of Atua, Afega and Safata refused to bestow their respective titles on Nofoaesea as he had behaved disrespectfully when King Galumalemana named Sauimalae's unborn child as his successor (Ibid: 184-186). Nofoaesea had interrupted the king's announcement of his last will by demanding to be made his successor. Nofoaesea then decided to take the other three *papa* titles by force. He attacked Atua first then proceeded to other districts in Savai'i who supported Atua but all those efforts were in vain as he was assassinated before he attained his goal.

After his death, the *faleono* of Atua determined to give their gift to one of the younger sons of Galumalemana. They favoured Tupo and plans were made to confer the Tu'i Atua title on him. This proposal was supported by his half-brother Tualamasala but Tusa, a member of the *faleono* objected on the basis that King Galumalemana's last will must be honoured. Around 1740 he managed to convince the powerful orators of Aleipata to give their support to I'amafana (the nominated unborn child) who had grown up at Salefaavale.

Tensions developed between the contenders' supporters and despite attempts to settle the matters peacefully, a Safata orator Manu'a seated Tupo on a *tapa'au* mat with all the chiefs present and proclaimed him Tui Atua. In no time at all I'amafana was seated on a *tapa'au* mat and proclaimed Tu'i Atua at Saleaumua (Aleipata) by the Tumua (Lufilufi) before an assembly of allied chiefs of Tuamasaga, A'ana and parts of Savai'i. High chief Le'ota of Solosolo concluded the ceremony with another proclamation confirming that I'amafana was the only rightful heir for the kingship of Sāmoa. Sāmoan history was repeating itself as war was declared and both sides faced each other at a place called Mulifau on the boundary between Atua and Tuamasaga. At the end of the day, Tupo was defeated and asked for peace to save his life. As a result, the rebel brothers Tupo and Tualamasala were exiled to Tutu'ila. King I'amafana was a wise ruler as exhibited in his choice of successor.

In about 1800 I'amafana nominated Malietoa Vaiinupo to succeed him as King of Sāmoa (Henry 1992:192). What had motivated the king to favour Malietoa was an incident during his visit to Sapapali'i where his *aumaga* was challenged by Malietoa's *aumaga* for the right to prepare the kava for the King's welcoming ceremony. It escalated into a fight in which the king's people were driven to the sea and were about to be annihilated when Malietoa himself stopped the quarrel and severely punished his own *aumaga* for what had happened (Henry 1992:191-192). In the eyes of king I'amafana the objectivity displayed by Malietoa was a quality befitting a great ruler for Sāmoa, having in mind that Sa Malietoa had become a force in both Upolu and Savai'i at the time. Perhaps I'amafana had learnt that the reign of the Sa Tupua had always brought national unrest over the rights to kingship and that to transfer the kingship honours to the Sa Malietoa might give Sāmoa fewer conflicts in the future.

The two Tumua vehemently opposed the nomination of Malietoa, as Leulumoega and Lufilufi were the home and stronghold of the Sa Tupua kingly line (Henry 1992:192). Safeofafine (King I'amafana's eldest son) took advantage of the national reaction towards the king's 'last will' and made claims to both *papa-tane* titles but the Tumua did not want him either. His mother's family heard of his ambition so they helped him to acquire the Tu'i Atua title, which he successfully obtained but his bid for the Tu'i A'ana was in vain. He then waged war on A'ana but his Atua-led forces were heavily defeated and his own life was lost too. The offspring of King I'amafana died out, as his sons Toaotuionoula and Safeofafine were both dead and the latter's son Fa'anunu died in the A'ana war without issue. Malietoa on the other hand was related to the Sa Tupua through his connection to the Tu'imaleali'ifano lineage and therefore he had the right to kingship but he was still resented on the basis that he represented a secular line of kings.

The death of Safeofafine had given Lufilufi opportunity to bestow the Tu'i Atua title again. Sāmoa at the time was without a king and the most active government that had power was that of Malietoa, in which Safune and Safotu in Savai'i together with the whole of Tuamasaga and part of Atua (Falealili) were districts under the confederation. This development was not favourable in Nafanua's political equation for the centralisation of Sāmoa as she had intended paramount status only for the descendants of the Sa Tupua. For this reason, the goddess sent an emissary to Leulumoega, the official seat of the Tupu (King of Sāmoa) perhaps with the purpose of restoring the *malo* and the former glory of the Sa Tupua by naming a candidate for the *Tafa'ifa* title in A'ana. The Faleiva failed to give the visitors proper reception. That offence was not repeated when the envoy reached Manono for the same purpose of establishing the 'malo'. Now the favour was on Leiataua Lesa whose wife was directly descended from Nafanua's lineage (Tonumaipe'a family). He was installed as Tu'i A'ana in Leulumoega. The Faleiva must have been powerless to object.

Malietoa had an interest in the *papa* titles, as they were a necessary requirement for his quest to become *Tafa'i fa* as proclaimed in the last will of King I'amafana. A war broke out between the Malietoa factions in Savai'i and the newly crowned Tui A'ana Leiataua Lesa. Malietoa's side lost the war and Leiataua Lesa married a highborn lady Lo'alo'a the daughter of Tuaillemafua of Safune for the purpose of luring the support of Sa Malietoa to the cause of Manono in maintaining the *malo*. As it turned out Safune and

Safotu successfully resisted the control of the occupying forces of Saleaula and Matautu and not long after that Leiataua Lesa died in 1823. He pledged in his last will to establish the *Malo* under the care of Manono, instead of Safotulafai and Satupa'itea taking it back to its usual home at Nu'uausala at Leulumoega.

The issue from the union of Leiataua Lesa and Lo'alo'a was the tyrant of the 19th century Sāmoa known with the appellation Tamafaiga (the one who rules with terror). He was at first a war priest of Manono who possessed immeasurable power and when he was bestowed with the Leiataua title a reign of terror followed. A'ana wasted no time in proclaiming Tamafaiga Tu'i A'ana on the assumption that such commitment would please him, and he would relocate his residence and the *malo* to A'ana while awaiting the rest of the other *papa(s)* to be gifted to him. But this was just hopeful thinking on the part of A'ana for Mata'afa and Atua offended Tamafaiga by declaring war on him. His former ally Malietoa who had fought together with him in the Safune and Safotu resistance a few years earlier decided to support Manono. Tamafaiga gladly accepted the challenge and with the backing of Malietoa the whole of Tuamasaga joined the allied forces of Manono against Atua and its small army. The consequence was inevitable for even though Mata'afa and his army fought bravely their numbers were no match against the combined forces of Malietoa and Tamafaiga.

The defeat of Mata'afa and Atua was followed by the destruction of Upolu including A'ana and perhaps out of fear the other coveted titles were conferred on Tamafaiga one after another in no time at all. He was recognised as supreme ruler of Sāmoa but it was insignificant to him, as he never used the designation Tupu of Sāmoa. He was beyond those national honours (as McKay1828:2 sums up) and ignored them but strangely he created for himself the title "O le Tupu o Salafai" instead. The people of A'ana hated him so much that a conspiracy to assassinate him was brewed but he learned of this plot and the A'ana conspirators at Fasito'outa and Fasito'otai were severely punished. A second attempt was successfully executed, and that success alone caused the complete destruction of Upolu and the subsequent annihilation of A'ana by the allied forces of Manono and Malietoa after the death of the tyrant at the hands of Tui Humi at Fasito'outa in A'ana. Even though Tamafaiga was a cruel ruler and Sāmoa suffered a lot from his reign of terror, the whole country was surprisingly more than ready to avenge his death as though he was a saint. A'ana did not expect to be punished for ending

Sāmoa's misery by eliminating the tyrant, but for the rest of Sāmoa Tamafaiga, tyrant or not, was king, his body was sacred, and murdering him was an unforgivable crime.

Malietoa Vaiinupo was instrumental in avenging the death of king Leiataua Tamafaiga alongside Manono. Since one third of Savai'i, and the whole of Tuamasaga and Atua were under his command, Malietoa was undeniably the natural successor for the vacant kingship office of Sāmoa. According to Fred Henry (1992:213), the arrival of Reverend John Williams in 1830 seemed to fulfil the prophecy given by Nafanua to a previous Malietoa that his line would have its share of victory (*malo*) from heaven. Malietoa Vaiinupo was eventually installed *Tafa'ifa* in A'ana, possibly before John Williams' second visit in October 1832 as he refers to him as 'His Majesty' in his journal while reference to him in his first visit in August 1830 was to a 'celebrated chieftain'. (One might argue that he had already acquired the kingship titles before John Williams first visit.) Whatever the case may be, king Malietoa accepted Christianity as his '*malo*'; he became part of its establishment and was baptised as Tavita (after King David of Israel).

In embracing the new religion Malietoa Vaiinupo developed a genuine desire to restore a lasting peace in Sāmoa and towards the end of his life he made a dying wish in the presence of high chiefs and leading orators of Sāmoa that the four *papa(s)* should be returned to their respective districts and never again to be united under one individual. His main motive was to avoid futile wars and he was convinced, through his Christian belief, that the only way forward for a better and peaceful future for Sāmoa was to abolish the kingship office as it had been the source of political chaos that had made Sāmoa suffer decades of warfare and human savagery just for a mere '*means to an end*'.

This 'last will' was clearly a result of Malietoa's Christian-based conviction that the indigenous religion had been partly responsible for enticing political disunity and that while the *Tafa'ifa* revolution was a great solution devised to level political divisions it became the source of continued national unrest that would never end. Obviously, Malietoa did not recognise how far Sāmoan society had acclimatised itself to the seductive spell of political centralisation as a norm that brings pride at the cost of human misery. The 'Imperial bugs' have since bitten Sāmoa deeper than had been anticipated. The taste of extending political influence beyond district boundaries has become sweeter for powerful orator groups once confined to their usual restricted governments where power and wealth were no longer in their grasp.

This taste benefited contenders for the highest honours of Sāmoa (the *Tafa'i fa*) as each candidate needed to do less to raise an army since opportunists and cavaliers alike would fight for them to the end as power and wealth awaited them after the mission was achieved. Malietoa's solution is truly a mistake in that regard, as once the 'Pandora's box' is opened then 'all hell breaks loose' and not even a miracle can bring normality again especially if it happens on Sāmoa soil. The wishful proclamation by Malietoa from his deathbed 'that there would never again be war in Sāmoa' (Meleisea 1995: 30) was a genuine hope from an experienced veteran of war who knew well the futility of establishing kingship the Sāmoan way. Most parts of the world do not go to war every each time there is a need to install a successor to the throne but the Sāmoan case is unique as there are titles which must be acquired by a contender in order for him to assume kingship. War is a 'means to an end' and there is nothing one can do about it.

After the death of Malietoa Vaiinupo the terms of his 'last will' were fulfilled specifically as follows: the Tui A'ana title was gifted to To'oa (Tu'imaleali'ifano) of Falelatai; Mataafa Fagamanu was given the Tui Atua title; his half-brother Taimalelagi was bequeathed with the *papa* titles of Gatoa'itele and Tamasoali'i; the Malietoa title together with the highest honours of Savai'i 'Ole Pule o Sa Lafai' all entrusted to Taimalelagi also. The dispersing of the royal titles in the name of peace and for the purpose of a national ceasefire 'forever' proved impractical and impossible. Hostilities re-emerged among contenders for the *papa* of Tui A'ana and Tui Atua as usual and normal preparations for war were got underway, a development that Malietoa and Tonumaip'e'a could not afford to ignore.

As a matter fact, if A'ana and Atua were to be allowed to build their strength militarily the next thing they would do would be to come after the *papa* *fafine* titles in order to complete the requirement for the kingship office so that the Malo would be in the possession and control of the Tumua once again. Leulumoega had been subjected to Manono since the reign of Tamafaiga and continued still under the Malietoa regime as *Tafa'i fa* of Sāmoa, a humiliation that the Tumua badly want to avenge. In light of this political development, a war broke out between the Sa Malietoa and Sa Tupua districts. With the intervention of the missionaries both parties accepted a truce. Another conflict developed afterwards between rivals within the Sa Malietoa instead, which featured Talavou and Laupepa vying for the kingship title. Different orator groups within the Sa

Malietoa circle conferred both of them with the Malietoa title. When Talavou was proclaimed Malietoa in Sapapali'i in Savai'i, the most influential orator of the Sa Malietoa at the time Lauaki Namulau'ulu proclaimed Laupepa the sole holder of the title in the traditional seat of the Malietoa family at Malie.

With the involvement of foreign powers in Sāmoan affairs at this time, Malietoa Laupepa was declared king and it was agreed that a member of the Sa Tupua would be nominated to share the office as co-king (Davidson 1973:276-277). That issue created rivalry between the Atua and A'ana candidates of the Sa Tupua. The A'ana candidate Tupua Pulepule and another Atua contender Tamasese Titimaea challenged Tui Atua Mata'afa Fagamanu for the Sa Tupua office. This political development was dictated by new policies introduced by the foreign administration headed by Germany and the United States of America (Tuagalu 1988:78-80). The co-kingship concept was engineered by these foreign powers to minimise the level of hostility amongst contenders for the kingship office. Once again, this method could not resolve the ongoing rivalries between the leading chiefly lineages of Malietoa, Mata'afa and Tupua Tamasese who constantly waged wars against each other for three decades, despite numerous court decisions made to settle the issue.

It often happened in the ensuing wars that a few high chiefs including dethroned king Malietoa Laupepa and some leading orators, of whom Lauaki Namulau'ulu was one, were sent into exile as a result of losing necessary support (Davidson 1973:297). The conflict between these three royal lineages did frustrate the patience of the big powers in waiting for a clear winner to emerge from the endless race for the kingship office. But, having assessed the futile effort to achieve a unanimous choice for a king among the most popular and experienced Mata'afa of the Sa Tupua and the youthful candidate Tanumafili I of the Sa Malietoa, a decision was reached to annex Sāmoa in the belief that it would be the best possible alternative to the prolonged problems that had surrounded this island group. Germany and the United States divided Sāmoa into Western and Eastern groups, and Sāmoa remains divided to this day (Ibid p. 292).

Under the German administration, Mata'afa Iosefo, one of the *tama-o-aiga*, was made *Ali'i Sili* a title invented to suppress the claim for *tupu* (Meleisea 1987:108-111 in Meleisea and Schofield *at al*). The *Tafa'i fa* office and the four *papa* titles, including '*O le Pule o Sa Lafai* that customarily legitimised the Tupu office or 'King of Sāmoa',

were replaced by a lesser *ali'i* (princely) title known as *O Tama aiga*. The incumbents were Tupua (Tamasese), Tu'imaleali'ifano, Mata'afa and Malietoa (Tuagalu 1988:83). The Kaiser of Germany then became the new *Tafa'i fa* or *Tupu Sili* of Sāmoa by contrast (Ibid p.78). Even though respect and recognition were still given to the ancient titles bestowed on the four *Tama o aiga*, the cultural honours associated with installation customs and traditional rituals pertaining to each of these titles were forcibly downgraded and disallowed in a number of contexts. These German practices were unsatisfactory in the eyes of those concerned; They made important and sacred activities incomplete at best (Solf 1907:3 on the Report on Sāmoa)⁵⁰. Malietoa's dying wish did come true after all only through foreign messengers.

Transfer of the Sāmoan *matai* system to Hihifo, Tongatapu:

The local high chief Ama had fiercely resisted the creation of the Tamasoali'i dynasty in Safata around 1470 AD (Ilaiu 2007). A war duly ensued in which Ama was badly defeated (Henry 1992:77). He sought refuge in Tonga. Ama's voyage was a surprise and whatever it was his desired goal it came to fruition in a different way (Ilaiu 2007). One tradition claims he was in exile and another that Ama was hopeful of winning powerful allies in Tonga so he could regain his former glory back in Safata⁵¹. Ama's dream of re-establishing himself in the political arena back in Sāmoa did not materialise but his efforts brought a greater result in the end as he managed in the process to establish a Sāmoan styled government in Tonga that had its organic blueprint powered by the *matai* social structure (Ilaiu 2007).

The story of Ngata's reign as *hau* and Lord of Hihifo is well documented in the literature especially in the works of Pacific historians and anthropologists (Gifford 1929, Latukefu 1974, Bott 1982, Herda 1988 and Campbell 1989). Most academic works describe the installation ceremony in exactly the same way that has been transmitted through the inherited channel of oral tradition, though with less attention to detail. It is said that an older brother of Ngata named Halakitau'a and Ngata's father's younger brother Vaoloa accompanied Ngata on their way to enthrone him as high chief of the Hihifo district (Bott 1982:115, and Gifford 1929:102). Before they reached their destination an apparently novel scheme was proposed by his council of advisors to bind

⁵⁰ Dr Wilhelm Solf outline four major changes in Sāmoan politics, which includes the abolition of the Tupu office, the abolition of *papa* and the offices of Tumua and Pule.

⁵¹ Pers. Comm. High chief Kioa of Ha'utu.

Ngata, Vaoloa and Halakitau'a as one with a fine mat⁵² so the people of Hihifo would believe their new ruler had three heads. Modern listeners interpret the intention as being to scare the Hihifo people into submission to Ngata for they were reputed to be fearless and warlike and had made it a norm to assassinate candidates sent by the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua to govern them (Bott 1982:115). However, orators of the day would have read the metaphor of the "myth", as I explained above.

Whatever happened at Hihifo on this particular occasion oral tradition says a little and so as to indigenous traditionalists and Polynesianist scholars. But Ama's scheme did actually work because Ngata's Sāmoan supporters joined hands with the people of Hihifo in crowning the new ruler (Ilaiu 2007). Ngata was not only installed at the site reserved for the Hihifo ruler of choice but he was given the highest honour of leaning his back against the trunk of the sacred koka tree at Kolovai (Bott 1982:115-116). The tree's resident spirits would determine whether or not the candidate was the rightful chief to lead them⁵³. Lives of the lucky ones before Ngata who were spared became rulers but these spirits did not favour some unlucky contenders, it is said.

It is likely however that the Sāmoans would have negotiated their weigh in with some effective proposals that the Hihifo people could not disregard especially if it were to benefit them (Ilaiu 2007). Evidence for such terms of agreement or more probably for a formal treaty can be inferred from the parts played by both parties in the installation kava ritual whereby Ngata was ceremonially accompanied to the koka tree by a local Fijian resident of Hihifo, Napelupelu⁵⁴. This Fijian figure, Napelupelu was given the right to eat the liver of a cooked pig ceremonially presented to the new monarch for distribution during the installation ceremony. The Sāmoan contingent took over the greater part of the ceremony with their flair for unsurpassed oratory where ranked orators and Sāmoan high chiefs exchanged glorified speeches in acknowledging the ranks of those involved and the contribution they made to the occasion (Bott 1982:115-126). This is the official account transmitted by oral traditions and standardised in history books to date. However, this account has not been critically analysed or given enough thought to determine the significance of the cultural exchanges and political

⁵² This fine mat is still in the possession of the Tongan royal family today. It is called *Maneafaiga* (a Sāmoan name).

⁵³ Pers Comm, Roko Dreu, 2014 Suva, Fiji.

⁵⁴ Account given by Motu'apuaka in an unpublished article translated by Feleti Vi 1959. Tonga Tradition Committee, records, Palace Office, Nuku'alofa, Tonga.

activities involved in that historical renaissance at Hihifo in the middle of the sixteenth century.

What seems to be missing from the narratives of Ngata's *hauship* in Hihifo is the obvious discontinuity of traditional protocol and political practices that had been institutionalised by the Tu'i Tonga and adopted by the court of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua. The oddity of wrapping together three persons in a fine mat just to create an illusion intended to scare off an entire population into accepting a three-headed beast as their king (Bott 1982:115) or was it really a trick? Here I contend it was a Sāmoan sacred tradition so unique that its meaning has been misunderstood by later Tongan storytellers and the anthropologists and historians who usurped the oral traditions.

I must now address my thesis that the first Tu'i Kanokupolu was installed as another sacred ruler in Tonga in the next chapter. His pair of *tafa'i* Nuku and Niukapu is by comparison an important office in the installation proceeding of a Sāmoan monarch especially of the Upolu kingship tradition. As protectors of Ngata, they were called *ha'a* Latuhifo (chiefs who descend – from the throne).

I have delineated in this chapter a picture of Sāmoan society as it really was before the contact with Europe. This is the time that Ama and his 1000 followers arrived in Tonga. There are living proofs of cultural fusion and foreign practices introduced at this particular period. Since these developments have been overlooked and misconceived at best, a whole chapter on Sāmoa would help showing the characters of the new paradigm as building on reality not typical of ancient Tongan political practices. The purpose is to relate the contribution made by the Sāmoan migrants to their adopted country.

Chapter 6

Political Transformation and Institutional Changes

Part 1

(The Tu'i Tonga rulers)

1st TT Aho'eitu to 24th TT Ka'ulufonua Fekai
(550 AD to 1350)

Synopsis

This chapter focuses on narratives inherent in ancient interactions among chiefly lineages as they restructured themselves in response to new social institutions and political establishments. The purpose is to be able to make sense of what went on in the minds of those who played a part in developing, changing or destroying ancient cultural traditions.

Background

Mythology seems to be the guiding tool in the quest to discover the past, although oral traditions, folklore and mythologies could not provide any information relating to the Lapita migration that we have recognised (Rutherford 1977:1-2; Ve'ehala and Fanua [in Rutherford *et al*] 1977:27-28; and Cummins 1977:64). Instead, existing myths speak of how the creator god Tangaloa created the first men by breaking a *fue* creeper into two halves on the island of Ata whereupon a maggot grew out of the decaying root (Collocott 1924:169-70) and (Herda 1988:26). He then sent a bird to chop the maggot into two but a third piece fell off the beak of the bird and these three parts of the maggot turned into human form. The first two parts to be split off became Kohai (Who?) and Koau (I am) and the last piece was called Momo (fragment) (Wood 1972: 5, Thomas 2013: 27). In order to trace genealogies of chiefs today with the hope of connecting them to the very first known people of the Tongan isles we would have to at least link them to the descendants of the maggot. I am suggesting that Kohai, Koau and Momo represent dynasties who were replaced by the offspring of the god Tangaloa'.

A few recorded genealogies do name the earliest Tu'i Tonga as Kohai, Koau and Momo, but the majority of genealogical records start from Tangaloa's son 'Aho'eitu as the first Tu'i Tonga (Gifford 1929:49-51). Since the existing genealogies are mainly comprised of a list of names that are said to have been kings especially those of the Tu'i Tonga line

(Ve'ehala and Fanua 1977:29), it is hard to know who their spouses were. The accepted lists have 39 names of Tu'i Tonga based on the Catholic Mission list recorded by Father Francis Xavier Reiter, Anthony Uhatafe's manuscript, a list published by King George II, and a list recorded by J. E. Moulton, Fanua and Ve'ehala (1977:29-30) and Herda (1988:33). Distinguishable from these lists is one given to S. W. Baker by King George I in 1862 which has a succession of 48 Tu'i Tonga (Ibid: p.29) .

The salient purpose in citing these lists is to determine how far back we can trace the ancestry of the Tongan kings, and to be able to provide approximate dates for the people who have been recorded in oral traditions and mythologies. Obviously we cannot go beyond the descendants of the maggot (for humans) although there is another genealogy of non-human entities (Rutherford 1977:1), which points to a rock (Tou'ia-o-futuna) as the beginning of all things that strangely precedes the existence of the gods (Thomas 2013:25), and (Herda 1988:17-24).⁵⁵ Fortunately for us in our quest for a reliable date for the beginning of the people who have been thought to exist in our remotest past, is the succession tradition of the Tu'i Tonga line in which the kingship title was passed down from father to eldest son (Gifford 1929: 50). Whether we use the list of 39 Tu'i Tonga or the list of 48 Tu'i Tonga, the result of calculating backwards depends on a serious consideration of the historical figures who held the title at the time when contact with Europe begun. A number of notable explorers, an LMS denouncer and a Methodist missionary (Captain James Cook 1777, George Vason 1876, William Mariner 1806 and Rev John Thomas) met persons who held the sacred title of the Tu'i Tonga and this recorded evidence contributes to reliable dating in our pursuit of historical accuracy.

The last person to be installed to the sacred title of Tu'i Tonga was Laufilitonga whose death in the year 1865 marked the end of a dynasty that had ruled Tonga for over 1500 years. Captain James Cook on his third voyage to Tonga in 1777 was most fortunate to have met and associated with TT Pau in a number of contexts (Beaglehole 1967:174). According to the accepted date that is still circulating in the existing literature, the first Tu'i Tonga Aho'eitu would have been installed to this office around the year 950 AD

⁵⁵ Tou'ia-o-Futuna is a rock whose offspring were ancestors of the gods and sacred rulers of Tonga. Rev John Thomas discusses this genealogy in great detail, see also Herda 1988.

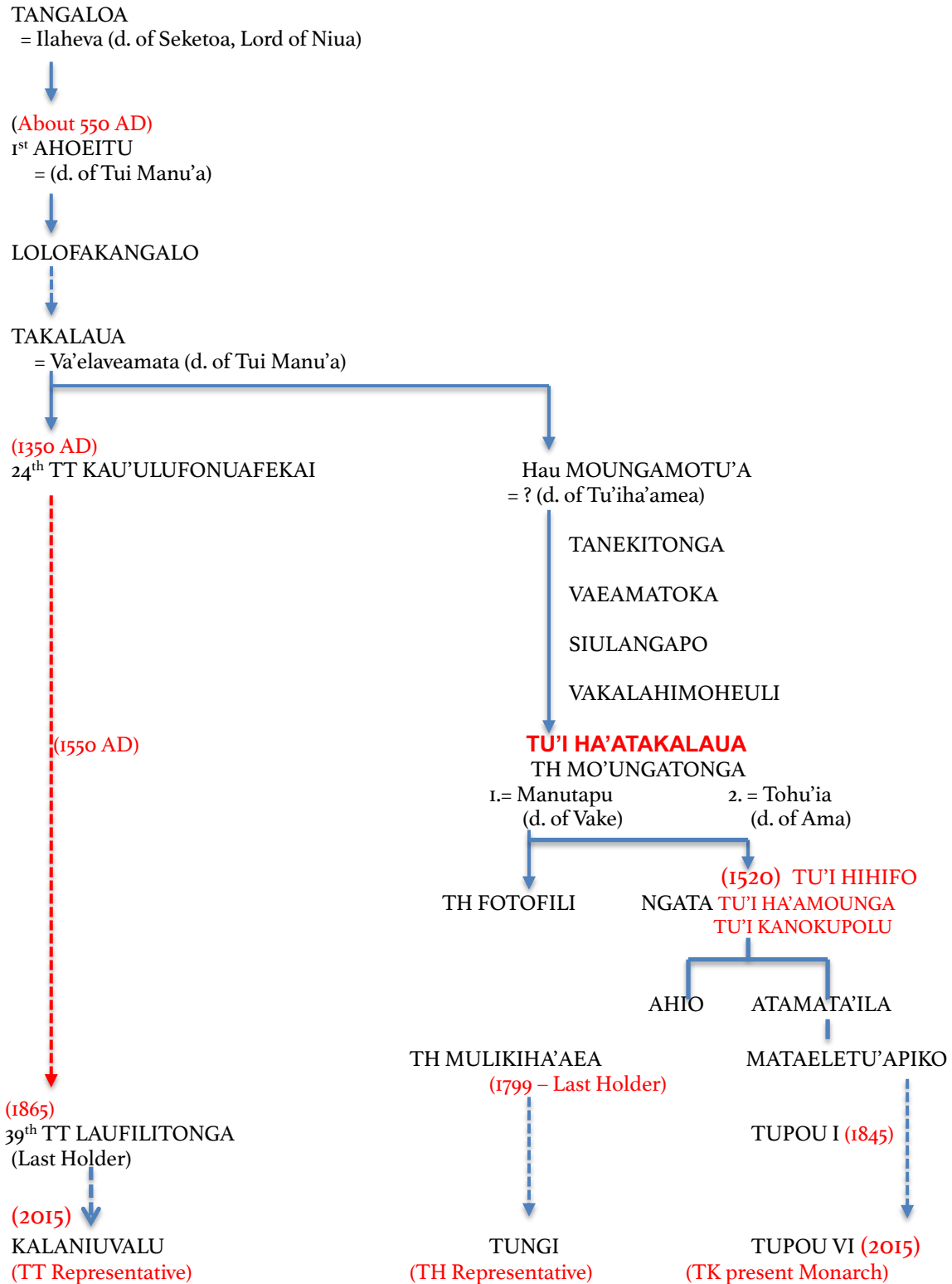
(Wood 1972:5).⁵⁶ This conclusion is based on a popular conviction that four to five Tu'i Tonga reign in every hundred years and the Catholic list of 39 rulers, especially from father to son succession, would confirm the above date as correct. This conventional dating can be challenged by reviewing the lifetimes of the number of Tu'i Tonga whose reigns were recorded by observers of Tongan society during the contact period (Ilaiu 2007:5).⁵⁷ This review suggests that a more sensible time frame for a reign of each Tu'i Tonga would be in between thirty to thirty-five year's duration. This study proves this theory by demonstrating that between 1777 and 1865 we have three generations of TT title holders who reigned successively from father to son with an exception of TT Pau's brother Ma'ulupekotofa who also became TT after Pau died in 1786 (Campbell 1982:183). However, Fuanunuiava Pau's son was installed TT in 1797 and his son Laufilitonga was made TT in 1827 and his death in 1865 can be seen as a testimony that three generations could comfortably stretch their longevity for one hundred years. This proof could be the correct formula for determining the right numbers of TT who supposed to reign in every hundred years, no more and no less (plus and minus exceptions).

⁵⁶ Modern historians including Latukefu 1974, Herda 1988, Campbell 1982 and 1989 speak in unison of 950 AD as an appropriate date for Aho'eitu as first Tu'i Tonga on the basis that each TT would at least have reigned for 25 years.

⁵⁷ Ilaiu 2007. The Tu'i Kanokupolu Matai Establishment (MPhil Thesis) Massey University.

Figure 18.

TU'I TONGA DYASTY



In fact, a thorough analysis of the number of reigning Tu'i Tonga who have met European explorers will show a definite figure of those who reigned in every hundred years. Hence, in 1643 Abel Tasman arrived in the reign of a Tu'i Tonga whom Ian

Campbell has argued to be Kau'ulufonua III just because when Cook met TT Pau in 1777 he said he was the fifth Tui Tonga since Tasman's visit (Collocott 1924:168). Approximately one hundred years after Cook's visit in 1777, TT Pau's grandson and the last Tu'i Tonga died in 1865. If we look at Campbell's calculation of five Tu'i Tonga from 1643 to 1777 and compare it with the number of Tu'i Tonga who reigned for the following hundred years between 1777 and 1865 the discrepancy is notable. Obviously, TT Pau, TT Fuanunuiava and TT Laufiletonga represent three generations of father to son succession and all of them met European personnel; the last two had encounters with English missionaries in the early 1800s. It is safe to suggest, as argued in this study, that the Tu'i Tonga who met Tasman in 1643 would not have been Kau'ulufonua III but his grandson Tu'ipulotu 1st.

The 'three Tu'i Tonga per hundred-years' formula would give us a better approximation for the time the first Tu'i Tonga who reigned as ruler of the Tongan Maritime Empire. According to oral tradition the first Tu'i Tonga was Tangaloa's son 'Aho'eitu whose reputation as a warrior was no surprise for it was he who conquered most of the Pacific to create the empire that lasted for eight hundred years in a number of islands (Fr Fred Henry 1992:29-30). The historical Tu'i Tonga (the ones who survived into the contact period) were seven in total but only of six generations because TT Pau was succeeded by his elder brother Ma'ulupekotofa after Pau's death in the 1780s, and before his son Fuanunuiava was installed to the office in 1806 (Gifford 1929: 50). Evidently, if we count backwards from TT Laufiletonga, who ended the line when he died in 1865, and use the three generations per hundred-year formula we would have around 1300 years from when the first ruler of this dynasty could have established his reign about 565 AD. But, this calculation is based on the Catholic mission list that names 39 individuals as Tu'i Tonga (Gifford 1929:50). Should we take Baker's list of 48 names it would take us back to 265 AD as the date for the establishment of the Tu'i Tonga dynasty.⁵⁸ I will defer analysis of the second list due to a major complication that requires more time⁵⁹.

⁵⁸ According to Professor Futa Helu a reasonable date for TT 'Aho'eitu would be 250 AD or maybe earlier (pers. Comm. 2008).

⁵⁹ This endeavour does not depend on analyzing Tongan sources only. It needs careful comparison of Tongan rulers with their contemporaries in other Pacific chiefdoms. Such comparison will always be a complicated affair where names are concerned. In Sāmoa, Niue, Futuna and Uvea (Wallis Island) there are names of Tu'i Tonga who are difficult to trace in our list and who may have been chiefs sent by the Tu'i Tonga, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, or Tu'i Kanokupolu to govern those islands.

For our present purpose I will restrict my attention to the widely accepted Catholic mission list. In Tongan cultural logic it is taken as read that the names in the Tu'i Tonga lists are appellations or nick names given in hindsight.

1st TT 'Aho'eitu to the 10th TT Momo (650 – 950 AD):

In accordance with my idea of 'three generations per hundred-years' formula, 'Aho'eitu ascended to power around 565 or 650 AD. His mother 'Ilaheva was a lady of noble birth (Ilaiu 2007) and not just an earthly woman as oral traditions portrayed her to be (Cummins 1977:64, in Rutherford *et al*). She was the daughter of Lord Seketoa (Rutherford 1977:27), the paramount chief of Niua Toputapu (an independent chiefdom at the time and not even a part of Tonga). It is said that she was taken on a voyage for the purpose of finding a suitable husband. The voyage did not head north to Sāmoa but instead headed in a southward direction⁶⁰. When they arrived at Vava'u, a group of islands to the north of Tongatapu, she expressed displeasure at its humidity and its weather in general and complained about the salty taste of its sea. They continued their journey southward to the Ha'apai group but she refused to go ashore because the sea was too cold for her liking and the islands too small. They proceeded on until they reached Tongatapu. She fell in love with the scenery and the flat layout of the island (Ibid p. 27). 'Ilaheva chose to go ashore at Tukutonga, east of Ma'ufanga, and selected a place on the beach front as her favourite spot to stay. According to oral tradition she lived there for quite a long time and finally the creator god Tangaloa took a fancy to her and he climbed down from the sky and cohabited with her.

The story implies that highborn virgins from all over the Pacific would have visited Tongatapu for the same purpose, to produce an issue with Tangaloa. 'Ilaheva seems to have been the last to arrive and since she lived in the same spot for a long duration a nickname Va'epopua was given to her, meaning the base or foot of Popua (Ve'ehala and Fanua 1977:27; in Rutherford *et al*). The success of her son 'Aho'eitu has been discussed earlier (Gifford 1929:52) but the point of revisiting the journey of his mother is in identifying the residence of Tangaloa and how the whole region gravitated to his sphere of influence. It seems likely also that ladies who came to Tonga to have children with Tangaloa were from Sāmoa, Fiji, Tokelau, Rotuma, Futuna, 'Uvea and

⁶⁰ Niuatoputapu is situated between Vava'u and Sāmoa; Savai'i Island is visible from the summit of Tafahi.

Rarotonga⁶¹. This is because ‘Aho’eitu’s elder brothers were of different complexions ranging from moderate to dark skinned individuals. Talafale who is said to be the eldest of Tangaloa’s sons was from a Sāmoan lady; Matakehe is believed to be of Fijian descent, Tu’i Folaha is now confirmed to have been originated from Tuvalu; and it is still debated whether the mother of Maliepo was from Fiji or Sāmoa.⁶²

At the end of the day, it was ‘Aho’eitu who was pronounced (king) Tu’i Tonga by Tangaloa and the elder brothers were ordered to serve him (Gifford 1929:52). There is no way of really knowing whether this story is accurate or has been partly influenced by biblical themes since most of the myths collected in Tonga were recorded by missionaries from their students who professed bible studies during the late 1800s.⁶³ One of the experts on Tongan history Dr Phyllis Herda⁶⁴ addresses the possibility that the story about ‘Aho’eitu was forged for political reasons. She believes that ‘Aho’eitu was the eldest son. It was quite typical in early missionary days for indigenous converts to fancy stories from the bible especially those in which youngest sons filled underdog roles but through some twist of fortune they became liberators through blessed gifts from god.

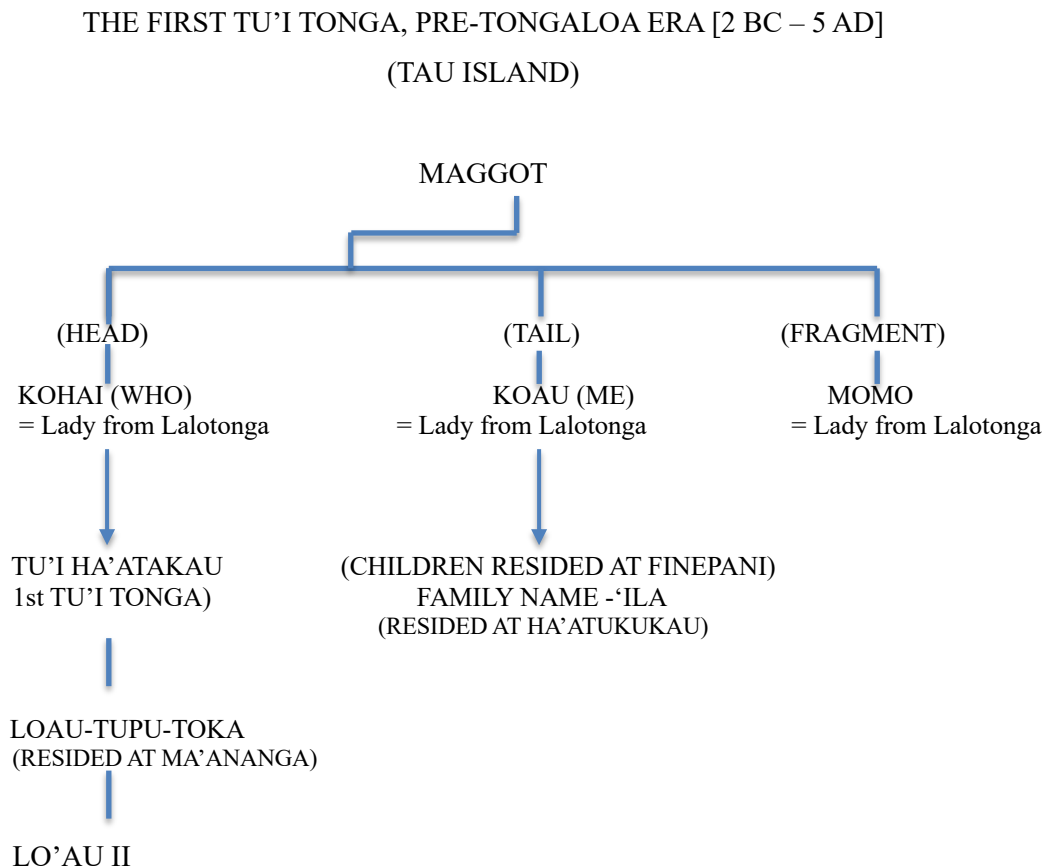
⁶¹ Pers. Comm. 2011 Kioa (of Ha’utu). Nuku’alofa. Tonga.

⁶² The source came from old stories that Kioa had heard when he was younger. He is convincing still that the information is true (from interviews in Auckland 2013), Sione Pome’e provided the information from Tuvalu the seat of Tu’i Folaha.

⁶³ Futa Helu, pers.comm. 2007 Atenisi.

⁶⁴ Pers. Comm, 2002.

Figure 19.



'Aho'eitu's story is no different when it is compared with popular figures in the bible like Joseph who was sold by his elder brothers out of jealousy on their way to Egypt in search of grain (Genesis 37:3-4). Joseph's special gift of solving dreams eventually earned him a high office in the court of the Pharaoh (Genesis 37:5-11). As a Minister of Finance he was a powerful figure (Genesis 41:41-57) but when he invited his criminal siblings to his house without their knowing who he was they were scared for their lives. Joseph spared them and won their father over for he was his favourite son and no wonder given that the older brothers did what they did (Genesis 48). This particular biblical theme seems to have entered into local folklore and mythologies in one way or another and in most cases adaptations were unavoidable. In fact, Dr Phyllis Herda and Professor Futa Helu⁶⁵ were convinced that 'Aho'eitu was the eldest son and that his position as sacred ruler was indeed his prerogative prescribed by the ancient tradition of primogeniture.

⁶⁵ Pers. Comm. Futa Helu 2007 (Atenisi) Tonga.

Birth of a Maritime Empire

According to oral traditions ‘Aho’eitu’s marriage to the daughter of the Tu’i Manu’a was part of the spoils of war and a coveted prize for the conquest of neighbouring Island polities⁶⁶. The ‘Aho’eitu conquest is vaguely recounted in the traditions of tributary colonies: Niue, Futuna, Uvea, Tikopia, Nanumea, Tuvalu and Anuta while Tahiti, Rarotonga, Fiji and Rotuma mention only late Tongan invasions and at best say nothing about conquest. Fortunately, this conquest is clearly recorded in the oral traditions of Savai’i, Upolu, Manono and Tutu’ila where their collective name Sāmoa was given by ‘Aho’eitu himself. (Brother) Fred Henry sums it up as follows:

“It is said that the Tongan name for Sāmoa (Ha’amoā) was first used when Asoaitu defeated the Sāmoans. Before that time they had been called after the island on which they lived: tagata Upolu, tagata Savai’i, tagata Tutu’ila. The name Ha’amoā did not then include the Manu’a group. (Henry 1992: 30)

Henry (1992) and Meleisea (1995) concur in calculating that the Tu’i Tonga Empire began and ended from 950 AD to 1450 AD. Meleisea uses the term ‘Tongan domination’ in his discussion of four distinct periods in Sāmoa’s past (1995:20 in Huntsman *et al*). Henry, on the other hand, asserts that the ‘Tongan empire lasted for 500 hundred years, that is from 950 to 1450 i.e. from ‘Aho’eitu to Takalaua.’ (1992: 30). It is clear that Brother Fred Henry was told enough by his informants about the extent of Tongan rule in the region for him not to restrict his account to Sāmoa only. According to Professor Malama Meleisea, the period of ‘Tongan domination’ is a reference only to the period of Tongan rule in Sāmoa. In the end, Tongan rule in Sāmoa was successfully ended by a rebellion against a ‘tyrant’ TT Talakaifaiki (a Sāmoan alternative is Tala’aifei’i) whose parting words, in recognition of the Sāmoans' success, were “*Malie toa, malie tau, Afai e toe o’o mai Tonga, e sau i le ao folau, a e le sau I le ao uliuli tau*” – Brave warriors, bravely you have fought! (Gifford 1929:54). If the Tongans ever come back, it will be for a friendly visit, but never again to fight you (Henry 1979:36). They were made into the title Malietoa, a constant reminder of the Tongan defeat (Kramer 1995:254) which the Sāmoans have since carried as a source of pride.

As oral history unfolds, Tu’i Tonga imperialism from the beginning was indicative of tactical brilliance and unparalleled vision only to be tainted by the utter cruelty and brutal acts of a heartless tyrant after seven hundred years of divine leadership from 550

⁶⁶ Pers. Comm. Futa Helu, 2007 Atenisi; Kioa 2012, Auckland. A similar version was propagated in radio programs for primary schools in the 1960’s.

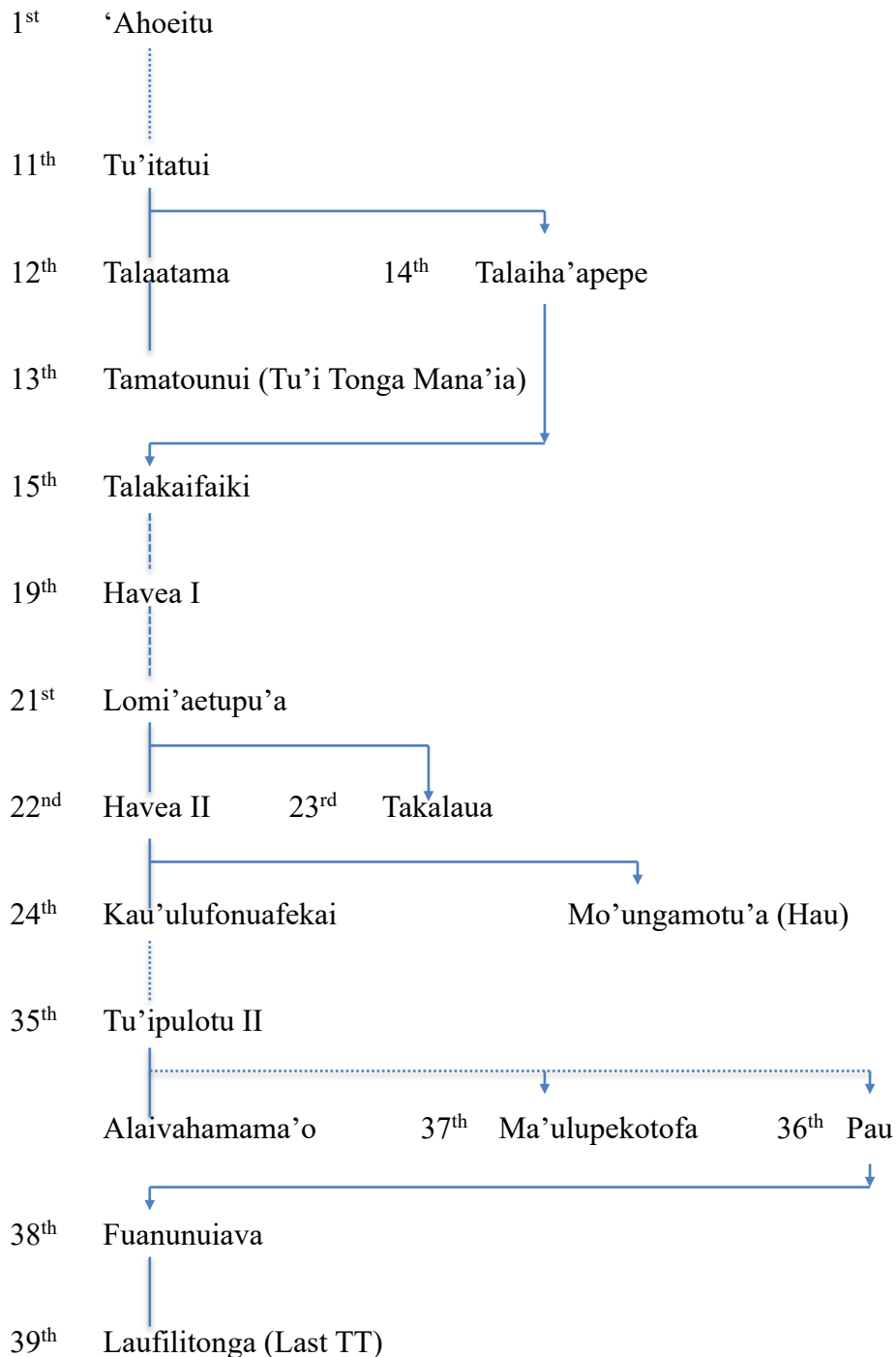
to 1150 AD.⁶⁷ It was the reign of TT Talakaifaiki around 1150 AD that ruined the hospitable relationship between the Tu'i Tonga and his Sāmoan subjects; their successful rebellion weakened the grip of Tongan control on other parts of Sāmoa especially Savai'i and Tutu'ila (Henry 1992:37). For instance, following the defeat of Talakaifaiki, a young chief Fua'au Toa encourages the people of Tutu'ila to put an end to Tongan rule by removing Lautivunia, the Tongan governor who had wronged a *taupou* (Tauoloasii daughter of Tuiafono) that was betroth to chief Fua'au of Tutuila. With no support from the Upolu regiment Lautivunia was defeated by the Tutuila forces in the last stand of the Tongans in Sāmoa (Henry 1992:37-38). Evidently, the ability of the Tu'i Tonga administration to assert control over its dominions while still winning the support of her subjects at the same time was due to the implementation of sound policy. Political powers were devolved to conquered chiefs so that they governed their own people directly in matters concerning tribute and all other related services for the Tu'i Tonga (Gifford 1929:101,131,162; Bott 1982:92). This is how political order was maintained by the Tu'i Tonga regime. No signs of oppressive rule were visibly enforced during and after the reign of TT Aho'eitu and this policy was continuously upheld to the reign of the 14th in that line TT Talaiha'apepe the father of Talakaifaiki (Henry 1979:30)

Even though oppression and other forms of domination were exercised from time to time they were wisely executed in such a manner that the subjects hardly felt the weight on their shoulders. Conquered chiefs and peoples were allowed, in general, to live their own lives as free citizens. Matters regarding crimes, individual and group disputes along with social and other forms of disorder were left for local authorities to resolve among themselves and most importantly local chiefs were allowed to keep their titles, not once being replaced with Tongan candidates. They were assigned supervisory roles so that they had direct control over their own people when extensive projects were required (Henry 1979:30).

⁶⁷ These dates are from my own reckoning, see above.

Figure 20.

Tu'i Tonga (TT)



It is no easy task to occupy and rule a foreign country or countries, as so happened in this case for one hundred years when TT Lolofakangalo to TT Lihau reigned, but when the rule continues on and lasts for five hundred years more (from 'Ahoaitu to Takalaua, 650 to 1450 – my own dating) it is an issue that reflects the strength of a solid

foundation from the beginning. Sāmoan oral traditions⁶⁸ speak of the Tu'i Tonga as a father and head of the family; for the Sāmoan people he was one of them and not an invader or a conqueror. It is said that relationships between the ruler and the ruled were cordial and that the Tu'i Tonga was loved and respected by everyone. (Fr) Fred Henry has this to say about the leadership quality of the Tu'i Tonga especially in the memories of those who treasure their company in pre-contact times;

“Tongan kings...were good and wise, treating the conquered people in such a way that most of them scarcely felt their dependence on the Tui Tonga.” (1992:30)

The Tongan occupation of Sāmoa in particular was buttressed by friendship and trust as they are related by blood. Apparently, the Sāmoans welcomed the presence of the Tu'i Tonga administration because it introduced and established long-term peace in their history as had not been achieved before.

Division in ancient Sāmoa had been a political reality in which contentions to national titles and disputes over territorial matters especially traditional boundaries were always settled in the battlefield. A monarch of each district was always on the lookout for an opportunity to extend his or her own territory since each district was an independent polity. Unification of Sāmoa by a Sāmoan monarch would not have had a lasting result because ‘peace’ marked only an interruption of war (Meleisea 1987:29, Meleisea *et al*). I could safely argue that ‘political instability’ is the quintessential essence of ancient Sāmoa's existence (Ilaiu 2007).

The *Papa Tane* (royal titles) of the Tui A'ana and Tui Atua were ancient statuses conferred by orator groups (*tumua*) in the A'ana and Atua districts. According to Fr Fred Henry the word Tu'i (king) is a Tongan word and it is believed that Asoaitu ('Aho'eitu, the first Tu'i Tonga) imported these titles (1992:29). After fourteen generations of Tongan presence the fact that the royal titles and other chiefly honours of Sāmoa were still allowed to use (especially the Tuiatua; Henry 1992) and enjoyed by the respective holders is evidence of a convivial relationship between the ruler and the ruled.

⁶⁸ High chief Tuala, pers. Comm. 2010 Auckland (NZ)

Aho'eitu's successor was his eldest son Lolofakangalo who spent most of his life in Manu'a. He is remembered for introducing the 'fale-faka Manuka' (a Manu'a building style) to Tonga.

According to oral tradition Fanga'one'one succeeded his father Lolofakangalo as the third Tu'i Tonga. Nothing is remembered about this Tu'i Tonga but the name is expressive of serenity; it might be symbolic of receiving tribute from all corners of the maritime empire built by 'Aho'eitu. I have a feeling that reference to sands ('one'one) has an implication that is central to numbers. If this era represents the height of the empire, where tributes were successfully received in large quantities and the Tu'itonga confronted no difficulty in managing the affairs of his satellite colonies, then sands stand for wealth and power. The name itself connotes luxurious leisure as a white sandy beach (fanga) was in early times an exclusive resting place for royalty.

The next Tu'itonga was Lihau, possibly the eldest son of TT Fanga'one'one. His reign is well forgotten but the name suggests and could stand for a possible political development. Li is an ancient word that stands for the act of throwing something, a spear for example. *Hau* on the other hand means a status of authority with reference to a ruler. It is most likely that this ruler had relinquished part of his mundane authority in favour of elevating himself to godly status or *vice versa*. Lihau literally means 'to throw away the right to rule' or 'throw away the political arm of authority' and the interpretation made here is a direct reference to someone who had discarded or thrown away some kind of political authority. It seems logical to assume that after building an empire the Emperor or his successors would at some point have entertained the idea of being worshipped rather than having direct involvement in maintaining rule from the centre. This is the first indication that *hau* was possibly an element of the ruling equation in pre-contact Tonga.

Kofutu is named in genealogical accounts as the successor of TT Lihau. He is said to have been associated with producing the ancient dance called the *me'etu'upaki*. Legend has it that Kofutu set sail for Sāmoa but met with misfortune at sea; his fleet was blown off course but fortunately landed safely in Futuna. He then ordered his priests to acknowledge the assistance of the gods in saving their lives. A sacred ritual was prepared for the occasion whereby all the gods were acknowledged. The outcome of

that prayer materialised as the Me'etu'upaki⁶⁹ where avowals were made in praise of the gods of wind, sea and sky in particular. Kofutu is an archaic word still in use today with reference to a lengthy wait especially in anticipation of a voyage. This story is still mentioned in the folklore of both 'Uvea and Futuna⁷⁰. Tongan oral traditions provide a more detailed account of that voyage as the journey continued on from Futuna to Tongatapu without further difficulty.

The next Tu'i Tonga was Kaloa. He is the sixth Tu'i Tonga and successor to TT Kofutu. Oral traditions, folklore and mythology have no accounts at all about this Tu'i Tonga. However, the word 'kaloa' is used still today when reference is made to something long gone. (There is another word 'taloa' that is the opposite of kaloa which points to something ahead or forward in the sense of remote distance). There is no significant event relating to this Tu'i Tonga but it is possible that he reigned for a very short time based on the meaning of his name.

Ma'uhau the seventh Tu'i Tonga succeeded his father TT Kaloa. Nothing is known of this ruler but the meaning of his name can be contrasted with the 4th in line TT Lihau. Whilst the interpretation of Lihau's name suggests elevation to full divinity through relinquishing mundane authority, Ma'uhau could mean a glorious victory as though this particular figure would have been a conqueror to cement his authority as a ruler. The word *ma'u* connotes usurping, seizing or taking something by force, and combining it with the term '*hau*' would suggest that someone was usurping power through political means and most possibly by waging war or launching a total conquest. It may be a reference to a process where direct control was regained or re-established with a new power source or political order. This point has to do with a piece of information, though unpublished, given to me in a conversation by a member of the Tu'i Tonga lineage, which revealed that TT Ma'uhau married a daughter of the Tu'i Manu'a. In ancient times the Tu'i Manu'a was revered in Sāmoa as a living god whose divine status equated only to that of the Tu'i Tonga. The marriage of a Tu'i Tonga to the daughter of the Tu'i Manu'a was a renowned event and it could have marked a kind of special

⁶⁹ Me'etu'upaki is a prayer in the form of a dance in which each performer uses a paddle to imitate the struggle faced during their near fatal misfortune at sea. It is artistically created and the choreography is so perfect that the lyrics and the movements are performed today in its most ancient and original form, possibly unchanged for almost fifteen hundred years. The language is too archaic for modern Tongans to understand.

⁷⁰ Pers. Comm. Uvean High Chiefs Kulitea, Kilisimasi, Manuele and Falaniko 2011 (Mu'a-Uvea).

alliance between these most divine lineages. There is no record in Sāmoan history of any high chief other than the Tu'i Tonga taking the daughter of the Tu'i Manu'a as wife. TT Ma'uhau was not the last Tu'i Tonga to be blessed with such honour.

The next Tu'i Tonga, 'Apuanea, the eldest son of TT Ma'uhau, became the eighth in the line of succession. Once again, there is no record of his reign in any oral traditions or folklore in Tonga. The name signifies something old or unused and perhaps stands for lack of contribution in terms of revolutionary ideas, political reform or to un-inventiveness regarding changes to social hierarchy and stratification. Since the mother was a daughter of the Tu'i Manu'a⁷¹, TT 'Apuanea could have had an easy life bearing in mind the fact that the mother's people customarily provided for her offspring. Moreover, having the powerful Tu'i Manu'a as an uncle guaranteed political support, wealth and long-term peace during his reign. I believe that this ruler was indulging in the fruits sown by his predecessors to the extent that his whole existence and whatever contribution he may have added was overshadowed by the towering success of his divine lineage. This could also be a metaphor for long-term peace or a direct reference to an idealised serenity or simply a reference to something useless.

Apuanea means 'mouldy'. The word reflects the bad state of material objects (especially food) in a deteriorated form. Termites and other tiny creatures found in wood are called 'ane' and what they do best is devouring anything they can get hold of until there is nothing left. Today 'apu' has no meaning at all but 'anea' means somewhere or something that is full of these tiny creatures. The word is archaic and it commonly refers to damage inflicted by termites to fine mats and tapa cloth and rarely it is applied to conditions where natural processes affect something old, rusty and dusty especially rotten and stale food. Should we paint a picture that could imply the political situation at the time of this ruler, we could safely say that it was peaceful since his predecessor was apparently overindulged as a ruler and such success would have been continued.

'Afulunga succeeded his father TT Apuanea as the ninth Tu'i Tonga. Once again this ruler has nothing attached to his time in power. The name seems not Tongan but it could mean 'heat at the top' as 'afu connotes high humidity and 'lunga' is a reference to height as in a summit or panorama, something in an upward direction. It is interesting indeed

⁷¹ Futa Helu, Pers. Comm. 2008 Atenisi, Tonga.

to look at the suggestions provided by the name of the previous ruler, which point at a reflection of a peaceful reign, unmistakable signs of wealth and economic prosperity with political stability to top things up. It appears that the seemingly easy life indulged in by TT 'Afulunga was achieved at the expense of harsh control over the producing majority. An eminent rebellion must have been in the air and such threat could have had a direct effect on the minority at the top to feel the heat so to speak. He must have been worried a lot or at best worrying all the time.

Should we take the given name of this Tu'i Tonga to mean something in a historical context then we might consider the fact that his reign could have been an uneasy process that was constantly in danger of open uprising. His demands for tribute could have been a factor in the economic policy of the day to cause dissatisfaction all over the empire bearing in mind also that the duty of the Tu'i Manu'a to provide for his nephew could have been too great a demand on his estates in Sāmoa. Quite possibly, this reign represents a 'dark age' that even oral traditions have not accounted for. We could not rule out the possibility that an internal threat was building up that would have caused some concern, but with the tala (secret wisdom transmitted to the Tu'i Tonga, see note 16) being at the disposal of Afulunga and his advisors, whatever danger they faced may have been successfully controlled.

But, on the other hand, the apparent 'rocky road' for the Tongan ruler brings clear images of a controversial theory that his successor may not have been a direct offspring of the 'Aho'eitu line. A major question arises from this controversy, to which we must pay full attention, as it is an issue that obviously has been sidelined for so long. King George's genealogy (Gifford 1929:51) invites the idea that Momo (15th Tu'i Tonga in King George's list, 10th in the Catholic list) may not be a biological son of the line of Aho'eitu's royal house but rather a descendant of an earlier dynasty. TT 'Afulunga's second son Ngongo Kilitoto must have been the heir to the kingship title but how could we explain the way Momo usurped the title. One may conclude that the internal threat was a reality and could be recognised as a Momo takeover. Inasmuch as we crave strong evidence to substantiate this theory we can only rely on the strongest interpretation for now, as I do here, starting from the 2nd TT down to the 10th and will continue until we arrive at the historical holders of the title.

Figure 21.

TU'I TONGA LINE (My approximate dating)

650	1 st	'AHOEITU (son of Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a) = (d. of Tui Manu'a)
	2 nd	LOLOFAKANGALO = (A Sāmoan lady)
	3 rd	FANGA'ONE'ONE
750	4 th	LIHAU
	5 th	KOFUTU
	6 th	KALOA
850	7 th	MA'UHAU
	8 th	APUANEA
	9 th	'AFULUNGA
950	10 th	MOMO = NUA (d. of Lo'au)
	11 th	TU'ITATUI
	12 th	TALA'ATAMA
	14 th	TALAIHA'APEPE
1050	13 th	TAMATOUNUI (TU'I TOGA MANA'IA) = Nafanua (War Goddess of Falealupo)
	15 th	TALAKAIFAIKI = ? (Sāmoa)
	16 th	TALAFAPITE = ? (Sāmoa)
1150	17 th	MA'AKATOE
	18 th	PUIPUI
	19 th	HAVEA I (Murdered)
1250	20 th	TATAFU'EIKIMEIMU'A
	21 st	LOMIAETUPU'A = (1.) d. Tu'i Uvea, = (2.) Sāmoan Lady.
	22 th	HAVEA II (murdered)
	23 th	TT TAKALAU (murdered)
1350	24 th	KAU'ULUFONUA I TM? (son of 23 rd TT) = Vainu'ulasi
	25 th	VAKAFUHU TM?
	26 th	PUIPUIFATU TM?
1450	27 th	KAU'ULUFONUA II TM?
	28 th	TAPU'OSI TM? = Va'etapuhifo

	29 th	ULUAKIMATA I (TELE'A)	
1550	30 th	FATAFEHI	
	31 th	KAU'ULUFONUA III	
	32 th	ULUAKIMATA II	
1650	33 th	TU'IPULOTU-'I-LANGI-TU'OFEFAFA	
	34 th	FAKANA'ANA'A	
	35 th	TU'IPULOTU-'I-LANGI-TU'OTEAU	
1750	36 th	PAU	37 th MA'ULUPEKOTOFA
	38 th	FUANUNUIAVA	
1865	39 th	LAUFILITONGA	

As things turned out, Momo was the next in line and possibly the eldest son (or not) of the 9th TT 'Afulunga as recorded in the Catholic list (Collocott 1924:167). The third man descended from the maggot on the island of Ata carried the same name. There is no way of knowing which story represents greater historical continuity in terms of reliable information and concrete evidence. So these competing genealogical accounts need further examination since modern scholars have decided to discard King George's list.⁷² It really matters to ascertain the reality of who this Momo was since he became the next historical Tu'i Tonga after nine generations of Aho'eitu's empire building success.

Legend has it that TT Momo (10th in line) featured in a number of significant historical developments that have survived to this day as the basic foundation of Tongan culture in general. First, he is remembered for requesting Nua (Gifford 1924:43, Fanua 1975:61-63 and Bott 1982:92), a daughter of a high priest named Lo'au Tuputoka the Tu'i Ha'amea, to be his principal wife while knowing that she already had a child (Rutherford 1977:31). One version suggests that Nua was a woman from Niua (Ve'ehala and Fanua 1977:27). It was untypical for a Tu'i Tonga not to choose a young chiefly

⁷² E. W. Gifford examined a number of genealogies; he accepted fully the Catholic king list while making partial acceptance of lists by the Tamaha, Tu'i Ha'ateiho and Tafolo. The discarded lists were those provided by Baker, Moulton, Collocott and HM King George I. King George's king list was obtained by Baker in 1862 and published in the Tongan Government Newspaper Bo'obo'oi, 20 July 1877.

(virgin) lady as principal wife to be the mother of his successor. Lo'au is featured in Tongan oral traditions as a voyager, educator and reformer⁷³. Perhaps TT Momo needed Lo'au's expertise to help him in his nation-building programme and to seal his support for the future of his offspring, as Lo'au would be the maternal grandfather of the next Tu'i Tonga should Momo marry Nua. This was a smart move by Momo, killing two birds with one stone in luring such an important ally to secure his reign and to maintain in good hands the continuity of the sacred line of the Tu'i Tonga.

The unusual choice of wife made by Momo suggests that there would have been a possible challenge to his religious and political authority. Not to mention, that he was a descendant of the maggot kings as suggested by some folklores. As a matter of fact, whatever it was that had alerted him to deviate from the normal marriage arrangement had to be an eminent threat to his future as ruler and to his own life. I have a hunch, that the real challenge to Momo's kingship was Lo'au himself. He was the ruler of Ha'amea, a huge territory that divides the western part of the main island of Tongatapu from its eastern districts; its total size amounts to a third of the whole land area.

Oral traditions speak of Ha'amea as a legendary centre of learning⁷⁴. The main attractions of this school were the variety of subjects taught there and the legendary reputation of the Lo'au tradition. According to traditional sources from Fualu and Pea, formerly villages of the Ha'amea district, Lo'au was a title given to learned individuals who professed in-depth study of certain disciplines⁷⁵. They were the equivalent of our modern day professors and Ha'amea is the first known university in the Pacific (Childress 1996:33). The basic fields taught at this school were history, astronomy, navigation, boat building, botany, architecture, medicine and politics among others⁷⁶. For this reason the Lo'au influence grew like a tidal wave as the positive and productive impact of her students was recognised wherever they reached. Obviously, the population of Ha'amea must have been growing in numbers as students arrived from all corners of

⁷³ Futa Helu (Pers. Comm. 2007, Atenisi Tonga).

⁷⁴ I first heard about 'The Ha'amea School' in kava parties in the 1970s where old people talked about how different crafts were taught by a number of professors in that school (they called it a University). Tau'atevalu, one of the high chiefs of 'Utulau, a village in the old Ha'amea district, explained to me in great detail about the subjects taught at the time and the success achieved by the students.

⁷⁵ Pers. Comm. Uho-'o-Lototonga, 2012 at Pea.

⁷⁶ Pers. Comm. Futa Helu, 2007, Atenisi Tonga.

the Pacific as they were seduced by the putative refinement of this centre of critical learning.⁷⁷

As the school started to bear fruit it would have acquired the ability to provide solutions to all sorts of unsolvable problems. It is said that when the Tu'i Tonga and his council of advisors (falefa) were troubled with difficult problems they would seek answers from the abode in Ha'amea called Ma'ananga. At the time Ma'ananga was the 'oracle of Delphi' in the Pacific⁷⁸ for the reason that all envoys would obtain what they needed to know at a very high rate. An evidence of this character of Ma'ananga is encapsulated in a saying that survives still today 'Toka-'i-Ma'ananga' ('Where all knowledge resides').⁷⁹ The idea that Lo'au was a foreigner is farfetched (Cummins 1977:68) as the first to be known of that name was a son or grandson of Kohai the 1st TT that originated from the maggot. He has settled in Ha'amea long before the reign of the Tangaloa line of kings⁸⁰.

It is possible that Ma'ananga could have received gifts in abundance and this would have generated great wealth and power into the hands of the Lo'au(s). Kings would feel uncomfortable when such a situation arose. Even great emperors like the Tu'i Tonga would think twice about challenging such an institution as Ma'ananga⁸¹. The leading Lo'au must have had strong allies not only in Tonga but also amongst ruling authorities abroad that he had assisted or rescued. I am convinced that Lo'au could have caused immeasurable change in Tonga especially from the fact that the first Lo'au was a grandson of the first Tu'i Tonga Kohai, the offspring of the maggot, and Momo the 10th Tu'i Tonga from the line of Tangaloa could have been a descendant of the maggot.

Oral traditions speak in unison about the rhetorical dual exchanged between TT Momo and Lo'au regarding the suitor's proposal. This is an interesting story and it might represent something other than a man wooing a woman without any one knowing the truth behind the saga. Evidently, Momo sent one of his expert orators Leha'uli to

⁷⁷ The Lo'au traditions were unfolded to me by Uho-'o-loto-Tonga (Siaosi Ahio) in a series of interviews during fieldwork at Pea during 2010 to 2014.

⁷⁸ Futa Helu, Pers. Comm. Atenisi 2007, Tonga.

⁷⁹ The word toka means in this context to produce or complete a product already in existence, and 'i-ma'ananga literally means in ma'ananga. So, toka-'i-ma'ananga means 'knowledge that is accumulated in ma'ananga'.

⁸⁰ Futa Helu, Pers. Comm. 2007 Atenisi Tonga., HSH Prince Tu'ipelehake (Mailefihi) Pers. Comm. 2010 Halaleva.

⁸¹ Futa Helu, Pers. Comm. 2007 Atenisi Tonga.

approach Lo'au with a request for pulopula (sprouting yam seed) for his garden. This was actually a simple request for the hand of Lo'au's eldest daughter Nua yet an allusion was made to preparations for a yam garden. Leha'uli went to Ha'amea and addressed Lo'au with the king's request using the 'yam sprout' metaphor (Rutherford 1977:32). Lo'au refused the request by producing another metaphor 'kuo fena e ta'u' meaning that the required sprout is already spoilt, and he could not send the king sub-standard goods.

Leha'uli returned to Momo with the bad news. He was told to go back with an even more incredible statement, 'Fena pe ka ko Nua' meaning (with reference to the sprout) 'Spoilt is no issue at least it is Nua' (Gifford 1924:43; Bott 1982:92). One wonders whether Nua possessed such incredible beauty like the 'Helen of Troy' for Momo to determine to have her for a wife at all costs. However, I do not believe that Nua was such a coveted trophy in the whole of the Pacific that she could seduce the eyes or gravitate the attention of the mighty Tu'i Tonga at all.

Momo's younger half-brother Ngongo Kilitoto, who lived at Malapo, had apparently deflowered Nua and they had a son Fasi'apule. The fact that Nua was not taken by Ngongo Kilitoto as wife is evidence that beauty was not an issue worth considering here. What has come to light as far as my radar can locate is the fact that Nua was a prized commodity and she was politically a perfect insurance policy for the survival of Momo's line⁸². For Momo to wait, as suggested by Lo'au, until the coming of age of Nua's younger sister would have benefited him greatly for two reasons. First, the sister was young and her youth would guarantee him offspring and secondly the falefa would definitely approve her on the condition that she was a virgin. But, as I strongly believe, Momo seems to have had issues with time and perhaps he sensed that to wait would possibly place the advantage in the hands of his brother who already has blood link with Lo'au. In my view, the only choice of a gamble for Momo was to tie Lo'au up by marrying Nua right there and then to avoid all possible odds that might change the existence of his divine line of kingship.

Under the valuable guidance of his father in law, Lo'au Tuputoka, TT Momo was confident and became instrumental in re-organising the sacred royal kava ceremony

⁸² The word lapo is unknown in Tonga (but note POC *kulabo, fish sp.). There is an account that Nua was deflowered by Ngongokilitoto, chief of Malapo, at night (poo). Malapoo connotes 'sin committed in the dark'.

while relying still on Lo'au's timing for the relocation of the royal residence from Toloa (south-eastern part of Hahake) to Heketa on the north east coast of Tongatapu (Herda 1988:37). In avoiding a possible alliance between Ngongo Kilitoto and Lo'au by marrying Nua the tide of fortune seemed to flow into Momo's direction and his entire reign from that point onwards did appear to be flawless, that is at least what it appears to be. Whatever the political situation at the time was, the 'tala'⁸³ seemed to pave the way for the survival of the Tu'i Tonga line for centuries until this tradition was wiped from existence in a father and son crisis around 1780, nine hundred years after Momo. According to oral tradition, Pau the 36th Tu'i Tonga withheld transmission of the Tala from his son Fuanunuiava. There is no knowledge of what the Tala were or when this sacred wisdom came into existence and by whom⁸⁴, but the fact that it was an effective tool has been undoubtedly proven throughout the survival of the sacred Tu'i Tonga line.

TT Tu'itatui to the 16th TT Talafapite (950 - 1150 AD; my own calculation):

The 11th Tu'i Tonga was called Tu'itatui (King strike the knee [Herda 1988:39]) and for the first time we finally know for sure that this ruler was nicknamed with reference to a factual event. The name was used in contempt for a bad habit he developed when someone was sitting too close to him especially when the royal Kava circle was formed where chiefs were sometimes suspected of scheming to assassinate him. He is said to have hit the knees of chiefs, who deliberately ignored the anticipated distance he preferred them to sit, with a stick just to make them observe what must seem a safe distance⁸⁵. As it turned out this cruel habit is what he is known for. He must have had a real name but to date there is no way of finding out what that was.

Ian Campbell (1989:31) believes that Tu'itatui actually feared assassination possibly because oral traditions speak in unison of the same theme but there are alternative explanations that are worth exploring, for example that he was just a bully who enjoyed

⁸³ Tala is a body of exclusive sacred knowledge that was passed down from a Tu'i Tonga to the heir. Should this magical gift have survived, the sacred line of kings would never have been overtaken, but TT Pau, grandfather of the last Tu'i Tonga Laufilitonga, refused to give the Tala to his son TT Fuanunuiava. TT Laufilitonga died in 1865 and the title was buried with him for the last time.

⁸⁴ Professor Futa Helu believed that the Tala was created through the collaborative efforts of some experts who were commissioned to study forces that are valuable to life in general. (Interview, 2006 at Atenisi Institute.)

⁸⁵ Pers. Comm. Futa Helu, 2007 Atenisi Tonga.

hurting the knees of his chiefs just for the sake of asserting his superior authority. I think Tu'itatui could have been a euphemism for Tu'i-ta-tu'i (a king who hits kings in the context that he conquered so many other kingdoms) with reference to a king who eliminates kings, a conqueror perhaps; Herda seems to think so too (1988:39). Should we follow the lead propagated by oral traditions that is also supported by Campbell (1989), then how could we explain the fact that Tu'itatui was one of the most successful Tu'i Tonga rulers of all time as evidenced by his timeless projects, which featured the construction of the Ha'amonga trilithon and the first cut stone-faced, terraced burial mounds (Herda 1987:39)⁸⁶ possibly in the whole of the Pacific. The Ha'amonga is still today an engineering marvel that has withstood the test of time. A ruler who accomplished such labour-intensive tasks would not be a person who feared for his life. The required labour force for building these historical monuments suggests that Tu'itatui exercised control over a large population beyond the Tongan territory. Apparently, labour and materials for the construction of all the above-mentioned projects were called upon from the islands of Rotuma, Niue, Uvea, Futuna and Sāmoa (Dillion 1929:295, Gifford 1929:349 and Collocott 1924:173).⁸⁷

The search for the shell of the legendary turtle Sangone (Wood 1972:7)⁸⁸ is a clear demonstration of Tu'itatui's strong influence in Savai'i, the main Island of the Sāmoan archipelago. An envoy was sent, which his first cousin Fasi'apule was commissioned to execute this task by using riddles to lure out the one who knows where the turtle was buried. Apparently, Sāmoan chiefs borrowed Sangone just to transport them back to Sāmoa and that incident occurred at an earlier date but instead of sending the turtle back to Tonga after their journey, they decided to make a meal out of it. A young lad by the name of Lafai accidentally witnessed what was happening and the guilty chiefs imposed a curse on him by saying that he will not die until the day that the remains of Sangone are found. The moral of this story conveys a special strength in the character of Tu'itatui as a tough ruler in the sense that when Fasi'apule unloaded his riddles in Savai'i it did

⁸⁶ Langi Heketa and Langi Mo'ungalafa in Herda 1987.

⁸⁷ Wood 1924 also added the two Niua islands to places where labour for construction was extracted.

⁸⁸ Detail of the story is consistently told in Wood 1924.

not take long to find Lafai who was a very old man at that time and happened to be the only one who knew all the answers.

In real life, Lafai was one of the leading high chiefs in Savai'i and as a matter of fact the leading royal families of that island did have close connections to the Tu'i Tonga. The Sa Lafai originated in Sāmoa while the titles of Sa Fune (descended from Funefe'ai) and Sa Tonumaipe'a have Tongan origins (Tu'imaleali'ifano 1990:31). There may be some truth in the suggestion that the story of the turtle Sangone reflects Tu'itatui's influence in Savai'i especially during the reign of the Sa Lafai. While the popular version of Tu'itatui's reign, as a king who strikes the knees of his chiefs, is well established and published in history books, an alternative interpretation evocative of a conquering bully who strikes kings instead, could still be another window that opens up a historical past, which cannot be ignored especially when every single piece of evidence is unequivocally in support of such a theory. While there is no indication during this period that Tu'itatui had ever faced potential threats or was confronted by rival warlords at least, there is still a controversy regarding where his burial place is and that has to be grounds for further investigation which in turn does not rule out possible conflicts as so claimed.

The next five Tu'i Tonga rulers exhibit a clear tradition through the names each one possesses. Tu'itatui's sons were Tala-a-tama, Tama-tou-nui and Tala-i-ha'apepe. Tala-i-ha'apepe's son was Tala-kai-fa-iki and his grandson was Tala-fa-pite (Wood 1972:7-8; Herda 1988:46)⁸⁹. With the exception of Tama-tou-nui, the title-holders names are prefixed with the word tala, which in this context may mean 'sacred knowledge' or 'secret wisdom' since such treasure belonged exclusively to the Tu'i Tonga and his heir apparent. Tala-a-tama succeeded his father as the 12th Tu'i Tonga. The meaning of the name is interesting in the sense that tala connotes secret wisdom and tama refers to the sacred status of the king; the two words together can denote 'sacred knowledge of the king'. The name itself may unveil an epoch of surprise transition in which Tu'i Tonga Tala-a-tama was elevated from sacred kingship status to being glorified as god. Coincidentally, this religious development is associated with relocation of the royal residence from Heketa to Lapaha.

⁸⁹ Collocott in JPS Vol 3, 1924 No. 131 (p 166-167); Campbell 1989:

According to Childress (1996:14), this period represents a new height in the political administration and imperial interests of the Tu'i Tonga throughout the Pacific. His findings show that from that time onwards and for a number of centuries thereafter, Lapaha was the capital of a vast empire with a great number of satellite colonies who were tributary clients to the Tu'i Tonga. If this argument has elements of truth in it, then one would conclude that the name 'Tala-a-tama, sacred knowledge of the king' does fittingly say it all. The alleged sanctification of the 12th Tu'i Tonga and the actual relocation of the royal seat to Lapaha seem consonant with Childress' theory of a Pacific empire with Lapaha as its capital. It is not known whether TT Tala-a-tama died without issue but since the principle of succession was based on primogeniture, a tradition that was strictly observed by religious guideline, the falefa (council of advisors) may have been faced with the difficult task of naming a successor.

The search for TT Tala-a-tama's successor was marked by a break from tradition in which the falefa quickly designed new rules allowing them to appoint a younger sibling of the king (who must be legitimised with ritual proceedings) as fictive son and heir of the deceased (Herda 1988:43; Collocott 1924:175; Ve'ehala and Fanua 1977:34-35). Such solution would have introduced practical hereditary parameters that intuitively allowed deviation from and improvisation in order for the system to manage its own needs. Oral traditions speak of a block of wood from the *tou* tree, which was dressed up with proper regalia and formally appointed as the 13th Tu'i Tonga with the title 'Tu'itonganui koe Tama-tou' or 'Tu'i Tonga Tamatounui' which could be translated as 'the great Tu'itonga made from the *tou* tree'. Now the problem is just beginning, for in order to continue the sacred line, the Tama-*tou* king needed a son and heir.

The king's council of advisors actually provided the 'wooden king' with a proper wife who cohabited with it for at least two years so that the symbolic birth of Talaiha'apepe as their eldest son was secured, then they proceeded to a public declaration that his majesty great Tu'itonganui the block of wood was dead. The falefa announced the dead king was to be succeeded by Tala-i-ha'apepe, the youngest brother of TT Tala-a-tama and fictive son of the Tama-*tou* king. Evidently, the block of wood king was buried with all ceremonial honours as though he was human in order to allow Tala-i-ha'apepe to become the 14th Tu'i Tonga (Herda 1988:43). This is the political ruse that oral

traditions have preserved for centuries under the rather unusual circumstance faced by the Falefa when they needed to create credibility by exercising the sacred customs of succession. It is an interesting puzzle and it is supplemented by another tradition, which records that Talaiha'apepe was hesitant for quite some time before he finally accepted the sacred title of Tu'i Tonga.

According to Reverend John Thomas (2013:19), who lived in Tonga from the re-establishment of the Methodist Mission in 1826, his informants claimed that Talaiha'apepe was asked by the chiefs and the Tongan people in general to replace his brother Talaatama as Tu'i Tonga but he refused objecting strongly on the grounds that he was unfit and also on the fact that the sacred custom of father to son succession made it uncomfortable for him to accept the offer. Still, the people insisted by begging and pressing him to give his consent, which he finally agreed to. Rev Thomas adds that it was Talaiha'apepe who came up with the idea to officially replace his brother with a piece of wood from the *tou* tree so that it became a fictive son and replacement of TT Talaatama (Ibid:19). He oiled the piece of wood and dressed it in fine clothing worn only by kings. Talaiha'apepe then waited for two years before he ordered the royal undertakers to bury the 'wooden king' so that he could succeed as his son. But, why did he take his time?

Ian Campbell (1989:31-32) has come up with the idea that the story was perhaps a way of '...disguising an illegal succession or a period of civil war which has been otherwise forgotten.'

However, it is also clear from these accounts that there was something deeper than a simple process of ensuring the perpetuity of a succession principle in which a (useless) branch of wood was humanised for the purpose. The on-going objections by Talaiha'apepe, in refusing the office in the first place, would be rather unusual unless there was a rightful heir that had been exiled or banished from Tonga for some reason. Should this be the case then whoever he was, perhaps an actual son of Tala'atama or another senior brother of the king, he might still have had a strong interest in returning to claim his rightful place. The fact that this particular incident was the first case that had ever occurred in the succession process of the Tu'i Tonga sacred line could indicate a major political development or uprising. For Talaiha'apepe to keep the 'wooden king' for two years before declaring its ceremonial death (Gifford 1929:53), could point at a

person who anticipated conflict or was just making sure that all possible problems had been taken care of before he accepted the office.

Quite interestingly, Tu'i Tonga Tamatounui is mentioned in Sāmoan oral tradition as a human rather than a fictitious piece of wood (Tu'imaleali'ifano 1990:31; Kramer 1999:648). This information could suggest that TT Tala'atama was not childless after all and perhaps his son Tamatounui lacked the ability to hold the sacred office and his demise was evident from that point onward. In fact, he was the only Tu'i Tonga after Talaatama to have the prefix Tala omitted from his name and he could have been known as 'the great useless king' as Tama stands for king, tou represents a tree that is useless for anything, and nui means great. Apparently he lived in Sāmoa with his offspring and there is no record of him returning to Tonga. If that was the case, depending on the accuracy of the generation match, then the 'wooden king' in Tonga would have been a direct insult to the exiled heir (or king) as the 'tou tree' is classed as useless wood and perhaps that was the whole purpose of deferring the reign of the wooden king's successor for two years before its burial ceremony, so that the people would come to accept the fact that the heir or the exiled king was unfavourable. Campbell could have been right about the 'civil war' or some other political discord that might have occurred, but the question remains unanswered, who were the major players?

Obviously, Talaiha'apepe was a contender against Tamatounui but Gifford (1929:53) has raised an important point about the role of the *falefa* in a later period when they often instigated assassinations of a number of Tu'i Tonga for the purpose of installing the one they seemed to favour. It is possible that Talaiha'apepe had nothing to do with a civil war or driving Tamatounui into exile as he clearly washed his hands when approached by the *falefa* to take the office. The *falefa* on the other hand were free from 'tapu' and within that capacity they could easily execute the dirty work themselves, a point that would further indicate that their favourite candidate Talaiha'apepe was spotless in the whole affair and even if he was tempted to confront Tamatounui he would have been disdained for such an act.

Obviously, TT Tamatounui was unable to resist against this apparent takeover and he remained in Sāmoa ever after. Perhaps the grip of the Tu'i Tonga in Sāmoan affairs at the time was weak as genealogical records show (Henry 1979:134) that paramount titles like the Tui A'ana and Tui Atua were still in use, which is a sign that chiefs and their

district governments (*faleupolu*) would have had some form of liberty to control important matters on their own terms. The predecessors of the Malietoa and Tagaloa lineages were building their districts on solid foundations in Savai'i. The legendary Lord of the Underworld Savea Si'uleo, the father of the war goddess Nafanua, is said to be a contemporary of the existing Tui A'ana Fuaoletoelau, Tui Atua Aumualeuluaiali'i, Lealali (predecessor of the Safune pedigree) and Feepo the grandfather of the first Malietoa title-holder (Savea) (Henry 1992:134). All were active forces at that time. The nation-building developments in Sāmoa at this period would definitely speak for the impossible task on the part of Tamatounui to raise an army to counter the injustice he had sadly undergone in Tonga, if there was any effort at all. This succession saga clearly shows that the *falefa* were the real instigators and schemers behind the threats that befell some of the imperial rulers who held the sacred title of Tu'i Tonga.

There is nothing significant about the reign of TT Talaiha'apepe. The likely scenario that his name unfolds is that he received the 'Tala' at a place called 'Ha'apepe'. My theory is that before Talaiha'apepe was installed as Tu'i Tonga he would have been known with a different name and that the 'sacred knowledge' (tala) was an equivalent of the European symbol of sovereignty represented by the imperial regalia of a sceptre. It appears that 'tala' (as secret wisdom that must be transmitted by the current ruler to his successor to legitimise his rights to the title) became the symbol that legitimised the imperial power and rights of the Tu'i Tonga to rule. If I may recapitulate, this point was made in an earlier discussion in this chapter, where I claim that Tala-a-tama was so called because the 'tala' was formally presented to him as 'Emperor'. The power and influence of TT Tu'itatui had made it possible to devise a practical method to ensure the continuity of his reign by establishing a charter (tala) for his successors. This bravado is evident in naming five of his successors with the prefix 'Tala' in four consecutive generations. It appears that the reign of Talaatama was a successful one too but we cannot say that Tamatounui (block of wood or a real person) and Talaiha'apepe lived up to the image, as Talakaifaiki the son of TT Talaiha'apepe started a reign of terror in Sāmoa around 1050 AD. The name Talakaifaiki may disclose a sense of urgency in re-establishing control especially in Sāmoa. As I mentioned above, paramount chieftains in Sāmoa at that period were more than ready to rebel as Savai'i and Upolu in particular had developed some political strength through reviving the sacred *papa* titles in existence at the time, such as the Tuia'ana, Tuiatua and Tagaloa.

Talakaifaiki may denote the tala as ‘sacred knowledge’ (or secret wisdom) being given to a king who eats small pandanus fruit. This is a literal translation only. It may stand for a deeper metaphor in which the ‘pandanus fruit’ (usually dried red-coloured keys) is used for making special garlands worn exclusively by Sāmoan sacred chiefs (*ali’i* and *ali’i pa’ia* only). And it may have been a reference to an overconfident attitude that a great warrior would have no trouble in subduing opponents of great importance such as the Sāmoan paramount chiefs represented by the symbolic pandanus garland. A reasonable translation of kai-fa-iki would be ‘to devour tiny kings’, kai to eat, ‘fa’ the pandanus fruit, and ‘iki’ small in size, so the expression ‘to eat small pandanus fruit’ would mean ‘great kings are easy meals’. We can conclude that TT Talakaifaiki was a harsh ruler and that his over-confidence was the real cause of his downfall and the end of the Tui Tonga kings as paramount rulers of Sāmoa. It is known historically that brave Sāmoans stood up against him in a memorable war that gave rise to the pride of a new Sāmoan kingship line by the royal title Malietoa (Rutherford 1977:34, Henry 1992:38 and also Gifford 1929 and Herda 1988).

The demise of the cruel king Talakaifaiki was evidently the beginning of open rebellions against Tongan rule in other parts of the empire. Straight away Fua’au-toa rose against Lautivunia in Tutuila, the Tongan governor of Tutu’ila achieving the same result as did Tuna, Fata and Tapuloa against Talakaifaiki in Upolu. The parting words of TT Talakaifaiki were never to wage war against Sāmoa but future contacts must be on friendly terms. According to Tuala Tominiko Auali’itia the terms of the surrender were directed towards Tapuloa (the son of the Tuiatua), and not to Tuna and Fata as is the official version presented by both Tongan and Sāmoan oral traditions.⁹⁰ Tuala asserts that Talakaifaiki could not have surrendered to a lower ranking ali’i (chief) other than a paramount chief (*ali’i pa’ia*) considered of equal rank. Tuna and Fata were sons of a local chief Atiogie of Faleata.

Tuala furthermore states that although Talakaifaiki gave the credit to Tapuloa due to the fact that he was the son of a sacred chief⁹¹, nevertheless the promise made on the rock of Tuatala referred particularly to the Tuamasaga district only, the home territory of the

⁹⁰ Pers. Comm. Tuala Auali’itia, Interviews between the years 2000 and 2005.

⁹¹ Tuala Auali’itia, Pers. Comm. 2010 Auckland.

brave sons of Atiogie who led the successful rebellion. Tuala adds also that while there were in fact further Tongan invasions in later periods of some districts in Savai'i and Upolu led by TT Kau'ulufonuafekai three hundred years later and again by King George and his Manono allies in the mid 1800s, the Tongans did keep Talakaifaiki's promise by never again launching an attack on Tuamasaga. This is not an easy issue to accept on face value since the standard history has never been challenged on the grounds of the terms of the historical surrender of Tongan rule in Sāmoa.

The reign of TT Talakaifaiki's successor is a mystery as nothing is remembered about this ruler apart from the name he was listed with as the 16th Tu'i Tonga. He is believed to be a son of TT Talakaifaiki but his name is another puzzle, as it does not have any perceivable meaning. In fact, the name Talafapite does not sound Tongan at all; it could be an archaic term and perhaps the name once was meaningfully understood but the modern Tongan language cannot recognise its origin. Obviously, Talafapite was the last in the line of kings that had the prefix 'tala' as part of their name. Attempts to annotate the meaning of the names of Talafapite's predecessors who shared the same prefix were slightly easier as they correspond with the linguistic typologies of Tongan language today. Anyway, Talafapite is not even mentioned in Sāmoan oral tradition, the most likely source to retain reference to mythical and historical rulers of Tonga. The great silence regarding the reign of TT Talafapite may have been caused by the failure of his father in Sāmoa.

17th TT Ma'akatoe to 24th TT Kau'ulufonuafekai (1150-1350 AD):

The next three rulers of Tonga have nothing special about them on record apart from having their names stated on the genealogical list of the Tu'i Tonga line of kings. It is hard to connect any cultural or political activities with the next hundred years after TT Talafapite. Assuming that TT Ma'akatoe (or Ma'akatoa) was a son of TT Talafapite we can just wonder why the lineage tradition of installing his predecessor with the prefix Tala was abruptly discontinued. I have a feeling that the demise of the TT Talakaifaiki regime did diminish the power and influence of the Tu'i Tonga in the region, and that the credibility of the ruling line was severely affected also at home. Truly such political turmoil could not have been easily swept under the carpet so to speak. There must have been a major outrage and public dissatisfaction against TT Talakaifaiki on his return and

calling for change would have been a common theme amongst the elites considering the pride of the nation as ruler of the region for centuries. Yet, nothing is known about the reign of TT Ma'akatoe but he had married two daughters of the Tui Atua, Popoai and Tau'akito'a (Herda 1988:46). TT Puipufatu 92 was named to succeed his father. But, TT Havea I is said to have been an issue from a daughter of Lufe from Folaha (Bott 1982:94).

It seems likely from the name of TT Ma'akatoe or in other genealogies Ma'akatoa that either of these names could point at a similar meaning 'nothing is left' or 'all gone' annotated as ma'a (clean or freeing dirt from something) and katoe or katoa (completely). This particular meaning allows me to suspect that a new line was established to replace the offspring of TT Talakaifaiki. Perhaps TT Talafapite and his advisors were unable to come up with a practical solution to redeem the pride of the sacred line and the *falefa* had possibly resorted to anointing another member of the royal family who could front up to the task. The successor to TT Ma'akatoe was TT Puipui and possibly the person recorded in other genealogies as Puipufatu was his eldest son (Gifford 1929: 54, Campbell 1989:32). His name suggests a rather exclusive and secretive programme of legitimising or enhancing the divinity of the sacred ruler.

The word Puipui signifies the act of hiding but in this context especially where the identity of the Tu'i Tonga is concerned it would mean 'to make aloof' or to conceal something of great reverence in the sense that the tapu (taboo) is enforced, since the term Puipui literally means a curtain. It would have been a logical strategy under the circumstances to foster and to strengthen the confidence of the people in the role of the Tu'i Tonga as the personification of the gods, a divine mediator and the ultimate apex and symbol of the imperial strength of the nation. The likely purpose for any process of psyching people up would be to prepare them mentally to accept risky challenges such as mandatory recruitment for military service should there be a need for resurrecting the political 'might' that Tonga was so accustomed to in the past. Sanctifying rulers was always a smart policy in ancient times also, as religion was central to every activity that engaged human beings in society at large.

⁹² The name Puipufatu literally means covering the middle area of the chest where the heart is. The essential connotation of the word is protection of the livelihood of the sacred line of kings.

The next Tu'i Tonga was Havea I, mentioned in Kramer (1999:268,937) claiming TT Ma'akatoe, Puipui and Havea I were the same person (in Herda 1988:46). He was possibly the eldest son of TT Puipui. There is something unique about this king and his reign for he was the first to use the name of the gods (i.e. Havea Hikule'o, Havea Lalofonua etc. etc.). This name issue could have caused his demise and assassinating him was most probably a member of the *falefa* clan (Herda 1988:46)⁹³. The great mystery about this particular incident is the unusual silence about the cause for such a horrible act. It is said that Havea I was killed while taking a bath and it must have taken place in a pool as the Tu'i Tonga had an exclusive pool just for himself. There must have been security guards in the vicinity, without doubt, to protect him and yet the lack of information regarding his character would make his protector's real suspects and part of the plot too. In analysing the likely scenario for the assassination saga, one would suspect that TT Havea I was a harsh ruler or was being punished for not fulfilling a choice of bride proposed by the *falefa* as incidences of that nature occurred three generations after him.

The king's body was actually mutilated. Apparently after he was cut in half the lower part of the body went missing. When what was left of him was found high chief Lufe of Folaha was bitterly disturbed so he commanded his people to take his life in order to attach the lower part of his body to the king's remains to make him whole again so he could be buried with honours (Wood 1927:9) Lufe's sacrifice⁹⁴ is the only account that is recorded with absolute certainty about the reign of TT Havea I (1988:46). It is also important to mention that he was the first Tu'i Tonga to use the title Havea apart of course from the name of the ruling deity of the underworld Havea Hikule'o and that makes me wonder whether this Tu'i Tonga decided to elevate the god of Pulotu as the national religion as opposed to worshipping Tangaloa, the god of the heavens. If this hunch happens to be the case then there was a possible motive for the *falefa* to assassinate him in such a contemptible manner.

93 Herda stresses the idea that no Tongan could have harmed the Tu'itonga because of respect for the tapu associated with his existence; only a non-Tongan could commit such an act. (PhD Thesis 1988)

94 Herda adds that TT Havea I was related to Lufe through his mother. It is the usual tradition for the mother's people to look after her offspring and Lufe exemplified an extreme call of the *fatongia* (duty).

A religious change is practically the only logical answer under the circumstances especially as the Tu'i Tonga appears to have been politically vulnerable after the defeat of Talakaifaiki at Tuatala. I have a feeling that TT Ma'akatoe and TT Puipui had carefully laid the foundation for this religious revolution because Havea I would have been vocal about the failure of the Tangaloa religion and perhaps too assertive in announcing the might of Havea Hikule'o to resurrect the dignity that Tonga needed. In this case, there would have been changes relating to religious rituals, specialists, doctrine and other sacred religious activities as a new god was now worshiped and of course priestly adepts of the Tangaloa religion would not serve the Havea Hikule'o order willingly as it would be absolute blasphemy and an insult to their pride. I cannot see any other possible cause for Havea I's assassination that comes closer than this religious change theory.

Tatafu'eikimeimu'a was the twentieth Tu'i Tonga and successor of TT Havea I. He is known in Sāmoan and Tongan traditions for his unsuccessful wooing of a young Sāmoan *taupou* Sina who instead favour his younger brother Nganatatafu. This Tu'i Tonga Tatafu'eikimeimu'a eventually contracted a political marriage to a daughter of Manu'a, a great tulafale-ali'i of Safata, and according to Herda this marriage sealed his representation in the Tui A'ana and Malietoa lines (1987:46). His name is like a pronouncement of identity as it means "I Tatafu a great chief from Mu'a", Mu'a being either the residence of the Tui Tonga in Tongatapu, or the past, hence "I Tatafu a great chief from way back". It was a name that entered the line of Tu'i Tonga for the first time.

The next in line of Tu'i Tonga succession was Lomi'aetupu'a. Nothing much is said about this figure except that he is the father of TT Havea II but there is an important story about this king that seems to be backed up by oral tradition in Uvea. According to Kioa (Tomu)⁹⁵, Lomi'aetupu'a had two sons, Havea II and Takalaua. Havea II's mother was the daughter of Tu'i Uvea while Takalaua was the issue of a Sāmoan chiefly lady who was Lomi'aetupu'a's principal wife. When their father grew older Havea II decided to build a Langi (stone faced, terraced burial vault) for Lomi'aetupu'a.

⁹⁵ Pers.comm. Kioa 16th July 2014, Auckland. He is the high chief of Ha'utu village in Tongatapu, a matapule of the Tu'i Kanokupolu, and member of the Faleha'akili.

Apparently, he left for Uvea to cut the stones and his mother's people helped him to complete this task. Having the stones ready to be transported they encountered the need for a bigger vessel to take the cargo safely to Tonga. The Tu'i Uvea responded to this urgent need by commissioning the people to build the legendary Lomipeau, the biggest double-hulled canoe ever made. It is said to have had the capacity to carry over two thousand people and it was more than efficient to ship its intended cargo safely from Uvea to Tonga. The langi was built and completed in time for TT Lomi'aetupu'a to admire. Havea II was then rewarded by his father by naming him his successor, a move that seemed to break the succession convention in which the son of the principal wife Takalaua was in theory the heir apparent to the Tu'i Tonga title.

Kioa added further that Takalaua's supporters who were furiously dissatisfied with the 'dying wish' of TT Lomi'aetupu'a plotted the assassination of TT Havea II. They were possibly aided by the *falefa*, as the assassin was a Fijian. Takalaua was then installed as the next Tu'i Tonga. The Uvea supporters of TT Havea II counter-plotted to avenge the life of their chief but Takalaua was well protected for a number of decades, then eventually they managed to execute their plan successfully but they were unfortunately caught in the act. The assassins' identities have been claimed to be members of the Tu'i Faleua people but since they were not rescued by that resident chief one wonders whether they were correctly identified (Rutherford 1977:35). Tu'i Tonga Takalaua's assassination and how his sons pursued the assassins is the best-known story that oral traditions have transmitted. It has been duly recorded in written form by interested non-Tongan commentators since the beginning of contact with Europe (Gifford 1929:54, Campbell 1929:9, Herda 1987:48).

The big question is why would two Tu'i Tonga have been murdered consecutively without explanation. How can we determine at least what could have caused such acts to come about. In my view, the failure to acquire other accounts relating to those events has made it hard to consider alternative explanations that might hold the answer. Kioa's account is the only information that names Havea II and Takalaua as brothers and not father and son⁹⁶. All genealogies are in unison in asserting Havea II as the father of Takalaua but all concrete evidence available points at Kioa's account as consistently reflecting the reasons for the consecutive assassinations of the two Tu'i Tonga. Apart

96

Pers.comm. Kioa 2011-2015.

from Kioa's account there are no other explanations that cite reasons for committing such atrocities.

There is another vital piece of information that chief Kioa revealed about TT Havea II, that oral traditions have no record of. According to Kioa's account, TT Havea II named his sons after the main components of the wonder vessel the 'Lomipeau'. The eldest son was called Ma'afu in memory of the guiding twin stars they aimed for on their maiden voyage for Tonga; one son was named Vaea in a direct reference to the way the hulls bashed the huge waves; another son was Lavaka in praise of the strength of the lateen shaped sail in holding the winds; and the fourth son Fohe was named after the huge steering oar of the Lomipeau. This information matches accounts from oral traditions in Uvea.

According to a number of high chiefs of Uvea⁹⁷, who blessed me with their historical knowledge while I conducted fieldwork, Ma'afu the son of TT Havea II lived in Uvea where his residence was called Fanga'uta, a name they understood to be a place name in Tongatapu. This evidence unequivocally supports Kioa's account of TT Havea II and his sons although Vaea, Lavaka and Fohe were not featured in the Uvea oral tradition. The most revealing find was the identification of Tamasia and Malofafa by high chief Manuele as being of Uvean descent. This puts the account presented by Kioa as historical fact unless of course one can disprove it beyond reasonable doubt. Ian Campbell simply mentions that 'Havea II was assassinated by a Fijian, Tuluvota' and has this to say about Takalaua: 'A strong, perhaps harsh ruler, who was assassinated, an event leading to major changes' (1989:32).

However, Takalaua is also remembered for injuring his face while playing the drum at an entertainment to honour the arrival of his new bride. It was the beauty of the lady that caused a lapse in his concentration by looking at her feet while the stick struck his face. She was then renamed Va'elaveamata meaning the "feet that injured the [king's] face". Some accounts say her actual name was 'Ulukihelupe (her head is said to be in the likeness of a dove). That reference is argued by Gunson to be a metaphor for the real status of the lady for she was the female Tui Manu'a.

97 With the help of Pipiena from the Ministry of Cultural Affairs, high chiefs were invited to one venue. Manuele, Kulitea, Falaniko, Ilavalu, Viko Halangahu and Dr Kilisimasi all courteously came to the conference room at the Ministry to help in answering my questions and to inform me of matters I should know about.

TT Takalaua's successor was his eldest son Kau'ulufonuafeikai. He is perhaps the most famous sacred ruler of the time as his conquests of Tonga's neighbouring states, directly in tandem with the pursuit of his father's assassins, are still remembered in the folklores and oral traditions of Sāmoa, Tokelau, Rotuma, Fiji, Futuna and Uvea. As has already been mentioned earlier in chapter two, before TT Kau'ulufonuafeikai departed for Sāmoa he created a political arm to look after the secular affairs of Tonga and its empire. This was the new office of '*hau*' and its main purpose was to relieve all political responsibilities from the Tu'i Tonga so that his life would not be in danger again.

In fact, Kau'ulufonuafeikai appointed a younger brother Mo'ungamotu'a as the first *hau* of Tonga. It is claimed in some studies that the new office was also called the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua: "Kau'ulufonuafeikai created the title of Ha'atakalaua for Mo'ungamotu'a in memory of their father ... In addition the term *hau* was used to describe the new office of secular ruler." (Herda 1987:51, Campbell 1982:191, Bott 1982:109). This is a prize recipe for theoretical misconception. Firstly, Campbell ascribes two secular titles to Mo'ungamotu'a (Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and *hau*) without distinguishing when this line became Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and what sort of authority successive governors exercised. Secondly, are we to perceive his political function as Tu'i Ha'atakalaua differently from the assigned secular responsibilities that were customarily tailored for the office of *hau*?

As a matter of fact, the title Tu'i Ha'atakalaua was not a sacred title although the first holder could be said to have sprung from the sacred line of the Tu'i Tonga. The title itself was created as a secular office in contrast to the divine existence of the Tu'i Tonga as religious embodiment of the gods. Rutherford states,

"This new chief was to be the *hau* or ruling lord; he was to take over the day-to-day affairs while allowing Tu'i Tonga to enjoy the dignity and prestige of being the highest in the land and the representative on earth of the gods. The new chief was to be called Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, and as the first incumbent Kau'ulufonua Fekai installed his younger brother, Mo'ungamotu'a." (1977:35)

TT Kau'ulufonuafeikai evidently left for Sāmoa after establishing a major political re-organisation under which governors were sent to satellite colonies to rule in his stead under the supervision of the *hau*. Theories are aplenty about that particular development and have created divisions among scholars today. The competing accounts left behind by oral traditions are not at all helpful in producing better explanations of this historical

event (Gifford 1929:69 Latukefu 1974, Rutherford 1977, Herda 1988, Campbell 1989). However, along with the Tu'i Tonga himself, his administrators also must have been relocated to fulfil their sacred duties abroad in serving their master in Sāmoa, a process that was prolonged for over a hundred years during which three generations and four holders of the Tu'i Tonga title have been recorded in both Sāmoan and Tongan oral traditions (Gifford 1929: 81-84, Kramer 1999:648-649).

Inasmuch as we would like to know the real reason and the purpose of relocating the seat of the Tu'i Tonga to Sāmoa, it is still a matter of debate and conclusions drawn from existing theories are far from being satisfactory. However, to learn more about what happened in the past is the main problem that we are facing now in terms of validating evidence. As a matter of fact, none of the evidence presented thus far could prove a single theory with absolute certainty although Niel Gunson's controversial hypothesis brings new possibilities worthy of serious consideration. His sweeping assertion that TT Kau'ulufonuafeikai left Tonga for Sāmoa to become Tu'i Manu'a (1997:147) has at least a justifiable reason for vacating his sacred seat but can this be proved is the real question. Although references made to the existence of female Tu'i Manu'a at the time, which gives legitimacy to Takalaua's sons as their mother, was a holder of that title but such information is yet to be confirmed.

Due to the additional role of Kau'ulufonuafeikai, his sons and grandsons lived on in Sāmoa as rulers of Manu'a, as so assumed above, until Tapu'osi returned to Tonga in about 1510. It is very hard to establish this idea as the Tu'i Manu'a lines of kings come from three separate families and also appeared to be inherited through matrilineal descend lineages (Kramer 1999:394, 520-528, Gunson 1987:150). Gunson also claims that the reason for creating the new title of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua in Tonga was evidence that the Tu'i Tonga took another sacred title of great importance.

Equally significant is the mysterious return of TT Tapu'osi to re-establish the seat of the Tu'i Tonga in Lapaha. Oral tradition says nothing about why TT Tapu'osi left Sāmoa. This is interesting because the only picture from the past we are familiar with is the story about the Tu'i Tonga exiting and then again entering Tonga and nothing in between. But, the so-called Tu'i Ha'atakalaua line reigned in the stead of the Tu'i Tonga for two centuries and the reappearance of the Tu'i Tonga would stage a world where

two rulers have to share different functions as the one with political power is now serving the one with the religious authority. However, one thing is confirmed for certain in the re-establishing of the TT court in Tongan soil, Hikule'o remained the family god of the sacred rulers in Lapaha. According to H. G. Cummins (1977:72), Vason said that they (LMS missionaries) were told that the patron god of the TT is Hikule'o. It follows therefore that the worship of the paramount god Tangaloa has been abandoned indefinitely. The worship of Hikule'o was also widespread in Uvea and Futuna in about the 1400s a century after TT Kau'ulufonuafeikai imperialism campaign.

Chapter 7

Part 2 Bipartite Co-existence (1350-1550)

The said period for this bipartite relationship starts from the reigns of the 25th TT Vakafuhu to 28th TT Tapu'osi and their contemporaries the 1st *Hau* Mo'ungamotu'a to the 6th *hau* TH Mo'ungatonga.

Synopsis

The departure of TT Kau'ulufonua-Fekai and the appointment of Mo'ungamotu'a to the office of temporal ruler (*hau*) marked a new renaissance in political leadership in Tonga. But strangely, the following two hundred years are the most difficult to assess for little is known about the successors of both TT Kau'ulufonua 1 and Mo'ungamotu'a. What would have occurred in the process of nation building to create such an unusual historical amnesia?

Background:

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Kau'ulufonuafeikai and his younger brother Mo'ungamotu'a avenged the death of their father TT Takalaua by means of conquest (Thomas 2013:29), but the exercise was not fulfilled without undesirable repercussions. Evidently thereafter, the services of two *falefa* houses were terminated (Gifford 1929:64-66), and a new office was created to manage the political affairs of Tonga for the first time in her history. Governors were appointed to rule in colonised territories (Sand 2008:91; Burrows 1937:27; see also Herda 1988:27 and Campbell 1992:16). These were urgent developments introduced in response to the changing circumstances faced by the ruling authority of the time. The fact that the assassins were obviously harboured by anti-Tu'i Tonga supporters in places under Tongan control⁹⁸ signalled a need to adjust the structure of the ancient political system in order to secure the survival of the Tu'i Tonga line.

Before the *hau* administration under Mo'ungamotu'a steered the political future of Tonga out of deep waters, so to speak, Kau'ulufonuafeikai replaced the houses of Tu'i Folaha and Matakehe with new specialist retainers -- the Tu'i Motuliki from the island of Motuliki (Fiji) and the Tu'i Amanave from Tutu'ila (Sāmoa) (Gifford 1929:65-66).

⁹⁸ The assassins first sought refuge in Eua, and then fled to Ha'apai, Vava'u, Fiji, Sāmoa, Futuna and Uvea; all were islands within the orbit of the Tongan Empire at the time.

He had good reasons for terminating the services of those houses. First and foremost, the *falefa* were customarily sworn by Tangaloa under sacred oath to serve ‘Aho’eitu (and his descendants) as their King and to be his trusted advisors and personal attendants, and the Tu’i Tonga needed to have confidence in their support and commitment (Ve’ehala and Fanua 1977:28). Even so, oral tradition is not specific in recounting the duties of each *falefa*. Bott could only say, “some of the legends indicate that they were supposed to help the Tu’i Tonga with governing the country.”(Bott 1982:97)

We can surmise that the houses of Matakehe and Tu’i Folaha would have deviated from their prescribed duties for reasons that have to do with the running of government. The motives that drove them to become directly involved in the assassination of Takalaua and in harbouring the assassins are justification enough for them to suffer such a dishonourable fate. According to a number of Tongan traditionalists⁹⁹, Tu’i Folaha and Matakehe were also suspects in the assassination of TT Havea 1 and the assassin Tuluvota was from the (Fijian) house of Matakehe.¹⁰⁰ Oral tradition on the other hand is inexplicably silent on this matter, but nevertheless there are factors that would link these houses again to the assassination of Takalaua since the assassins were assumed to be from the court of the Tu’i Faleua. In fact, the *falefa* could conspire with the Tu’i Faleua should dissatisfaction arise concerning the direction that the Tu’i Tonga took in governing the country or the maritime empire.

As ‘king of the second house’ the Tu’i Faleua has by right (and his descendants) to assume the sacred title of the Tu’i Tonga should ‘Aho’eitu and his successors fail (Bott 1982:90). One cannot be wrong in pointing at the Tu’i Faleua as the mastermind behind the assassination of Takalaua. He could have with ease recruited the other houses with whatever scheme he was cooking up by promising them rewards that they could not refuse. Perhaps the idea of being a lieutenant or vice-king was no longer acceptable to the Tu’i Faleua, for there was no duty or special service for him other than being a paramount chief who awaited the failure of the ruling line, whenever that should happen. But the resourceful TT Kau’ulufonuafeikai rightly took the only alternative step available of reorganising the *falefa* and appointing governors to island states that had

⁹⁹ Pers.comm. High chief Kioa of Ha’utu and high chief Tau’atevalu of ‘Utulau, October 2010.

¹⁰⁰ High Chief Kioa added that Matakehe was an actual reference to the appearance of the original chief of the house. He defines Matakehe as ‘different face’ in the sense that he was somatically dark in colour.

been inhospitable to the effort to capture Tamasia and Malofafa (Gifford 1929: 66-68, Campbell 1989: 9, Herda 1987: 53).

This radical manoeuvre, to remove political power from the total authority of the Tu'i Tonga and institute the *hau* office, was the catalyst that stimulated political reform for the first time in seven hundred years of undisturbed rule, calculating from around 650 AD¹⁰¹ when 'Aho'eitu founded the sacred ruling line and became first Emperor of the so-called Tongan maritime empire. Whether or not this structural adjustment was necessary, the political reality of instituting the *hau* office was ultimately to confine religious authority to a purely sacred sphere. Perhaps the departure of Kau'ulufonua-fekai and his specialist retainers (*falefa*) for Sāmoa really did have something to do with such a notion, but since his life was supposed to be guarded by the *hau* on Tongan soil, one could conclude that Sāmoa was a safer place than Tonga. Or maybe the security issue was never the reason for creating the *hau* in the first place. This hunch is further strengthened by the creation of a second *hau* line by the 6th *hau* Mo'ungatonga when it was clear that the real function of the *hau*'s secular rulership was to serve the interests of the Tu'i Tonga by gathering greater tribute (rather than to defend his life as so often believed).

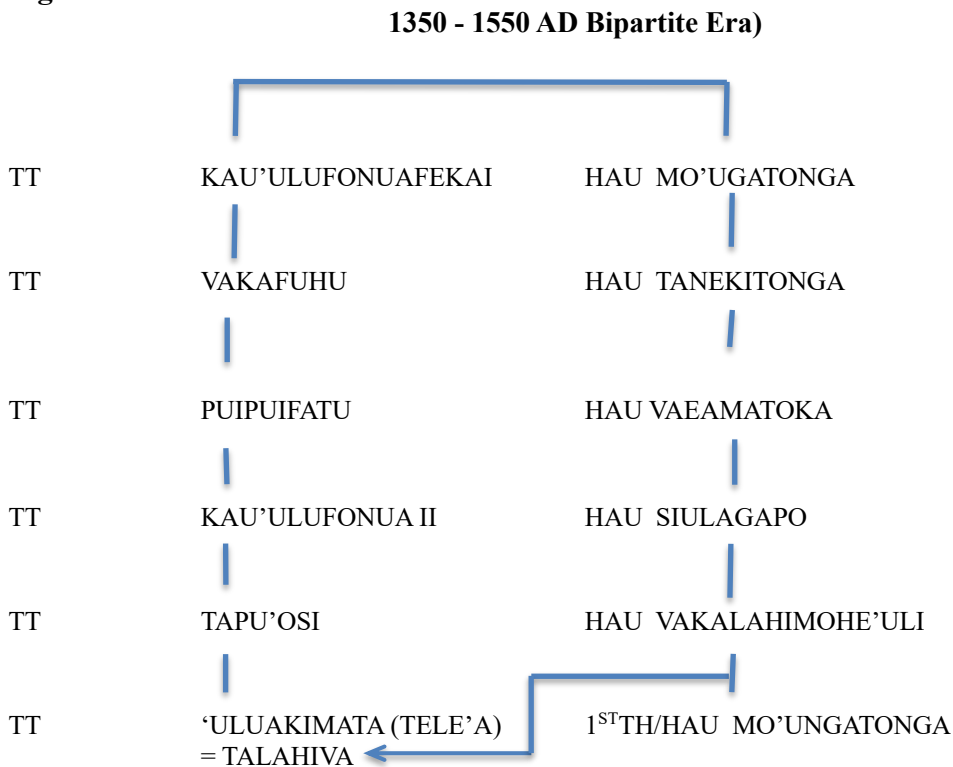
¹⁰¹ This date is argued in this work as the most reasonable time for the reign of TT 'Aho'eitu or even earlier. In fact, the 39 Tu'i Tonga provided by the Catholic list do not represent generations but a succession of kings. Scholars have agreed that four or five Tu'i Tonga could have reigned in each hundred years. This calculation establishes 950 AD as the date for the first Tu'i Tonga. This is possibly a significant error since examples from the contact period show that between 1773 and 1865 there existed only three generations of Tu'i Tonga by father to son succession although there were four Tu'i Tonga in total for that period of time. Tu'i Tonga Pau met Captain Cook in 1777 and was succeeded by his elder brother Ma'ulupekotofa; then Pau's son Fuanunuiava succeeded to the office around 1800 and his heir Laufilitonga became Tu'i Tonga in the 1820s before this sacred line ended with Laufilitonga's death in 1862. The argument here is that no matter how many Tu'i Tonga have reigned, the probable life span is three generations per century. The same calculation could be used to determine the date for the first ruler of Sāmoa.

Tu'i Tonga in Sāmoa:

(24th TT Kau'ulufonuafeikai to 28th TT Tapu'osi 1.) 1350 – 1470

For the time being we must defer any effort to account for the relocation of the sacred seat of the Tu'i Tonga to a foreign land (Sāmoa), where he supposedly had no authority over its political affairs, while we first assess the situation more thoroughly. The cause for entering and exiting Sāmoa by the 24th and the 28th Tu'i Tonga remains a great mystery, since there is no record of where the three generations of Tu'i Tonga descendants actually lived for over a hundred years, from 1350 to 1470 AD,¹⁰² nor of why they would return home.

Figure 22.



Apparently, Kau'ulufonuafeikai married a number of high-ranking *taupou* in Sāmoa (Kramer, 1999:649. "The Sāmoan Islands", Volume 1. and Herda, 1988:52). His successor Vakafuhu was a son by his first wife Vainu'ulasi (Herda, 1988: 59). It is said that Vakafuhu married a lady by the name Langitaetaea from Tonga and they had a son

¹⁰² This is about the time that the Safata war was fought between the Alataua supporters of Tamasoali'i and the Satunumafono branch headed by high chief Ama. Although the opus of Sāmoan oral tradition says nothing about the departure of TT Tapu'osi from Sāmoa, the re-establishment of his sacred seat at Lapaha would certainly signal that something went wrong somewhere. Perhaps he was indirectly involved in the Safata war. And, why would Ama give his daughter Tohu'ia to a lower ranking chief like TH Mo'ungatonga instead of making her a principal wife of the Tu'i Tonga, a move by which he would have gained prestige and dignity for his family.

Tu'i Tofua (Gifford 1929:72).¹⁰³ Local traditions in Ha'apai claim that Tu'i Tofua died in Tonga and was buried in a stone vault (*langi*) on the island of Tofua. This is consistent with a story that a younger brother Tongialelei assassinated him there, and partly explains why Puipufatu abruptly became the next Tu'i Tonga. According to Herda "Vakafuhu...and his Kainga sought refuge with his mother's people, who seem to have been either from Upolu or Manu'a." (Herda 1987:59). Herda continues by saying that this incident was the result of a defeat probably in a war with the Ha'a Takalaua people in Tonga. She further claims that Vakafuhu, Puipufatu and Kau'ulufonua II were all sons of the same man TT Kau'ulufonuafekei (Herda 1987:60). Edward Winslaw Gifford on the other hand believed that Vakafuhu was actually a brother of Kau'ulufonuafekei but he did not elaborate further on how he arrived at that conclusion (1929:72). Both Sāmoan and Tongan oral traditions agree that Puipufatu succeeded TT Vakafuhu who married a *taupou* and lived in Sāmoa all his life. According to local Tongan accounts, Puipufatu was a son of Vakafuhu and a grandson of Kau'ulufonua-I. Herda disputes this by insisting that the accounts are not genealogical but rather a succession list (Herda 1987: 50-60).

The reign of Puipufatu as Tu'i Tonga is the least obscure. At one time he is featured in a quarrel with the Ha'a Takalaua forces in Vava'u in which he was defeated according to some accounts from the island of 'Utungake (Campbell 1992: 16. See also Gifford 1929: 30 and Herda 1987: 60). It appears also that he lived all his life in Sāmoa and he is buried there like his father and grandfather before him. His son Kau'ulufonua II succeeded him and this Tu'i Tonga is clearly featured in the oral traditions of Sāmoa as being the father of Va'etoeifaga whose marriage to Tui A'ana Tamalelagi produced an issue who grew up to become the first Tupu of Sāmoa - Queen Salamasina (1992:93). The story goes that he came from Tonga to visit his relatives in Sāmoa. He visited Amoa¹⁰⁴ first and then the fleet sailed to Samatau in Upolu as Puni, the high chief of that village, was a close relative of the Tu'i Tonga. According to Brother Fred Henry the sign used by the fleet of the Tu'i Tonga was a white pennant (*tapa*) hanging from the mast of the vessel that carried the king (Henry 1992:89). Having recognised the insignia

¹⁰³ According to Gifford his son Tu'i Tofua was not a title per se since the lord of Tofua Island during the reign of the *hau* Mo'ungamotu'a was Taufa Tofua. It could have been a new title but it did not last to the time when contact with the outside world took place.

¹⁰⁴ Gifford (1929) mentions that the mother of Kau'ulufonua II was from Amoa in Savai'i.

of the Tu'i Tonga vessel the ever-busy orators of Upolu alerted their hopeful chiefs, as it was customary for the Tu'i Tonga to be accompanied by his daughters.

At that period only Sāmoan paramount chiefs could marry the daughters of the Tu'i Tonga (Gifford 1929:93).¹⁰⁵ The royal visit of the Tu'i Tonga to Sāmoa was an event that paramount chiefs wished to participate in for various reasons and personal interests, as did Alipia of Leulumoega and his lord Tuia'ana Tamalelagi in this context. Although Tamalelagi had already married nine times and two of those marriages were with daughters of Puni (Henry 1992:90), it did not stop the scheming brain of Alipia from working overtime as he sensed a perfect opportunity to improve the stance of his lord and furthermore himself (Ibid, p. 91-92). As it happened, Alipia lured his lord to Samatau to welcome the Tu'i Tonga in person and straight after the kava ceremony he delivered one of his finest and most memorable speeches, which he concluded with a marriage proposal for Tamalelagi and the Tu'i Tonga's daughter. High chief Puni was sadly disappointed because the fate of his daughters Siotafasi and Siotamea would be sealed should Tamalelagi marry again, but then he was also surprised when Alipia bestowed on Samatau some very high honours of A'ana (Ibid, p. 92). Puni was given no explanation but he could not refuse as such honour for Samatau was a bigger catch than his personal grief¹⁰⁶.

According to Sāmoan oral tradition, Fa'aulufanua (TT Kau'ulufonua) returned to Tonga after Tamalelagi married Va'etoeifaga (Henry 1992:93). We learn from this story that TT Kau'ulufonua II probably lived in Tonga after all, as Sāmoan folklore speaks only of visits made by the Tu'i Tonga and does not mention anything to suggest he was a resident guest as assumed by Tongan oral traditions in which Kau'ulufonua I and three generations of his descendant are said to have been resided in Sāmoa until Tapu'osi returned to Tonga around 1470 AD. This notion has become the standard version that historians subscribe to. Now we have before us competing versions of oral traditions from Tonga and Sāmoa, which are unmistakably contradictory and yet this issue has

¹⁰⁵ Two daughters of Kau'ulufonua married Sāmoan high chiefs as a result of this royal visit. Apparently Suluimaua a younger sister of Va'etoeifaga had married chief Lafo of Falelatai and they became the founders of the house 'Fale Taua'ana'. It has been a custom practiced between the royalties of Tonga and Sāmoa prior to these royal marriages.

¹⁰⁶ First of the honours conferred on Samatau was "Le tala o le fale Taua'ana" (Samatau shall be known as the round part of the house of Tui A'ana); the second was that the faleupolu (counsellors) of Puni shall be called 'Leulumoega'; and the third was a recognition of Tamalelagi's sons with the daughters of Puni - they shall be known as the 'maupu o le Tu'i A'ana'. The official reason given for such glorious gifts was a special recognition of the (excellent) reception given by Samatau in welcoming the Tu'i Tonga.

been published in the works written by Polynesianist scholars for almost a hundred years to date. Quite strangely, no one seems to have some interest in assessing this rather unique allegory that such contradiction represents.

I believe that this particular contradiction alone represents anecdotal accounts that must be addressed in order to attract objective and therapeutic debate on areas that are also considered as 'loose ends'. There are quite a few of those especially in the exact period that the Tu'i Tonga are said to have been living permanently in Sāmoa. Ian Campbell has a habit of identifying where a particular Tu'i Tonga resides and in the case of Tu'i Tonga Kau'ulufonua II he insisted that "...this king also lived in Sāmoa" (Campbell 1989:33) despite the fact that oral traditions from both Savai'i and Upolu provide incidences (only) of historical encounters between chiefs of Sāmoa and TT Fa'aulufanua (Henry 1992:89) where important marriages were established during royal visits. Ulu'alofaiga, a younger brother of Tu'i Tonga Kau'ulufonua II was left behind in Sāmoa to look after the needs of Va'etoifaga when she married Tui A'ana Tamalelagi. Ulu'alofaiga established a settlement for his Tongan contingent at Nofoli'i in A'ana just next door to Leulumoega where Va'etoifaga lived with her husband¹⁰⁷. This is a good indication that the Tu'i Tonga may not have been living in Sāmoa during the period of his supposed absence from his sacred seat at Lapaha in Tongatapu. There is nothing significant about TT Tapu'osi in the traditions, apart from his role in the re-establishment of the Tu'i Tonga's sacred seat at Lapaha. Following Gunson's position, Herda (1987:52) also is convinced that four Tu'i Tonga after Kau'ulufonua I all married in Sāmoa and lived there all their lives, except Tapu'osi who returned to Tongatapu.

The apparent absence of the Tu'i Tonga from its seat at Lapaha left the *hau* in sole control of Tonga from about 1350 to 1470 AD at least, before TT Tapu'osi returned from Sāmoa. During this time Mo'ungamotu'a built a new political administration to bolster his stance as temporal ruler of the Tonga archipelago (Sand 2008:29). He started by replacing the governors sent out by TT Kau'ulufonua I to Ha'apai, Vava'u, Niua, Uvea and Futuna (Frimigacci 2000:152; Burrows 1937:18-20). Some sources mention governors sent to Rotuma and Niue (Gifford 1929 and Herda 1988). This manoeuvre was to be expected. A new ruler (or dynasty) must appoint his own people to political offices to ensure his reign is based on the effective loyalty of people he can trust. The

¹⁰⁷ Ulu'alofaiga was a brother of the TT and an uncle of Va'etoifaga.

enforced camaraderie of the ruling *hau* and his councillors would always be a delicate matter and there would be no room for complacency in this type of union; it would be imprudent not to replace governors whose loyalties were to a ruling line that no longer had its seat in Tongatapu. However, accounts from the islands who received governors do not altogether conform with the confident accounts reiterated by Gifford 1929, Bott 1982, Campbell 1992 and other academic writers on Tongan history. Who the governors acted for, and their chronological sequence, may not be reliably ascertained from the Tongan opus. According to Tungi¹⁰⁸, the original governors appointed to outlying islands by TT Kau'ulufonua Fekai were Kofe and Afeaki to Ha'apai, Fotu and Afu to Vava'u, Sika and Kaufanga to Niuatoputapu, Masila and Haufano to Niufo'ou, and Elili and Fakahenga to Uvea, and other governors were sent to Rotuma, Futuna and Sāmoa (Gifford 1929: 67-68). Tungi said that Lo'au intervened afterwards and made corrections to these appointments: Takalaua, a younger brother of the Tu'i Tonga, was sent to govern 'Eua, Mata'uvave and Kolomoe'uto to Ha'apai, Haveatuli and Niutongo to Vava'u, Talapalo to Niuatoputapu, Makauka and Hakavalu to Niufo'ou and 'Elili and Fakahenga to Uvea (Bott 1982:96). This is what has been recorded in Tonga's oral traditions, has possibly been transmitted for seven hundred years to date (1350 to 2016 AD), and has been assumed to be correct since publication by Gifford in his work 'Tongan Society' (1929:68). Apparently, Takalaua as governor of 'Eua was not named in the original appointments but was included by Lo'au. Apart from 'Eua, the governors for Ha'apai, Vava'u, Niuatoputapu and Niufo'ou were replaced with Lo'au's choices. The interesting thing to note here is that the governors appointed for 'Uvea were not replaced, and one wonders why. To start with, 'Elili and Fakahenga were not appointed by TT Kau'ulufonua I but were sent sometime later by the *hau* administration under the instruction of Mo'ungamotu'a or even by another Dynasty (a point that I will revisit later). Obviously, an error has been committed here and it would put the credibility of oral traditions at risk for a high-profile traditionalist such as Tungi and a legendary figure such as Lo'au to have made it. 'Elili or Ga'asi'alili is recorded with certainty in a number of 'Uvea's oral traditions as being sent by the Ha'a Takalaua to replace Tauloko the governor who had been appointed and installed by Hoko under a direct order from TT Kau'ulufonua 1st before he returned to Tonga (Burrows 1937: 19; quoted in Sand 2008: 75).

¹⁰⁸ He was the titled representative of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua line and consort of HM Queen Salote Tupou III of Tonga and happened to be one of the main gatekeepers of Tongan History and oral traditions.

According to high chiefs Manuele and Kulitea the Tu'i Tonga had relatives in 'Uvea¹⁰⁹. Hoko was a chief from the ruling house of Tonga and his role in installing Tauloko, as governor is evidence of his high status and royal connection¹¹⁰. Actually the appointment of governors is attributable to a number of historical figures and has produced confusion thereafter. Gifford recorded a number of accounts which have given credit to Takalaua as the one who sent out the governors first, but Herda (1988:50) has cited sources, (Fetuanu 1970, Reiter 1933: 372, Bott 1982: 96)¹¹¹ that name Kau'ulufonuafeikai instead as the one responsible for appointing governors to the outlying islands under the influence of Tongan rule. The story of Kau'ulufonuafeikai's conquest is remembered at least in 'Eua, Ha'apai, Vava'u, the two Niua Islands, Futuna and Uvea but not so in Sāmoa, Fiji and Niue. In fact, the only governor that can be accepted with absolute certainty was Tauloko, for TT Kau'ulufonua-1 personally appointed him right there in 'Uvea at the end of his long campaign (Sand 2008: 83).

Hau Administration;

1st *hau* Mo'ungamotu'a to the 5th *hau* Vakalahimohe'uli (1350-1500 AD).

Mo'ungamotu'a is said to have made 'far-reaching changes in government' (Campbell 1992:16) and a major political reorganisation of his own when he commenced his secular duty as 'Temporal Ruler' of Tonga (Campbell 1989:9, and also Herda 1988: and Gifford 1929). According to oral traditions, the devolution of political power to the *hau* was a straightforward state of affairs and the process represented also a smooth transition of rulership authority from the Tu'i Tonga to his brother (Campbell 1992:16, Herda 1988:51). This version is called into doubt by a number of references in genealogy books¹¹², which point to an apparent crisis in which Mo'ungamotu'a allegedly challenged TT Kau'ulufonua-Fekai sometime after he returned from the long pursuit of their father's assassins. This story has been popularised in works written by modern historians to the extent that the 'conspiracy theory' has become the most supported view in circulation ever since (Campbell 1989, 1992:16, Herda 1988:51)

¹⁰⁹ Pers. Comm. Ministry of Cultural Affairs (Uvea) 2011.

¹¹⁰ Pers. Comm. and interviews at Mu'a (Uvea) in 2011.

¹¹¹ Amongst other sources she mentions a genealogy from Tu'iketeki Pule.

¹¹² Genealogies contributed by Sione Tu'iketeki Pule and Losaline Fatafehi (Palace Office, Nuku'alofa).

So far, we have demonstrated that there is a problem with the various accounts regarding the so-called appointment of governors to the northern island nations under Tongan rule. According to Gifford, TT Takalaua is credited with sending the new rulers to Tonga's outlying dominions in addition to the more accepted story that it was TT Kau'ulufonua-Fekai who actually commissioned these offices in the first place (Gifford 1929:69). Perhaps Takalaua did appoint some governors during his reign but surely not to Uvea even though 'Elili' was allegedly sent by the Tu'i Tonga (a point that I will discuss in detail later). Oral traditions in Uvea confirm that Tauloko was definitely appointed governor of Uvea by Kau'ulufonua-Fekai himself after the assassins had been captured. Having said that, Tauloko was the only appointment that can be identified with absolute certainty in contrast to governors supposed to be sent to other places by Kau'ulufonua-Fekai. It is said that a high chief Hoko was ordered to conduct the installation of Tauloko before the Tu'i Tonga departed on his return voyage to Tonga. However, Tongan oral traditions do not provide us with an event that could have alerted TT Takalaua to appoint governors for Tongan controlled dominions. On the other hand Kau'ulufonua-Fekai had every reason to execute such a programme since his military campaigns had proved more difficult than he had anticipated.

The reorganisation scenario attributed to Mo'ungamotu'a is vague indeed as most names given as representatives sent by the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua¹¹³ for the designated colonies appear to be figures sent in later times (see Bott 1982:110), and they are not described as governors either. An example of this inconsistency is recorded as follows: the representatives for 'Eua were Hama (son of a later *hau* Siulangapo) and Kauvaka'uta a grandson of Mo'ungamotu'a (Bott 1982:110). One of Mo'ungamotu'a's sons Taufa Tofua was sent to Ha'apai together with other relatives Fanualofanga to Lofanga and Kavamo'unga'one to the island of Mo'unga'one (both were sons of the Tu'i Ha'amea). Another son Tu'itufu was sent to 'Eueiki. Koate and Luani are named as representatives for Vava'u and they were sons of Vaea the 8th Tu'i Ha'atakalaua.

Obviously, these chiefs were not sent immediately to replace the existing governors sent by Kau'ulufonua-Fekai (or Takalaua if there is any truth to it). The fact that only two of them were sons of Mo'ungamotu'a, one a grandson, one a great grandson, and two from

¹¹³ She describes the Ha'atakalaua titles as just representatives but not governors.

eight generations later should certainly create doubt in the so-called Tu'i Ha'atalalua 'Revolution'¹¹⁴ that forced the Tu'i Tonga into exile in Sāmoa. On the basis of the above information one wonders whether there was even a challenge issued to the authority of the Tu'i Tonga and whether the apparent migration to Sāmoa would have been inspired by something else. I will return to this point in the next chapter.

It appears at this juncture that Mo'ungamotu'a was in need of local support to strengthen his stance as the new ruler (*hau*) by marrying the daughter of Tu'i Ha'amea¹¹⁵. Quite possibly, the Tu'i Ha'amea at the time was Lo'au himself for he features in finalising choices and making corrections regarding the appointment of governors supposedly made by either Takalua or his son Kau'ulufonua-fekai. This act brings to the fore a significant image of Lo'au as a historical (or mythical) figure who happens to possess the magic touch when resorted to at times of national crisis or when there was need for nation building. The role of Ha'amea throughout the entire political development in Tongan history has given us a fair idea of why rulers turned to Lo'au as did TT Momo in asking for the hand of Nua around 950 AD (my calculation) and again three hundred years after the 1st *hau* Mo'ungamotu'a married the daughter of the Tu'i Ha'amea.

I have a feeling that Mo'ungamotu'a would have anticipated revolt against his position from potential enemies who still lurked around from wars he had personally engaged in. It must be remembered that resistance was sparked in the main island of Tongatapu, the 'official seat' of power, immediately after the assassination of Takalua. This is the motivation Mo'ungamotu'a would need, whatever Lo'au had up his sleeves, for the rough journey he was about to endure as the new ruler of Tonga. The fact that all the islands in the Tongan archipelago were involved in harbouring Takalua's assassins would be another reason for the *hau* to expect the possibility of future hostility and confrontation. The ideas that Mo'ungamotu'a was successful in challenging his elder brother for political supremacy, and that his eventual grip on absolute power was impressive enough to delineate stability and political security, could give a wrong impression. Mo'ungamotu'a would have been as uncomfortable as any other powerful

114 In his 'Classical Tongan Kingship' Ian Campbell argues that the Tu'i Ha'atalalua did manage to overpower the Tu'i Tonga through a direct challenge by Mo'ungamotu'a.

115 Tohi Hohoko posted by James Cocker under 'Malo Tonga' website. There is no other genealogy in Tonga that provides the name of who Mo'ungamotu'a married. For the time being we can only follow the lead of James Cocker (a descendant of the first *hau* Mo'ungamotu'a).

ruler for fear of failure, unless of course the whole business of overthrowing the Tu'i Tonga was a myth.

Tanekitonga succeeded his father as the 2nd *hau* but nothing else is known about him other than the claim¹¹⁶ that he sired two sons whose mother cannot be identified. His name could stand for 'a man for Tonga' meaning the right man for Tonga. It seems that Tanekitonga was a great ruler. His name tends to confirm it and oral tradition finds nothing negative to attach to his reign. His eldest son Vaeamatoka succeeded him as *hau*. It is not known whom he married but he has one son on record. Oral traditions are also silent about this ruler but his name seems to tell a very interesting story.

The term *Vaea* literally means 'to bash big waves' and in this context it refers to the ability of double-hulled canoes to deal with the huge waves of the ocean. *Toka* describes a peaceful or calm ocean. Thus *vaea* indicates a rough voyage¹¹⁷ and *toka* expresses the condition of normalcy that follows rough weather. *Vaeamatoka* is a term clearly derived from ocean voyaging and rightly used as a metaphor for a king who lived up to the task at hand and managed to maintain control over the situation. It also points to an attainment of the magnitude of subduing a formidable enemy if that was really the case in the reign of this king.

Vaeamatoka's only recognised son Siulangapo succeeded him as *hau*. Again, there is no information relating to the reign of this ruler and no genealogy mentions the name of his wife. His name alone allows us to theorise about how he lived his life, and a story is outlined automatically. *Siu* is a direct reference to the art of fishing or to exploiting the gifts of the ocean; 'langa' means building something and in the context of *siu* it refers to the process of developing, rebuilding or even recruiting mariners for a navy; *po* literally means the dark of night and may stand for a dark secret or a controversial intention such as an assassination plot, instigating a revolution, or the act of betrayal. So, this *hau* Siulangapo may have faced opportunities during his tenure as temporal ruler to extend his political influence beyond the Tongan group. Although the term Siulangapo connotes 'preparations for a fishing expedition at night', it is also a metaphor for

¹¹⁶ A genealogy posted by James Cooker mentions that Tanekitonga had two sons. Malo Tonga.com

¹¹⁷ I refer to this expression in the sense that the vessel must encounter the hardship of big waves before achieving a smooth voyage. The vessel is a symbolic reference to the king; this king's name tends to imply the way the vessel manages to deliver the purpose it was made for

political manoeuvring especially when the real purpose is a high priority secret. I am inclined to suggest that this *hau* had made his mark through military ingenuity on the basis of attack on enemies, all-out invasion, or takeover without military engagement, and that these ingenious qualities earned this ruler such a name. He may have been tactically a master of warfare and a great commander in naval combat, a possible trade that his son Vakalahimohe'uli seems to have continued.

The 5th *hau* and successor of Siulangapo was Vakalahimohe'uli, the eldest of four children amongst whom his younger brothers Hu'akavameiliku and Laume became important leaders. They had one sister Talahiva a lady of exceptional beauty who became the ma'itaki of the *hau* line given as wife to the 29th Tu'i Tonga 'Uluakimata 1 son of TT Tapu'osi. Nothing much is recorded by oral tradition about this ruler except of course the possible message that seems to unfold through his name. Vakalahi means a huge vessel (a reference perhaps to a very large double-hulled canoe) but I believe that it really stands as a metaphor for the stature and size of the ruler himself. Mohe'uli denotes someone who does not take a bath regularly. However, to say, in this case, that the *hau* was a person who did not entertain hygiene by choice would be unthinkable, for he should have had his own pool, so the expression must be symbolic.

I am of the impression that Vakalahi was the actual name of this ruler, but at the same time a seafaring character appears to dominate his personal existence, be it military expeditions or just for the love of being at sea (which is highly unlikely). The appellation 'mohe'uli' was definitely a nickname given to him not for a lack of respect for hygiene but for the fact that time spent at sea would deny those on-board accesses to fresh water for a long duration of time. For a ruler to command long voyages implies a serious individual, someone who would insist on accomplishing his dream at all costs. This interpretation could be supported by the new heights that his son and successor Mo'ungatonga attained in his turn as *hau*.

What is most interesting about the post-Kau'ulufonua-1 era is the lack of information about the Mo'ungamotu'a line of *hau* rulers, which ended after the reign of the 6th *hau* in line Mo'ungatonga around 1570 AD (my calculation). It seems that the history of Tonga decided to take sabbatical leave for a couple of centuries after a very active phase where wars were fought and a major political transformation materialised in the

establishment of a secular dynasty known as *hau*. The reign of the *hau* line as ‘temporal rulers’ in their two hundred years of tenure is mostly obscure and apart from the personal names provided in the King’s list there is nothing more to find except for the single important marriage of Talahiva, the daughter of the 4th *hau*, to TT Uluakimata-1.

There are no stories whatsoever in the Tongan repertoire of any political activities that might reflect the role of new governors and how effectively they controlled their subjects in each of their designated posts. This lack of information has allowed a tendency for observers of Tongan society to assume that political stability was maintained and that the *hau* establishment was built on a solid foundation based on a strong government. Yet, the structure of such government and how effectively its officials operated in distributing the land and to whom, let alone the complex issues of organising labour without the influence of the Tu’i Tonga, are left without description.

The *hau* administration appears to be very successful in executing its function as temporal ruler and for after six generations of effective control (in Tonga and the satellite colonies) there was no indication of a political aspiration in his part to assume a divine role in view of replacing the absentee Tu’i Tonga. For two hundred years of steering the helm without changing the course of Tonga’s political destiny the *hau* was obviously surrounded by opportunities to assert, upgrade or elevate the status and authority of his temporal office and yet no holder of the title ever showed any compromising attempt to do so. This kind of strict loyalty is unheard of and such issue had never been raised or discussed in recent reviews especially in regard to the political history of Tonga. But, the historical reappearance of TT Tapu’osi did bring with him answers to unfounded theories regarding the absence and restoration of the divine seat of the Tu’i Tonga. The bi-partite era resumed with a practical relationship where the *hau* became the progenitor for future Tu’i Tonga by providing him with daughters as principal wife. The assumption relating to a possible exile of TT Kau’ulufonuaafekai has become doubtful from the fact that TT Tapu’osi was welcomed with full honours as number one ruler.

The 6th *hau* Mo’ungamotu’a, as already discussed, emerged with a bizarre aspiration in his campaign to become divine. It is this personal initiative that this study asserts with confidence which brought into existence the 2nd dynasty with the royal title Tu’i

Ha'atalaau. To recapitulate, the argument here is that Mo'ungatonga was vying for a divine office and the only solution is to create a new kingship title for himself without realising that to have two divine kings in Tonga have never been tested. Not only that he knew the Sāmoan situation very well where political life is always a matter of rolling the dice, so to speak, due to the fact that there is in existence more than one divine kings ruling independently of each other, he should also aware of the threat that the new *hau* might aspire for a divine position like him one day.

This Chapter begin with an attempt to delineate the most fantastic reunion of a returning Tu'i Tonga and his local host, the *hau*. This important event may have in its own accord answered a number of wild theories regarding the motive behind the departure of Kau'ulufonua-fekai for Sāmoa. Such event produced new lights into the understanding of the bipartite coexistence and the resumption of divine authority in Tonga. The next chapter will cover the issue of the new *hau* line.

Chapter 8

Part 3

The Tripartite Coexistence - Phase One (1520-1650)

The possible holders of the kingship titles in each dynasty at this period were 28th TT Tapu'osi to 30th TT Fatafehi. The 6th *hau* and 1st TH Mo'ungatonga to TH Vaea. The 7th *hau* & 1st TK Ngata to 3rd TK Mataeletu'apiko.

Synopsis

Relationships between the Tu'i Tonga kingship and its two secular counterparts, the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and the newly established Tu'i Kanokupolu, led to innovations. Central to this discussion is the need to distinguish the status system and the type of government that each dynasty practiced. Moreover, a serious effort is made to uncover the forces that bound the bipartite (and tripartite) coexistence of these royal houses in the first hundred years of union.

Background:

The return of TT Tapu'osi, supposedly from Sāmoa around 1500 AD¹¹⁸, unexpectedly ushered in many great changes in Tonga, most of which were introduced in the reign of his successor TT 'Uluakimata the 1st (Burrows 1937:24). Such changes featured the creation of some new royal offices¹¹⁹ plus the integration of a number of foreign cultural systems either through chiefly marriages or from mass migration for political and other reasons¹²⁰. The unprecedented desire of the *hau* or Tu'i Ha'atakalaua to upgrade his status to divine rank as equal of the Tu'i Tonga was smoothly granted, a position that in the end put him at a political disadvantage. Being divine alongside the Tu'i Tonga was a situation that needed prompt readjustment in different areas of social life especially the political redefinition of social positions and ranking order. The magnitude of this igniting renaissance essentially transcended the cultural parameters that fused the socio-political and religious order in sixteenth century pre-contact Tongan society.

¹¹⁸ The dating is in accordance to reviews undertaken in this study.

¹¹⁹ The elevation of the *hau* office to divine status was unconventional, but nevertheless the new title Tu'i Ha'atakalaua was created for this now divine line of kings. This action was followed by the creation of the Tu'i Tonga Fefine title for the eldest daughter of the Tu'i Tonga and shortly thereafter the Tamaha title came into existence as an outcome of the ongoing restructuring of status.

¹²⁰ The arrival of High Chief Ama and his Sāmoan followers in about 1510 AD was a massive migration for which a thousand heads in total is a close estimate. Simultaneously, the marriage of the Tu'i Tonga Fefine to the Fijian chief Tapu'osi was marked by another great migration of Fijian people to Tonga as the Tu'i Lakepa (Lakeba) and his retinues were relocating to Tonga permanently.

Most significant of these changes were adjustments made when the secular office of the *hau* was upgraded to divine rank and given the kingly title Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, and a new office of Tu'itonga fefine was created with an associated title Sinaitakala (Ve'ehala and Fanua 1977:31; Rutherford *et al*). Her offspring were given even greater status and dignity that surpassed the rank of the Tu'itonga fefine when the first born female was installed with the title Tamaha. The status of the Tamaha redefined the existing value system of ancient Tonga by allowing her to outrank her parents including the sacred Tu'i Tonga himself (Ibid, 1977:31). The extraordinary status of the Tamaha is attributed to the rank of her mother's prescribed consort the Tu'i Lakepa, a foreign chief of high rank. Most of the changes were initiated under the direction of the Tu'i Tonga as part of his solution to strengthen and maintain the *status quo* under which his line of kingship held highest status. However the most surprising of all changes around 1500 AD was allowing the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua to co-exist with the Tu'i Tonga as a second sacred king (Ilaiu in this study, Chapter 4).

Bipartite Co-existence: (1350-1550 AD)

It is possible that TT Tapu'osi returned to Tonga near the end of the reign of Vakalahimohe'uli the 5th *hau*, but the effect of his presence as the divine figurehead and spiritual ruler of Tonga was made obvious in the surprising aspiration of the 6th *hau* to be accorded sacred status (Latukefu 1974:3 and Campbell 1982:181). According to oral tradition, this odd wish was duly granted to the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Mo'unga-'o-Tonga. And, his alleged elevation did make room for a new *hau* line to take over his secular responsibilities for he was no longer (in theory) subordinated to his now equal and former superior the Tu'i Tonga. In practice TH Mo'ungatonga actually dissociating himself from secular and mundane duties. Sione Latukefu sums up this point as follows:

“Later, the sixth Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, desiring to become like the Tu'i Tonga himself and be free of the responsibilities of the *hau*, created another dynasty, the Tu'i Kanokupolu, and appointed one of his sons, Ngata, to this position in order that the latter would take over the responsibilities of the *hau*.” (1974:3)

After a century and a half of political inactivity from 1350 to 1500 (my own dating), Tonga entered an era in which she had to endure carrying the weight of three ruling dynasties for the first time in her known history and that was realised right after the establishment of the second *hau* dynasty (known later as Tu'i Kanokupolu) in about

1530 AD (Ve'ehala and Fanua 1977:35-36; Rutherford *et al*). As a matter of fact, there was never a time that a rival authority had been known to have co-existed alongside the Tu'i Tonga dynasty since 'Aho'eitu became the first holder of the sacred title. That state of affairs had continued until the departure of TT Kau'ulufonuafeikai in about 1350 AD when the creation of the first *hau* dynasty made no difference at all, for the holders of that secular title (*hau*) ruled as sole sovereigns for at least two hundred years unchallenged in the absence of the Tu'i Tonga.

Now, with the return of TT Tapu'osi around 1500 AD, the re-establishment of the sacred court of the Tu'i Tonga at Lapaha had consequently added another line of sacred kings (Latukefu 1974:3) to the sacred rank of divine order with the inevitable creation of a new *hau* at Hihifo to manage and control the secular responsibilities previously assigned to the original *hau* line of the Ha'atakalaua (Ve'ehala and Fanua 1977:36; Rutherford *et al*). It is possible to assert at this juncture that Mo'unga-'o-Tonga may have actually demanded the divine rank as a form of compensation for services rendered by his predecessors for six generations in the stead of the Tu'i Tonga line (a major argument in this study). This is specifically for singlehandedly looking after the welfare of the Tongan group and as well as managing the affairs of the so-called 'maritime empire' at large. Perhaps there was an agreement or even a 'sacred pact' between Kau'ulufonuafeikai and his brother Mo'ungamotu'a that should the Tu'i Tonga return home to re-establish his reign, as sacred ruler, the *hau* would be guaranteed elevation in rank to become a divine king of a new dynasty.¹²¹

The fact that there was no evidence of conflict or resistance against the re-establishing of the sacred office in its original seat at Lapaha has opened up all sorts of reasons to question the argument that the Tu'i Tonga was actually exiled in the first place (Gunson 1982, Campbell 1989:9; Herda and others). Oral traditions speak of no tiff amid the bipartite relationships of the two dynasties i.e. the sacred Tu'i Tonga and the sacred Tu'i Ha'atakalaua line. Initially, there is no account of compromise, renewed deal or serious negotiation between TT Tapu'osi and the *Hau* Vakalahimohe'uli concerning formal regulations to guide their inevitable co-existence. And it appears that in the wake of

¹²¹ Ilaui 2007. I also argue in this work that based on his achieved sacred status Mo'ungatonga was possibly the first Tu'i Ha'atakalaua; his name implies 'a new height' in contrast to Mo'ungamotu'a as 'glory of past time'.

their rather convivial relationship the daughter of the *hau* lady Talahiva was given as principal wife to 'Uluakimata 1st, the eldest son of the returning Tu'i Tonga.

It shows from this marriage that the Tu'i Tonga was still revered as a divine figure and that his counterpart the *hau* was demonstrating a subordinate role by positioning himself on the secondary dais as 'wife giver' for his superior. If on the other hand, the *hau* happened to be superior in position to the Tu'i Tonga on the basis of being the guardian ruler of Tonga at the time, or due to his position as the benefactor on whom the Tu'i Tonga's livelihood depended solely for support, then he would have been in the strategic position to indulge the luxury of taking the Tu'i Tonga's daughter as his principal wife. Instead, it was the Tu'i Tonga who enjoyed the benefits of being supported by the *hau* for the mother's people are those who customarily provide for the offspring of the principal wife (Bott 1982).

Thus it appears the elevation of TH Mo'unga-'o-Tonga to full divinity did not waive the practice of supplying the principal wife for his 'equal' the sacred Tu'i Tonga. His eldest daughter Kaloafutonga was given as principal wife for TT 'Uluakimata's son and successor Fatafehi (Bott 1982:12). One could argue that the possible explanation for continuing the 'wife giving' practice by TH Mo'unga-'o-tonga would be that his daughter was betrothed to the heir to the Tu'i Tonga title before the TH was elevated in rank. But, on the other hand, it could have been the beginning of a new tradition, as TH Fotofili (now a sacred king himself) gave his daughter Takala as principal wife to TT Fatafehi's son and successor Kau'ulufonua III and immediately in the following generation TH Vaea the son of TH Fotofili also gave his daughter Toa as principal wife of Uluakimata II the eldest son of TT Kau'ulufonua III (Bott 1982:12; fig. 1). So, during this era 1520 to 1650 the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua supplied principal wives to the Tu'i Tonga line for at least five consecutive generations, a tradition that started with Talahiva the daughter of the 5th *hau* Vakalahimohe'uli.

On the other hand, the wives of Mo'unga-'o-Tonga provide evidence that he assumed the divine status at a later date in his tenure as Tu'i Ha'atakalaua. For example, his first wife was Manutapu a daughter of Vake a minor chief from Ha'ano Island in Ha'apai, whose son Fotofili succeeded his father as Tu'i Ha'atakalaua (Bott 1982:13). But his last wives were ladies of rank Tohu'ia, a Sāmoan taupou and her younger sister the daughters of high chief Ama from Safata in Upolu. These important marriages must

have been the formal and official recognition of his elevation to divine rank. These two marriages clearly mirrored the changes in Mo'unga-'o-Tonga's life history for it appears that he had been slowly challenging the exclusive privilege of the Tu'i Tonga to marry high ranking Sāmoan *taupou*, a custom that was previously limited to the Tu'i Tonga line while by contrast lower ranking chiefs like the *hau* were never blessed with such honours.

Tu'i Ha'atalaia Fotofili, son of TH Mo'unga-'o-Tonga married 'Atalua a younger daughter of TT Fatafehi the eldest son of TT 'Uluakimata 1st (Bott 1982:13). Fotofili was the first Tu'i Ha'atalaia to have received a daughter of the Tu'i Tonga as his principal wife and that was made possible by the fact that the Tu'i Ha'atalaia and the Tu'i Tonga had recognised each other at the time as equals (my argument) in the sense that they are both divine. It seems at this point in time that the Tu'i Tonga could not refuse the hands of his younger daughters at least from his divine counterpart.

The issue from the marriage of TH Fotofili and Atalua was TH Vaea the king who raised the rank of the Tu'i Ha'atalaia line to greatness by his marriage to Tamaha Simuoko (Burley 2005:82 - in Campbell and Coxon *et al*). This connection made Vaea a direct descendant of the Tu'i Tonga and also a descendant of the first Tu'itonga Fefine (Sinaitakala-'i-Langileka) and of the Tu'ilakepa Tapu'osi through their son Fonomanu. The issue from this marriage was TH Moeakiola 1st.

However, TH Mo'unga-'o-Tonga and his high-ranking Sāmoan wife Tohu'ia had one son Ngata and a daughter Polongatala'ao (Bott 1982). This marriage indicates both the symbolic and real elevation of Mo'unga-'o-Tonga to divine rank as it represents a new era for this kingly line in its claim to high-born Sāmoan *taupou* as principal wives, a luxury that had been indulged in by the Tu'i Tonga since the reign of TT Aho'eitu. The younger sister of Tohu'ia gave Mo'ungatonga a son Molofaha, the 1st Motu'apuaka. I have discussed elsewhere¹²² that the leading Sāmoan contingents who brought Tohu'ia to Tonga, quite specifically her father high Chief Ama and his younger brother Kili (Ili) would have had high expectations for Ngata to succeed his father in view of the custom practiced by the Tu'i Tonga for centuries where the son by the (Sāmoan) principal wife would always be the legitimate successor. By contrast, the eldest son of the *hau* by his

¹²² Ilaiu 2007 Master's Thesis, Massey University.

first wife was customarily the inheritor to the father's title. Since the existing genealogies do not have the names of spouses for each of the first five *hau*(s) we can only assume that the first wife's son was heir apparent by tradition and that these wives were not of outstanding rank.

I am led to the conclusion that the appointment of Fotofili as Tu'i Ha'atakalaua took place during the lifetime of TH Mo'unga-'o-Tonga and that was the reason for nominating Ngata at the same time as the new *hau*. Although this move appears to be a bit premature since the father was still alive, it tells us, at least, that the primogeniture tradition was consistent with the succession custom prescribed by oral tradition for the *hau* dynasty (Bott 1982:113). However, the necessity for speeding up that particular formality for Fotofili was indeed irregular and could have been forced by a succession crisis (Ilaiu: 2007: 26-32).¹²³ The fact that the *hau* office was vacant at the said period, implies that TH Mo'unga-'o-Tonga and his advisors would have been carefully searching for the right person who truly possessed the leadership quality to fill such an important position. They must have been mindful of the presence of high chief Ama and his brother Kili and their pressure for Ngata to be appointed successor to the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua title (Ilaiu 2007). In Sāmoa a *taupou* would have been the principal wife, but in the *hau* tradition primogeniture gave Fotofili the right to succeed. Further Ama and Kili were accompanied by a large contingent of Sāmoan conscripts who were said to be over a thousand strong (Gifford 1929).

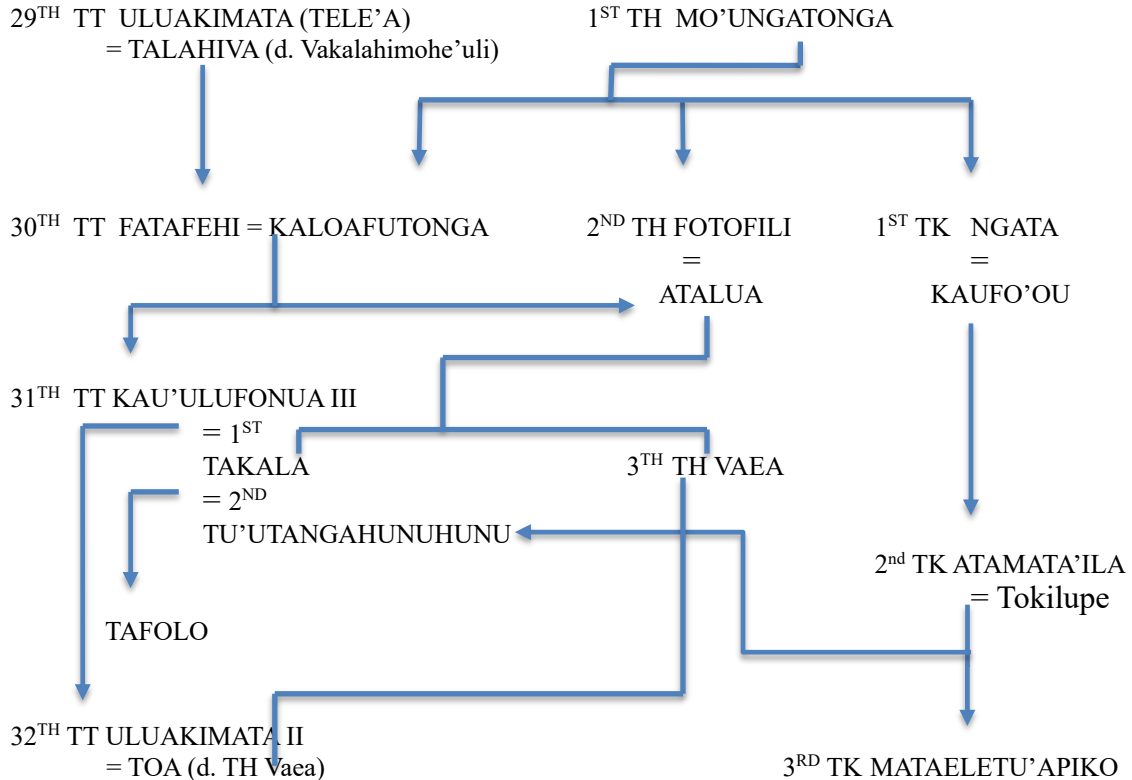
The scheme was to send Ngata to Hihifo to rule knowing full well that it was the most difficult district to control due to the fierce manner of its people (Bott 1982:115). According to local oral tradition this district had resisted efforts to be governed by any other chief except one of their own. Ngata and his Sāmoan followers accepted the challenge. The Tu'i Ha'atakalaua did underestimate the tricks under the belts of the Sāmoan orators whose excellent skills in negotiation and their ability to dismantle complex political situations were keys that would levitate the success of their proposed campaign.

¹²³ This issue is discussed in detail in Chapter 3 of the Thesis.

Figure 23.

**Dynastic Tripartite Coexistence
(My alternative view)**

1550 - 1650 AD



Tripartite Coexistence:

The accounts of Ngata's investiture as 7th hau with the title Tu'i Hihifo is well documented in the current literature. Oral tradition spoke of his success as being achieved through trickery (Gifford 1929:102 and Bott 1982:115). It is useful to recapitulate the important elements of that story at this juncture. Apparently, Ngata was wrapped together with his father's brother Vaoloa and a half-brother Halakitau'a in a fine mat¹²⁴ (Bott 1982:115) so that they appeared as one person with three heads. The story goes that the appearance of the three-headed man was terrifying for the people of Hihifo (ibid 1982:115) and out of fear they were forced to accept their new ruler without resistance. This is quite a fantastic story that has been transmitted from one generation to the other but would it be believable enough for the people to be fearful of

¹²⁴ The fine mat was one of those known in Sāmoa as 'Ie ole Malo'; it was called 'Manea Faiga'.

such beast? After all Ngata and his protectors were unwrapped from the fine mat in the end.

Surely the people were not that ignorant not to see for themselves that there were three people wrapped together as one, right from the moment that the Sāmoan contingents arrived at the beach of Hihifo. Pahulu said that Ngata, Vaoloa and Halakitau'a were heavily rubbed with coconut oil before rapping them together with the fine mat. The path from the beach they used on their journey to Kolovai for the installation ceremony was marked with oil and since then it is called '*hala-tafenga-lolo*', which means - the path that was spilled with oil¹²⁵. So, it is unwise to take such a story in its face value even if these three individuals were actually wrapped together with a fine mat. In fact, there is no known tradition in Tonga that could explain a special significance of wrapping chiefs together in a fine mat for the purpose of bestowing on someone a kingly title. If it was not a Tongan ritual or an archaic custom associated with the official installation of the sacred Tu'i Tonga then it might be an element of a Sāmoan ritual tradition instead. Apparently, ancient paramount chieftains in Sāmoa did have ceremonial protectors known as *tafatafa* in Tutu'ila, *tafa'i or tuitui* in Upolu, *faatui* in Manu'a, *taulauniu* and *falefa* in Savai'i¹²⁶.

This is a very important issue to bring to our attention at this point because the 'protector' (*tafa'i* or royal guardians) concept is a unique Sāmoan political element that ceremonially comes in pairs (Henry 1992:109). In the island of Tutuila the office of the two protectors Ti'a and Ana is called *tafatafa* and Fred Henry (1992:109) translates it as 'companion' possibly of the Tu'i Atua due to the close link between Tutu'ila and Atua in the past, or perhaps they were protectors of a sacred king (perhaps the Tu'i Amanave), but the title was no longer in use in Ngata's time. The four independent kingdoms of Upolu do possess a pair of protector *tafa'i* for each monarch. Umaga and Pasese are the *tafa'i* or protectors of the Tui A'ana (sacred king of A'ana), and for the Tui Atua (sacred ruler of Atua) his protectors were Tupa'i and Ta'inau, while at Afega the seat of the sacred ruler Gatoa'itele has as *Tafa'i* the Faleta'ita'i - Fata and Maulolo, who are also known as Tui Samau. The protectors of Tamasoali'i (sacred ruler of Safata) are Fuga

¹²⁵ Pers. Comm. Pahulu, (Kolovai) 2013.

¹²⁶ The closest explanation that could bring more senses to such bizarre idea of tricking the people to believe that a three-headed man does exist is incommensurable. As provided by the Sāmoan model of Tutu'ila and Upolu chieftainship, a king's protectors' concept is a significant element of symbolic identification of divinity and practical expression of political authority.

and Mauava (Meleisea 1995 and Henry 1992:109). The Tui Manu'a has *faatui* (councillors) an office that is comprised of four high chiefs - Galea'i, Tuiolosega, Misa and Laolagi (Ibid; p.110), which is somewhat similar to the *falefa* of the Tu'i Tonga in the sense that they were regarded as four Kings who served a higher being, the God-king (Gifford 1929:38). In Savai'i the title Tagaloa has eight pairs of protectors called *taulauniu e valu* that is comprised of four pairs of orators from the *faleagafua* (or *falefa* o Tagaloa), which consisted of Safune, Vai'afai, Vaisala and Sili (Henry 1992). The only similar establishment in Tonga at the same period were the *Falefa* of the Tu'i Tonga as I mentioned above, which was comprised of four chiefly houses (councillors) Tu'i Loloko, Tu'i Folaha, Matakehe, and Maliepo (Gifford 1929, Collocott 1924, Bott 1982) all of whom have executive duties exclusive to each house as hereditary professed functions.

The cultural formalities during Ngata's installation ceremony again indicate that some compromise was reached between the two parties prior to the acceptance of the visitors' important assignment¹²⁷. First, the royal kava ceremony of Ngata's investiture as Tu'i Hihifo was marked by an official recognition of the local tradition of Hihifo (seating him against the sacred koka tree) together with the Sāmoan etiquette of presenting the new chief bound with his councillors. A high priest of Hihifo (by the name of Napelupelu) exclusively conducted the process of blessing Ngata as the new high chief through the symbolic acknowledgement of the local religious ritual of introducing the new ruler to the spirits of their ancestors who resided in the sacred koka tree¹²⁸. The Fijian Napelupelu was the officiating priest and the person who possessed the power to communicate with the spirits and whose function on this occasion was as spiritual guardian of Ngata¹²⁹.

As spiritual adept Napelupelu walked in front of Ngata with a spear, acting as though he was confronting and dismissing invisible enemies by facing abruptly in different directions, and continuously imitating threatening postures until they reached the koka tree (Bott 1982:125), a drill that is still reproduced in the investiture of the Tu'i Kanokupolu in modern times. Ngata and his protectors Vaoloa and Halakitau'a were

127 Ilaiu 2007 Master's Thesis, Massey University.

128 Pers. Comm. Roko Dreu, (Suva) 2011.

129 Motu'apuaka's Account (translated by Feleti Vi)

still wrapped together as one as they were seated according to prescribed local custom and leaned their backs against the body of the sacred tree to officially stake the claim made for the ruling position of Tu'i Hihifo 'King of Hihifo'. The procedures were conducted in the ancient manner that was customarily performed in the formal installation ceremonies of former 'local' rulers of Hihifo (Bott 1982)¹³⁰. It is important to mention that failed attempts made by Ha'a Takalaua chiefs to establish themselves as Tu'i Hihifo may have been caused by the fact that black magic was involved as every pretender before Ngata was obviously not protected from the resident spirits of the sacred koka tree (Herda 1988:73), for only the local spiritual authority has the power to control such force. The popularised version broadcast the view that the earlier governors were murdered instead.

The ethnic identity of Napelupelu is another important factor to note here because from his being Fijian (Bott 1982)¹³¹ we are able to tell the cultural origin of the people who were dominant in the Hihifo peninsula at the time. It becomes clear also that the basic difficulty faced by the first *hau* line and the earlier Tu'i Ha'atakalaua in attempts to control Hihifo could have been due to the fact that the Hihifo people were foreigners. Perhaps they were earlier inhabitants who settled the Island before the arrival of the Tongans and the fact that foreigners were granted land in Hihifo by the Tu'i Tonga implies that the area was possibly reserved for non-Tongan dignitaries. It also appears, as evidenced by past events, that the people of Hihifo did not entertain kindly the idea of being forced to take a chief from another district to rule their dominion (Bott 1982). Possibly they were fearful of losing their identity, which would have been implicit in the way the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua dictated to them policies that did not fit in well with their cultural practices and religious beliefs. On the other hand, the reason for accepting Ngata to become Tu'i Hihifo was possibly based on the fact that there was no actual threat presented by the Sāmoan cavaliers in the manner they addressed their intention to the local leaders. Known for their mastery in negotiation and skilful in high level diplomacy, the Sāmoan orators were successful in obtaining the trust of the locals. Such as in winning the local population's support and blessing not as an effect of the fantastic

¹³⁰ This is an interesting point that was never asked especially the question of origin and the identity of people who practiced this installation tradition and when.

¹³¹ Fortunately, such tradition was commonly practiced in the Eastern chiefdoms of the Tovata confederation in Fiji.

myth that a three-headed beast terrified the people of Hihifo but rather by an ingenious manoeuvre.

The success of Ngata's journey could be credited to the crafty skills of the Sāmoan orators, whose mastery of negotiation and experience in ruthless diplomacy have long earned them a national trademark in the history of Pacific Islands societies. They must have without doubt guaranteed the local people the luxury of maintaining their identity by allowing them the freedom (or full autonomy) to continue their lives the way they wanted. The important question is what did the Sāmoan orators do to convince the people of Hihifo of a mission that the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and his advisors had constantly failed to achieve (Bott 1982). The answer may have been indirectly projected by the local people's desire for self-government, in which on the one hand the Sāmoan migrants were themselves explicitly interested as opposed to the tendency to be enslaved in the labour intensive projects of the *hau* establishment that would engage them in building tombs, royal residences, canals and road works, and pigeon snaring platforms.

The enduring collaboration between the local people of Hihifo, whom I believe to be predominantly Fijian by descent, and the Sāmoan supporters of Ngata in establishing a government for the new *hau* (as ruler of Hihifo) produced a lasting legacy based on an unusual compromise and reciprocal cooperation (Ilaiu 2007).

Strategically, the Sāmoan councillors chose a local virgin Va'e-tapu-hifo (Bott 1982: 119,123)¹³² a daughter of 'Ahome'e the local high chief of the village of Ha'avakatolo as the principal wife of Ngata. The couple had a son Vakalepu whose nickname was Leitufia¹³³ and shortly afterwards Ngata married again with Kaufo'ou the younger sister of his wife by whom he had four more sons. The eldest was Leilua, then Atamata'ila, Kaumavae and Kapukava in descending order of seniority¹³⁴. These political marriages

¹³² This is my personal interpretation of what actually happened in view of my understanding of the Sāmoan strategic skills. Bott gave the name Hifo as the eldest daughter of Ahome'e.

¹³³ In Sāmoan language the term Va'a-le-puu is a reference either a strong vessel or a leaky one but it have to be determined by the circumstances (information given by High Chief Tuilagi). It was 'Aho's apparent disinterest to succeed Ngata as Tu'i Hihifo that demonstrated his inability and lacking the leadership quality on which the election procedure of the falekanokupolu was based. In fact, the lack of interest in succeeding Ngata as next *hau* would have confirmed in the eyes of the selectors that Aho was not the right man for the task.

¹³⁴ Bott 1982 Fig. 3 places Atamata'ila as the senior son possibly because he was the one who succeeded to the title.

fostered the bond between the Sāmoan migrants and the local inhabitants of Hihifo. The two communities formed in the process a peculiar alliance where people were culturally unrelated and yet they built a collective network as one people (Ilaiu 2007). The outcome of such mutual cooperation materialised in the form of a democratised entity where their government made election the fundamental backbone of the Hihifo political system: candidates for leadership positions must be merited by the individual's ability and not on the usual Tongan basis of primogeniture.

It seems clear to me that high chief 'Ahome'e of Ha'avakatolo was perhaps the most influential and key figure amongst the Hihifo chieftains at the time but unfortunately the origin of this title cannot be traced with absolute certainty. Oral tradition relates the people of that village to an incredible story about the unique manner of their arrival in Ha'apai with their traditional offering for the '*inasi* festival during the reign of TT Takalaua¹³⁵. According to local folklore, a fleet of double-hulled canoes came from Futuna with tribute to be presented to the Tu'i Tonga at the '*inasi* ceremony. Apparently, the very island that hosted the '*inasi* has no proper harbour and that was an unusual choice of venue for such an important occasion. On the other hand, it could have been a defensive measure designed by the advisors of the Tu'i Tonga for security reasons. Apparently, the only way to unload the cargo from the in-coming vessels was to wait for a particular wave that rose high enough to the top of the steep cliffs. It is said that the wave would hold the vessel long enough to unload its cargo before it broke and as a 'rule of thumb' the sailors had to count the waves again so that they would know when to approach the island for further unloading. It was really a time consuming affair as big vessels do take a few turns to unload all their cargo.

When their turn came to unload their cargo the Futunan vessels did not wait for the waves, they instead sent swimmers to the Island with the purpose of climbing up the cliff to the landing place to catch the items of cargo by hand as they were being heaved up from the vessels below, which it was done accordingly. Such spectacular displays of skill and strength astonished the Tu'i Tonga and in recognition of the performance they were rewarded with a piece of land on the main Island of Tongatapu. In addition to their stunning show on the beach, the Futuna dancers performed quite exceptionally on the final day of the festival, a performance that was said to be unmatched by any other item

¹³⁵ Pers. Comm. June 2011, Pasiaka Potauaine a descendant of Ulukalala (Hawai'i).

performed at the ‘inasi. Again, the Tu’i Tonga changed the name of their chief to ‘Aho-me’e-malie, meaning an extraordinary dance performed during daytime¹³⁶. When they made a settlement on their gifted land at Hihifo they were referred to as ‘people who threw their cargo from their vessels to land’ and that is the meaning of the full name of their village Ha’a-vaka-tolo-ki-‘uta.

One of the settlements in the confines of Hihifo around the same period was Ha’atafu and the origin of its people is traceable to Atafu¹³⁷ an Island within the Tokelau group (situated to the north of Sāmoa). The name of their chief was Ngalu-Ha’atafu and it is still bestowed today as a hereditary title of that village. Obviously, the fertile Hihifo peninsula appears to be an area that was predominantly settled by foreigners possibly on lands granted by the Tu’i Tonga in reward for services rendered. Apart from the presence of the peoples from Futuna and Atafu, both the existence of the sacred koka tree for installing rulers of Hihifo, plus the usage of the name Latu in local ranked men, denotes a Fijian presence. As an equivalent of a modern royal coronation, the leaning of a high chief’s back against the trunk of a sacred tree was uniquely Fijian by custom and such ritual is not found elsewhere in the Pacific. Perhaps, there were people in Hihifo from places other than those mentioned above; it is a matter for more research with particular emphasis on the ancient settlement of this part of Tongatapu.

The addition of the Sāmoan migrants to the already multicultural and multinational population of Hihifo was not a new concept but a common aspect of life in that part of the country (Gunson 1977:92; in Rutherford *et al*). The number of the Sāmoan supporters of Ngata, which exceeded one thousand (Bott 1982:113) in total according to oral tradition, must have been an encouraging sight for the local people to see in terms of welcoming another political ally and also in view of adding extra strength to their territorial stance as a district.

The fact that the Sāmoans greatly outnumbered the combined total of other resident tribes would mean that the Futunans of Ha’avakatolo, the Atafuans of Ha’atafu, and the Fijians of Kolopelu (now known as Kolovai) could not have resisted such force to start with¹³⁸. The realisation that Ngata was not only sent to rule them but also came as *hau*

¹³⁶ Pers. Comm. Pasiaka 2012, Honolulu.

¹³⁷ A local story from the village of Ha’atafu about the origin of its people.

¹³⁸ Pers. Comm. Pahulu (Kolovai) 2014.

of the whole of Tonga would have made a big difference to the people of Hihifo as he would play a greater role in ruling the whole country and the empire at large. His presence of course would have given them further guarantees of liberty and security from political scrutiny as they constantly encountered through the political advances of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua administration (Ilaiu 2007). In sum, the Hihifo people were now the united subjects of a great chief.

Hihifo had been well known for frustrating and confronting executive processes regarding leadership issues in former times (Ve'ehala and Fanua 1977:36; Rutherford *et al*). It was a big thing for them to be ruled by a chief from a different district and that retaliatory attitude has not been questioned enough. The Tu'i Ha'atakalaua had the power to crush Hihifo as he pleased but he showed no hostility whatsoever. An answer may be provided by the story of 'Ahome'e and his people from Futuna. According to Puletau a direct male descendent of the first 'Ahome'e, the people of Hihifo had always chosen their own ruler as they pleased in ancient times¹³⁹. He also added that having chiefs sent by the *hau* from Hahake to rule them was not in accord with their custom and that was why they were murdered. Such information gives me a very strong feeling that rewards given by the Tu'i Tonga for foreigners to settle in Hihifo were also granted with some form of mandate which freed them from direct control of Tongan authority.

After the death of TT Takalaua around the 1300s the first *hau* administration established by TT Kau'ulufonuafeikai had created the need to tighten up political control in the Tongan group first and foremost (Rutherford 1977:35). The sovereignty of the new regime had to assert some pressures on independent communities like the inhabitants of Hihifo in order to assume full authority over her subjects (Ibid, p.36). Acceptance of Ngata by the people of Hihifo was a well-awaited opportunity for them to regain the independence they had once enjoyed during the reign of the Tu'i Tonga line. Only this time they achieved more than they could dream of, as Hihifo rose from being a suppressed community under the administration of the first *hau* to host the seat of the secular ruler (Bott 1982:113).

Oral tradition speaks less of how Ngata ruled as *hau* and nothing much is remembered about his character and life history apart from confirming that his government was built

¹³⁹ Pers. Comm. Puletau 'Otukolo, Trustee (holder) for the Noble title 'Ahome'e, (August 2010) Tonga.

on a solid foundation as Queen Salote Tupou III told Elizabeth Bott (1982:115). This infers the guidance of his political advisors in establishing the '*matai* title system' as the backbone of the Hihifo political system (Ilaiu 2007). The first titles to be bestowed in this new government were given to Ngata's protectors Vaoloa and Halakitau'a. Vaoloa was bestowed with the title Nuku and Halakitau'a was given the title Niukapu and both title-holders were combined as royal bodyguards and recognised as *ha'a* Latuhifo 'the chiefs who stepped down from the throne' (Bott 1982:115). This is a special reference to their part in serving the installation kava for Ngata while they were still wrapped together as one entity and the right hand of Vaoloa and the left hand of Halakitau'a lifted the cup to the lips of their high chief (Bott 1982:116). Right after the completion of this sacred ritual they were released from the fine mat to take their place in the kava circle where they ever after occupied the next highest seating ranks on the right and left of the *hau*.

It is likely that the second set of titles to be bestowed were the ones designated as the *falekanokupolu* (Bott 1982) they were the councillors and companions of the king. The original titleholders were Fa'oa, Napa'a, Monu and Lei and as a group they had great influence in nominating the successor for the kingship title. The other influential group in this category were the *faleha'akili* or titles comprising the sons of Kili ('Ili) the uncle of Tohu'ia (Bott 1982:118). This political body is called the *fale-ha'a-kili* because Kili and his children were responsible for producing orators or *matapule* to serve not only the new chiefs of Hihifo such as the *ha'a* Ngata and *ha'a* Latuhifo but also to provide orators for other high chiefs in all corners of Tonga where the *ha'a* Ngata governed. The titleholders of the *faleha'akili* were Kamoto, Uhi, Ngalungalu, Motu'apuaka (Gifford 1929:101; Bott 1982:118) and also Kioa but the latter was originally sent from Kauhala'uta together with Lauaki to establish Ngata's government¹⁴⁰. It is not known for certain whether these titles were created for Ngata's government or had been bestowed prior to that. It is possible that some of them were titles already in use as was the case of the mariners 'Akau'ola, Fakatulolo, Tuita and Fulivai who brought Ama's contingent from Sāmoa.

¹⁴⁰ Pers comm. October 2012 Kioa (Tomu), the present holder of the title, said that his title was originally the first Mu'a. That was created at the reign of TT Momo who asked Lo'au to reform his royal Kava ceremony. Lauaki and Kioa were sent to officiate and organise the Kava ceremony of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Mo'ungamotu'a after being appointed to the office by Tu'i Tonga Kau'ulufonua fekai. At the time of Ngata's appointment as *hau* and Tu'i Kanokupolu, Kioa and Lauaki were asked once again to assist the new king in organising his Kava ceremony. According to Kioa, reference to him as a descendant of Kili (Ili) is a mistake.

The *ha'a* Ngata perhaps sprang into existence two decades after the installation of the Tu'i Hihifo as *hau* of all Tonga. As prescribed by Sāmoan etiquette succession to Ngata's throne would not be automatic for the eldest son as it was a matter for the '*falekanokupolu*' and *fale ha'a Kili* to decide through an election process. Ngata's choice or his 'last will' could be considered and so could the position of the eldest son. It is likely that Ngata had nominated his eldest son Vakalepu as successor as has been unfolded in the fantastic story that he refused the kingship title on the grounds that the office be given to a hardworking chief of lower rank than himself. He was to maintain his status as eldest son without any duty to perform and to have the honour of sitting at the head of the kava circle (Bott 1982:120-121). His wish was granted much later when the *ha'a* Ngata was created during the reign of his younger brother Atamata'ila.

Obviously, Atamata'ila was the first king in the history of Tonga to have been 'the elected successor' to his father's titles as Tu'i Hihifo and *hau* of Tonga. The ground for deferring the creation of the *ha'a* Ngata to a later date is based, in my view, on the fact that Atamata'ila did not have a title before being installed as Tu'i Hihifo. If the titles of the *ha'a* Ngata were bestowed during Ngata's reign, then each of his sons would have had his own title including Atamata'ila. Oral tradition names the titles bestowed as follows: the title Ahio for Vakalepu, Ve'ehala title for Leilua, Ata title for Kaumavae and the Kapukava title for the youngest son whose birth name has been long forgotten (Bott 1982:120). There is no title identified with Atamata'ila.

The next question is what was the reason for moving Vakalepu to 'Eua in the first place and for what reason had that move caused him to relinquish his right to kingship if that was the case. One version has it that Vakalepu was sent to assist the Ha'atakalaua in 'Eua (Herda 1988:73) but for what purpose is not known. Was there a need to assist the Ha'atakalaua elsewhere in other parts of Tonga or was it only in 'Eua? I will argue later that Vakalepu was in 'Eua as governor replacing the Ha'atakalaua ruler at the time, who was possibly a descendant of governor Takalaua son of TT Takalaua.

Atamata'ila the third son of Ngata eclipsed his elder brothers 'Ahio Vakalepu (Leitufia) and Leilua in succeeding their father as Tu'i Hihifo and *hau*, a tradition that was contrary to the conventional Tongan policy of primogeniture. It was the *falekanokupolu* who monitored the ability of the candidates whom they put forward for election; the process determined the successor on merit. One might ask whether this merit issue was

traditional to the Hihifo ancient political organisation before the arrival of the Sāmoans and the answer is no. It was a Sāmoan political principle that the *matai* supporters of Ngata used at the time especially to further incubate the necessary quality of future leaders.

The apparent excuse oral tradition has kept transmitting is that Leitufia or Vakalepu refused the title on the grounds that a lower ranking chief should take the secular responsibility of the *hau*, as though he was now divine. But, in the case of Leilua he was away in Sāmoa at the time of Ngata's funeral, yet if the *falekanokupolu* had considered him able enough to succeed Ngata they would have deferred the election process until he returned to Tonga. That was the justification or reason for bestowing on him the title Ve'ehala 'meaning wrong footed', as if the opportunity was there for him to be king but his absence put him out of contention¹⁴¹.

I have a feeling that the electoral body were already aware of the most able person suited to succeed Ngata and the myth about Vakalepu's refusal of the kingship office and Leilua's prolonged absence in Sāmoa can be seen as a misunderstanding of the *matai* protocol, for the eldest son in the Sāmoan tradition is highly recommended but not automatically recognised as successor. He is a favourite choice of course and high chiefs often nominated the eldest son as successor in their *mavaega* 'last will' but the orators will have weighed up the final selection not on rank but on both rank and merit together. There are basic criteria that determine qualification for such office and leadership quality tops that short list so most often the choice will fall on someone who possesses that asset.

The *falekanokupolu*, in securing unanimity after the vote and installing Atamata'ila as *hau*, directed their attention towards the political future of the new Tu'i Hihifo by searching for a suitable wife who could bring wealth and political support for them and their chief¹⁴². Evidently, they had their eyes on a virgin maiden (taupou) Tokilupe a daughter of the Tu'i Ha'atu'unga (Bott 1982:, one of the most powerful leaders in the Ha'amea territory located in mid-central Tongatapu. Again possibly, the Sāmoan orators

¹⁴¹ Personal Communication July 2013. The story was given to me by Sione Taukei'aho Fusitu'a, a direct descendant of the 2nd Ve'ehala through his son Kaufusitu'a whose title was ennobled in the 1875 Tongan constitution. His elder brother is the current holder of the Fusitu'a title.

¹⁴² Quite typical of the Sāmoan orators.

knew that they had already secured the support of the Hihifo area and acted to advance their interest beyond their territories in order to gain alliances and assert control over other dominions. Having succeeded in winning the hand of Tokilupe plus the support of her father, the *falekanokupolu* worked on securing the Ha'amea dominion as part of their polity.

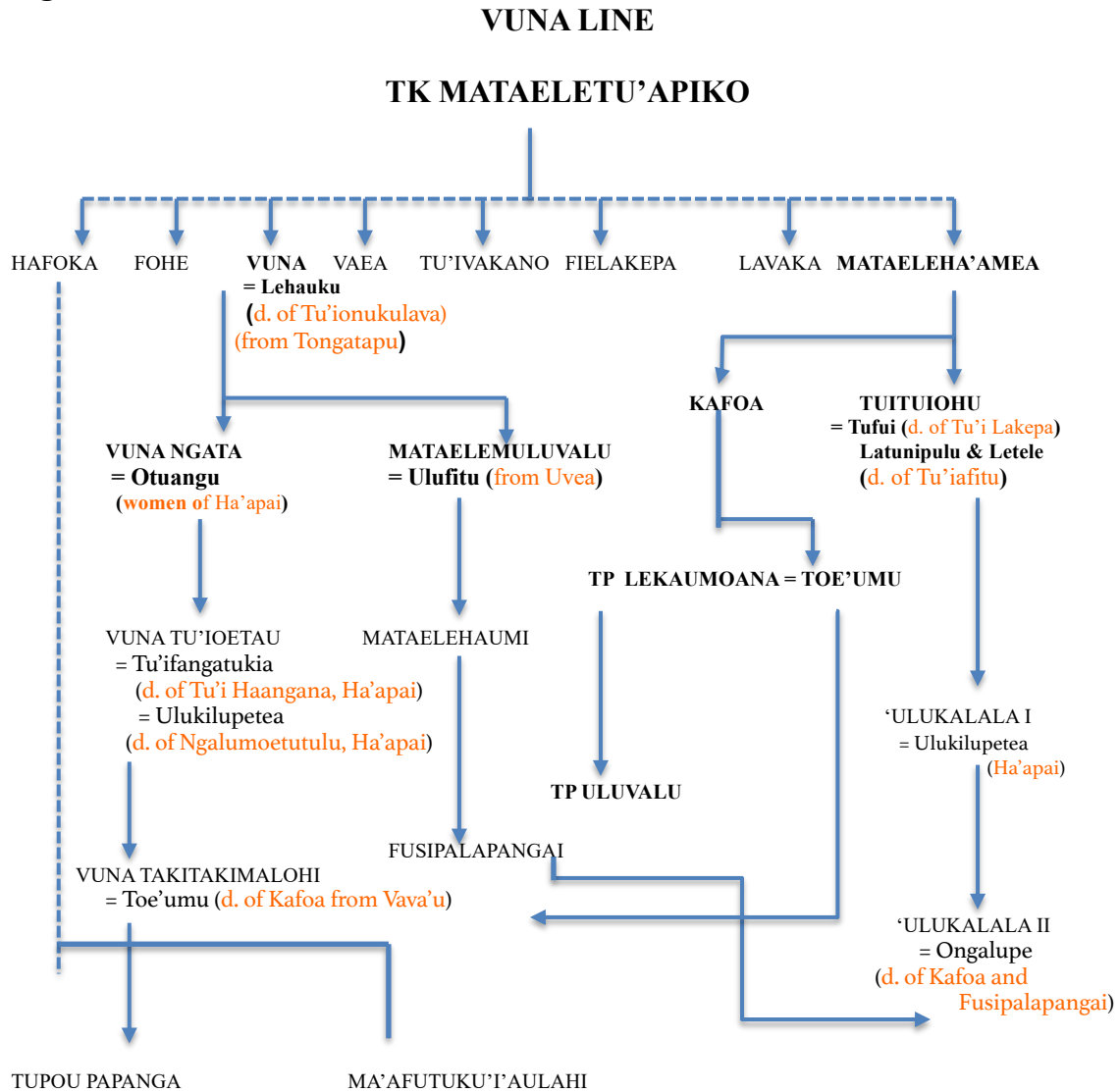
The Hihifo confederacy benefitted politically from this marriage as the support of the Tu'i Ha'atu'unga and his people was assured to serve and to become an ally of the Tu'i Hihifo. As things developed, Tokilupe and Atamata'ila produced two sons Lavaka and Mataeletu'apiko with two girls Tu'utangahunuhunu and Palula. However, the eldest son Lavaka was surely unfit to rule on the evidence that he was overlooked in the selection process. The younger brother Mataele on the other hand, was proven to be hard working and that was how he earned the nickname '*tu'apiko*'¹⁴³ meaning crooked back. Whether or not his back was twisted or damaged is not an issue as the nickname is just a symbolic reference to his unrelenting contribution to the Hihifo cause as an individual.

Apparently, Mataeletu'apiko succeeded to the throne as Tu'i Hihifo through the *falekanokupolu* election process, a political method that has prioritised merit as a policy over and above status and rank as already mentioned. Some sources¹⁴⁴ argue that the title Tu'i Kanokupolu was first used at the ascendancy of Mataeletu'apiko as king and *hau*. I also believe that such appellation was rather tailored for him as his influence and reign truly represents an unparalleled height in securing territories beyond the traditional seat of the Tu'i Hihifo. It is therefore justified to argue that he was the founding father of the new dynasty called the Tu'i Kanokupolu and this supposition is supported by the fact that his sons created a new *ha'a* that overshadowed the power and influence of the *ha'a* Ngata chieftaincies.

¹⁴³ Information provided by Hon Fusitu'a in a series of interviews 2010 - 2011.

¹⁴⁴ Bott 1882, Herda 1988 and Campbell 1992.

Figure 24.



TP = Tu'i Pelehake

There is no doubt that Mataeletu'apiko proved himself the most able person to lead the people of Hihifo and deservedly claimed the *hauship* office. He was different from his father Atamata'ila in the sense that he was a product of both Hihifo and Ha'amea chiefdoms. He was also a grandson of the Tu'i Ha'atu'unga from Ha'amea and combining the Hihifo and Ha'amea land areas would definitely have put half of the main Island of Tongatapu at his disposal. This new circumstance would have made the Tu'i Kanokupolu powerful indeed as his authority extended from the confines of Hihifo into a larger dominion that comprised more than half of the area of the main Island of Tongatapu. His reign was marked by the complete consolidation of Ha'amea support by contracting two marriages; first with the daughter of the Tu'i Ha'amea, the legendary

Lo'au and the daughter of the Tu'i Ha'atu'unga (Bott 1982:130, fig 21). The rise of the Tu'i Kanokupolu dynasty into prominence can be traced to this political connection with the Tu'i Ha'amea regime.

Bear in mind also that Mataeletu'apiko's mother was Tokilupe the daughter of the Tu'i Ha'atu'unga, an important chief from Western part of Ha'amea whose territory has become the modern day village of Nukunuku. There is no doubt that it was the vision of the *falekanokupolu* that catapulted and consolidated his position in Ha'amea by capitalising on the support of his wives' father. The first marriage was with Papa (Bott 1982:120) the eldest daughter of Tu'i Ha'amea Lo'au; she was the mother of Hafoka, Vuna, Mataeleha'amea and Fohe. He also took Umukisia (Bott 1982:130) the younger sister of his first wife and she was the mother of Tu'ivakano, Momotu, Vaea, Mohulamu and one daughter Toafilimoe'unga. These marriages were strategically aimed at gaining political support and also at extending his territorial horizon through that diplomatic means.

Moreover, on securing his stance at Ha'amea, Mataeletu'apiko then moved on to improve his position by contracting a number of important marriages and his first target was the highest ranked lady in the country *Tamaha* Tu'imala¹⁴⁵. The issue from that union was a son Longolongo'atumai. The other important marriage was with Fatafehi the daughter of the TT Kau'ulufonua III and the issue was Lavaka. Now, Mataeletu'apiko had total control over Hihifo and Ha'amea (Western Tongatapu) and valuable links with the Tu'i Tonga and the Falefisi at Hahake (Eastern Tongatapu), a situation that positioned himself securely in the seat of power over the Tongan group and over satellite states that were under Tongan control.

Tamaha Tu'imala cannot be perceived as less sacred than the Tu'itonga *fefine* for marrying the *hau* but it is in fact her superior status that actually freed her to marry Tongan high chiefs of rank as she pleased. Furthermore, TK Mataeletu'apiko was the first *hau* from the Hihifo dynasty to marry a daughter of the Tu'i Tonga and also a daughter of a female Tu'i Tonga. He surpassed his father and grandfather in extending the horizon of the Tu'i Hihifo political influence and by adding the Ha'amea and

¹⁴⁵ Bott 1982: 87 mentions the marriage but could not find a sound explanation for Mataeletu'apiko's motive. This work suggests that the Sāmoan advisors of the Tu'i Kanokupolu had their sights on climbing higher in the social ladder and that its strength in such matters never failed them.

Hahake confederacies under his influence. Although such influence was initially established through matrimonial bonds, increasing support for his regime somehow founded a solid platform for an inevitable split from the *ha'a* Ngata dominated spheres of influence. His sons created a new political 'family' called the *ha'a* Havea.¹⁴⁶ They developed the Ha'amea district as the new seat of the Tu'i Kanokupolu political establishment and it simultaneously became a rival government to Hihifo (Ilaiu 2007).

The *ha'a* Havea government at Ha'amea had overshadowed the *ha'a* Ngata authority right from its inception by controlling matters regarding nomination of candidates for kingship, overseeing the organising and presentation of 'inasi to the Tu'i Tonga and taking over the sacred duties that had been exclusively performed by the *ha'a* Ngata at the royal Kava ceremony of the Tu'i Kanokupolu among many other things apart from the Tou'a. By being the direct offspring of the Tu'i Ha'amea Lo'au, the *ha'a* Havea indulged with ease in dividing the whole district of Ha'amea amongst themselves as a confederation of independent chiefs. The eldest and head of the confederated chiefdom was Ma'afu who took as his estate the areas we know today as Tokomololo and Vaini. Fohe established himself at Puke as his estate and next door to him was Tu'ivakano at Nukunuku. Vaea established himself at Houma and Fualu next door was the estate of Lavaka. Fielakepa took Havelu as his seat. The remaining land known later as Lakepa was reserved as an estate for their sister Toafilimoe'unga the only daughter of Mataeletu'apiko. She married a Fijian chief Paleisasa from Lakeba and their son Lasike was incorporated as a titled member of the *ha'a* Havea.

Meanwhile, the apparent upgrading of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua status to sacred king almost, if not directly, coincided with the creation of the new title of Tu'itonga fefine (female Tu'i Tonga) for Sinaitakala-'i-Langileka, the elder sister of TT Fatafehi. Countering the upgrading of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua could have been the real motive for the Tu'i Tonga to graft-in this royal honour for his daughter. Bearing in mind that the mother of the first Tu'itonga fefine (Sinaitakala-'i-Langileka) was the daughter of the *hau*, and that the Tu'itonga fefine was prohibited from marrying, it does appear to be a significant innovation that the Tu'i Tonga had cleverly used to his advantage to put the

¹⁴⁶ According to high chief Kioa of Ha'utu, the *ha'a* Havea was unique in the sense that it represents a deviation from the Tu'i Kanokupolu tradition in naming the *ha'a* after a common ancestor as has been the case with the *ha'a* Ngata, a group of titles whose origin linked to the first Tu'i Hihifo Ngata. Instead of calling them *ha'a* Mataeletu'apiko, they used a different name Havea.

secular ruler, who was later on his equal, in a subordinate position again. It is clear that the marriage tradition practiced by members of the ruling families in this era was engineered by the Tu'i Tonga as a way of countering a possible manoeuvre by his 'equal' the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua to usurp not only his unique sacred status but his sacred title too.

I have a very strong feeling that this is what motivated TT 'Uluakimata to create the Tu'itonga fefine office for his eldest daughter. The strategy could have been aimed possibly at securing the perpetuity of the sacred line by ensuring that both male and female offspring would be equal heirs to the sacred title. The Tu'itonga fefine was by no means a legitimate sovereign in that capacity bearing in mind that she was installed to the title while her father was still alive. I believe that the main purpose was to secure the sacred office at all costs by allowing existing members of the royal house to succeed regardless of their gender. This is in fact a real revolution in the succession tradition of the Tu'i Tonga line of kings. In addition, the Tu'itonga fefine carried the power to curse wrongdoers and the magical powers associated with the role of *mehikitanga*¹⁴⁷ within the patrilineage. In the context of national recognition of the superior rank that legitimises the traditional right of the *fahu*¹⁴⁸ to exercise complete control over her brother's properties, the office of Tu'itonga fefine was the icing on the cake but then the Tamaha could ultimately be seen as the summit that excels beyond the horizon of the heavens so to speak.

Oral tradition is silent on this matter but Phyllis Herda (1988) believes that the office of the Tu'itonga fefine was created for the purpose of 'co-ruling' with her younger brother the male Tu'i Tonga. This idea is supported by the fact that whenever the first-born child of the Tu'i Tonga was male there was no need to install a Tu'itonga fefine as 'co-regent' in that generation¹⁴⁹. The office only existed in cases where the first-born was female. It would have been interesting if the Tu'itonga fefine were the sole holder of the sacred title. I could not help wondering, if such a situation occurred the Tu'i

¹⁴⁷ This term applies to the rank of the father's sister. It could have been a term that was used exclusively for high-ranking chiefly women especially the sister of the Tu'i Tonga and other aristocratic ladies but today it applies to every father's eldest sister.

¹⁴⁸ This term applies to the traditional authority and social status of the father's sister. Its origin can be traced to the actual creation of the Tamaha. As she was the highest-ranking individual in all of Tonga a special privilege was given to her on the death of the Tu'i Tonga.

¹⁴⁹ Bott 1982: 12. The reigns of TT Uluakimata II and TT Fakana'ana'a are marked by the absence of the Tu'i Tonga Fefine title. Bott's genealogy [Fig. 1] shows that the Tu'i Tonga mentioned above were first-born sons and that was the reason for not having a female co-ruler.

Ha'atalaau would have sealed the fate of the Tu'i Tonga line by marrying her and their offspring would surely then have overshadowed the divine position of the Tu'i Tonga line. But, that part of the equation was well worked out by the Tu'i Tonga in marrying the first holder of the title TTF Sinaitala-'i-Langileka to a foreign chief. And from this point onwards the rank of the Tu'itonga fefine was exclusively reserved for the male offspring of the Falefisi or a foreign chief.

The Tu'itonga fefine may have had special functions associated with her high status such as the keeper of sacred genealogies among other things but I am suggesting she was in reality an 'insurance policy', a backup ruler for a younger male heir before his coming of age. This is an ingenious device, as it would diffuse possible temptation on the part of the Tu'i Ha'atalaau to consider himself a substitute for the sacred title should the Tu'i Tonga produce no issue of male heirs. Moreover, the tendency for the Tu'i Ha'atalaau to aspire for more honours was recognised early by the Tu'i Tonga for it was one thing to vie for equal status as did Mo'unga-'o-Tonga but there was a strong possibility that he would aspire for the highest honours such as a 'joint-ruler' and to allow the Tu'i Ha'atalaau to usurp the title through no male heir was a matter that the Tu'i Tonga could not afford to compromise over.

It takes more than a miraculous intuition to develop an ingenious system that could outlive centuries of human social development. The Tu'i Tonga Fefine may have ceased to exist today but her divine status has been immortalised through splicing a Fijian chiefly line (falefisi) as an integral element of Tongan chiefly hierarchy into the highest-ranking order¹⁵⁰. In fact, the real purpose of creating the title for Sinaitala-'i-Langileka, as I feel, was to avoid the possibility of losing the first born female to the Tu'i Ha'atalaau as wife since had that happened her offspring with the Tu'i Ha'atalaau would certainly have outranked the Tu'i Tonga.

That was why the equation required a foreigner to marry the eldest daughter of the Tu'i Tonga. And Tapu'osi, the lord of Lakeba from the island of Tubou in Fiji, was the answer for his offspring were implicitly forbidden to participate in political affairs (just as the Tu'i Tonga fefine was forbidden to marry a Tongan); they were excluded from sitting in the taumafakava circle because the Tu'i Tonga must not be outranked during

¹⁵⁰ The highest chiefly titles in Tonga today are still the offspring of the Tu'i Tonga Fefine, Tu'i Lakepa and Tu'i Ha'ateiho.

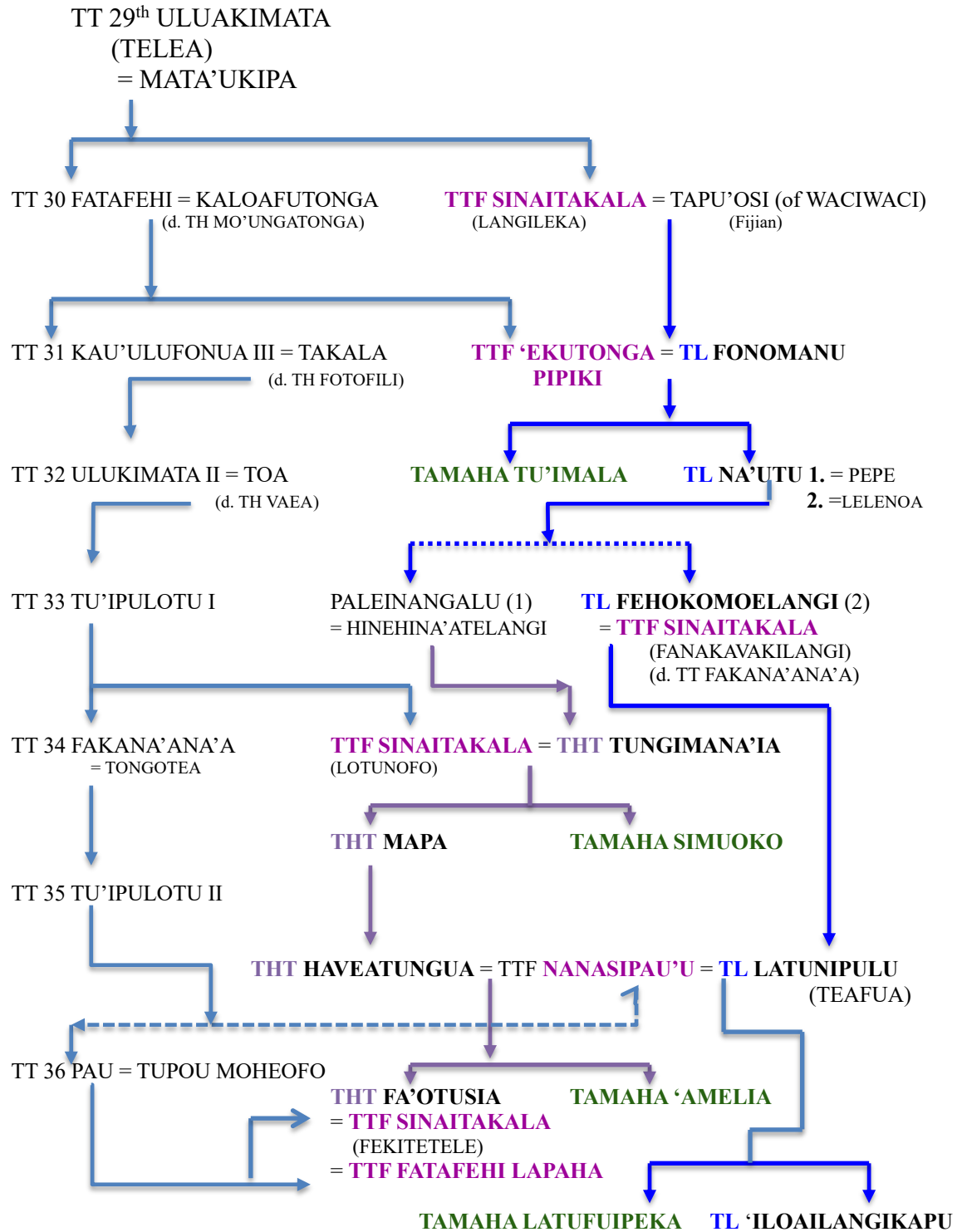
the ceremony; and exempted from sending `inasi to the Tu`i Tonga as they were not tributary clients but honorary recipients of the Tu`i Tonga's court. In compensation the `eiki status of their Fijian house (fale fisi) was paramount and they received all the privileges of a great aristocrat: landed estate, the right to command the land's finest resources for their own use, and marriage to women of the highest rank.

Oral traditions¹⁵¹ provide a number of accounts of this marriage but the most common story suggests that Sinitakala fell in love with Tapu`osi during a visit to Fiji and her reserved manner when she returned had caused suspicion that 'black magic' was involved. Either way, the Tu`i Tonga ordered an envoy to sail to Fiji and bring the Tu`i Lakeba (paramount chief of the island of Tubou in the Lau group) to marry Sinitakala. This union produced offspring that outranked both parents and any other chiefly lineage including the divine Tu`i Tonga himself. Should the first-born child happen to be a girl she would become '*Tamaha*' or the most sacred being (the extraordinary one) in the whole of Tonga.

¹⁵¹ Although versions of this story are told in Tonga folklore with minor variation, A. C. Reid in his book *Tovata I & II* (1990: 5-8) confirms that the love story is closer to the truth about this marriage.

Figure 25.

TU'I TONGA FEFINE & FALEFISI



TL = Tu'i Lakepa
 THT = Tu'i Ha'ateiho
 TTF = Tu'i Tonga Fefine

As things turned out, a new system sprang into existence by design and that was a first-cousin marriage practice that allowed only the son of the Tu'i Tonga Fefine to marry the eldest daughter of the Tu'i Tonga (who happens to be a Tu'i Tonga Fefine also). This tradition was kept exclusively for the offspring of both male and female Tu'i Tonga. It was started by the marriage of TTF 'Ekutongapipiki the eldest daughter of TT Fatafehi and his principal wife Kaloafutonga to Fonomanu the son of TTF Sinaitakala-'i-Langileka and TL Tapu'osi. This new marriage practice was continued for several generations and it gave birth to an establishment of the 'Falefisi' or descendants of the Tu'i Tonga Fefine including those who held the title Tu'i Lakepa.

There were additional titles attached to the 'Falefisi' such as Tu'i Afitu and Tu'i Ha'ateiho and holders of the latter have married a number of Tu'itonga fefine. As a result a number of Tu'iha'ateiho have fathered several Tamaha(s) in separate generations¹⁵². The first was Simuoko an issue from the marriage of THT Tungimana'ia and his wife TTF Sinaitakala-'i-Lotunofu the daughter of TT 'Uluakimata II and Toa the eldest daughter of TH Vaea. The second Tamaha in this lineage was 'Amelia Fakahiku-'o-Uiha the eldest daughter of THT Haveatungua and TTF Nanasipau'u the daughter of Tu'ipulotu-'i-langitu'oteau with his principal wife Anaukihesina a daughter of Tu'i Kanokupolu Ma'afu-'o-tu'itonga. The successor of THT Tungimanaia was his son THT Mapa who did not marry a Tu'i Tonga Fefine and this explains the reason he did not produce a Tamaha in his offspring.

The significant contribution of this particular marriage practice was the assurance of ongoing production of higher status as a secret way of suppressing the interest of the non-aristocratic chiefly classes from gaining upward mobility. In about 1550 AD, the revolutionary creation of the Tu'i Tonga Fefine came about and within a decade or two the 'Falefisi' and the *Tamaha* offices were formalised and integrated into the Tu'i Tonga religio-political establishment. In the early 1600s the first *Tamaha* Tu'imala, the daughter of Fonomanu and TTF 'Ekutongapipiki, was taken as wife by the third Tu'i Kanokupolu (Mataeletu'apiko). A generation later the 2nd *Tamaha* Simuoko, the eldest daughter of Tu'i Ha'ateiho Tungi Mana'ia with his wife TTF Sinaitakala-'i-Lotunofu,

¹⁵² Tamaha Simuoko was the daughter of THT Tungimana'ia and TTF Sinaitakala-'i-lotunofu; two generations later THT Havea Tungua married TTF Sinaitakala-'i-Fekitetele and the union produced Tamaha 'Amelia Fakahikuo'uiha.

was taken as principal wife of TH Vaea. Yet, as a formula, the Tu'i Tonga held the upper hand still as his status remained constant while the status of the Tu'i Ha'atalaia would take a dive as long as he continued to provide his daughters as ma'itaki¹⁵³ or principal wife to his 'supposed' equal.

This chapter sketches a picture of how Tongan society entered a new political epoch in its historical development whereby a number of new dynasties emerge as result of reassigning the *hau* office. The TT and the newly created TH and TK dynasties locked themselves in a tripartite system that survived for almost four hundred years i.e. from 1550 AD until such coexistence fell apart in the eve of the 1800s.

This study reviews the common understanding regarding the origin of the TH dynasty by arguing that the *hau* office was not associated with the TH title. It was the sixth *hau* who became the first TH and the creating of this new dynasty that paved the way for establishing the new *hau* line, which the Sāmoan followers of his son Ngata who was appointed for that office made him king of a new dynasty - the Tu'i Kanokupolu. I also addressed the idea that the government of the TK dynasty was run in a quasi-Sāmoan style politics. Although, oral tradition depicted the tripartite as existed in a peaceful and harmonious relationship, which is partly true as far as the elements of Tongan principles were observed. But, the system was actually trembled when the *matai* system became dominant in conjunction with the growth of the TK expansionist programme. A development that remained obscure in the works of hitherto scholars regarding the real cause the political failure in the tripartite system. Chapter 9 will delineate better images of how the TK quasi-Sāmoan political practices were at work.

¹⁵³ Ma'itaki is a title that was used as reference to the principal wife of the Tu'i Tonga before the Tu'i Ha'atalaia came into existence. I believe the name had been taken from the Sāmoan wives of the Tu'i Tonga since Aho'eitu's marriage to the daughter of Tu'i Manu'a Moa. The Sāmoan chiefly ladies were called Tama'ita'i and this may have been the origin of the term ma'itaki, a survival of the title Tama'ita'i (Sa'o Tama'ita'i).

Chapter 9

Political Transformation and Institutional Changes

(Phase 4)

Dynastic Tripartite Coexistence

(1650-1750)

The possible kings from each dynasty in this period were 31st TT Kau'ulufonua III to 34th TT Tu'ipulotu II, and the 9th TH Moeakiola to 12th TH Tu'ionukulava 4th and TK Mataeleha'amea to 7th TK Tupoulahi.

Synopsis

This part highlights the extent to which each dynasty was playing its own cards as it grew in influence and size during three generations of peaceful cohabitation. In this short period the leading members tolerated each other in matters regarding rank and rights of succession until the Tu'i Kanokupolu Mataele Ha'amea usurped some privileges. Changes relating to divine authority, social hierarchy and political stratification are analysed especially with reference to wars fought amongst the contenders to the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua title, and the feud between the *ha'a* Ngata and the *ha'a* Havea establishments.

Background:

The progress achieved in the first hundred years of bipartite relationship of the two sacred dynasties (i.e. the Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Ha'atakalaua)¹⁵⁴ and the tri-partite form of government, which includes the temporal or secular *hau* dynasty of the Tu'i Kanokupolu line, was remarkable and quite fantastic in the way it worked itself out. This is one of my main arguments in this work - that the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua was established as a sacred line of kings starting with the elevation of the 6th *hau* Mo'ungatonga (Latukeyu 1974:3). This kingship office of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua was never used as a title for the earlier *hau* rulers from Mo'ungamotu'a to Vakalahimohe'uli (my argument). It was really a golden age in the history of Tonga in the sense that the business of dynastic cohabitation was original and the system proved to be intuitively responsive and fully capable of finding solutions to perpetuate its continuity without reported difficulty. Peace was achieved in the midst of a dangerously uncertain time, when ruling lines of kings were sorting out issues of rank among themselves and creating new social and political positions as part of compromising aristocratic interests to serve each dynastic purpose. The process could easily have developed into a dramatic turn of events, yet it was astutely managed by manipulating key principles of Tongan kinship traditions, as disclosed through the creation of the *ha'a* Fale Fisi by which the Tu'i Tonga manage to succeed in preventing the new Tu'i Ha'atakalaua dynasty from outranking him. (Bott 1982:107)

¹⁵⁴ Herda 1988: 86 also stated 'There are indications that the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua was, in fact, coming to be regarded as a 'divine king', a kind of junior Tu'i Tonga.'

The unrivalled wisdom of the Tu'i Tonga in countering the strength of change has been an asset that distinguished its survival since the beginning. He niftily inserted into his own lineage an ingenious revamping of ancient traditional hierarchy, as was the case in elevating his eldest daughter to the rank of Tu'i Tonga Fefine (Thomas 1879:29; Herda 1988:68). The 29th in line TT Tele'a (Uluakimata I) created his eldest daughter Sinitakala 1st before his male heir came of age (see figure 1 Bott 1982:86). In fact, Fatafehi the male successor of TT Tele'a happened to have as principal wife the daughter of the first Tu'i Ha'atakalaua (Mo'ungatonga as I argued in this study). It tells us that the Tu'i Tonga had already planned his move in full understanding that his successor will take as wife a daughter of another sacred king.

According to the hypothesis propagated in this study, the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua was preoccupied with hastily developing his newly sacred dynasty to match the ideological height that had been built by the Tu'i Tonga line for centuries to retain absolute divinity and religious superiority. The territorial expansion and political advances of the Tu'i Kanokupolu line as it intensified its dominion did perhaps appear odd. But it was just a natural development consistent with the norm of the *Matai* political practices whose unique strength depended on establishing new political families built on *aiga* the titled *sa* system (Ilaiu 2007, see also Bott 1982). It is no easy thing to control a small country that became overcrowded by sacred chiefs. However, the adjustments made by the three dynasties in accepting each other's prescribed ranks and positions for a long time were a masterstroke in the sense that social structure determines the survival of Tongan society and also rescue the new social order from falling apart. Apparently, the lasting peace that ensued for over a hundred years, from the beginning of the dynastic co-existence, was made possible initially by the established practice of arranged marriage, an institution guided by strict customary rules for raising the offspring of sacred and paramount chiefs, an exclusive function performed by the mother's people (Bott 1982:64; also Herda 1988). Such arrangement gives the TT right to take the daughter of the TH as principal wife from and simultaneously he receives a daughter of the TK as secondary wife. Moreover, the TH is reciprocated with a daughter of the TT (apart from the eldest) as his principal wife. The *falefisi* are the ones who had right to marry the eldest daughter of the TT (see Bott 1982:12-13; fig. 1 and fig. 2). In this manner, the tripartite relationship was grounded on solid ground for the bonding possesses strength

strong enough to hold the weight of a large extended family knotted by blood connection. The Tu'i Kanokupolu as *hau* and the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua¹⁵⁵ provided for the offspring of the sacred Tu'i Tonga for four consecutive generations from the reign of TT Uluakimata I (Tele'a) to TT Uluakimata II. During this time the Tu'i Kanokupolu as *hau* also supported the offspring of the sacred Tu'i Ha'atakalaua when Palula (2nd daughter of TK Atamata'ila) was given as the first wife of TH Vaea, whilst TK Atamata'ila's eldest daughter Tu'utangahunuhunu was given to TT Kau'ulufonua III, not as principal wife but as the first fruit of the new Hihifo dynasty (Bott 1982:111).

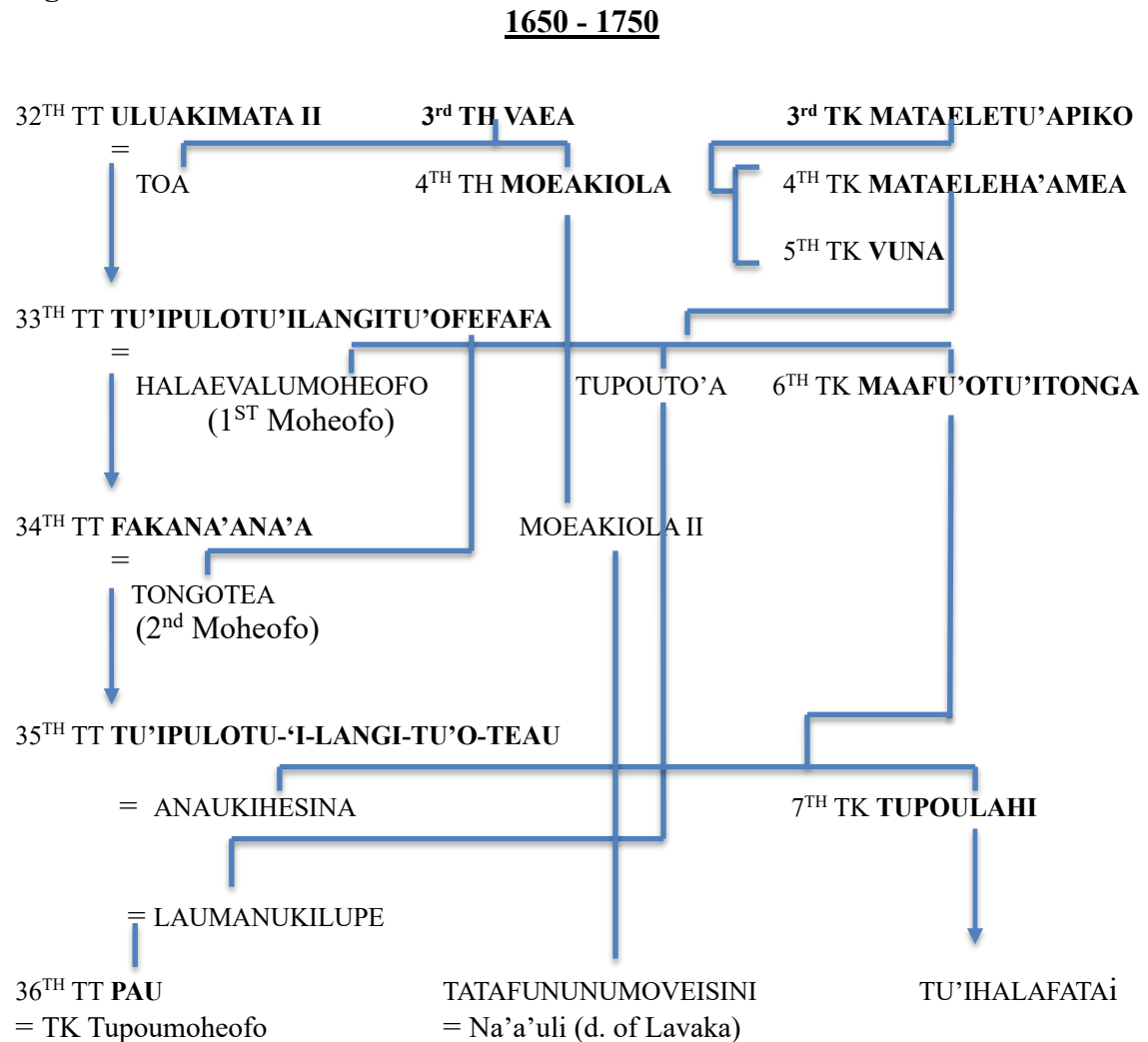
These kinship connections produced and maintained a timeless status system that proved it could withstand the test of time even after its ranks were no longer in use. Hence, the divine statuses and titles of the two senior lines became defunct towards the end of the 1700s after the defeat of TH Mulikiha'amea in the *Tau fakalelemao* war of 1799 (avenging TK Tuku'aho's death) and the unfortunate obliteration of the Tu'i Tonga office after the death of Fatafehi Laufilitonga the last holder of the Tu'i Tonga title, in 1865. The Tongan Constitution of 1875 created the titles Kalaniuvalu and Tungi (Gifford 1929:84) to represent the two displaced senior dynasties, and these title-holders are still revered today in their local seats and in Tonga in general as paramount chiefs of the ancient lines.

As a matter of fact, the intermarriage pattern between the three kingly lines benefitted the Tu'i Tonga line (Gifford 1929:84) more than ever as he remained at the top of the status hierarchy continuously by receiving the daughters of both the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu (at different times) as principal wives. As the genealogies show, the daughters of the *hau*¹⁵⁶ and then of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua were given as wives to the Tu'i Tonga in the initial stages of the bipartite relationship between the two sacred lines of kings. Two generations later the new *hau* line that founded the Tu'i Kanokupolu dynasty was unavoidably engaging in the process by successfully sending a principal wife for the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and also sending principal wives to the Tu'i Tonga line at almost the same time [1650s AD] (see Bott fig 1, 1982:12).

¹⁵⁵ I am distinguishing here the offices of the *hau* and that of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua. I argue that Mo'ungamotu'a and four of his successors (from father to son) were actual holders of the *hau* title. The sixth successor Mo'ungatonga was the first in that line of rulers to be installed the first Tu'i Ha'atakalaua. He was elevated to divine rank as a sacred king.

¹⁵⁶ To recapitulate, I argue that the *hau* refers to Mo'ungamotu'a and his successors for five generations until the rise of Mo'ungatonga who became the 1st Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and responsible for establishing the 2nd sacred dynasty that bears the name of his lineage, the Ha'atakalaua dynasty.

Figure 26.



In theory, the three dynasties supplied each other with women as principal wives (Bott 1982:12,13,14). Then again, the Tu'i Tonga wittily designed a way to compromise the tireless dedication and commitment given to his cause by the junior kingly lines in allowing them to take his younger daughters as wives. Offspring from these unions inherited only their father's status, since their mothers were outranked by the bloodlines of the senior wives (as older sisters). These arrangements brought the royal houses closer as if they were just one big family and a conflict free century of dynastic coexistence followed. The status hierarchy that determined gradations of rank in these ancient dynasties remains unchanged to this day in the ideological level, whereas where political power rests has ever changing. Most commentators at the beginning of the contact period were witnessing this unique system especially in the separation of religious authority and political power, a fact that interested Captain Cook, especially

when the sacred Tu'i Tonga was obedient to the governing authority of the *hau* (Beaglehole 1967-1969(3):892-893).

TT Kau'ulufonua III – TT Tu'ipulotu I:

There is nothing much on record about TT Kau'ulufonua III apart from being named by Campbell (1992:33,34) as the sacred ruler who reigned during Tasman's visit in 1643 when he arrived in the ships Heemskerck and Zeehaen. So, we must look closely at the identity of other chiefs and their kinship connections in order to see whether TT Kau'ulufonua III would fit the calculation given by TT Pau to Captain Cook.

The ship's journal recorded that TT Pau said he was the fifth of his line since the visit of two European ships, the first being an old man at the time (Beaglehole 1967-1969 (3):913). What will come to our aid is the undoubted specificity of the Tu'i Tonga succession tradition. Oral traditions speak here of five generations of Tu'i Tonga rulers instead of just holders of that title. In accordance with Cook's information, TT Pau was the great-great-great grandson of the Tu'i Tonga who reigned in 1643. Such tradition (primogeniture succession) did change starting with the reign of TT Pau himself for his elder sibling Fa' succeeded him after his death in 1788. In light of these five generations of continuity in hereditary succession we could suggest that Tasman arrived during the reign of TT Uluakimata II (see also Anderson and Pond 1999, Fig 5). However, TT Fakana'ana'a was adopted to TT Tu'ipulotu 1 by Halaevalumohefo and then married to Halaevalu's younger sister Tongotea and we can't predict whether Pau would have included him in the calculation. Further, the TT of 1643 was old as Pau described, so Campbell could be right in naming the older TT Kau'ulufonua III as alive in 1643.

TT Uluakimata II was the son of TT Kau'ulufonua III. His principal wife (*ma'itaki*) Takala was the eldest daughter of TH Fotofili and sister of TH Vaea (Bott 1982:12, figure 1). Bearing in mind the fact that TT Kau'ulufonua III was the first Tu'i Tonga to have also married a daughter of the Tu'i Kanokupolu, it would mean he simultaneously had the support of both the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu. It is also assumed that TT Kau'ulufonua III was a contemporary of TH Fotofili and perhaps Mataeletu'apiko too, the third holder of the Tu'i Kanokupolu kingship title.

TT Kau'ulufonua III was the son and successor of TT Fatafehi. His mother was the principal wife Kaloafutonga the eldest daughter of TH Mo'ungatonga (Bott 1982:12)¹⁵⁷. Her mother Manutapu was a daughter of Vake (a chief from Ha'ano island in the Ha'apai group), and this chief was one of many who had looked after and cared for the offspring of the Tu'i Tonga and the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua for as far back as the kinship connection lasted.¹⁵⁸ According to Heimuli, a direct male descendant of Vake, they took their part seriously not only in sending provisions to the royal court but also assembling warriors when there was need for their service for many generations. The connection between the Tu'i Tonga and the people of his principal wife was an affair that lasted a whole lifetime and into the lifetimes of their children and grandchildren. The support never ceased to end even when the sacred chief increased the number of his harem by contracting numerous other marriages.

One of the factors that further increased the greatness, dignity and the superior divinity of the Tu'i Tonga was the effective support given to him by families of lesser chiefs and leading orators who provided his many secondary wives. Their support was partly driven by willingness to have a connection with the Tu'i Tonga and hope of gaining favours from the gods, a rare blessing for minor chiefs and their daughters of course. As for the principal wives, they ensured even greater support since they were daughters of kings and sacred chiefs, and they brought their *fokonofa* whose numbers could easily reach a hundred women (Herda 1988 and Gifford 1929). These kinship-networking practices were without doubt the catalyst that prolonged the survival of the dynasty and sustained full respect for the sacred line of kings from one generation to the next.

In fact, the court of the Tu'i Tonga, as emperor, had been synonymous with economic prosperity and political supremacy for centuries, but not without reciprocity. Although the best produce from the so-called empire was sent to the Tu'i Tonga at the annual *inasi* ceremonies (Sand 2008:78, Herda 1988:43), great families whose daughters had been sent to join the harem also supplied constant support. Issues from concubines were seen by their families as blessings from the gods and they were of reciprocal value to peoples of the lower order of society (Bott 1982:140) and while they were classed as less significant in the eyes of the *falefa*, they were indeed half-kings and therefore regarded

¹⁵⁷ See also the genealogies - Tohi Hohoko a Losaline Fatafehi, Tohi Hohoko a Sepiuta Hala'api'api, Tohi Hohoko 'a Etuenui Tupou, Tohi Hohoko a Tu'iketeki Pule.

¹⁵⁸ Pers.com., Rev Kilifi Heimuli (a descendant of Vake), 2001.

as minor chiefs; some made it to higher position as provincial kings (Bott 1982:138)¹⁵⁹. Kingship office from the beginning represented divinity and that substance in itself was a source of authority; it didn't need secular title.

However, brides from families of divine origin were necessary to fulfil the religious requirements of the sacred office in order for its existence to be fully accepted without question. For example, starting from 'Aho'eitu the first Tu'i Tonga who married the daughter of Tu'i Manu'a Moea (Br Henry 1992:29),¹⁶⁰ principal wives of the Tu'i Tonga were by convention sought from Sāmoan royal families (Kraemer, 1999: 648-649) while local chiefly families supplied the concubines. But following the historical homecoming of TT Tapu'osi around 1500 AD (my own dating), his descendants TT Uluakimata I, TT Fatafehi and TT Uluakimata II restricted their choice to daughters of the *hau* and the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, possibly to re-establish relations with the newly created sacred dynasty (Bott 1982:13, fig.2)

TT Uluakimata II's first born son Tu'ipulotu-'i-Langitu'ofefafa¹⁶¹ with his principal wife Toa, the eldest daughter of TH Vaea, succeeded his father as the next Tu'i Tonga. He became the first Tu'i Tonga to take the daughter of the Tu'i Kanokupolu as his principal wife. Oral traditions and historians have not pinpointed the reason for this tactical shift. Bott (1982:137) for one, states that rearrangements in political alliance were responsible for discontinuing formal recognition of the *ma'itaki*¹⁶² as principal wife of the Tu'i Tonga. She is referring here to the marriage of Kaloafutonga, a daughter of TH Vaea, to Mataeleha'amea the 4th Tu'i Kanokupolu. According to Bott, descendants of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua were strong in the Ha'apai group and Vava'u and they had been enticed to give support to the Tu'i Kanokupolu after Kaloafutonga was made principal wife of TK Mataeleha'amea (1982:137).

Bott also mentioned that success in sending Halaevalu (daughter of Kaloafutonga and TK Mataeleha'amea) to be the *mohefo* of the Tu'i Tonga was "a sign that the Tu'i Kanokupolu was beginning to supersede the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua" (1982:137). Quite

¹⁵⁹ The story of Ngalumoetutulu is the best example, for he was regarded unofficially as Tu'i Ha'apai.

¹⁶⁰ See also Malama Meleisea 1987, LAGAGA A short History of Western Sāmoa and Kramer Die Sāmoan Anselm.

¹⁶¹ I will use the term Tu'ipulotu I - instead of the longer version shown above in the remaining discussion in this study.

¹⁶² This term *ma'itaki* is probably a survival from the Sāmoan word Tama'ita'i. It refers to a category of Sāmoan highborn ladies that the Tu'i Tonga preferred for his principal wife due to their high status. When the daughters of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua were offered as principal wives in the 1500s they were still referred to as *ma'itaki*.

clearly Bott is confused in seeing this transaction as a sign that the power of the Tu'i Ha'atalalaua was waning when its power was at its peak in the northern groups of Ha'apai and Vava'u (1982:137). There is no evidence adduced by Bott that the Tu'i Kanokupolu was politically powerful.

Halaevalumohefo, being the first in the long line of *Mohefo* that lasted for six generations, was characteristically instrumental and also strong-willed in managing the survival of the *mohefo* tradition. As I see it, the success of later *mohefo* of the Tu'i Tonga is owed to her controversial meddling in political affairs, initially around 1650 AD, in order to advance the legacy of her Tu'i Kanokupolu patrilineal family. She brought her younger sister Tongotea to marry her adopted son Fakana'ana'a so that the next heir to the throne of the Tu'i Tonga would be of her own blood that is from the Tu'i Kanokupolu dynasty (Bott 1982:137). The issue from that union Tu'ipulotu-i-Langitutu'oteau took 'Anaukihesina as his *mohefo*; the daughter of TK Ma'afu'out'itonga. The next *mohefo* was Tupou Mohefo, daughter of TK Tupoulahi, the principal wife of TT Pau. Tupou Mohefo took the role of the *mohefo* to another level for she made several attempts to elevate her young son to co-regent with his father as Tu'i Tonga (Bott 1982: 39). Another story has it that she actually tried to dethrone her husband in favour of her son Fuanunuiava. She also claimed by force the Tu'i Kanokupolu title and for the first time in the history of Tonga there was a woman in that position (Bott 1982:39, Campbell 1992:40). Prior to that controversial move, she had removed the Tu'i Ha'atalalaua title from Fuatakifolaha and bestowed the title on her uncle Maealiuaki.

The succession of the *mohefo* office¹⁶³ survived for over two hundred years until the tenure of Halaevalu Mata'aho (daughter of TK Tupouto'a) as the last *mohefo*, around the first half of the 1800s. After being married to the Tu'i Ha'ateiho first by her brother King George, Halaevalu Mata'aho was then made principal wife of Fatafehi Laufilitonga the last Tu'i Tonga and the issue from that marriage was a son Kalaniuvalu who was not installed to the title. The sacred title was buried together with Laufilitonga on his death in 1865 AD. The last *mohefo* could not do anything to rescue the title for her son Kalaniuvalu because TT Laufilitonga was just a ceremonial representative of the divine line after being defeated by King George at the battle of Velata in 1826 (Latukefu

¹⁶³ It was important to classify the principal wife from the Tu'i Kanokupolu line as the *mohefo* to mark the end of the ma'itaki who were wives from Sāmoan royal families and the Tu'i Ha'atalalaua line.

1974:92; Blanc 1934:34). But, most important of all, since Halaevalu Mata'aho had already been married and having a son Toafunaki to the Tu'i Ha'ateiho, her status as *moheofo* was also ceremonial as well in the sense that Laufilitonga as Tu'i Tonga must take a daughter of the TK as official wife. An offspring from that union would not be qualified for the Tu'i Tonga title as successors for the sacred office were expected to be outcome of virgin birth. It appeared that King George had a dark motive in his mind to put an end to the sacred office of the Tu'i Tonga. It is said that the battle of Velata was caused by king George's unusual decision to refuse Laufilitonga's request to marry his sister Halaevalu Mata'aho (Campbell 1989).

To recapitulate, the contribution of the *moheofo* and their lives, as political figures reflected how powerfully the Tu'i Kanokupolu influence stretched throughout Tonga at the time. The first in line Halaevalumoheofo is remembered for her unbending determination to escape death when her husband TT Tu'ipulotu 1st died. It was a tradition that wives who had not produced children would accompany the Tu'i Tonga on his glorious journey to Pulotu (Bott 1982:137). As principal wife who had not produced an heir, she was to be strangled to fulfil her customary duty. In being the eldest daughter of the Tu'i Kanokupolu and mothered by the eldest daughter of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, Halaevalu took up the office of the *moheofo* by heralding a new era in eclipsing the *ma'itaki* as principal wife (Bott 1982:137). As preferred wife the *ma'itaki* since time immemorial were high ranking Sāmoan ladies that were chosen for both beauty and status but the unexpected return of TT Tapu'osi, which coincided with the elevation of the *hau* to divine status, made it possible for his divine successors to consolidate their stance in Tonga by taking the daughters of his local 'equal' counterpart as *ma'itaki* instead. So for a number of generations in the post 1500s AD, the *ma'itaki* had been principally chosen from daughters of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua.

As things turned out, TT Tu'ipulotu I was succeeded by a son of a secondary wife. This irregularity came about by way of legitimate adoption (Bott 1982:137). According to oral tradition and local folklore, the principal wife Halaevalumoheofo was barren and although the husband sired many sons with a number of *fokonofa* (secondary wives), they could not inherit the right to succeed their father. Who would be the rightful heir was a question that only the *falefa* would settle. Unfortunately, this issue was hanging in the balance for the first time since around 850 AD, 19 generations earlier, when an

event had been arranged to qualify an adopted son (Talaiha'apepe) of a wooden king Tamatounui to succeed as Tu'i Tonga (Gifford 1929: 50,53).

Now, in the late 1600s, the barren principal wife of TT Tu'ipulotu I was facing a customary challenge that would without doubt put her life at risk for failing to provide a son. The fact that Halaevalumohefo was the daughter of a very powerful ruler TK Mataeleha'amea implied she was expected to produce a successor to the divine title of her husband, that is a son with the blood of a Tu'i Kanokupolu in his veins.

According to oral tradition, Halaevalumohefo was an important and powerful figure not just because she was the first *mohefo* from the Tu'i Kanokupolu dynasty but also because her actions would bend the shape of history to her wishes (Bott 1982: 137). As she was childless at the time of her husband's death she would have to accompany him to Pulotu as prescribed by custom for she had no son to look after. So she engineered an adoption scheme to avoid being strangled. In the nick of time before they strangled her, so the story says, she made a surprising announcement that she had a son on the Island of Mo'unga'one (Bott 1982:137). Actually the boy was the son of a secondary wife Manuna, a daughter of a lesser Ha'atakalaua chief Kavamo'unga'one from Ha'apai, who was a close friend of the great lady. Halaevalumohefo's proclamation that the young boy Fakana'ana'a is now her son was taken as an announcement of formal adoption. Whether or not the procedure was considered proper at the time is not known but I have a feeling that the *falefa* advisors of the Tu'i Tonga accepted the terms out of fear as her powerful father TK Mataeleha'amea may have pressured them in some unrecorded way. We can suspect from this event that Tongan society was being to some extent controlled by Mataele Ha'amea.

So, the adopted son Fakana'ana'a was declared heir and successor to the Tu'i Tonga title as contrived by Halaevalumohefo (Bott 1982: 138). The story is too fantastic to be accepted at face value. All that we know and have learned to date is that the perfect scheme was well executed by a new breed of principal wives, since Halaevalumohefo's successors continued the trade with outstanding results as demonstrated in the schemes of the legendary Tupou Mohefo - *Empress* of TT Pau and the first female usurper of the Tu'i Kanokupolu title. As I see it, the life of Halaevalumohefo was never in danger for she was part of a grand plan in which the

Tu'i Tonga as offspring of the Tu'i Kanokupolu was designed to be influenced and politically controlled by the *hau* dynasty of the Tu'i Kanokupolu as a countermeasure to the authority of the *falefa* and their supporters. The relationship between the Tu'i Tonga and the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua as 'equals' had formerly made it difficult for the secular king (Tu'i Kanokupolu) to come close to their orbit.

It seems likely that TK Mataeleha'amea was vying for sacred status, as stated by Herda (Herda 1988:78, and Campbell 1989:15&39). He waged war against TH Vaea for the purpose of usurping the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua title (Gifford 1929:87), which in my view was a sacred title and those who aspired to acquire one would certainly go the extra mile to get it, by force if necessary. The aggressive tone of TK Mataeleha'amea's ambition would have caused the *falefa* to rethink the fate of his daughter by allowing her the liberty to nominate a successor through adopting a concubine's son so that the continuity of the sacred line was secured to the Tu'i Kanokupolu. Further, the fact that Halaevalumohefo had personally arranged for her sister Tongotea to be the *mohefo* of TT Fakana'ana'a made it clear that she was running the show, so to speak, as arranging the principal wife for the Tu'i Tonga had been the traditional responsibility of the *falefa*.

There is nothing of note about Fakana'ana'a as a sacred ruler apart from being the father of the next Tu'i Tonga, Tu'ipulotu-'i-Langi-Tu'oteau¹⁶⁴ (Tu'ipulotu II) and his sister TTF Sinaitakala-'i-Fanakavakilangi. Once again, Anaukihesina the *mohefo* of Tu'ipulotu II was the eldest daughter of TK Ma'afu-'o-Tu'itonga, son of TK Mataeleha'amea (Bott 1982: 12). The interesting thing here is that Tu'ipulotu II's wife was actually his mother's niece, a first cousin marriage. He also married another first cousin Laumanukilupe the daughter of Tupouto'a, a younger brother of TK Ma'afu-'o-tu'itonga (Bott 1982:12). It is fair to say that the Tu'i Kanokupolu at this point in time had influence in the court of the Tu'i Tonga in numbers at least, not only by supplying the *mohefo* in every generation but the secondary wives *fokonofa* she took with her were her first cousins. This implies that the offspring from the *mohefo* and her many *fokonofa* would provide heirs for the Tu'i Tonga and simultaneously the next sacred ruler would depend on his half siblings and their close relationship to the Tu'i Kanokupolu.

¹⁶⁴ The last part of this name is a reference to the location of his burial tomb. I will refer to this Tu'i Tonga as Tu'ipulotu II.

By 1750 AD there had been three consecutive generations of sacred rulers whose mothers were all *moheofo* (Bott 1982:). It appears that from 1750 onward, the principal wife for the Tu'i Tonga was expected to be the daughter of the Tu'i Kanokupolu, which meant that a daughter of another high-ranking chief could not be considered for that honour. Thus, under the new TK hegemony, a son of a *moheofo* must not deviate from the requirement of marrying the daughter of the reigning Tu'i Kanokupolu or forfeited the right of succession altogether. TT Pau's case was the living proof of that ideological principle as the omission of his elder brothers Alaivahamama'o and Ma'ulupekotofa from their right of succession was caused by the fact that they married women who ranked higher than Tupou Moheofo. Although Ma'ulupekotofa was appointed by TK Mumui to succeed his younger brother TT Pau in 1787 but being married to his daughter Halaevalu as his *moheofo* (Rev Thomas 2013:38 in Statham ed.). Fuanunuiava also married Veiongo a daughter of TK Mumui before he was installed Tu'i Tonga at the death of his uncle Ma'ulupekotofa in 1797 (Rev Thomas 2013:39, Statham ed.). Laufilitonga was not installed as Tu'i Tonga after the death of his father in 1810 until TK Taufahau gave him his sister Mata'aho the daughter of TK Tupouto'a as principal wife in 1827 (Gunson 1979:47 and Latukefu 1974:92).

The status of the *moheofo* was not seen as divine, whereas under the old Tu'i Tonga dynasty the divine status of the *ma'itaki* had imparted legitimacy to the succession of first-born son. The *moheofo* represented political power and that means whoever among the sons of the Tu'i Tonga married the daughter of the Tu'i Kanokupolu would be the one to succeed to the throne of which this study has established to be true. This was a relatively new development that historians have not noticed. Furthermore, since the secondary wives were daughters of the Tu'i Kanokupolu's younger brothers, succession problems could be resolved by appointing a son of the *fokonofa* as successor. But, pending of course that this person would take as principal wife the daughter of the Tu'i Kanokupolu as did TT Pau who succeeded his father although he was a younger brother whose mother was a secondary wife. This is at least my view in conjunction with the adoption of the new succession tradition in which the TK would nominate the candidate for the sacred title of the Tu'i Tonga. Having said that I believe that the *moheofo* takeover signalled the downfall of the sacred line because the mother of a sacred king was not divine by the Tu'i Tonga standard. For example, the legitimising of

Fakana'ana'a as adopted son of Halaevalumoheofo with the purpose of installing him Tu'i Tonga would certainly have tainted the spotless cloak of the sacred office, as he was a son of a secondary wife fathered by a sacred king. Even if Fakana'ana'a was a real son of the *moheofo* it would not have changed much for the mother's origin could not be considered divine by the *falefa* or Kauhala'uta standard. By accepting Tongotea as his principal wife TT Fakana'ana'a would have realised that the sacred office was secured under the mercy of the Tu'i Kanokupolu. The cost was that his status as god-king would not be revered as the embodiment of the religious essence that had buttressed the divinity of the Tu'i Tonga office.

This hypothesis becomes more evident in the search for a suitable successor for TT Tu'ipulotu II. He had three highborn sons. Two of them were with different *moheofo*¹⁶⁵; the third with a *fokonofa*. Alaivahamama'o, the eldest son by his first *moheofo* Tu'ilokamana a daughter of TK Vuna, was the rightful heir under the rules of the day. The second son Ma'ulupekotofa was the issue with his second *moheofo* Anaukihesina a daughter of TK Ma'afu'otu'itonga successor of TK Vuna. Ma'ulupekotofa could contest the succession if he wanted to for his mother had replaced the first *moheofo* under the might of her father the current *hau*. This is of course my own interpretation of what the evidence offers. The youngest of the three sons was Pau whose mother was Laumanukilupe a daughter of Tupouto'a a younger brother of TK Ma'afu'otu'itonga. All three sons were direct descendants of the Tu'i Kanokupolu line through each of their mothers. However, either one of the two older sons were eligible to succeed their father as Tu'i Tonga for they were firstborn of principal wives (*moheofo*). But, as it turned out, it was Pau, the son of the secondary wife who succeeded TT Tu'ipulotu II.

This is a real twist to the Tu'i Tonga succession tradition, as I believe that Pau did not expect to be named successor to start with. First, he was not even an issue of a union with a *moheofo*, yet the saga was uncontested by the elder brothers and by the council of the *falefa*. It appears that something was very wrong here. For the *falefa* to make no attempt to intervene in the saga was slap in the face of the sacred institution of divine kingship. So who nominated Pau? 'Is' the interesting question? Oral tradition is silent on this issue and writers of Tongan history have failed to produce an answer for this

¹⁶⁵ I believe that TK Vuna's daughter Tu'ilokamana was the first *moheofo* of Tu'ipulotu II but on the death of her father Anaukihesina the daughter of the new Tu'i Kanokupolu Ma'afu'otu'itonga displaced her as *moheofo*.

rather unusual situation. Now, one might ask, how could that situation be possible without contestation from the *falefa* ministers? The answers are manifold but it seems that every development in that era has a link to the speedy growth of the political strength of the Tu'i Kanokupolu. I would argue here that the Tu'i Kanokupolu had already taken control of the destiny of the Tu'i Tonga dynasty by handpicking a successor who would provide the *moheofo* with her intended role.

The successful establishment of the *moheofo* tradition from a secular origin was an omen that sparked ceaseless and intense status rivalry that would have to be faced by future heirs. Under the new adjustments the successors to the Tu'i Tonga title must take the daughter of the Tu'i Kanokupolu as *moheofo*. I have a feeling that both Alaivahamama'o and Ma'ulupekotofa, being sons of principal wives from a secular line of kings, were conscious of the fact that their ritual status and those of their heirs would be put at risk should nothing be done to rescue the divinity of the sacred office. I believe that both men would have felt the need to restore some dignity to the sacred dynasty by refusing to take as principal wife the daughter of the Tu'i Kanokupolu.

Let us take the case of the first-born son, Alaivahamama'o. He would have lost his right of succession when his mother the *moheofo* Tu'ilokamana was replaced by the new *moheofo* Anaukihesina. Then let us take the case of Ma'ulupekotofa, the second born son; he chose to marry Mo'unga'olakepa a lady of exceptionally high status and the daughter of Tu'i Lakepa Fehokomoelangi, demonstrating that the supposed heir to the Tu'i Tonga had technically refused Tupou Moheofo (the eldest daughter of TK Tupoulahi) as principal wife for the purpose of evading further secularisation of the sacred line. The status of Tupou Moheofo was inferior to Mo'unga'olakepa whose divine origin would make it hard for anyone to replace her as principal wife. In that capacity, the customary right of Tupou Moheofo as eldest daughter of the *hau* or Tu'i Kanokupolu was blatantly undermined by Ma'ulupekotofa's marriage and he was not given the Tu'i Tonga title.

Although Losaline Fatafehi, in her genealogy book, named Tu'ilokamana as the only *moheofo* and designated Anaukihesina and Laumanukilupe as her *fokonofa*, an important turn of events had provided an alternative solution that point to a different conclusion. TK Vuna unusually succeeded his younger brother TK Mataeleha'amea. On Vuna's death, his eldest son Vuna II did not succeed to the TK title but instead

Ma'afu'otu'itonga the eldest son of TK Mataeleha'amea succeeded to the title (showing again the power of Mataeleha'amea, noted earlier was still revered). The selection would have entailed replacement of officers and of the original *moheofo* from Vuna, so the new *hau's* daughter would be the mother of the next Tu'i Tonga so that the channel of control would be maintained.

To recapitulate, Tupou Moheofo in light of her inferior status could not marry the sons of the *moheofo* especially Ma'ulupekotofa as it would be difficult for her to challenge Mo'unga'olakepa for the position of principal wife. It is at this stage that the power of the Tu'i Kanokupolu appeared to extend far enough to name the successor for the Tu'i Tonga title. As already stated that Paulaho was a son of a secondary wife, his mother Laumanukilupe was a daughter of Tupouto'a a brother of TK Ma'afu'otu'itonga and for that reason he was nominated mainly for the fact that he did not marry a high ranked lady (if there was any) who would outrank Tupou Moheofo. I will pick up this point when we address the dynamic processes of the post 1750s political development in Tonga.

For now, I must explicate the calamity responsible for determining the fate of the Tu'i Ha'atalalua dynasty especially the forceful removal of the kingship title from its direct male line. The best place to start is from the ascendancy of TH Moeakiola for it is significant and interesting for a number of reasons. The name Moeakiola was created for the second son of a sacred king, TH Vaea.¹⁶⁶ The Tu'i Ha'atalalua line of kings had been practicing primogeniture¹⁶⁷ for two generations since the reign of TH Mo'ungatonga, the first to hold the sacred kingship title, at least in my view. Moeakiola literally means 'successful leap' as 'moeaki' can stand for the act of moving up the ladder but in this context it means 'to rise or to transcend' (social mobility). 'Ola' means success and further inflates the meaning to suggest a 'glorious climb or jump' so to speak.

Another interpretation gives the meaning as *prima nocte*, which relates to an ancient custom of celebrating the consummation of a marriage especially the unions formed among members of aristocratic families in ancient Europe (Herda 1988) The problem

¹⁶⁶ It is one of the main arguments in this work that Tu'i Ha'atalalua refers to a sacred line of kings. This view is original.

¹⁶⁷ The Tu'i Tonga line and the *hau* conformed to a succession tradition that the eldest son of the principal wife inherited the title of the father.

with the second interpretation is that the reference to the word 'moeaki' as sexual by nature would not be consistent with the historical event in which the name plays a part. All-important marriages in pre-European-contact Tonga were concluded with bombs if the bride was a virgin. Unless oral tradition could bring a case of 'successful rape' to justify the truth of the above interpretation, I could not say it stands as evidence.

Apparently TH Vaea married Palula first, the daughter of the second Tu'i Kanokupolu Atamata'ila, but their son Kafoa was overlooked as his successor (Bott 1982: 13). Kafoa's fate was possibly overwhelmed by the superior status of his younger brother Moeakiola 1st who was the son of Tamaha Simuoko and more fitting a successor for the newly found sacred status of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua line (Herda 1988: 85). It is understandable that in order for the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua to perpetuate the divinity of its sacred line the successor must have the highest credentials as some kind of insurance policy. This could have been the main reason why Moeakiola 1st was nominated ahead of his elder half-brother Kafoa. Moeakiola 1st actually outranked his own father TH Vaea for he was a son of a Tamaha while Vaea's mother 'Atalua was just a younger daughter of a male Tu'i Tonga.

Kafoa's hostile reaction was groundless because his mother was not the eldest daughter of TK Atamata'ila, and even if she were the principal wife of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua she would not be regarded as high enough to produce an acceptable successor for the sacred title. Kafoa was quite persistent in his claim due to the fact that both Moeakiola and Tatafu (younger brother of TH Vaea) outranked him and both became Tu'i Ha'atakalaua before him. It is not certain which of the two he waged war against. Oral tradition mentions that he fought wars against both TH Moeakiola and TH Tatafu but other accounts (Herda 1988:85, see also Bott 1982) suggest that he accepted Moeakiola's superior rank while taking his chance against his elderly uncle Tatafu. The extraordinary status of Moeakiola as a son of a Tamaha (Burley 2005:94; in Campbell and Coxon *et al*) and a divine king TH Vaea must have made him a desired commodity at the time as chiefs would have wanted their daughters to have offspring from him. This is evidenced by the action of the Tu'i Ha'ateiho in offering three of his daughters as 'kitetama'¹⁶⁸ to Moeakiola as a way of ever increasing the status of his sister's line.

¹⁶⁸ The term applies to first cousin marriage amongst members of the aristocracy in ancient Tonga.

This was a repetition of an earlier first-cousin marriage made between the Tu'i Tonga Fefine and the descendants of the Tu'i Lakepa line. But in Moeakiola's case it was a triple 'kite-tama', the first and last of its kind.

It is likely from this obsession with status mobility that the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua understood the threat posed by the marriage of Tu'imala the first Tamaha to TK Mataeletu'apiko, whereby their offspring would one day be mandatory leaders of extraordinary high status. The three *kitetama* of Moeakiola were for the purpose of siring many highborn sons to continue and maintain the divinity of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua line. By this time, TH Vaea was not *hau* and it was difficult for him to carry the immediate responsibility of looking after the Tamaha and the only way out of that trouble was to reverse the burden towards the Falefisi by marrying his son Moeakiola to three of his uncle's daughters. This move would commit the Tu'i Ha'ateiho to providing for his nephew's offspring¹⁶⁹. There was a practical reason that we could deduce from the pattern of marriage arrangements between the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and the Tu'i Ha'ateiho branch of the *ha'a* Falefisi: the granting to Tamaha Simuoko and her descendants of the original residence of the Tu'i Ha'ateiho known as Ma'anaga, a place that became the modern village of Pea, is evidence for such support.

Tu'i Ha'atakalaua line at the time had faced a dilemma regarding succession rights. The first-born son was no longer the automatic successor and the choice would go to the candidate with status instead. However, in the mid 1600s Kafoa became Tu'i Ha'atakalaua after defeating his uncle TH Tatafu (Herda 1988: 85 and Bott 1982: 114). His mother's people from the Vava'u group assisted him in this war. He enlisted his uncle Vuna the Tu'i Vava'u and managed also to receive support from the Tu'i Tubou in Fiji (Herda 1988: 85-86). Bear in mind that the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua had become a divine dynasty as argued in this work, and holders of sacred title must have connection to the bloodlines of the Tu'i Tonga and the *ha'a* Falefisi in order to be nationally recognised or even to be accepted by the people under his authority. Kafoa was a grandson of TK Atamata'ila but it was not enough at the time to rank him as '*eiki* and due to the fact that he was nothing more than an usurper, it was imperative for him to save the future of his dynasty. His effort is shown by his choice of acceptable spouses.

¹⁶⁹ The Tu'i Ha'ateiho first settled the modern village of Pea. It was given to Tamaha Simuoko and her children.

As it happened, Kafoa sought the hand of Totoinukuo'osi a daughter of TT Kau'ulufonua 3rd as his principal wife, a move that surely secured the future of his line and the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua dynasty at large. The issue from this marriage was Tu'ionukulava (Tu'ionukulave according to Bott 1982:13). He succeeded his father Kafoa as the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua without opposition from Moeakiola's sons for they were too young to aspire to greater glory. Perhaps the Tu'i Ha'ateiho, as their guardian who had no interest in political affairs, would not consider a military campaign to oust Tu'ionukulava. However, the blood connection to the Tu'i Tonga line was enough for Tu'ionukulava to be given the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua title.

It appears that Tu'ionukulava did not marry a lady of high status. The mother of his son Silivaka'ifanga is named in some genealogies as Langi whose origin cannot be traced to a ranking chiefly family. Although scholars (Herda 1988: 91, Bott 1982:13, Campbell 1989: 37 see also Gifford 1929 for details) named him as the 13th Tu'i Ha'atakalaua there are doubts whether he was actually installed to the office. In pursuing the theory that the office of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua was made sacred it would follow therefore that the holder of the title must be divine by status, an element that consequentially made Silivakaifanga's claim pointless for he was a son of a none aristocratic woman. Then again, he could have succeeded his father without popular support from the Ha'a Takalaua chiefs such as the Ha'a Vaea and those who are related by blood to the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua line such as the Tu'i Tonga himself.

The reason for placing doubt on Silivakaifanga's candidacy is that the destiny of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua male line had faded away whether Sili held the title or not. According to Phyllis Herda (1988:91), he was installed as Tu'i Ha'atakalaua but then his death came unexpectedly soon for a young man who left no suitable heir to succeed him¹⁷⁰. At least, this is the reason given for discontinuing the reign of the male line as Tu'i Ha'atakalaua. Herda said that the potential candidates within the Ha'a Takalaua family avoided possible bloodshed over succession rights by asking the Tu'i Tonga instead to decide on whom he wished to become Tu'i Ha'atakalaua (Herda 1988:91). Should we ask who were the potential heirs to have gone to war for the purpose of becoming king, especially for a title that had less significance at the time? It is true that there existed a great divide amongst the Ha'atakalaua line at the said period. There was the Ha'a

¹⁷⁰ Herda expounds the fate of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua as told by Sepiuta Hala'api'api in her genealogical notes.

Vaea¹⁷¹ on the one hand and the offspring of those who already held the title on the other, which were the male descendants of Kafoa, Moeakiola and Tatafu.

The reason for disqualifying Silivaka'ifanga's heir, as argued in this study, is the lack of proper credentials. Even though Phyllis Herda stated, without naming a source, that Silivaka'ifanga was installed and that he left no suitable heir after his death, it still fails to explain why and how his offspring were left out. As for the sons of Moeakiola, the eldest Vola by Nauamoa (daughter of THT) married a common lady from Ha'ateiho and his son Latuhoi must have been too young or was not considered. The other son Moeakiola 2nd by Latutama (daughter of THT) could have been dead in early to mid 1700s. He married Pule'ilangite a daughter of high chief Ve'ehala of the *ha'a* Ngata motu'a and their son Tatafununumoveisini was a product of Ha'a Ngata, again the link to the sacred lineages appeared to be waning from this line also. Lastly, Fotofili son of Tatafu had already established himself successfully in Niuafo'ou as paramount chieftain of that Island with the title Tu'i Niua (*king of Niua*) and he showed no interest in the matter.

By assessing the credentials of these possible contenders I believe that none of them would have been interested in waging a war over this title at this stage as supporters for each camp could not have been able to assemble a formidable army. The Ha'a Vaea were establishing their seat in Vava'u and my gut feeling is that it was hard for them to give support to either of these contenders unless one of them were really interested, which I doubt very much. One of the leading figures of the *ha'a* Vaea was Talia'uli who was probably the head of that political family. He would have had a few fighting men at his disposal but due to the fact that his mother Sungu was from Tubou (Fiji) I could not see him taking such a gamble. The same thing applies to Luani and Fakafanua whose estates were small with fewer people living under their command at the time. Even if these *Ha'a Vaea* chiefs were to form an alliance for the purpose of acquiring the kingship title, there is still the issue of whom among them will be king.

The above assessment gives us a clear indication that the heirs to the Tu'i Ha'atalaia on the male line had fallen short on sacred status requirements.¹⁷² As we have learned,

¹⁷¹ This is the only political family from the Ha'atalaia line. They were Talia'uli and Luani, sons of TH Vaea; Falekaono a title bestowed on a son of Luani; and Fakafanua a grandson of TH Tatafu (brother of TH Vaea. Sometimes Fotofili of Niuafo'ou (son of TH Tatafu) is referred to as Ha'a Vaea. Moeakiola and Kafoa were not included because they held the kingly title of Tu'i Ha'atalaia.

male heirs like Silivaka'ifanga, Latuhoi (son of Vola), Tatafununumoveisini (son of Moeakiola II) and Fotofili II (son of TH Tatafu) may all have had sound leadership qualities but their mothers were not of 'kauhala'uta' origin. The male line therefore failed to maintain the continuity of producing sacred status for heirs to the title as had been perpetuated by this dynasty since Mo'ungatonga elevated it to divine kingship status around 1500 AD (Campbell 1989:7). It appears also that Mo'ungatonga's eldest son Fotofili was named to succeed him prior to the actual elevation of the *hau* to full kingship status but Fotofili's marriage to the Tu'i Tonga's daughter 'Atalua guaranteed him the position as the next Tu'i Ha'atakalaua (Bott 1982:13). As I have mentioned above the issue from this union was TH Vaea whose marriage to the highest lady in Tonga at the time *Tamaha* Simuoko was a national recognition of the elevated status of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua.

To recapitulate, Moeakiola was given three daughters¹⁷³ of the Tu'i Ha'ateiho as 'Kitetama' or first cousin wives. The continuous production of sacred heirs, in my view, was to serve two purposes. First, to maintain the divine status of the dynasty so that professional retainers, councillors, personal priests and artisans could perform their hereditary duties as they had a significant role in determining the successors of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua. Second, to avoid usurpers from lower ranking offspring seeking the title. The legacy of Kafoa was cursed in a way as he usurped the title from his uncle Tatafu and that action had injured the grip of the male descendants to the title of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua forever. His offspring were the last of male heirs to succeed as kings of this dynasty. Had it not been for Kafoa's rage over right of succession the fate of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua dynasty might have continued in the male line as the highborn sons of Moeakiola would have sought highborn ladies as wives for that purpose. But, the opportunity was not given since the heirs of Kafoa had inherited the title from father to son for three consecutive generations. The marriage of Tu'ionukulava to Totoinukuo'osi the daughter of TT Kau'ulufonua was without doubt a blessing for Kafoa's line and that was why his reign as Tu'i Ha'atakalaua was not contested. Unfortunately, Kafoa's legacy was short-lived in the failure of his grandson to maintain the divine requirement expected of the holders of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua title and it appeared that his line was cursed after all.

¹⁷² A point that distinguishes the stance of this work from the common belief that the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua was just a secular dynasty that served its duties as *hau*.

¹⁷³ Tohi 'a Losaline Fatafehi (Genealogy by Losa). Palace office records.

Furthermore, the alleged agreement between the Ha'atakalaua male line contenders to ask the Tu'i Tonga for his choice of successor at the death of Silivaka'ifanga is doubtful in a way. According to Herda (1988: 91) all (male line) candidates resorted to the idea that the Tu'i Tonga's choice would satisfy all parties concern. The reason was that the Tu'i Tonga was a direct offspring of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua through Toa the *ma'itaki* of Uluakimata 2nd and daughter of TH Vaea. And that justification alone gives the Tu'i Tonga mandatory authority to appoint someone of his choice to succeed as Tu'i Ha'atakalaua. Herda also stated '...in order to avoid a long and potentially bloody dispute, they asked the Tu'i Tonga to name the next titleholder from among the possible contenders.'(1988:91). This is a rationalisation that fails to reflect empirical evidence. The assessment above discloses that war was not an option at the time as male line candidates lacked manpower and military means to execute such a fruitless campaign.

According to Herda, the Tu'i Tonga nominated Fuatakifolaha a great grandson of TT Uluakimata 2nd and the fokonofu Longo, another daughter of TH Vaea and sister of the principal wife Toa (Herda 1988:91, see also Campbell 1982:183). Herda includes Bott too in her reference about Fuatakifolaha's nomination but strangely one of her genealogies¹⁷⁴ names Tongatangakitaupekifolaha as first Tu'i Ha'atakalaua from the female line to succeed. This new king was the father of Fuatakifolaha and even though Bott has put a question mark beside his name, she still leaves Tongatangakitaupekifolaha's name there as the 14th Tu'i Ha'atakalaua. His son Fuatakifolaha is listed as the 15th and last holder of the title in that female line (Bott 1982:13).

The transferring of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua title from the male heirs to the female line was without violence as discussed above but on what basis?, is the question that needs clarification? There is no tradition that authorises the Tu'i Tonga to intervene should the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua title face a succession dilemma. Although Gifford mentioned that he was told that if there were no heir for the Tu'i Tonga title, "The Tu'i Ha'atakalaua would be elevated to the office of Tu'i Tonga and a new Tu'i Ha'atakalaua appointed" (1929: 62). Unfortunately, he did not name his source and sometimes this kind of

¹⁷⁴ "Tongan society at the time of Captain Cook's visits: Discussions with Her Majesty Queen Salote Tupou by Elizabeth Bott with the assistance of Tavi" The Polynesian Society, 1982.

information could invite complications that would prove futile to pursue, as informants nowadays are not well versed with genealogical knowledge. But, we have learned from oral tradition that should the sacred line of the Tu'i Tonga fail then the Tu'i faleua¹⁷⁵ and his descendants shall become Tu'i Tonga (Gifford 1929 and Bott 1982:90).

However, there was no instruction preserved by oral tradition to assist in forming the basis for authorising the Tu'i Tonga to control the future of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua in times of crisis. After all, the sacred dynasty of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua sprang out of a secular line of *hau* rulers but not directly from the Tu'i Tonga line. So, it is inconceivable to maintain the claim that male heirs were finding it easy to surrender their right to the Tu'i Tonga and making him 'chief judge' regarding the appointment of a new Tu'i Ha'atakalaua -- unless if the prerequisite for the said title were something other than political means. In this case, as this work argues, divine attribute is an essential element for possessing either of the sacred titles and a candidate who came short of that necessity would not be easily accepted. Perhaps the unusual consensus reached by the Ha'a Takalaua candidates was determined by the realisation that none of them possessed the necessary credential for acquiring the sacred title. As Herda mentioned above (1988:91) it was disagreement that initially cultivated the idea to approach the Tu'i Tonga instead of fighting for the title.

So far, no one has endeavoured to pinpoint the identity of the Tu'i Tonga who made the historic appointment of Tongatangakitaulupeki folaha or his son Fuatakifolaha to succeed as Tu'i Ha'atakalaua from a female line. The more likely contemporary of Silivaka'ifanga, in my opinion, is TT Tu'ipulotu 2nd considering the fact that his son Pau was Tu'i Tonga at the time of Captain Cook's first visit in 1773. Herda was unsure about this but her study suggests TT Fakana'ana'a and Tu'ipulotu 2nd and she strangely put it in a footnote (1988:91). Supposing that Fuatakifolaha was appointed ahead of his father as Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, with the possibility that Tongatangakitaulupeki folaha was still alive, one might wonder why. He was a grandson of Longo and TT Uluakimata 2nd and at the time (1750 approximately) his age and experience would be more fitting for the task. Moreover, he married Fusipala a daughter of TK Mataeleha'amea. Campbell (1982) and Herda (1988) find nothing unusual about Fuatakifolaha's nomination. Since

¹⁷⁵ This is known as 'King of the second house' descended from the line of Talafale, the elder half-brother of Aho'eitu.

the Tu'i Tonga's decision was delivered in favour of a female descendant and despite the fact that male line candidates had asked for either one of them to be named, we have to question the motive behind the appointment saga.

Although there is doubt the male line contenders were ignored, there is a reason that might explain the Tu'i Tonga's action. The Tu'i Tonga would have been searching for a candidate that had divine status and both Tongatangakitalupekifolaha and his son Fuatakifolaha possessed degrees of divinity in their person. It would be meaningful to perceive the process in this light. For example, Longo was a daughter of a Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and her son Tuituiohu possessed divine status even though his mother was a *fokonofa*. The high profile marriage of Tuituiohu to Kilinganoa a highborn Sāmoan aristocrat would put his son Tongatangakitalupekifolaha in full divine rank, simultaneously outranking his own son in that regard. This is because his son's mother Fusipala, as mentioned above, was a daughter of a secular king namely TK Mataeleha'amea, which in a way diminishes Fuatakifolaha's status to a semi-divine rank. So, the nomination of the son instead of his father to hold a sacred title requires careful attention.

My gut feeling is (based on family account) that it was not the Tu'i Tonga who actually appointed the successor for Silivaka'ifanga. I strongly believe that it was Mataeleha'amea the fourth TK who was responsible for the decision if he was still alive, otherwise his son and successor TK Ma'afu'otu'itonga made the decision. The reason would be that TK Mataeleha'amea's powerful political influence could have easily undermined the link between the Tu'i Tonga and the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, whereby Tongatangakitalupekifolaha (Bott 1982:138) would without question be the one with acceptable credentials to become Tu'i Ha'atakalaua. The only way for Fuatakifolaha to be chosen ahead of his father was through the use of force (Ilaiu 2007). And, who would have done that? Well, I can say with confidence that TK Mataeleha'amea would have executed such task. Quite clearly, Fuatakifolaha's mother Fusipala was a younger daughter of TK Mataeleha'amea who happened to be the most powerful political ruler of Tonga in the last half of the 17th century AD. This is evidenced by the successful recognition of his daughter Halaevalu as *moheofo* of TT Tu'ipulotu 1st. A paradigmatic change that marked an end to the *ma'itaki* institution in which the principal wives of the

Tu'i Tonga were exclusively selected from Sāmoan ladies of noble birth and in later times saw the inclusion of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua daughters in that category.

Modern historians of Tonga (Latukefu 1974, Gunson 1979;1987, Campbell 1982, Herda 1988) have not recognised the extent and effect of the Tu'i Kanokupolu political control over the structural foundation of the two sacred dynasties. There is evidence in support of the dictatorship of TK Mataeleha'amea's regime but the most damaging effect of his political reforms was the secularisation of the divine offices of the Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Ha'atakalaua dynasties. This was achieved through direct control in the process of naming successors for the divine titles by disregarding birthright and principles of primogeniture as long as the candidate fulfilled the task set out by the Tu'i Kanokupolu establishment. For example;

“The reign of Tu'i Tonga Fakana'ana'a is remembered in the Tongan islands as one of peace and harmony. Popular historical belief has it that this was due to his less than preeminent birth and upbringing, which made him not as spoiled and autocratic as individuals, destined to assume the divine title from birth.” (Herda 1988: 84)

“Although it is possible that Fakana'ana'a's personality and upbringing may have had an effect on the political stability of Tonga at this time, it is perhaps more significant that he was aligned with the ascending Tu'i Kanokupolu title.” (Herda 1988: 84).

These quotes are expressive of the historian's inability to read the dynamic interplay of political manoeuvrings at that time, especially in a period when the separation of power and status had been the basis of dynastic life. As secular ruler, the Tu'i Kanokupolu could control the destiny of the sacred kingly lines politically but simultaneously his status remained inferior by contrast to that of the Tu'i Tonga and the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua. In order to put the Tu'i Tonga line in a position that could be easily controlled by the Tu'i Kanokupolu, it must be made rid of the divine umbrella that buttressed its sacred status. The appointment of Fakana'ana'a was an opportunity for the sacred title to be secularised so that the position of the mohefo would not be at risk. I believe that the Tu'i Kanokupolu did make this move as a way of secularising the sacred office of the Tu'i Tonga and also to secure the position of the Tu'i Kanokupolu's daughter as principal wife and mother of every Tu'i Tonga.

If we accept the idea that TT Fakana'ana'a was blessed with some personal qualities, so special that his reign could be distinguished on that basis then we must make sure that the statement is qualified without doubt. First of all, it is true that Fakana'ana'a was not

groomed properly as a legitimate prospect for divine honours and automatically he was given the underdog role with unfounded justification. The fact that the Tu'i Tonga advisors (Falefa) had no say in choosing his principal wife is a loud statement on its own that must be explained. Obviously Halaevalumohefo is given the credit for choosing her younger sister Tongotea to be his principal wife. Tongotea was the second mohefo for two consecutive generations of Tu'i Tonga titleholders.

The mohefo office, in my view, was not instituted with definite rules to safeguard its existence *per se* but it was achieved through a rough process where the Tu'i Kanokupolu resorted to using force in order to guarantee that his daughter must be the principal wife of the Tu'i Tonga as a tradition in every generation. This process is indicative of a number of incidences that occurred during the reigns of TK Mataeleha'amea, TK Ma'afu'otu'itonga, TK Tupoulahi, TK Tu'ihalafatai and TK Mumui.

This chapter shows why the Tu'i Kanokupolu *regime* was a force that thrived politically and how it managed to overpower the other senior dynasties. The rise of Mataeleha'amea the fourth in line was a sign that the *matai* political system has infiltrated all aspects of life and political division slowly emerged as the norm. Tongan society could no longer resist the wave of change brought about by the Tu'i Kanokupolu political system. Tonga now had become an irreversible decentralised polity that lasted for two hundred years until normalcy was restored after 1852 by king George.

Chapter 10

Political Transformation and Institutional Changes

(Phase 5)

The new *hau* Paradigm

(Division, fragmentation and Reunification)

(1750-1865)

Contemporary titleholders from each dynasty in this period were the 36th TT Pau to the 39th and last TT Laufilitonga; and the 14th TH Fuatakifolaha to the 16th and last TH Mulikiha'amea; and the 7th TK Tupoulahi to the 17th (TK) King George 1st.

Synopsis

The ongoing relationship between the kingly lines in Tonga after the first 200 years of tripartite co-existence is delineated in this chapter. Central to this discussion is an assessment of the impact of the Tu'i Kanokupolu's social and political policies on her divine counterparts the Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, and the eventual demise of the secular office. By over stretching her political arms and usurping the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua title for its own lineage, the Tu'i Kanokupolu released new opportunities for fragmented division. The complicated succession contest that developed amongst the contenders to the TH and TK titles in the mid 1700s made way for warlords to emerge as new *hau*. The fragmented politics brought an end to the political authority and national influence of all three kingly lines.

The final 100 years of dynastic coexistence: (1750 - 1865)

Historical Background:

The first recorded contact with the European was the visit of the Dutch merchants Schouten and Le Maire who had encounters at the Niua Islands in 1616 (Schouten 1619); the islanders were already familiar with iron (Pond 1983:38). Tasman's visit to the Western part of Tongatapu Island followed in 1643 (Sharp 1968). The next European visitor was Captain Samuel Wallis in 1767. He was an Englishman who, like the Dutchmen before him, traded with people of the Niua Islands but did not make it ashore (Hawkesworth 1773). Captain Cook's visits of 1773, 1774 (Beaglehole 1961) and 1777 (Beaglehole 1967), provided extensive ethnographic records of historical significance. Cook witnessed the apparent peace, ordered social organisation, and status hierarchy of Tongatapu during a lengthy association with the Tu'i Tonga Paulaho, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Mumui (Old Tupou), and the Tu'i Kanokupolu Maealiuaki in retirement (Latukeyfu 1974, Bott 1982:15, Campbell 1982:186, Beaglehole 1967:890). Cook's party became

familiar with the political forces that steered the direction of the tripartite relationship at the time (Beaglehole 1961:252, Beaglehole 1967:174-175).

The most important of Cook's observations for the current purpose identified the separation of power and status. It is this material that explicitly informed us of the strength and real authority of the Tu'i Kanokupolu regime in managing political affairs and controlling the country at large. Even TT Pau admitted to Captain Cook that his life was at the mercy of Finau the *hau* (Bott, 1982:37). Whereas TT Paulaho was clearly the highest king status-wise, it was Finau son of TK Tupoulahi who appeared to be the active political ruler, but even so Finau did his best to avoid the Tu'i Tonga for the reason, Cook discerned, that he did not want to be seen paying homage to him (Beaglehole 1967:174-175; Campbell 1982:179). It is best, at this juncture, to throw more light on the perception of the traditional hierarchy so that the so-called separation of status and power can be more meaningfully demonstrated in actual contexts.

Tripartite system in the contact era:

The Tu'i Tonga is said in oral tradition to have been both spiritual and political ruler (Latukefu 1974:2) before the inception of the junior dynasties of the TH and the TK. It is important to repeat again the argument for the origin of the TH dynasty for comparative purposes. The accepted view adopted from oral tradition speaks of Mo'ungamotu'a as the first TH and also *hau* (Wood 1932:11) but this thesis argues that it was Mo'ungatonga the 6th *hau* who established the dynasty (Ilaiu 2007). Despite the fact that Mo'ungatonga was elevated to divine status as the TH (Campbell 1982:179) the old notion persisted of referring to the TH as *hau* and temporal ruler (Gifford 1929:83; Collocott 1924:179), perpetuating an assumption that the TH kingship was like the later *hau* dynasty of the TK. By the mid-1500s the tripartite form of government was formalised and had its footing on solid ground, in the sense that a system was established which they all consciously entered into, with each being ranked according to order of lineage seniority. At the top of the social hierarchy was placed the TT as 'Spiritual ruler' and "the representative of the god Hikule'o (Herda 1988:88) the focus of piety and loyalty, the keystone of Tonga's elaborate religious life, the ordering principle of daily activity, administration and politics" (Campbell 1982:178-179). The junior dynasties sprang into existence initially to serve the TT, especially the TH being appointed to protect the life of the TT (Campbell 1989:7) and both to be temporal rulers

and *hau*. It appears however that subsequent TH decided to indulge in a sacred lifestyle like the TT and in order to achieve that goal they created the TK to carry the hardship of ruling as *hau* (Campbell 1989:7). Order of genealogical precedence determines ranking hierarchy at this level of social relationship and that logically placed the TH above the rank of the TK. Initially it followed that the TK was under the direction of the TH (Herda 1988:87). The main argument here is that once Mo'ungatonga became divine and invented the title Tu'i Ha'atakalaua for his new dynasty, the *hau* title was given to the *ha'a* Mo'unga (Ngata) and his people to undertake the task of governing the country while the TH dissociated himself utterly from anything to do with the *hau* office. So, to refer to the TH as *hau* after the elevation of Mo'ungatonga is a mistake as the office had been delegated to Tu'i Hihifo Ngata of the *ha'a* Mo'unga.¹⁷⁶

The great interest showed by Cook, his officers and gentlemen in observing Tongan culture was unparalleled and the records of the voyage have been arguably the best written ethnography of historical Tongan society. Anthropologists and historians, in the pursuit of pinning down the political reality of the period after the 1750's, have used a significant amount of that information as guide (Gunson 1979, Marcus 1980, Bott 1982, Herda 1988, Campbell 1989, 1992). Strangely there are names of chiefs who held high office, leading figures in each dynasty, and local governing chiefs still awaiting positive identification. This was a warning to this author that the reconstruction of Tongan society by anthropologists and historians does not match the distribution of power observed by Cook, and this work has been an attempt to uncover hidden forces that would explain these anomalies.

¹⁷⁶ It is also known in a fuller form such as *ha'a* Mo'ungatonga, meaning descendants (or family) of TH Mo'ungatonga.

Figure 27.

Hau

1350

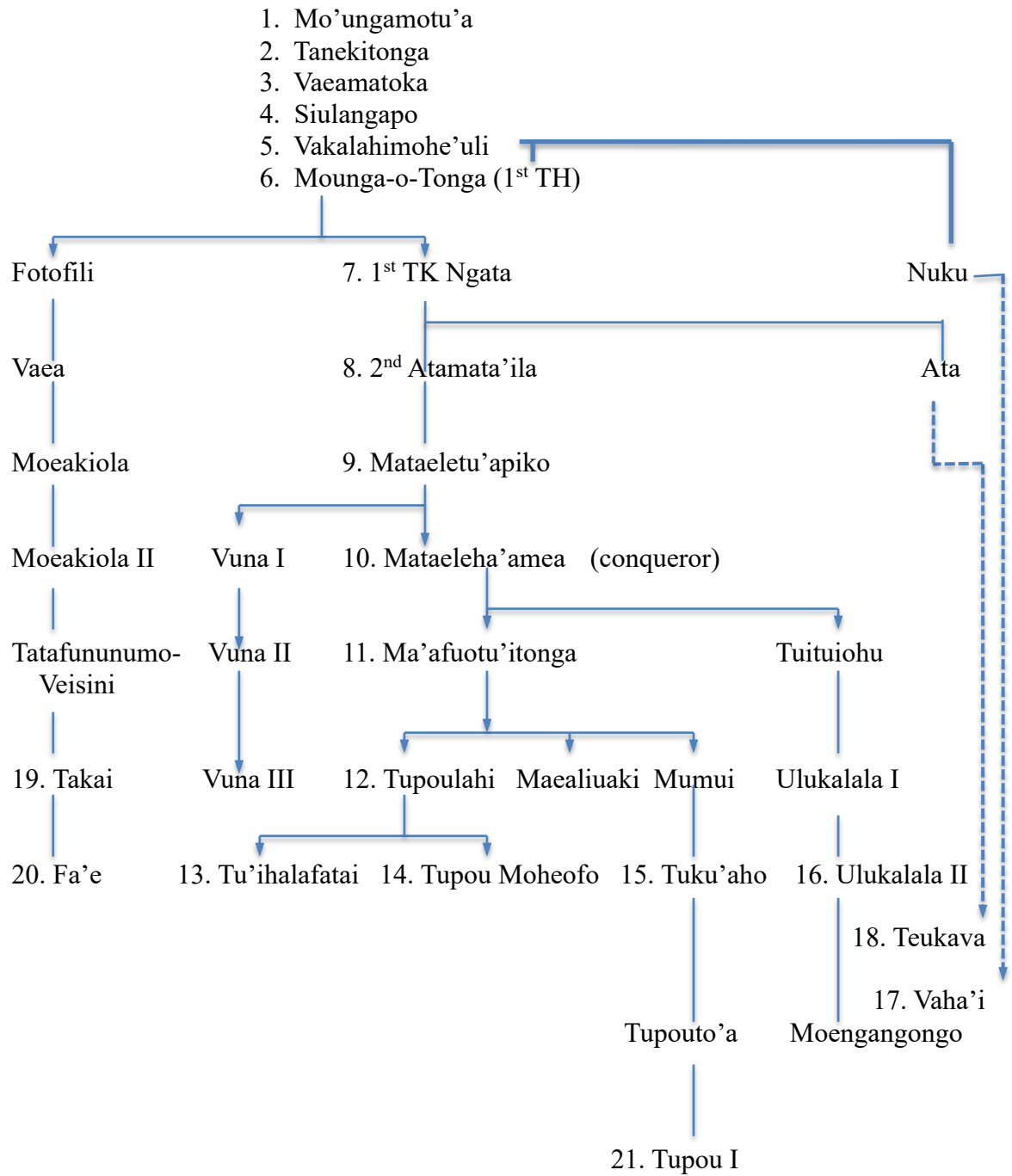
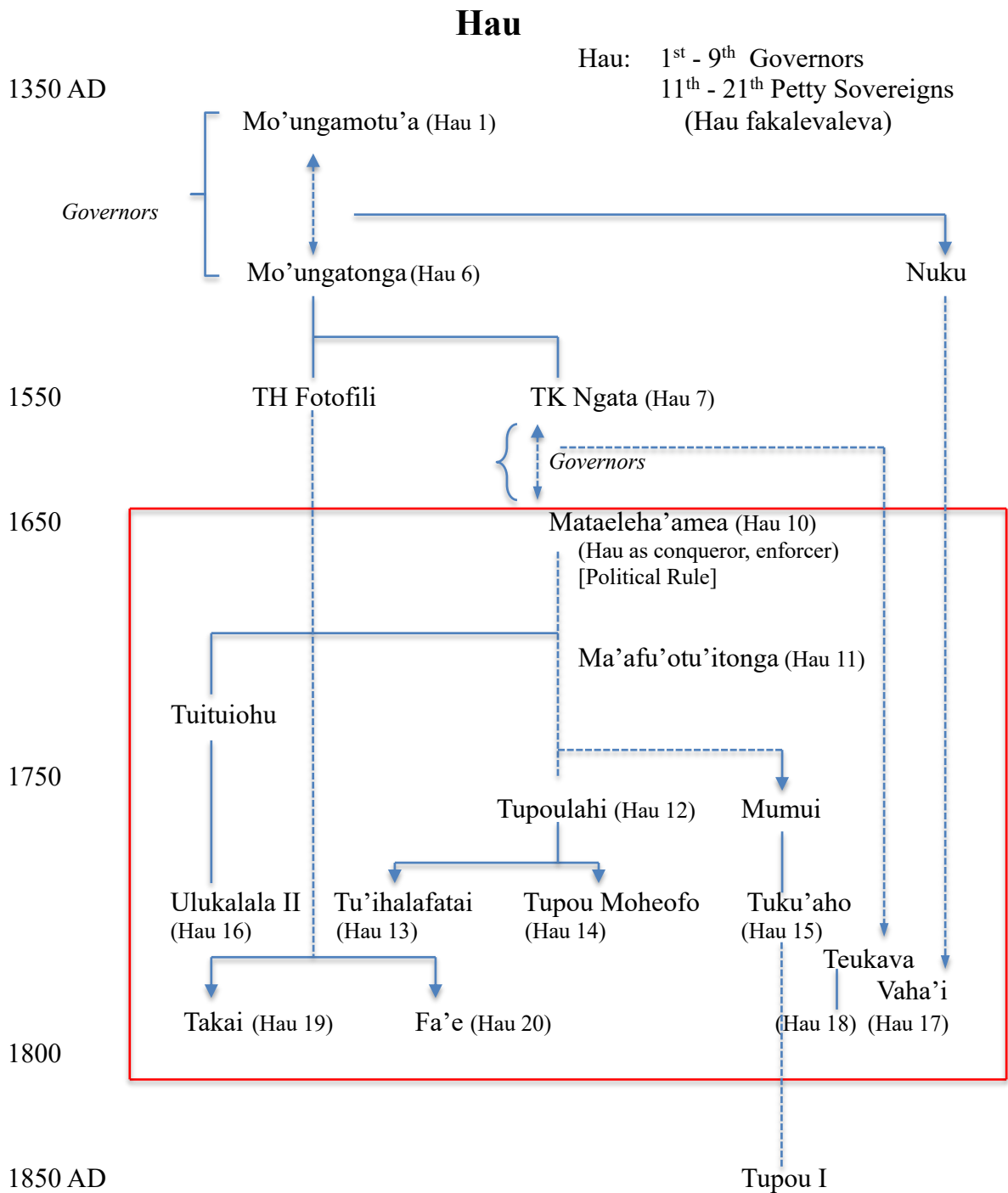


Figure 28.



Following Cook's visits, a wave of European explorers, scientists ('naturalists'), missionaries, and traders poured into Tonga (Spanish, French, German and English). Frequent contact with European visitors has had a lasting impact on Tongan political and social organisation, not so much from acquiring foreign manufactures, plants and

animals, but from the presence of competing protestant and catholic religious missions who began arriving in 1797 (Vason in 1797, Wilson in 1799, Mariner 1804), and were used by ambitious 19th century chiefs to further their political interests (Vason 1840). Their involvement accelerated in the next twenty or more years when the Methodist mission established permanent footings in Tonga despite a tentative welcome from the chiefs of Hihifo and various setbacks after their second arrival in 1826 (Campbell 1992:52). The Christian baptism of Aleamotu'a the 16th Tu'i Kanokupolu in 1827, shortly after being installed TK in the same year, sparked rivalry between the supporters of the new religion against the adepts of the old gods (Latukefu 1974:67) i.e. Ha'a Havea and Ha'a Ngata plus their allies. The religious divide sounded a new overtone that managed to untie group affiliations and even blood connections as faced by Ulukalala and Lualala in Vava'u and many more (Thomas 1831, Latukefu 1974:66). Tonga had now entered a new era of 'religious politics' in which the proponents of the indigenous gods kept harassing the Christian converts, amongst whom were some high chiefs such as Lavaka, Vaea and Ata. This tension was followed by rivalry between Methodists and Catholics and climaxed in the final civil war of 1852. I will come back to this issue towards the end of the chapter for the purpose of showing the radical changes that uplifted the *hau* office into a political force.

The Birth of Political Division:

Around 1725 AD Tupoulahi was installed TK after the death of his father, 6th TK Ma'afu'otu'itonga. He was probably in his twenties. He has not been identified amongst the political figures who met Cook in 1777 (Campbell 1982:185). His full brother Maealiuaki did receive Cook in 1777 and was described by Anderson;

"they mention'd a person named Maree'wagee, who they said was of the first consequence in the place as they understood superior to Poulaho, to whom he was related, but so old that he liv'd in retirement and yet was held in great veneration" (Beaglehole 1967:890).

He must have held one of the kingship titles, possibly the TK Crown (Bott 1982:28; Herda 1988:95; Gunson 1979:39) with his nephew Finau acting as *hau*.

Another important figure Old Tupou, on the other hand, must have been the half-brother Mumui (Pond 2011: 50); he appears to have been the (TH) Tu'i Ha'atakalaua (Classen 1968:511; cited Gifford 1929:58; and Collocott 1924:166). Campbell states "...one of

the great chiefs (Old Toobough) supervised the operation of the Tapu system as well as the production and maintenance of supplies of food and other essential Commodities” (1982:179). It must be noted at that the offspring of TK Ma’afu’otu’itonga had in their possession both the TH and TK titles. Oral tradition points out¹⁷⁷ that Tupou Mohefo usurped the TH title from Fuatakifolaha on the same basis that the title was given to the TT line in the first place, which was through Longo a daughter of TH Vaea whereas Kaloafutonga, a younger daughter of TH Vaea married Mataeleha’amea the great grandfather of Tupou Mohefo (Bott 1982:13, fig. 2). This bold move is hard to figure out because Tupou Mohefo was a principal wife of the TT and male heirs to the TK title expressed no interest in the matter. If the purpose was for increasing the power and influence of her own family (Herda 1988:100), which happened to be in a very strong position at the time, one might ask why did she do such a thing as there was no obvious need. An interpretation that might come as a surprise is that she was trying to avoid a possible future complication between the descendants of Tu’ihoua¹⁷⁸ and her son Fuanunuiava. That is, Tu’ihoua was a descendant of the TT (Bott 1982:114) through the lady Longo daughter of TH Vaea while Fuanunuiava was heir to the TT family through his father TT Pau (a descendant of Toa [eldest daughter of TH Vaea and TT Uluakimata II). Toa of course was the ma’itaki or principal wife of TT Pau’s father.

If the idea was to free the path for her son Fuanunuiava, that is a justifiable course for a mother to pursue.¹⁷⁹ It would not have been justifiable to remove the title for the purpose of enhancing the status and power of her maternal family (as suggested by Bott 1982) who had already established themselves supreme rulers for decades. Should my argument stand that the TH had become divine, the TH title would seem to have been cursed from the time of Mo’ungatonga, since whatever line of his descendants held the title, its viability would be in jeopardy if it could not upgrade the descent by blood that carries divinity. In the event, the legitimate line from Mo’ungatonga found a home in the TT lineage for upgrading purpose (as argued here) only for two generations¹⁸⁰ before the usurpation engineered by Tupou Mohefo took place. Being absorbed into

¹⁷⁷ According to Kioa (Tomu) high chief of Ha’utu, Tupou Mohefo deposed a great number of chiefs from important offices but the first in line was Fuatakifolaha who inherited the TH title from his father Tongatankitaulupekifolaha. Pers Comm. October 2011, Auckland (NZ).

¹⁷⁸ The predecessor of TH Fuatakifolaha whom Tupou Mohefo deposed from office as described above.

¹⁷⁹ I believe that Tupou Mohefo was uncomfortable with the fact that the TH title is inherited by another line within the TT family for it might complicate the support for her son and the future of the TT family.

¹⁸⁰ This is a reference to Tongatankitaulupekifolaha and his son Fuatakifolaha who both held the TH title (as female descendants of TH Vaea).

the TK line, the TH fared no better, as the title seems to have again been the source that propagated the spirit of disunity within the TK line. This was recognisable in practice especially when brothers once bestowed with the title were susceptible to distrust and formed their own separate *kainga* (political family) for provisioning and military asset. This was a habit inherited from the time of TK Mataeleha'amea and Vuna, and later on by the TK brothers Tupoulahi, Maealiuaki and Mumui, and in the next generation by Tuku'aho, Tupoumalohi and Aleamotu'a, all of whom were sons and grandsons of TK Ma'afu'otu'itonga.

Worse still, for TK family to have two royal titles in its possession would have needed strong support from the *ha'a* Havea in order to add credit to the legacy of TK Ma'afu'otu'itonga in its opposition to the contending dynasty of TK Vuna in Vava'u. This is, in my view, the main catalyst for the political instability that Tonga faced in the last half of the 1700s. As I have discussed in chapter V and above, the handing over of the TH title to the TT line was prompted by a desire of the lowborn male heirs¹⁸¹ (Herda 1988:91) to settle their indecision by asking the TT to name one of the possible contenders among themselves. In my view, the only reason for such request was to nominate someone with status in order to maintain and perpetuate the divine status of the TH dynasty. Disagreement among contenders was not an issue since the TT nominated one of his offspring instead of one of the sons of TH Vaea as they had (supposedly) asked in the beginning (Herda 1988:91) but they accepted it without protest. That tells us that there was something more than disagreement among possible contenders to seek an alternative that was not in their favour.

On the other hand, the subsequent usurping of the TH title from the offspring of the TT line by the TK family may be perceived as irregular, uncharacteristic and eccentric in practice (Bott 1982; Campbell 1992), but it was really a normal proceeding concomitant with the political machine¹⁸² that propelled the expansion of the Hihifo dynasty (Ilaiu 2007). Such expansion was initially intended to gain territory as the young dynasty grew in strength (Bott 1982:133 & 137) but the momentum of that pursuit reached far beyond the expected goal to usurping another kingship title, the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua.

¹⁸¹ This is a reference to the descendants of TH Kafoa. His son Tu'ionukulava was eligible for his mother was a daughter of the TT but his heir Silivaka'ifanga

¹⁸² The *quasi*-Sāmoan political system or the *matai* system.

Tupou Mohefo's dethronement of Fuatakifolaha¹⁸³ was just, therefore, an intuitive reaction typical of the *quasi*-Sāmoan political system of the TK government in which claims to paramount titles were considered legitimate as long as one had a strong case by rank and genealogy to back the claim or a successful challenge by one of the peers. This aspect of Sāmoan politics started to become the norm in the late 1600s and 1700s Tongan political practices, and was reminiscent of instances that had occurred in Sāmoa in the 1500s, such as in cases like Tupuivao versus Faumuina, Fonoti versus Toleafoa and Samala'ulu, Afoa versus Galumalemana and Nofosaefa versus I'amafana and many more (Henry 1992:162-191). However, this study finds that such a move eventually caused major imbalances in the flow of political correlation between the three dynasties (Martin 1827:201), especially the ignoring of services to the TT in the last hundred years of the tripartite dynastic coexistence (Gifford 1929:104). The imbalance manifested itself clearly in the abandonment of significant responsibilities expected of the junior dynasties TH and TK who were expected to maintain the ritual superiority of the TT line (Herda 1988:88; and Labillardiere 1800:350).

Eyewitnesses like George Vason who lived in Tonga between 1797-1802 and William Mariner who also lived Ulukalala from 1806 to 1810 (Urbanovicz 1977) noted that the organising and collection of manufactures and harvested produce for the 'Inasi festival, a duty of the *hau*, was in decline (Blanc 1934:6) on a nationwide scale during that period when the TK and his competing high chiefs were more interested in luring manpower for personal interest. In my view, the observation that the 'annual *Inasi* ceremony' was being partly deplored follows from the lack of support and interest in the Hikule'o religion in the mid-1700s (Herda 1988:88), from removal of this function from the original TH lines, and questions of who held legitimate authority over the producers, among other things (Martin 1827:201). In fact, the new TH dynasty (the line of Tu'ihoua from the TT line) did not have direct controlling authority (Herda 1988:91; Collocott 1927:25-26,43 and Bott 1982:114), nor did it have access to produce from growers who were loyal only to the *ha'a* Vaea and the *ha'a* Takalaua families, and it could not fully commit and achieve the expected task¹⁸⁴. This study therefore recognises the inability of the new TH kings to perform sacred functions without the advisors and national support that had been given to the original TH line. It is probable that the

¹⁸³ Pers Comm. HSH Prince Tu'ipelehake (Mailefihi), Nuku'alofa 2009.

¹⁸⁴ Pers Comm. HSH Prince Tu'i Pelehake (Mailefihi), Nuku'alofa 2009.

(original) TH kings had traditionally determined when the 'inasi would be held to accord with astronomical alignments, and the order to plant had to be planned to make sure that harvest of produce from land and sea coincided with the festival (Herda 1988:87-88; Gifford 1929:104).

Before I enter into serious discussion regarding the new identity of the TH, I must clarify one thing about its new role and rank in the mid-1700s and beyond. First, the rank of the TH dynasty diminished considerably after being absorbed into the orbit of the TK control where both dynasties were in the hands of one family – the TK dynasty. The general feeling received from commentators in the early contact times is that the TK appeared to be more important than the TH office (Campbell 1989:150). This is because Tupou Mohefo conferred the TH title on a junior member of the TK family and that act tells us that this powerful lady had placed the TH rank in a subordinate position below the rank of the TK as apolitical strategy to raise the status of the of the TK kingship. In this regard, I suggest, the significance of appointing Maealiuaki, younger brother of TK Tupoulahi, as the first TH in this line of kings (Campbell 1989:16) is not properly acknowledged in the written history of Tonga. This is a message that our understanding of the structure and ranking system of Tonga's governing paradigm in these later decades must be readjusted towards an alternative system that is more 'up to date' in order for us to have a fair perception of the extraordinary nature of the controlled change that had occurred¹⁸⁵. That is to say, that throughout the history of Tonga, especially in the tripartite era, there had been no case in which brothers could represent two dynasties as kings until that tradition started with Tupoulahi and his brother Maealiuaki in the eighteenth century (Bott 1982:84-85; fig 14 &16).

Tongans and non-Tongan scholars alike may not have noticed the uniqueness of this development because the royal titles of the TH and the TK were assigned by tradition with duties to perform (Gifford 1929:104), and those duties were given to groups who had direct lineage and estate connection to each kingship title. Family members carried out the duties of the TH (Bott 1982:113); the connections between the title and the

¹⁸⁵ It is important to point out the fact that the TH was and always be senior by contrast to that of the TK. Political power does not diminish the rank of the fore but the latter can be inferior in rank but simultaneously be the most powerful person politically. The confusion is traceable to the fact that individuals from one family have access to both titles at different times.

people were almost religious by nature; and what bound the two together was authority¹⁸⁶. It is therefore necessary to understand that a TH from a different line or another dynasty would not be accepted easily, as authority is generated meaningfully through blood connections where title and people belong to one another as to one family¹⁸⁷. There is the further issue of the rank of the titles; for while the TK was politically more important within the circle of the *ha'a* Ngata and *ha'a* Havea families, the inclusion of the TH into that circle, would appear to have made it the lesser title, as it was given to a younger brother whose descendants would be junior kinsmen within the TK lineage. This created a contradiction that was irreconcilable, since inescapably the founding TH held genealogical seniority over the founding TK, while the *quasi*-Sāmoan political system that governed Tonga at the time conferred the TH title on a junior brother, Maealiuaki (Herda 1988:97), leaving the lower TK title with his elder brother Tupou Lahi. We must not be blind to the fact that the power, which buttressed the strength and authority of the TK, was now determining the rank of the kingship titles. We should also observe that those who inherited the TH title would in time build their own court and division would inevitably follow. This is when the political rank of the TK asserted itself as the dominant title, as we shall shortly see.¹⁸⁸

The merging of the two kingship dynasties into one political family was a mistake from a political standpoint. First, responsibility for one dynasty is affordable for its people to manage, but the additional responsibility for supporting a second would be too difficult for one family to accommodate. Second, hosting two dynasties by one family may have given an edge politically but it could not cross other boundaries¹⁸⁹. The actual *ha'a* Takalaua family would not cooperate willingly with the people who controlled their kingship title and what naturally happened next was reorganising themselves as a separate unit without traditional commitment to the holder of the estranged TH title, especially as it was taken by force and without their mandate. At the said period, the *ha'a* Takalaua chiefs of the *ha'a* Vaea - Talia'uli (head), Luani, Fotofili, Fuimaono and Fakafanua - reconsolidated their stance as a political force by building rival dynasty

¹⁸⁶ Pers Comm. Hon. Fusitu'a (Alokuo'ulu), Talalosia 2009.

¹⁸⁷ Pers Comm. Hon. Fusitu'a and Hon. Fielakepa (Aleamotu'a), Kolomotu'a 2009.

¹⁸⁸ In assessing the information collected by John Thomas in his interviews with the last Tamaha ('Amelia Jane), Ian Campbell is convinced that Tupoulahi and Maealiuaki were both installed with the TK title first before being bestowed with the TH title in their retirement age while Mumui was possibly bestowed with the TH before he became TK. (Campbell 1992).

¹⁸⁹ Pers Comm. Uho-'o-Lototonga (Siaosi 'Ahio), 2012 (Pea).

packing Tuituiohu against his uncle Vuna I, the Tu'i Vava'u. Vuna was the very person sent by the Ha'amea chiefs of the Ha'a Havea to crush them in the first place and their candidate Tuituiohu had been an important member of Vuna's entourage as his *le'okava* 'guardian of the Kava protocol' (Latukefu 1974:12) The TK family would have found themselves cornered with too many responsibilities, and the only way out was to neglect traditional obligations such as the *Inasi* with the outcome that its existence as a political force atrophied.

This is my interpretation of the clues that caused the eventual split amongst the descendants of Ma'afu'out'itonga and the emergence of *hau* as warlords, recalling that the original *hau* had been the foremen of the TT.

The split within the TK family in the mid 1700s exposes the fact that centralised rule was no longer the guiding spirit of the tripartite system. Political power was being concentrated in territorial authorities that were predominantly controlled by descendants of the *ha'a* Havea chiefs. The *hau* became the focus of the leading chiefs and that reality was commonly shared all over Tonga at the time. The *ha'a* Vaea of the *ha'a* Takalaua line had built themselves a stronghold in Vava'u without political ties to any of the three dynasties (Bott 1982)¹⁹⁰. They could do this because their kingship title was no longer in their possession. At the same time the holders of the TH kingship Maealiuaki, his son Mulikiha'amea, and his younger brother Mumui, could not establish a separate administration for the TH dynasty from within their own people, as they were shuffling both the TH and TK titles amongst themselves and passing the titles along the generation instead of directly down to a senior descendant (Bott 1982: Fig.3).

With the TH title being isolated from its patrilineal origin, where each family professed certain function, duty or responsibility in a hereditary capacity, its link with the Ha'a Takalaua seems to have been discontinued permanently. Evidence of this unfortunate breakdown is indicated by the observation that the *ha'a* Takalaua did nothing after the humiliation of Tongatangakitaulupekifolaha (the TH appointed by the TT) by the sons of TK Mataeleha'amea who took their sister Fusipala, his principal wife, by force and married her to TP Fisilaumali, a lowborn but very powerful chief of Pelehake. Bott has

¹⁹⁰ Pers Comm. HSH Prince Tu'i Pelehake (Mailefihi), June 2011 (Halaleva). He is a direct descendant of Tungi Halatuituia (head of the Ha'a Takalaua line pronounced in the 1875 Constitution).

described the scene (Bott 1982:138). The overt reason cited from oral tradition is that the Ha'atakalaua husband was a paramount chief who had no political significance and the implication taken by western historians is that Tongatangakitaulupe had no real power or people to serve him. However, we can be certain that this story has become famous in Tonga, not simply because Fusipala was broken-hearted but because it encapsulates an event that resonates politically. The covert message of the account may be that Tongatangakitaulupe's high ranking patrilineage were trying to build a rival court or at least a new establishment independent of both the *ha'a* Takalaua and the *ha'a* Vaea.

Returning to a further examination of Tupou Mohefo's strategy. First I noted, TK Tupoulahi could have kept the TH title for himself but his daughter, Tupou Mohefo, gave it to her father's full (younger) brother Maelialuaki. Perhaps her intention was to eliminate the half-brothers as potential contenders for the TH title, as they might have strong support through their maternal connections. Then perhaps her scheme was for the TH dynasty to become an inheritance of Maelialuaki's line only so that the title would always be in the hands of a junior line and be subordinate to the senior branch of the TK lineage which she and her brother were heir to.

Second, by the time the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua title was conferred on the highborn Tongatangakitaulupekifolaha from the Tu'i Tonga line (Bott 1982), the balance of power was not seriously affected for the title did not carry political responsibility with it, but it was a different story after the TK line usurped the title from his son Fuatakifolaha sometime before 1750 (Bott 1982).¹⁹¹ The bulk of the *ha'a* Takalaua clans who became unemployed, so to speak, with the loss of the TH title, from the fact that their services were either given to others or were discontinued altogether in the process, would then have possessed degrees of liberty to pursue other matters that interested them politically and to organise their people for other endeavours. In fact they took an interest in supporting Tuituihu (a son of Talaumote'emoa, daughter of Luani [Bott 1982:141] one of the Ha'atakalaua chiefs and of TK Mataeleha'amea) and made him a rival leader on the doorstep of Vuna's new dynasty in Vava'u, the chief he was supposed to serve. It is said that Fusipala (daughter of Mataeleha'amea);

¹⁹¹ Fuatakifolaha is said to have been Tu'i Ha'atakalaua in the first half of the 1700s, a claim supported in this thesis.

“... “officially took upon herself” the right to depose a chief called Vuna as “governor” of Vava’u, appointing her brother Tuituiohu instead; she did this while her brother Ma’afu-‘o-tu’itonga was Tu’i Kanokupolu, not in the reign of her father” (Bott 1982:76)

My thesis is that Tupou Mohefo, far from interfering in Tongan politics, was acting on the model of a Sāmoan *sa’o tama’ita’i* with the objective of bringing Tonga’s three kingship titles into the one person, her son. This thesis is suggested by an observation made by Vason around 1800 that Fuanunuiava, son of TT Pau and Tupou Mohefo, was expecting to be selected for the Tu’i Kanokupolu title. In the event the kingship was given to Finau Tuku’aho, son of Mumui (Orange 1840: see also Latukefu 1974:13)

Following then, it was possibly TK Mumui who deposed his nephew Mulikiha’amea of the TH title and bestowed it on his grandson Toafunaki.¹⁹² This view is well supported and it is mentioned in a number of reliable works (Thomas 1879:177,191; Bott 1982:152 fig 30 and Campbell 1982:187). In fact, the act may have been well intentioned. Mulikiha’amea was the eldest son of Maealiuaki and there was a pretext for Mumui to nominate Mulikiha’amea as his preferred TK successor (Thomas 1879:181; also, Herda 1988:107) as a way of returning the TK title to the senior line while Mumui’s offspring would keep the higher rank) TH title. Imagining that Mumui was bestowed with the TH prior to his accession to the TK title, and that the higher orthodox ranking of the TH over the TK was recognised, Mumui may have preferred to keep the TH in his line while returning the TK title to the senior lines of Tupoulahi and Maealiuaki. Support for the nomination of Mulikiha’amea was in fact twofold. First, he was a son of a TH/TK Maealiuaki who was a full brother of TK/TH Tupoulahi and they belonged to one royal house (Thomas 1879:181). Second, it was a consolation for deposing him from the TH title earlier on. For Mumui to bestow the TH on his grandson Toafunaki does suggest that Mumui preferred to keep the TH title in his family possibly for its value and rank.

Laufilitonga was the 39th and last TT who must marry a *mohefo* in order to be officially installed to the TT office. Taufa’ahau chose his own sister, the daughter of TK Tupouto’a who has wished this marriage to happen during his lifetime (Gunson 1979:47; Campbell 1989:161). Taufa’ahau was not a TK at the time, just the ruler of

¹⁹² Toafunaki was Halaevalu Mata’aho’s son from a previous marriage with the THT.

Ha'apai and Vava'u and not till later crowned in 1845 King George Tupou 1st (Campbell 1989:163).

The demise of the Tu'i Tonga dynasty:

As already mentioned in chapter 9, the special status of the Tu'i Kanokupolu's eldest daughter was cemented as legitimate principal wife for the Tu'i Tonga. This was instigated by the Mataeleha'amea initiative that was enacted in the mid-1600s and two of his daughters were the founding figures of the '*mohefo*' tradition. Halaevalumohefo was the first in line who married TT Tu'ipulotu 1st and her sister Tongotea was next as principal wife of TT Fakana'ana'a the adopted son of her eldest sister (Bott 1982:12; figure 1). In an ongoing tradition, Tupou Mohefo was a third-generation maiden of that exclusive custom and as the eldest daughter of TK Tupoulahi she was to be principal wife of the heir apparent to the TT title (Bott 1982:29). To recapitulate the key points here. The fact that Alaivahamama'o and Ma'ulupekotofa were overlooked (Bott 1982:100), as heirs to the sacred title, tells us how seriously Mataeleha'amea controlled all aspects relating to the matrimonial affairs of the TT line. Alaivahamama'o was a son of Vuna I's daughter Tu'ilokamana, a *mohefo* (Bott 1982:99). I believe Tu'ilokamana to have been replaced after the death of Vuna I, which would have left Alaivahamama'o, in spite of his high birth, without political support to promote his legitimacy. According to Bott, Alaivahamama'o died in childhood but she offered no source or reference to that effect (1982:100) and the genealogies collected by the Tonga Tradition Committee in 1959 attest to his descendants. The Vuna line did not have enough resources or power to hold on to the TK title, let alone help a grandson claim the sacred title.

Alaivahamama'o's next brother Ma'ulupekotofa was ruled out for TT, at least in my view, because his wife Mo'unga'olakepa had sacred rank as the daughter of Tu'i Lakepa Latunipulu (Bott 1982:31), who met Cook in 1773. That meant Tupou Mohefo would not be able to replace her as principal wife and even if she becomes principal wife, Mo'ungaolakepa's son would outrank Tupoumohefo's descendants. The nomination of the younger brother Pau, I must argue, was the only way of denying Ma'ulupekotofa's candidacy. Pau's mother Laumanukilupe was a *fokonofa* and daughter of Tupouto'a the younger brother of TK Ma'afu'otu'itonga (Bott 1982:12; figure 1), making Pau lower in

status for his mother was not a *moheofo*. Gunson views Pau's appointment to the TT title (and Campbell does also) as being merited by his strength as a warrior and he must have earned the right to the office through challenge (Campbell 1992:40) but oral tradition says nothing of this. If that was so, who did he challenge, when and where. There is no evidence whatsoever to support such assumption. Instead, Pau's appointment to the TT kingship appears to be manufactured by other means, as this study suggests. For the son of a *fokonofa* to be installed TT is in principle an insult to the dignity of the sacred Tu'i Tonga kingship and the *falefa*, as guardians, would not have consented to it, which suggests they were powerless to alter commands given by the TK. Tupou Moheofo married Pau and he was elevated to the sacred position even though Alaivahamama'o and Ma'ulupekotofa had sons who would have succeeded under the regime of the Falefa.

The last three TT married daughters of TK Mumui in order to be installed TT. The TT kingship had become a prize of the TK.

The demonstration that the Tu'i Kanokupolu could decide who should become Tu'i Tonga, as exhibited in the case of TT Pau (Ilaiu 2007), has entered the oral tradition (an indication that oral tradition has a different focus). Written history likewise echoes this apparent blindness. This study has examined a number of historical circumstances in which deviations from orthodox traditions are exposed and has suggested the configurations that have allowed these swerves to come about. We can use a few further examples.

First, after Pau's death possibly in 1886 TK Mumui manufactured the selection of Ma'ulupekotofa to succeed to the title of the TT kingship (Campbell 1989:186; Thomas 1879:1,91). Even though Ma'ulupekotofa had a highborn principal wife, he was required to marry a lower ranking daughter of a TK in order to be instated as TT. A daughter of TK Mumui was therefore given as his *moheofo*.

Second, Pau's son Fuanunuiava had already married Tupoufalemei¹⁹³, a daughter of TK Tu'ihalafatai the son of TK Tupoulahi, and she had the apparent credentials to be his

¹⁹³ According Bott, she was a *moheofo* (1982:187)

moheofo when he became TT, but a younger daughter of Mumui, the incumbent TK, was given as Fuanunuiava's *moheofo* before installing him to the sacred kingship.

A third example to demonstrate that the TT was at the mercy of the TK in terms of who should be appointed to the TT title, is the case of TT Laufilitonga who was given as *moheofo* a sister, of the man who defeated him in the Velata war of 1826, who already have a child (Toafunaki) from a previous marriage (Latukefu 1974:90). This was an insult in a number of ways. First, the man was Taufa'ahau who later became King George Tupou I, but in 1826 he was not TK and not even a contender for the TK title. Secondly, Taufa'ahau took Lupepau'u the intended wife of Laufilitonga by force and made her his principal wife (Latukefu 1974). There may have been several purposes. On the one hand, Lupepau'u was the eldest daughter of Makamalohi son of THT Fa'otusia (Bott 1982:87, figure 18). He was the highest ranked chief in the Tongan socio-religious hierarchy, the "*Tama tauhala*". Obviously, Lupepau'u would have out-ranked Halaevalu Mata'aho and Taufa'ahau would not want his sister to be in that awkward situation. But further, should he marry the highest ranked lady in Tonga then his successors were guaranteed both status and rank on top of his political position. Denying TT Laufilitonga the hand of Lupepau'u was the only means of eliminating the chance for the TT to re-establish his spiritual superiority again (Rabone 1839; 14th May Journal, cited by Latukefu 1974:90), for if that should happen moral support in the Kingdom would surely rekindle hope of the TT rebuilding its strength and political influence.

Fragmentation and territorialism:

Since the inception of the secular TK dynasty in about 1550 AD (Ilaiu 2007), the *hau* had remained its basic responsibility, which the first three holders of the title served dutifully according to principles of the tripartite coexistence. It is fair to say that the bipartite era was indeed peaceful and orderly as suggested by oral tradition (Latukefu 1974 and Rutherford 1977). The *hau* had ruled Tonga in the absence of the TT for almost two centuries without aspiring to overtake the sacred authority, as discussed in Chapter 9. The surprise return of TT Tapu'osi from Sāmoa around 1520 AD (my dating) opened up rooms for certain changes to take place such as the creation of the TH

dynasty,¹⁹⁴ the formation of a new *hau* line (TK dynasty), and the eventual establishment of the tripartite system of government. The foundation of the new system was more elaborate than the bipartite system. Now that the TT was re-established once again on Tongan soil and the old *hau* line had been elevated to kingship status (according to this study) and with a new *hau* office founded to take over the secular responsibility of serving the TT. The tripartite system entered a real relationship based particularly on *fatongia* or traditional duties and services organised to uphold in recognition of rank and status minus political power.

The ‘golden age’ in the history of Tonga can be referred to the era following the establishment of ‘tripartite system’ of government (Bott 1982:99). For Phyllis Herda, the golden age ‘...began during the tripartite rule of Tu’i Tonga Fakana’ana’a, Tu’i Ha’atakalaua Kafoamotalau and Tu’i Kanokupolu Vuna.’ (1988:86), but such assertions seem to be contradicted by events occurring at the time (roughly 1670 AD). In fact, Kafoa in vying for the TH title, waged two wars against his highborn half-brother Moeakiola first, which was unsuccessful and then with his uncle Tatafu in his second attempt. This is hardly an image suitable for describing a nostalgic and peaceful time. To be more realistic, I would rather place this so-called ‘golden age’ one hundred years earlier during the reigns of TT Fatafehi, TH Fotofili and TK Ngata, even to the reign of Atamata’ila and Mataeletu’apiko. Peace was real for three generations after the establishment of the tripartite system until the Kafoa wars and the ambitious territorial expansion of TK Mataeleha’amea (Gifford 1929:87,277), namely the destruction of Ha’amea (Herda 1988:78).

The new *hau* or TK served the needs of the TT and attended to other secular responsibilities that involved preparation and collection of mandatory produce required for important national rituals and sacred ceremonies (Herda 1988:87; Maude 1965:55). The TH had a supervisory role in the process and the TT also had a part to play, which was mainly to reciprocate the rendered services by blessing the junior TH and TK dynasties with his younger daughters as principal wives (Bott 1982 figures 1, 2, 17, 22). The eldest daughters were married to foreign chiefs, falelisi (Bott 1982 figures 4, 5, 6, and 9). I can safely say that after one hundred years of the three houses intermarrying

¹⁹⁴ As argued throughout this study, the TH dynasty sprang into existence during the reign of the 6th *hau* Mo’ungatonga as opposed to the view that Mo’ungamotu’a was the 1st TH around 1350.

each other the tripartite relationship had managed to produce cohesion and peaceful coexistence. Then the third TK made a giant leap by marrying the first *Tamaha*, so acquiring a wife who outranked the daughters of the TT (Bott 1982:36; Herda 1988:69).

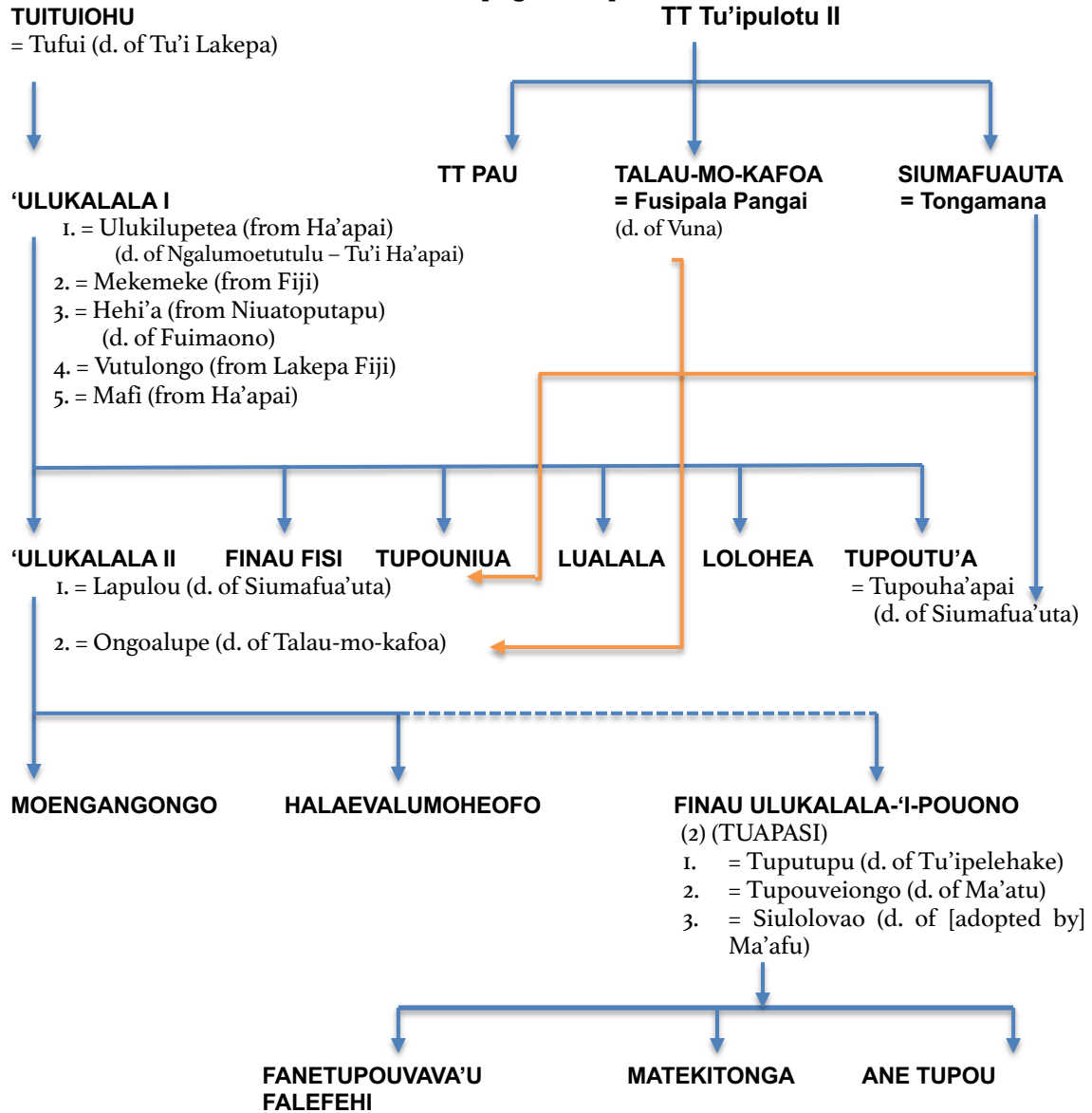
The second hundred years of the tripartite system were not so orderly. The TH line was gradually disintegrating due to wars of succession between the half-brothers Kafoa and Moeakiola (Herda 1988:85) and between Kafoa and his uncle Tatafu (Bott 1982:112), as mentioned above and discussed in detail in Chapter 9. These wars had ideological causes as primogeniture was replaced by status as the new prerequisite for succession to the title. Earlier, TK Mataeleha'amea had attempted to usurp the TH title from Vaea but was prevented by his father TK Mataeletu'apiko (Herda 1988:78). Mataeleha'amea was installed TK in a rather controversial way as his senior brothers especially Vuna had contested his legitimacy (Bott 1982:133). He emerged as a ruthless warrior who became excessively militaristic and despotic especially towards his mother's people (Herda 1988:78). I believe that his father's interference in his quest to take over the TH, and the serious contestation that occurred between him and his older full brothers over the title, would have had an effect on his total approach to things. His invasion of Ha'amea the dominion of his grandfather, the legendary Lo'au the Tu'i Ha'amea, was deliberate and brutal and the reason for the action is still a mystery today (Herda 1988:78). This study leans towards the possibility that the people of Ha'amea would have supported the cause of his senior sibling and Mulikiha'amea would have seen annihilation as the only way to ensure he was not challenged again.

To recapitulate once more, when TK Vuna died, his son Vuna Ngata did not succeed him, and when the daughter of the incoming Tu'i Kanokupolu married the same Tu'i Tonga it was she who would be made the new *moheofo*. Vuna and his brother Mataeleha'amea were already each building their own *kainga* and rivalry between the two was imminent. The fact that they were full brothers, and both had been installed Tu'i Kanokupolu (Bott 1982:14; fig. 3) did not guarantee peaceful continuity because competitive selection of successor under the *quasi*- Sāmoan system was a recipe for uneasy relationship or complete disaster (details in Henry 1992 and Kramer 1994). Major lineages within the *ha'a* Havea confederation would eventually be divided as support for one camp or the other became hostile. As it happened, the *ha'a* **Havea si'i** (Bott 1982:125; fig. 12, 21) in Vava'u was supporting the Vuna dynasty while the *ha'a*

Havea Lahi of Tongatapu were loyal to Mataeleha'amea's lineage (Bott 1982:75; fig.12). This shows that division was developing within the Tu'i Kanokupolu lineages already. Even though Vuna had built his own separate territory in the northern group of islands as Tu'i Vava'u before he succeeded his brother as Tu'i Kanokupolu, he was not an absolute ruler even of the Vava'u group. This was because Talaumote'emoa, one of the wives of TK Mataeleha'amea, was a daughter of Luani Lahi a high chief of the Ha'a Vaea, the only sub branch of the Ha'a Takalaua lineage established in Vava'u who were hard to subdue.¹⁹⁵ The issue from that union was Tuituiohu who went to Vava'u at the same time that Vuna asserted himself ruler of the group of islands. Obviously because of Talaumote'emoa, the support of the Ha'a Takalaua was given to Tuituiohu and not Vuna, although it is said that the original purpose was for Tuituiohu to serve as Vuna's *le'okava* (Latukefu 1974:12). This was the beginning of rivalry between the Vuna family and the descendants of Tuituiohu for political supremacy in Vava'u. It is important to know that the offspring of Vuna and Mataeleha'amea are not included in the *ha'a* Havea as both were installed kings.

¹⁹⁵ The Ha'a Vaea chiefs (Talia'uli (head of the Ha'a) at Longomapu, Luani at Tefisi, Fakafanua at Nga'akau, Falekaono at Tu'anuku) occupied the entire Hihifo district.

[Figure 29.]



In Tongatapu division among the Tu'i Kanokupolu family in general and especially the Ha'a Havea in particular, became clear. Hence, TK Tupoulahi and his brother Maealiuaki left Ha'amea and moved to Mu'a, the traditional seat of the TH dynasty, for they also held the both the TK and TH during their lifetime. Their half-brother Mumui established himself well at Nuku'alofa (Bott 1982:146), Northwest of the main Island of Tongatapu. Mumui was the "Old Tupou" who met Cook's party in 1777 (Bott 1982:49-50), and the "King Tupou" who received d'Entrecasteaux's party in 1793 (Campbell 1989:150). Ha'a Ngata control over kingship succession had ended after the reign of TK Mataeletu'apiko and now the *ha'a* Ngata at Hihifo could only observe the activities developing among the offspring of the *ha'a* Havea holders of the Tu'i Kanokupolu title,

especially in measuring each other's political maneuvers (Bott 1982:137-140). As a process, political fragmentation came to fruition after the creation of minor political families like the *ha'a* Havea si'i and the *ha'a* Ngata Tupu from Tuituiohu's line in Vava'u (Bott 1982:40) in addition to the already fragile stance between the main centres of the *ha'a* Ngata in Hihifo and the *ha'a* Havea Lahi at Ha'amea in Tongatapu.

By around 1750 Ma'afu'otu'itonga's line had in their possession two of the three royal titles of Tonga, the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and the Tu'i Kanokupolu (Bott 1982:14). This is, in my view, the main catalyst that brought about the great imbalance in the political relationship between the three dynasties in the last hundred years of the tripartite era. In turn the imbalance led to neglect of the customary duties, usually performed by the junior dynasties (Herda 1988:87) in recognition of the TT's religious authority. For example, '*Inasi* was presented in honours of the god Hikule'o i.e. produce of the sea as well as the agriculture yields, a tribute normally sent by TK to the TH then the TH sent it to the TT (Herda 1988:88) while *polopolo* were first fruits presented for local chiefs (Martin 1827:201) "... the entire harvest of certain items such as *kahokaho* variety of yams and turtles and pigs over a certain size, were exclusively reserved for the chiefs." (Martin 1827:20; Gifford 1929:104 and Labillardiere 1800:350). Instead, Chiefs redeployed their resources to gain political advantage over each other as the unifying sacred social fabric fractured.

To recapitulate again, a couple of decades before Captain Cook visited in 1773 the Tu'i Kanokupolu line without doubt controlled Tonga politically. One of the proofs that explicitly confirm this political reality was the rather forceful abolishment of the *ma'itaki* tradition in which only the daughters of the TH and highborn Sāmoan *taupou* were exclusively given as principal wives for the TT (Rutherford 1977:30). I have argued in chapter 7 that the reason for the initial action by TK Mataeleha'amea was to guarantee the destiny of his daughter Halaevalumohefo in becoming the principal wife of the Tu'i Tonga and to be the mother of the heir to the sacred title. Such a move marked the end of the *ma'itaki* tradition. Toa, the daughter of TH Vaea was the last *ma'itaki* and her son (with TT Uluakimata II) Tu'ipulotu 1st was given the first *mohefo* from the TK (Rutherford 1977:30).

TK Tupoulahi (the 7th holder of the title) in the 1750s also demonstrated some kind of arbitrary authority, I believe, in directing the *falefa* to install Paulaho as Tu'i Tonga instead of his high-ranking older brothers Alaivahamama'o and Ma'ulupekotofa. The fact that the Falefa of the TT did not voice any objection or showed retaliatory action against this decision confirms my strong conviction on the issue.

With the support of the Tu'i Kanokupolu branch of the Ha'a Havea in the 1750's before Cook's first visit, Tupou Mohefo, principal wife of TT Pau, dethroned her cousin TH Fuatakifolaha (Bott 1982) as already mentioned and bestowed the title on her uncle Maealiuaki while Tupoulahi was the existing Tu'i Kanokupolu. This is interesting because I believe her motive was to prepare the way for conferring the Tu'i Kanokupolu title on her brother Tu'ihalafatai (Cook's Finau). Maealiuaki was a full brother of TK Tupoulahi but the prospect of seeing the *ha'a* Havea give full support to her uncle may have been taken by Tupou Mohefo as a threat to her own plans. In doing so, she deposed Maealiuaki from his position as TK in order accomplish to her task (Campbell 1989:185).

The Hau bug bites:

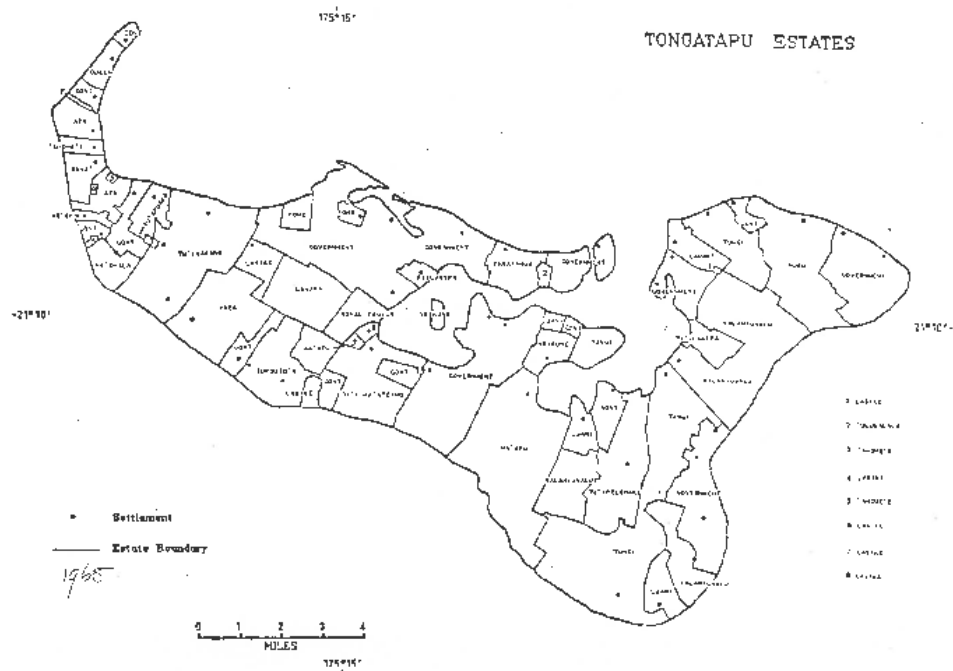
The status and rank of the TK suffered tremendously following the political crisis instigated by Tupou Mohefo in the mid-1700s when warlords contended for the political authority that had been in the possession of the *hau* since TK Mataeleha'amea (Gunson 1982, Herda 1988, and Campbell 1989). As this process materialised towards the end of the 1700s the TK title became less significant with regard to power and authority and for a time was no longer recognised (Thomas 1879:149 and Campbell 1989:155-156).

As things turned out, candidates and heirs were hesitated (mostly with guilty conscience) to claim the title especially from 1800 to 1827 after the assassination of TK Tuku'aho in 1799. Among those were some of his brothers who conspired with the assassins, Ulukalala and Tupouniua, due to jealousy. They fled to Fiji and returned four years later (1804) when civil unrests were settled down. A list given by Campbell (1989:157) shows that most of the returnees were possible candidates and heirs for the TK title. They were Tu'ipulotu, Ulakai, Hafokame'e, Tupoumalohi, Niupalavu, Tupoufutuna and Mafile'o (Campbell 1989:157). One of these returnees Tupoumalohi put in a claim to the title (Campbell 1989:158-159) and the rest obviously gave no support for his cause¹⁹⁶. The TK title was no longer the prized commodity sought by high chiefs aspiring to political supremacy. The reason is that the centralised system had ceased to exist and political division had become the new reality. For example, the title was not bestowed on anyone after the death of Ma'afu'olimulua of the '*ha'a* Havea Lahi' in 1800. He is remembered for being made TK for one day and being murdered on the night of his investiture (Gifford 1929:90; Bott 1982:135; see also Campbell 1989:156). Six years after, Tupoumalohi came back to Tonga from Fiji and expressed a strong interest in reviving the title (Thomas 1879:180-6). According to oral tradition (Campbell 1989:159) the *ha'a* Ngata made him TK (Latukefu 1974:18). Without real allies to support his cause he was vulnerable in Tongatapu. No fort seemed to welcome him as each had its own independent leader and Takai of Pea reminded Tupoumalohi of that matter (Latukefu 1974:18). He made an effort to attach himself to a fort of Fohe in Puke, but he was uncomfortable there for only some of his brothers gave their support.

¹⁹⁶ Pers. Comm. Futa Helu, 2006 Atenisi.

Tupoumalohi decided to build their own fort on the hill now known as Sia-ko-Veiongo where TK Mumui had had his reception ground (Latukefu 1974:18).

Table 5.



After being defeated by Ulukalala 'i Feletoa in 1807 and realising that he was holding onto a title that no chief in Tongatapu cared to support, he took voluntary exile in Ha'apai where his nephew Tupouto'a lived under Ulukālala's influence (Campbell 1989:159). Tupoumalohi relinquished the title in favour of his nephew Tupouto'a and abandoned his bid for kingship (Latukefu 1974:19; Campbell 1989:160) anticipating that since they were half-brothers Ulukalala would support Tupouto'a and make the TK powerful again. But Ulukalala died in 1810 and Tupouto'a would have to face the Tongatapu chiefs alone should he assert himself for official recognition for after all he was seen as a traitor (Dumont d'Urville 1832:95 and Thomas 1879:275) for his association with their enemy 'Ulukalala.

Obviously, the rise of warlords as independent rulers such as Vaha'i in Tongatapu, and Ulukalala in the Vava'u group and in Ha'apai, had left no incentive for anyone to vie for the unwanted TK title (Campbell 1989). This is because the *hau* bug had severely bitten Tonga in a way dissimilar to the original purpose it was created for. Instead of serving the TT as temporal ruler, the *hau* had now become an absolute sovereign. By the year 1800 there were a number of independent territories with territorial kings as *hau* in the name of Tu'i Vava'u, Tu'i Ha'apai and Tu'i Niua or just as *hau* in the case of Tongatapu. During 53 years of civil war the *quasi*-Sāmoan system changed the original function of the *hau* office into a major force more powerful than the political king, the TK (Ilaiu 2007).

53 Years of Civil War

With the exception of Pea, although modern historians regard it as a *ha'a* Havea stronghold by Gifford 1929, Latukefu 1974, Gunson 1979, Campbell 1982, 1992 and Bott 1982 at least, the rest of the territories taken by warlords as *hau* on the eve of the 19th century were under the orbit of the TK dynasty. The *ha'a* Havea si'i and *ha'a* Ngata Tupu in Vava'u headed by Ulukalala II and Vuna Tu'i'oetau, also the *ha'a* Ngata Motu'a in Hihifo headed by Ata Fisi'ihoi, and the *ha'a* Havea Lahi at Ha'amea headed by Ma'afu Kumaikuvalu were all TK entities, as was Vaha'i of the *ha'a* Latuhifo who had become *hau* of Tongatapu after defeating Ulukalala's allies and coalition forces in the avenging war (*Taufakalelema* - battle of chasing fowls) in 1800 (Collocott 1928:91).

In 1799 Mulikiha'amea was left to die in the Ha'ateiho war against the Hihifo forces led by Ata Telai'afitu, removing the hope that he would become TK (Orange 1840:163). Ulukalala at the time was not yet *hau* in the north but he registered himself as the first real *hau* in the new form of territorial leadership where a warlord asserted himself through show of strength and most importantly in a firm declaration of 'self-rule'. The *hau* in this sense did not recognise the authority of the TK as a political office nor even respect the status of both the TT and the TH. This stance was exercised in the administrative policy of the Ulukalala dominions in Ha'apai and Vava'u. Included in the policy was the abolition of the annual *Inasi* presentation to the TT, which came into full force during the reign of Moengangongo son of Ulukalala II in 1810 (Martin 1927, II, Ch. 2, Campbell 1989:160).

This development happened after a number of battles against the sympathizers of the dead king Tuku'aho. Ulukalala was victorious in the first engagement and decided to attack Ha'apai and Vava'u after installing a white pig as TK at Mu'a in Tongatapu in 1800 (Blanc 1934:28). According to Vason, the Ha'apai group submitted to Ulukalala after a heavy assault on the island of Nomuka while Vava'u made no resistance at all and its Governor Vuna II vacated his seat and headed to Sāmoa (Latukefu 1974:16). Meanwhile, Ulukalala committed himself to rearranging political positions in the northern territory. He named himself ruler of Ha'apai and placed his half-brother Tupouniua as governor of Vava'u (Campbell 1989:156). Possibly he wanted to stay close to Tuku'aho's son Tupouto'a who resided in Ha'apai with his mother's people. It was important for Ulukalala to even up the score with Tupouto'a by conspiring to end Tupouniua's life (Latukefu 1974:20-21).

At this brief interval, Vaha'i the high chief of Fo'ui took the lead from Hihifo to avenge Tuku'aho's death (Campbell 1989:157) and the heavy defeat that the Hihifo army had faced under Ata's leadership in the first avenging battle against Ulukalala's allies in 1799 (Campbell 1989:155). Vaha'i won a decisive victory over Ulukālala's northern army in the Eastern part of Tongatapu. He annihilated the enemy and piled them up unburied for Ulukalala to witness should he return (Campbell 1989:156). After this battle, Vaha'i was recognised as *hau* of Tongatapu but he did not live long. Takai of Pea decided to challenge Vaha'i's successor Teukava for the *hau* position vacated by Vaha'i. Teukava was killed during the showdown between the two at Te'ekiu and now Takai became the undisputed *hau* of Tongatapu (Thomas 1879:222).

Takai was a direct descendant of TH Moeakiola, son of *Tamaha* Simuoko (Burley 2005:94) whose residence *Ma'anaga* (the present village of Pea) had been handed down by the Tu'i Ha'ateiho for her offspring. TH Moeakiola was Takai's great grandfather through his father Tatafununumoveisini the son of Moeakiola II and Pule daughter of Ve'ehala (Etueni Tupou genealogy and Losaline Fatafehi genealogy). Tatafununumoveisini's wife Na'a'uli was the daughter of Lavaka from Fualu. Moeakiola II was the son of TH Moeakiola from one of his *kitetama* Latutama. Takai was a childhood friend of Ulukalala II (Campbell 1989:158) and now they were both *hau*, which was to make them potential enemies of each other.

Ulukalala was devastated on hearing of the ferocity and cruelty of Vaha'i's vengeance (Orange 1840:186; cited by Latukefu 1974:17). He assembled a huge army from Vava'u and Ha'apai and for the attack on Tongatapu he brought with them guns from the British privateer vessel *Port au Prince*, which he had captured at Lifuka in 1804 (Latukefu 1974:20). Added to his dismay was the conferment of the TK title, though reluctantly, on Tupoumalohi son of Mumui by the *ha'a* Ngata in 1806. The fact that Ulukālala's choice for the title Mulikiha'amea was already dead in 1799 made him despise the nomination of Tupoumalohi to the TK title. Tupoumalohi had been Tu'i Ha'apai at the time of Tuku'aho's assassination but he had fled to Fiji when Ulukalala raided Ha'apai in 1799 (Martin 1927:140,302; Thomas 'History', 150; Campbell 1989:156).

The northern army (*tautahi*) first attacked the Nuku'alofa fort (Sia ko Vaiongo), which had been built by Tupoumalohi the new Tu'i Kanokupolu (Campbell 1989:158). It is for that reason that the fort was targeted. The *tautahi* and their guns bombarded the fort inflicting heavy damage on the foundations of the hill though with minimal loss of lives for the defenders had abandoned the fort after feeling the waves of the cannonballs (ibid 1989). William Mariner and his comrades were instrumental in that victory. Ulukalala decided to rebuild the fort as his base in the main island and entrusted it to his friend Takai the *hau* of Tongatapu to look after while he was away (Martin 1827:93,338; Campbell 1989:58).

As soon as Ulukalala had left the beach on his way to Ha'apai, Takai burnt down the fortress (Latukefu 1974:20) as a way of informing Ulukalala that he was the *hau* of Tongatapu.

Now the conspiracy to murder Tupouniua kept Ulukalala busy in Ha'apai (Campbell 1989:158). As things turned out, Tupouniua was lured to Ha'apai on false pretenses, although he was aware of his fate beforehand but as sign of a true hero, he went along with it¹⁹⁷, and Tupouto'a clubbed him to death unarmed in avenging his father's death. The scheme was soon surfaced and the angry chiefs of Vava'u built forts in anticipating the return of Ulukalala so that they avenge the cold-blooded murder of their beloved leader Tupouniua (Campbell 1989:158). Vava'u was well prepared for the arrival of

¹⁹⁷ Pers. Comm. Futa Helu, 'Atenisi (Tonga).

Ulukalala and his Ha'apai forces but trickery prevailed in the end. As the war broke out as expected the Feletoa fort was impregnable and that prolonged the conflict to the extent that truce seemed to be the only answer. Ulukalala treacherously overthrew his chiefly relatives from Feletoa (Gunson 1977:99-101, Latukefu 1974:20) by falsely proposing a peace talk at Makave (capital of Vava'u at the time) where the chiefs were captured after taking their seats in the Kava circle and then brutally murdered. His closest relatives Luani Naufahu, Fulivai among others were drowned alive in leaky canoes (Martin 1827:98, Latukefu 1974:17). That victory made Ulukalala II undisputed *hau* of both Ha'apai and Vava'u, but he never made it to Tongatapu to settle the score with Takai for he was occupied with further troubles in Ha'apai until his death in 1809 (Latukefu 1974:20). Perhaps, he was scared of Takai or since Tupouniua had been killed, there was no warrior brave enough among his generals to face Takai in a public challenge to single combat for such show of personal strength became an important element in modern warfare during the 1700s.

Following the death of Ulukalala, Tupouto'a became the undisputed ruler of Ha'apai while Moengangongo son of Ulukalala II succeeded Finaufisi, his father's successor, as *hau* and recognised ruler of Vava'u (Martin 1881: 22-23; Campbell 1989:59-60). Since Tupouto'a lived under Ulukalala's sphere of influence and had a lengthy association with his own father's assassins, the Hihifo chiefs were suspicious of his loyalty and hesitated to officially accept his candidacy for the TK title, which Tupoumalohi offered to him in his stead (Campbell 1989:160). Tupouto'a left for Tonga to be officially installed at the sacred Koka in Hihifo but was refused by the *ha'a* Ngata. It was Takai's intervention that made him TK and it was sealed with a marriage to Takai's daughter Pule'ilangite (Thomas 1879:236; Moulton 'notes' p.19; Campbell 1989:160). As a matter of fact, most of the *ha'a* Ngata and *ha'a* Havea chiefs despised Tupouto'a's role as a supporter of the Ulukalala cause. In their eyes he was a traitor. Campbell believes his appointment was not widely acknowledged (Campbell 1992:235). He died in 1820.

As a matter of fact, Tupouto'a was a shadow of a strong and powerful dynasty (the TK line of kings). He was no different from his uncle and predecessor Tupoumalohi before him. For Tupoumalohi was driven out by Takai from Tongatapu a few years earlier (Thomas, 1879:222). Tupouto'a was uncomfortable for his position as TK came to his possession by default. Against the wishes of the *ha'a* Ngata and the chiefs of Hihifo

Takai's objective diplomacy made him TK (Campbell 1989:160) but he was also instructed to return to Ha'apai for Tongatapu is not for him to rule (Thomas 1879:236; Campbell 1989:160).

The belittlement of Tupouto'a as TK enticed him to build a respectable *resume* so that he could regain respect from the *hau* and Tongatapu chiefs. Deliberately, he waged war in Vava'u in the pursuit of overthrowing Hala'api'api, a chief who had invaded Ha'apai while he was in Tongatapu. Evidently, he confronted Paunga of the TT line instead for Paunga had already eliminated Hala'api'api. Vava'u was targeted because most of the chiefs there did not attend his installment to the TK title (Martin 1991:132; Thomas 1879:270-2). Tupouto'a accomplished his mission in Vava'u only with the aid of Takai. The death of Takai in 1816 rekindled his hope of becoming ruler of Tongatapu too, now that he ruled both Vava'u and Ha'apai. But the new *hau* Fa'e, a brother of Takai, badly defeated him. Diplomacy was not Fa'e's forte, he was just a seasoned warrior who hated talking and had no patience for negotiation, he just built forts all over Tongatapu in anticipation of war¹⁹⁸. As for Tupouto'a after a failed bit to glorify his family name in the war against Fa'e in Tongatapu his dignity never recovered and perhaps his association with the Ulukalala camp cost him the right to be buried in Havelulahi cemetery, traditional burial place for the TK at Kanokupolu. Being outcast after the assassination of his father TK Tuku'aho for flirting with the enemy is testimony to his unworthiness in the eyes of all the chiefs of Hihifo. Tupouto'a was buried in Ha'apai.

The failure of Tupouto'a would have given his son Taufa'ahau a special courage to restore the dignity of his father's family. His victory at the battle of Velata against Laufilitonga and Tokemoana had earned him the title Tu'i Ha'apai and after being baptised as a Christian in 1831 he extended his influence on Vava'u. At the death of 'Ulukalala Tuapasi he added the title Tu'i Vava'u to his *resume*. Aleamotua was the TK at the time and Fa'e was *hau* of Tongatapu. At the death of Fa'e in 1835, Taufa'ahau became the hand of the TK and he showed serious intention in supporting Aleamotu'a especially in conflicts with non-Christians chiefs of the Ha'a Havea and Ha'a Ngata. He eventually subdued all opponents of the TK and became the recognised *hau* of all Tonga.

¹⁹⁸ Pers. Comm. Uho-'o-Lototonga (Siaosi Ahio) 2014, Pea.

Taufa'ahau's authority was real and important decisions for political development in Tonga were at his mercy and not the TK. The truce of 1852 in the last civil war against the fort of Pea, which victory was his and the event marked the completion of the reunification of Tonga under one ruler. A constitution was promulgated in 1875, which sealed the status of *hau* in a written constitution as associated aspect of the TK title. Now the TK is a kingly title for the *hau*. Taufa'ahau elevated the meaning *hau* to what Hafoka defines as a champion. It is his political campaigns in Ha'apai, Vava'u and Tongatapu that such reputation sprang as quality of warriors. The wars he fought in Tonga were furious. It was started with the destruction of the Ngele'ia fort then the annihilation of Hule (Nukunuku fort) then the surrender of Houma fort and seizing of Pea in the last war. This is the image of *hau* that propagated in the works of missionaries in the 1800's. Having convinced by the views given by Rev. Hobbs (1836), John Thomas (1865), Rev Dr Moulton and others about the *hau* as champions and warriors who were members of either the TK or TH families, historians and anthropologists have projected or telescoped this definition beyond the period under their examination and without further examination it was an assumption. The argument in this work assert that when the TH and the TK dynasties were each appoint as *hau*, they were established to carry out secular duties of governing on behalf of a higher and sacred kingship lineage. In the political organisation observed by the missionaries in the nineteenth century, the *hau* was the TK kingship, which was gaining supremacy through warfare and governing the kingdom in a newly emerging paradigm.

Conclusion

This study demonstrates that oral culture and tradition do evolve over time and that different social structure could also co-exist side by side as society becomes more complex. The process of change has been also demonstrated through the identification of more than one political system that were at work in Tonga before the creation of the Tu'i Kanokupolu dynasty in about 1550 AD. One of which was a rigid social system that I specify here as the Tu'i Tonga '*caste system*' and the other was a *quasi-Sāmoan matai* political system that the Hihifo government of the Tu'i Kanokupolu dynasty modelled itself on its principles. The inevitable collision of the two in the process materialises as evident in the political situation of the 18th and 19th century Tonga in which one system determined the direction for the future of Tonga while the other could not hang on to its once formidable ancient currency.

Revisionists like Niel Gunson, Ian Campbell and Phyllis Herda plus modern historians like Latukefu, Rutherford, Gifford, Wood and Cummins have labelled this era as most confusing, marked by ubiquitous irregularities and representative of unstable government and political chaos. An epoch to which warlords rose as independent rulers of disjointed territorial polities. Such division was a reality that truly exposed the apparent insignificance and utter vulnerability of kingship offices in lights of national recognition with regard to royal titles. Failure to comprehend the real system that controlled political affairs at the time would allow unexamined assumptions and doubts of Polynesianist commentators to persist. A point that this study has managed to solve by adopting a *refractive* approach to the study of human cultures and histories of which the emphasis is on plurality against singularity or more simply, to understand Pacific cultures we must prioritised the study of the *region* in order for us to know how things changed through centuries of contact. Each pacific island society would, more or less, after centuries of social, political and economics interaction, exhibit in their lives each other's shadows, and that particular image that emerges is what a *refractive* study can unearth as historical reality. This study also pointed out that the revisionist's conclusions were based on the assumption that there was only one system at work in Tonga at the time and this error is best summarised by Campbell;

"...the overwhelming reality of Tongan politics in the 18th and 19th centuries was that the system-whatever it was - was *not* working, that the sequence of events (if it can be known)

contain its own explanations, and that Tongan political history is not as orderly as has been represented..." (1982: 178).

Such assumption has been proven wrong in this work by way of exposing tendencies inherent in such views as anachronistic and ahistorical especially when the *quasi-Sāmoan* paradigm was discovered as a reality through the *refractive* process of analysis. Existing views and reviews of ancient Tongan polity have been blinded by the cardinal error of privileging monolithic views of society as an unchanging entity. The plastic nature of human society, as a collective organism that adjusts itself to various circumstances where at times added useful (new) elements that are necessary for survival to become part of its existence. The Niel Gunson solution for unlocking the rather mysterious characteristic of political development in 'pre-European' Tonga, for example, was an attempt that went in the right direction as he looked at the *hau* concept of leadership as an important key for that purpose. By taking the region as a case study was an important starting point but he failed to consider the origin of such concept and how it entered into the political practices of most Polynesian societies is significant to be traced. Having ignored the power of regional influence in the history of Pacific societies was an error in the part of Gunson's judgement that others have followed up to now.

In arguing that the *hau* institution existed before the creation of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua dynasty and that the legitimacy of *peerage challenge* (Gunson 1979:28) was carried on into the political practices of the new kingship line of the TH makes no sense at all. There is no mention of mandated challenge in the long reign of the Tu'i Tonga line 'before' and 'after' the establishment of the temporal ruler or the *hau* office. The *seizer of power* theory (Campbell 1982:181) suffers the same error. For instance, by asserting that the appointment of Ngata was a result of a conflict between father and son and not even a single story of civil war to substantiate such story or even a single thread of evidence traceable to oral traditions at least to be found. So as to some of the cases mentioned above such as Tupou Moheofo's political manoeuvres (1750–1896), the assassination of Tuku'aho by Ulukalala and his half-brother Tupouniua (1799), the avenging war of Vaha'i (1800), Takai's challenge of Teukava (1806), the contest between Fa'e and Tupouto'a (1817) plus the showdown between Laufilitonga and Taufa'ahau in 1826, all these incidences occurred in the 18th and the 19th centuries and none of those were cases applicable to any of the events in the pre-13th century Tonga.

The only exception here is the case of Kafoa versus Moeakiola and Tatafu versus Kafoa, which occurred in the 1600s regarding the right of succession for the TH title but that was, again, an effect of the powerful Sāmoan political influence in removing the mandated system of primogeniture (as Kafoa claimed as his right) in favour of election with a significant emphasis on divinity in conjunction with the elevated status of the TH title.

This study insists that oral tradition is consistent with the supporting evidence regarding the origin of the *hau* office and the creation of Mo'ungamotu'a as temporal ruler, which marked the beginning of a new paradigm. Kuhn's 'paradigm shift' theory is an appropriate tool for summing up the views and reviews of the political history of Tonga. First and foremost, every historical paradigm provides certain circumstances that represent a new set of reality, which is non-cumulative of the previous paradigm. According to this theory, there are always signs that forecast a shift from one paradigm to the next. But it is a process that takes time to realise and grow for once the new body, so to speak, is formed then realities from the previous paradigm could no longer fit in or make sense.

For instance, the assassinations of TT Havea 1, TT Havea 2 and TT Takalaua were real testimony that a new reality has arisen to cause such dramatic change. Oral tradition has cleared these divine rulers of bad governance, dictatorial practices or despotism, and that would rule out the *Peerage challenge* or *seizures of power* theories from the equation. The only fact that brings us some sense here is 'name change' such as the using of 'Havea' as title for kings repeatedly in three generations. Since Havea Hikule'o appeared to be the national god in Tonga at the time (1250 AD) then common sense tells us that the problem was ideological rather than political in the sense that these rulers may have adopted and worshiped a new god as evidenced in assuming the name as kingship title. This issue is discussed in chapter 3 of this thesis in great details.

This work argues that the paradigm shift was prompted by a religious revolution and the defeat of Talakaifaiki in Sāmoa in around 1030 AD was the catalyst responsible for the major change that came about. I have suggested in Chapter 3 that a new patron god was called for in view of seeking future military success. As it happened, Havea 1 was a victim of establishing Hikule'o as new patron god of the Tu'i Tonga (Cummins

1977:72) and his name suggested also that he might have been deified as living god also. Proponents of the old religion (Tangaloa pantheon) have to avenge the sacrilege of discarding Tangaloa if that was the case. I also mentioned in the same chapter that another religious issue caused the assassination of Havea II and Takalaua. As brothers, Takalaua should have been successor because his mother was the official wife '*ma'itaki*' but their father Lomi'aetupu'a breaks tradition by rewarding Havea II (of Uvean mother) with the title as a prize for building him a great tomb with the assistance of his kinsmen.

Jealousy arose between the two camps and loyal supporters of Takalaua murdered Havea II so that the title is given to the rightful heir. Apparently, revenge comes naturally under these circumstances. As it happened the Uvean supporters of Havea II assassinated Takalaua. His son Kau'ulufonuafeikai again avenged the death of his father and the sombre reality behind these double assassinations was a catalyst for a major change. In addition to the sacred title of the TT, a new office was created for a 'temporal ruler' to which he appointed his younger brother as first *hau*. Six generations later the *hau* Mo'ungatonga aspired to become divine possibly as a natural reaction to the return of TT Tapu'osi after five generations of Tu'i Tonga rulers taken residence in Sāmoa. He was the founder of both the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and the Tu'i Kanokupolu dynasties. His successors were determined to maintain the divinity of their new dynasty by marrying aristocratic ladies. Three generations later Moeakiola a younger son of *Tamaha* Simuoko and TH Vaea succeeded his father ahead of his eldest brother Kafoa whose mother (Palula) was a daughter of TK Atamata'ila, although a king but lower in status than the Tu'i Ha'ateiho. Even though Kafoa challenged Moeakiola for the kingship title, which would make a classic case for Gunson and Campbell's arguments but the point here is different.

Seniority now has no place in the new paradigm in the sense that every Tu'i Ha'atakalaua has only eyes for divine status and have persevered to maintain divinity on the holder of their title at all cost. This development clearly explains the trend to which the new paradigm was heading, and, in my view, it was a new syndrome to vie for divine rank. Kafoa adopted the tradition prescribed by the new paradigm as he sought an aristocrat wife in order for his offspring to be eligible for the title. Unfortunately, two generations from Kafoa, the title was given back to the Tu'i Tonga line for one reason

that successors were of low birth. And as for the new *hau* line it was an opportunity for them to make links with the Tu'i Tonga through a marriage arrangement that made the next divine king his puppet. And the political situation of the 18th and 19th centuries staged the coming of age of the *matai* political system in which the Tu'i Kanokupolu was both *hau* and a divine king according to the Sāmoan standard (and also secular ruler in the orthodox Tongan ranking).

The installation of Ngata as Tu'i Hihifo was a private affair that this study confirmed to be characteristic of conferring a paramount title on a Sāmoan *ali'i pa'ia*. The creation of the *ha'a* Ngata and the *ha'a* Havea plus the *ha'a* Havea *si'i* and *ha'a* Ngata *tupu* confirmed the fact that these Sāmoan political families have flourished in a manner dissimilar to units of political organisation in Tonga. Within a couple of hundred years this *quasi*-Sāmoan advances became a new paradigm by eliminating strategically the customary traditions pertaining to the senior dynasties. The so-called rigid structure of social organisation, raking hierarchy and political centralisation were losing its currency once the TK system of government thrived endlessly as exhibited by the political reality of the 18th and 19th centuries in Tonga.

As I discussed in Chapter 6, a rivalry between the TK political families as *sa*¹⁹⁹ organisations became eminent as each represented separate political centre, such as the *ha'a* Havea at Ha'amea and the *ha'a* Ngata at Kolovai. The *ha'a* Havea overshadowed the *ha'a* Ngata both in real power and political influence. The Sāmoan paradigm was the confusing part in the history of Tonga because the revisionists could not pick up the correct political machinery that was in control at the said period. The issue of 'change' was not even considered in their reviews. As addressed in my argument in Chapter 6, the presence of one thousand strong Sāmoan supporters of Ngata is no secret and it is mentioned in oral tradition and also in the literature, yet Gunson, Campbell and Herda failed to take that issue into account.

As a matter of fact, the *ha'a* Havea kings performed its customary duty as *hau* but simultaneously asserted its political power in controlling the destiny of the senior dynasties. The Tu'i Tonga in particular was forced to abandon the *ma'itaki* tradition as

¹⁹⁹ A Sāmoan version of *ha'a* but with a more complex form of political organisation.

main source that provides his principal wife. Now the Sāmoan or *matai* paradigm had purposefully established a replacement for the *ma'itaki* tradition, and it was the customary selection of the *moheofo* as principal wife of the Tu'i Tonga. Hence, heirs to the sacred title must marry the *moheofo* and that is the only ticket for the kingship title whether you are the first-born or not. The best examples in this new reality were the cases of TT Pau, Ma'ulupekotofa, Fuanunuiava and Laufiletonga; all appointed by a Tu'i Kanokupolu (Mumui) and each was given a *moheofo* as principal wife before the actual enthronement (Thomas 2013:38-39). Details of this development is discussed in Chapter 8, but one of the puzzling issues that arose from the *ha'a* Havea oppressive control was the arbitrary power vested in women (a common element in Sāmoan politics) and most of them were *moheofo*.

The usurping of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua title by the *ha'a* Havea kings tended to complicate succession protocol and even more confusing for revisionists to follow. Furthermore, internal division between the supporters of Tupou Moheofo and the rest of the Ha'amea authorities had caused the demise of the *ha'a* Havea led government for she took with her from Ha'amea the seat of power to Hihifo and the *ha'a* Ngata, as token of appreciation for installing on her the Tu'i Kanokupolu title. The *ha'a* Ngata had reclaimed the honour of becoming the seat of power once again. As argued in chapter 7, the *ha'a* Havea took control of the election process and installation of every new king at the Koka-fula in Ha'amea, a process that was begun with the rise of Mataeleha'amea towards the end of the 1600s.

Tupou Moheofo's defection from the Ha'amea led government marked the end of the *ha'a* Havea influence in Tongan political affairs for after her enthronement as TK and being defeated by Tuku'aho, the rest of the Tu'i Kanokupolu from then on were installed by the *ha'a* Ngata. The rivalry between the *ha'a* Havea and the *ha'a* Ngata allowed local warrior chiefs to assert their power as new class of *hau* and also diminished the influence of the Tu'i Kanokupolu as political division within that dynasty was beyond repair. That is the reason that gave away the authority of the *hau* to local powerful warlords as contenders to the only meaningful title of the Tu'i Kanokupolu have been isolated in different parts of the country where support was in short supply. The best examples were Tupoumalohi and his successor Tupouto'a who could not establish themselves in Tongatapu.

The new ruling class was then comprised of warlords, who in turn had no interest in kingship titles and they became the formidable force who prefers to put monarchical rule into extinction. But the introduction of Christianity in the early 1800s was a good omen for Tonga that sees the resurrection of the Tu'i Kanokupolu authority and that new force propelled the career of Tafa'ahau, a son of a king, to reclaim the *hau* back for the ruling lineage of the TK dynasty. All in all, this study asserts that the office of the *hau* was in fact a supervisory authority but obsession with divine ranks sees the elevation of the 6th holder as TH and the creation of the second *hau* line, with Ngata as the first in line. The new paradigm that sprang from the establishment of the *Quasi-Sāmoan* government practices of the Tu'i Kanokupolu restored the *hau* office in that dynasty before the breakdown between the ha'a Havea and the ha'a Ngata, which brought the eventual demise of that ruling line. The era of the warrior chiefs came when the *matai* system dominated the political affairs of Tonga in the 1780s and ended in the last war of 1852. A new paradigm and a new reality that confused revisionists forever because they overlooked the significant influence that the Hihifo government had incubated as life insurance for their own survival and the ultimate political supremacy in the history of Tonga.

As for the issue of *hau*, oral traditions provide so many versions relating to the origin and function of the office with specific duties assigned to that position as discussed in the 'Introduction' and in chapters 1, 4, 8, 9, and 10 but the actual dynamics of the system's survival is not accounted for. Whether it was a governor, an acting king, a supervisor or a manager of the TT estate, these are some issues that create misinterpretation and unnecessary debate. The main issue remains that the *hau* is still a temporal ruler who controlled the secular affairs of the nation and clearly without a spiritual authority. Since the beginning of this study, I argued that *hau* was an office that operated outside of the ruling dynasty of the Tu'i Tonga. It was not a kingship office as oral tradition propagates in works written by anthropologists and historians. This study asserted in chapter 4 that the TH was no part of the *hau* office until Mo'ungatonga vied for divine rank in the first half of the 1500s AD. It is also argued in the same chapter that the 6th *hau* (Mo'ungatonga) founded the TH dynasty after being elevated to divine status (Latukefu 1974:3 and Campbell 1979:7).

The reign of TK Ngata is representative of a new development in which the *hau* for the first time was in the hand of a ruling dynasty (my argument). As has been argued that the *hau* was never associated with the kingship title of the TH but, as mentioned above, the 6th holder of the title Mo'ungatonga simultaneously relinquished the *hau* office while his elevation to divine kingship was being processed. That is to say that he never held the TH and the *hau* office simultaneously. It was the TK who became the first dynasty to perform the prescribed duty and responsibility of the *hau*. The popular assumption that whoever rules was *hau* came from accounts propagated by Methodist missionaries who were in Tonga in the mid-1800s (Bott 1982:109). Such an idea was prompted by the fact that both titles were in the possession of the TK dynasty by the 1750s of which Tupoulahi, his full brother Maealiuaki and a half-brother Mumui have held both titles in their tenure as kings in different times. This seems to be the more sensible explanation for the ongoing anachronism that dominates the views about the history of that political office since its inception around 1350 AD.

In fact, Niel Gunson correctly identified that the *hau* was a separate office from the kingship offices of the three dynasties. The element that brings doubt about his theory was the idea that *challenge* was the norm for acquiring political supremacy, which strangely included those who were in contention for kingship titles. And as for Ian Campbell's critique we find that his dismissal of Gunson's *Peerage challenge* theory was based on a view that there are rules to follow while instead there is evidence only for *means* and *opportunity* plus proper timing. For Campbell, the 'seizer of power' (1982:181) would need time and preparation in order for any successful challenge to execute and people's support was essential in such task. This study concludes that the height of the *quasi-Sāmoan* political practices, which controlled the livelihood of all Tongans in the 18th and 19th centuries, cannot be regarded as political malfunction or a system in total chaos but just a normal political practice so orderly in a fashion unexpected to the imagination of commentators and learned observers alike.

I have demonstrated that the *hau* evolved significantly away from its original purpose of governing the Tongan group in the stead of the TT, and also managing his estate from approximately 1350 to 1530 AD. I also argue that the office was held by successions of TK kings since 1550 to about 1799, in which the *hau* picked up a new meaning as 'conqueror' during the reign of the 4th holder of the TK title Mataeleha'amea. Such

change was concomitant with the nature of the Hihifo system of government at the time, which was modelled on a Sāmoan political machination (*matai* title-system). Obviously, things would have been different if there was no other political system inherent in the operating of secular affairs in Tonga at the time. But the fact that Tongan society was progressively *Sāmoanised* is evidenced by efforts of warlords to atrophy the grip onto the kingship title so that they establish their own independent dominions. Evidently, political division became a reality after the death of Tuku'aho in 1799. It took fifty-two years of civil war to end the reigns of warlords and to restore some sense of significance to the authority of the TK title. It was the grandson of Tuku'aho who championed that course by defeating his *hau* counterparts to reunify the whole of Tonga under his authority as TK and *hau* after the last war against the warriors of Pea in 1852.

I have made some controversial statements in this study and two of those are open for further debate. First, the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua issue as an associate part or element of the *hau* office created for Mo'ungamotu'a is information transmitted through oral tradition. The question is, would it be true to say that *hau* was the real office that was created by the TT and the forming of the dynasty with the kingship title TH was not originally the case. Then again, this study could have got it wrong from the beginning if the TH and the *hau* are one and the same thing and not just parts of a preconceived idea. I am saying that my theory regarding the elevation of Mo'ungatonga, as the 1st Tu'i Ha'atakalaua can be challenged, not for any obvious weakness in reasoning or some kind of illogical postulation with regard to evidence but as a matter of opinion. Some scholars would find it hard to accept novel ideas that sprung from a rethinking process. Secondly, one might ask whether the *quasi*-Sāmoan political system claimed to be the basis of the Hihifo government and the TK Dynasty was just a bad joke since important elements of the *matai* system could not be seen to juxtapose with the common practices in the Sāmoan situation. That would be a strong argument following a comparison made by Latukefu (1974) who singled out the difference between the Tongan and the Sāmoan *fono* where the latter is based on unanimity while the former was absolute when decision is finalised. But that was not a fair comparison because the Tongan *fono* must not be generalised for the *kauhala'uta* style should be distinguished from the *ha'a* Ngata and the *ha'a* Havea model, which every decision was made by titleholders. And should anyone prove that the Hihifo title system was not built on the basis of the Sāmoan *matai* system then my hypothesis is untenable. At the moment, this study

insists that it is the case until proven wrong by new finding. Then again, should King George 1st failed in his effort to reunify Tonga under the rulership title of the Tu'i Kanokupolu, the *quasi*-Samoan system would have developed into a complete form of *Matai* establishment, which the new authority of the *hau(s)* as absolute rulers of fragmented polities was the final step to that effect.

The confusions about which system that was really at work in the 18th and 19th centuries Tonga can be explained through the identification of the political paradigms that had demonstratively showing systematic shifts from one to the other. The political realities in the late contact period have always pushed revisionists to their problems by resorting to anachronism for seeking probable answers. But, in privileging *change* as the vehicle that propels history in general then the reward will be satisfying. The history of humankind is no different for it encountered change from time to time and Tongan history cannot resist change as so wished by Gunson and Campbell. Without the knowledge of the existence of the TT *caste* system and the establishment of the *hau* office around 1350 together with the inception of the *quasi*-Sāmoan political system and how it was *trojan-horsed* into Tonga *via* the creation of the TK dynasty, the questions tabled by the revisionists would become legitimate concerns still and debate would forever exhaust the limitation of anachronism to account for anything other than the real traditions that pertain to each kingship establishment. Evidently, Ian Campbell's inability to identify the unknown system that became dominant in the political development of the late 1700s and the first half of the 1800s has come about as a consequence of side-lining the issue of *change*. A refractive analysis revealed it was actually a Samoan political system that was brought into practice by the Hihifo government of the TK dynasty. The political dynamics of the *Matai* paradigm had brought unnecessary confusion to historians and anthropologists who could not consider the fact that the *region* does play a huge part in setting the motion of *change* rolling through cultural impacts imposed by Pacific societies on one another through centuries of contacts way before the arrival of the Europeans.

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Appendix A

Epilogue

Now the sequence of events is known, and its own explanation has been given above, the political history of Tonga has become orderly presented under a new banner, the so-called ‘political chaos’ and ‘state of anarchy’ is now just a matter of opinion and are truly expressive of order in a different kind. Campbell was using Dumont d’Urville’s information to solve the mysterious nature of the Tu’i Ha’atakalaua and its origin (1982:191), but he dismissed Gunson’s theory unwarrantedly for there was indeed a formal office of *hau* leadership. The challenge theory was just as difficult to establish because it was devised to explain practices that appear to be inconsistent with traditional orthodoxy. The theory itself was anachronistically formulated on the basis of political elements expressive of the Samoan *matai* system of the TK dynasty (Ilaiu 2007), which the theorist is not aware of its existence. Instead, Gunson contends that the way to authenticate oral traditions was to assume that the logic of Tongan political life is better reflected through a challenge network that is clearly demonstrated in the *hau* system of leadership where, as a way of life, peers challenged the ruler for political supremacy (1979:28).

Campbell again dismisses the argument that there must be rules for challenging, and proposes instead that there is only means and opportunity (not rules) for challenging, as Tupoumohefo’s case is clear evidence and living proof thus far (1982:193). Both Niel Gunson and Ian Campbell failed to produce a theory of change or made any attempt to reconsider the possibility that they are seeing things wrongly. In examining Tongan history with an assumption that only one political system at work since the beginning of time had sadly disallowed effort to explain what they branded as political crisis, system in chaos and state of anarchy with reference to the apparent disorder of the late 1700s and early to mid-1800s.

I have developed an alternative theory of change that allows room for a better reading of events and also shows important innovations that account for the alteration of the original principles inherent to the *hau* authority. My research suggests that the *hau* was created as a formal office by the Tu’i Tonga, supposedly for the Ha’atakalaua lineage to rule in his stead while he accommodated higher appointment abroad to rule as Tu’i

Manu'a (Gunson 1997:147). After five generations the Tu'i Tonga returned; evidence from Uvea suggests that TT Tele'a was still the Emperor and not the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua (Sand 2001).

The elevation of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua to divine status actually made way for the *hau* office to become full-time responsibility of the Tu'i Kanokupolu. Within three centuries the Samoan political system of the Tu'i Kanokupolu government took the *hau* office to a different level, which caused the once most centralised polity in West Polynesia to fragment and divide. The Samoan system grew faster in Tonga and in no time the whole of Tonga was replicating the Samoa of the era prior to the centralise government developed under the Salamasina administration. In Tonga the chiefs were gifted with titles and in due course became very powerful and the fragmentation of Tongan society was completed as the system reached all corners of the archipelago. A number of *hau(s)* sprang into existence in different parts of Tonga in the late 18th and the early 19th centuries with authority that surpasses the political power of the TK. They exercised total control over their subjects as if they were petty sovereigns for each one of them were recognised with the title *hau*.

The new *hau* tradition:

The political unrest of the late 1780s has its roots traceable to Mataeleha'amea's 'reign of terror'¹ around 1650s. His elder brother Vuna, previously subdued in the race for the TK kingship, did not give in easily and despite losing the main title in Tongatapu he managed to establish for himself a new dynasty in Vava'u instead. Unfortunately, Tuituiohu a son of Mataeleha'amea became a rival to his political rank once he positioned himself in the territory of his mother's people, the *ha'a* Vaea, in Hihifo, the western part of Vava'u. As discussed above, TK Ma'afu'otu'itonga's sons were very strong rulers and their eclipsing of Vuna's line in contention for ownership of the TK title left a sour note in the relationship between these royal lineages. In addition to this uneasy impasse was the rise to prominence of Ma'afu'out'itonga's brother Tuituiohu and his descendants as Tu'i Vava'u and Tu'i Ha'apai in the 1800s. Now we have

1

I refer this era to Mataeleha'amea's territorial expansion in which he exterminated the population of Ha'amea in conjunction with the replacing of the *ma'itaki* with the *moheofō* as principal wives of the TT whereby his daughters were the first incumbents in that tradition.

descendants of brothers who became successful in three consecutive generations from 1650s to 1750s and beyond.

This is to say that Mataeleha'amea and Vuna were contending for the title in their day and were the first full brothers to have become TK. Then, the offspring of another set of brothers, Ma'afu'otu'itonga and Tuituiohu became dominant forces in the political development of the late 1700s and early 1800s. Successful again were the three sons of Ma'afu'otu'itonga where three brothers jointly held the TH and TK titles as kings. Two of the sons Tupoulahi and Maealiuaki were full brothers and Mumui a half-brother who earned his place in history on merit and eventually became a respectable ruler. Direct descendants of these three sons alone produced the last eleven TK² before King George reunified Tonga under one leadership. In pointing out these leading figures starting from Mataeleha'amea and Vuna down to Mumui whose descendants have produced the eventual victor in the last civil war of 1852, was for the purpose of showing that political change in Tonga was just an 'art work' produced naturally from the essential elements that formed the system that runs the TK government. As this system grows it was destined to split and it will keep on splitting for power is ever produced in titles, which was a commodity that is earned through hard work and families and extended families would grow in size and unavoidably contenders to one title would use every inch of their resources to achieve the ultimate price but that is the pretext for split to occur.

The said civil war was lasted for 53 years and it was really caused by the feud developed between a daughter of Tupoulahi, the first female TK (Tupoumohefo), and Tuku'aho a son of Mumui. As has been discussed in chapter 9, it was the children of Tupoulahi and his half-brother Mumui who were in hot contention for political supremacy in the last chapter of decentralised Tonga where power were in the hands of individual warlords. Evidently, TK Tupoulahi's son Tu'ihalafatai and grandson Tupoulahisi'i are thought to have been TK but it was his daughter that is remembered for inflicting the most damage in providing the means that started the long civil war. On the other hand, three of

2

This is how it happened, successors of the 6th TK Ma'afu'otu'itonga were his sons (7th) Tupoulahi, (8th) Maealiuaki and (13th) Mumui, then the grandchildren who also succeeded, (9th) Tu'ihalafatai, (12th) Tupoumohefo, (11th) Mulikiha'amea, (14th) Tuku'aho, (16th) Tupoumalohi and (18th) Aleamotu'a; followed by great grandchildren, (10th) Tupoulahisi'i, (19th) Tupouto'a and (20th) King George Taufa'ahau. In three generations there were 12 TK who descended from Ma'afu'otu'itonga. The only outsider here was the (15th) Ma'afu'olimuloa a great grandson of TK Mataeletu'apiko.

Mumui's sons i.e. Tuku'aho, Tupoumalohi and Aleamotu'a were installed TK and they did not have the support of their other brothers. Hence, some of Mumui's most senior sons Tangata'olakepa and Tu'uakitau were not happy with the appointment of Tuku'aho to the title and a younger brother Vakasiuola appeared to adopt a neutral stance according to the missionary John Thomas.

This sort of disunity is not uncommon within the parameters of the quasi-Samoan political practices of the TK system of government at the time. It shows here that the sibling insubordinate attitude towards each other had obviously inflated tension among the sons of Mumui. Some of them were indirectly involved in the plot to assassinate their brother Tuku'aho in the sense that they did not make an effort to avenge his death. As a matter of fact, Tangata'olakepa's full sister Tupouveiongo was the wife of the assassin Tupouniua. Perhaps he had hopes of becoming TK should his younger brother Tuku'aho is terminated because he was the rightful heir.

This study shows that, if and only if, the *quasi*-Samoan political practices was visible or being sensed by scholars as the controlling mechanism responsible for major changes at the time, especially in the political sphere, then the equation for reading Tonga's past would have brought to our attention images of consistent regularities only rather than idealising false perceptions of the past or irregular instances as they called it.

Indigenous views.

During fieldwork in 'Uvea and Futuna I interviewed high-ranking chiefs. The 'Uvea chiefs Manuele, Kulitea and Kilisimasi explained to me in detail about TT Kau'ulufonua's wars. After avenging the death of his father he appointed his brother Mo'ungamotu'a as governor. He was to be responsible for all the colonies still under the Tu'i Tonga Empire. They related the arrival of Ga'asi'alili to be the new *hau* of 'Uvea as part of a long-term design of the Ha'atakalaua administration from Tonga. Ga'asi'alili was a member of the Ha'atakalaua family. He replaced Tauloko as *hau*.

According to the discussions in 'Uvea, the Tu'i Tonga was never referred to as *hau* but only as sacred ruler. They referred to TH Mo'ungamotu'a as *hau*. The same information was given to me by Satula the *sau* of Alo, one of the two kings of Futuna. He is certain that the Tu'i Tonga, of which he is an offspring, was never known as *sau*. He used TT

Kau'ulufonua's campaign as an example. He was called Kau'ulufonua Fekai (the ferocious) for his cruel treatment of the assassins but he was not called *sau*.

Satula stated that the king of Sigave, a kingdom in Futuna, is titled *sau*, and the king of Uvea is also ranked *hau*. Nga from Pukapuka Island, a titled man living in Rarotonga, talked about the Tu'i Tonga invading most of the island group in the distant past. He alerted me to a distinction within the chiefly classes in his home island where the high chiefs are called *aliki* and they are descendants of the Tu'i Tonga; and lesser chiefs are called *mata'ipo* and they are of Samoan origin. Nga had never heard reference to the Tu'i Tonga, as *hau* and he had no knowledge of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua.

All my Samoan informants were of the *ali'i* rank and they had never heard of a traditional reference to the Tu'i Tonga as *hau*. According to Tuala, Fonoti and Sa'ena from the island of Upolu there was a reference only to TT Talakaifaiki as *Sau a* (a tyrant). Because of his uncompromising reign of terror that eventually see him driven out of Samoa. His life was spared only because his body was sacred. None of my informants in Tonga believe that the Tu'i Tonga was called *hau*. According to His Serene Highness Prince Tu'ipelehake (Mailefih) the favourite statement used by historians to describe kingship in Tonga is sacred ruler and secular king, but these were not separate offices before the creation of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua.

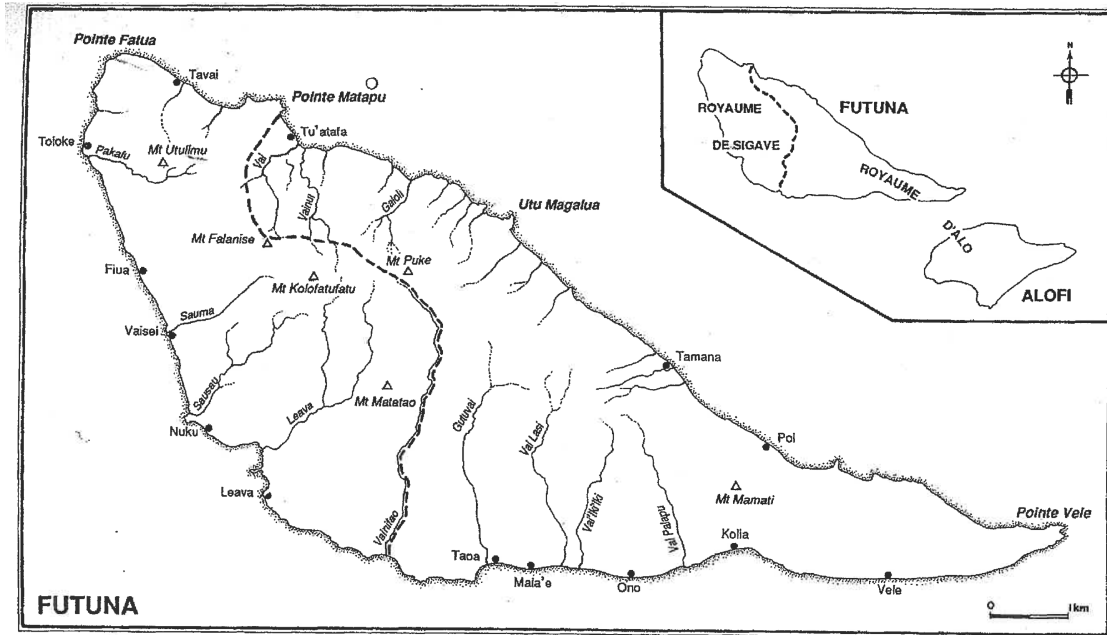
At the time when the Tu'i Tonga reigned as the only monarch, we cannot say that he possessed sacred and secular authority as a pair of resources to be used at different times, he was just the almighty Tu'i Tonga as one whole set. His Highness made a very important contribution in saying that when the secular office was created it meant one thing, that the Tu'i Tonga would no longer fight wars and his general the *hau* would be responsible for all political affairs. Other Tongan informants including Hon. Fusitu'a ('Alokuoulu), Hon. Fielakepa (Aleamotu'a), High chief Kioa (Tomu), High chief Tau'atevalu (Siosiu Fonua) and high chief Kapukava (Va'inga) expressed similar views.

Obviously, the Tu'i Tonga kings fought wars and were known as fierce warriors and some were feared for being cruel, as in the case of TT Talakaifaiki and Kau'ulufonua fekai. The Samoans called him *Sau-a* (a tyrant). We cannot conclude from this example

that Talakaifaiki was a *hau* because he was reputed to be a *sau-a*; he was just a Tu'i Tonga who behaved badly. The Tu'i Tonga may have possessed divine attributes and been revered as a sacred ruler but secular authority was inherent (as part and parcel) of his divine administration. The significant issue here is that the Tu'i Tonga could not be perceived as holding a function that required him to exercise a secular role in a separate capacity such as a political office.

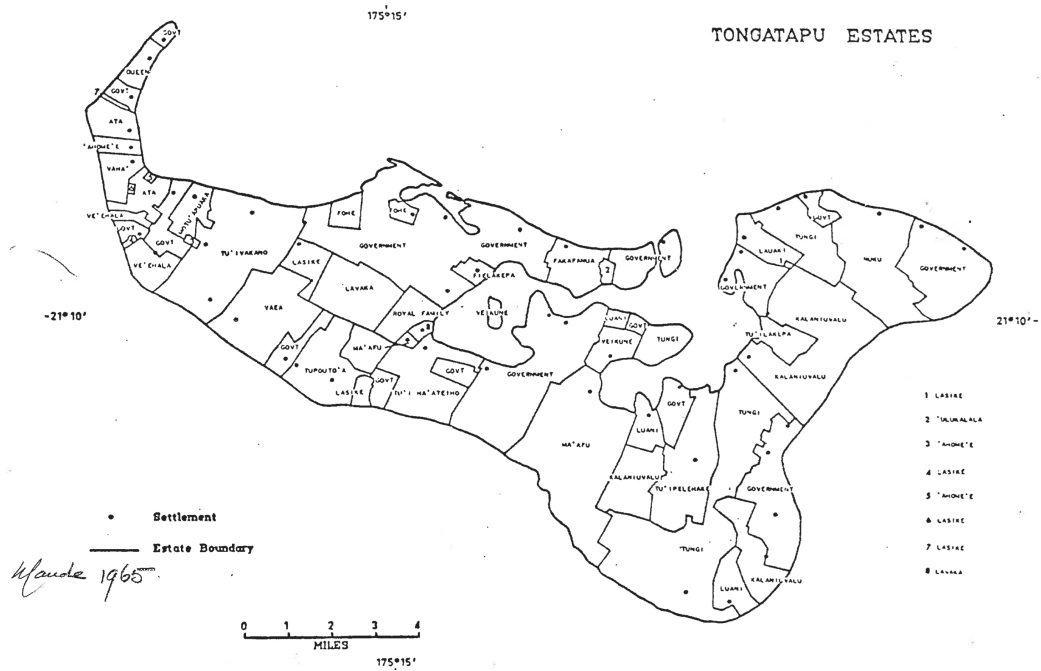
The Tu'i Kanokupolu is, in a way, a sacred ruler in its own right especially in accord with the protocol of his Samoan supporters right from the beginning but in the Tongan ranking hierarchy; by comparison, the title is secular in its capacity as *hau* (temporal ruler). Successors of Ngata were very successful in carrying out their duty as Tu'i Kanokupolu and as *hau* from about 1530s or 1550s until intense rivalry among contenders and pretenders to the kingship title irrupted in the 1780's as descendants of Tupoulahi, Maelialuaki and Mumui were obsessed with building each other's power and influence that resulted in rearranging the territorial boundaries of Tonga into exclusive zones towards the end of the 1790s. This political development seriously fractured internal unity that tied territorial warlords together as loyal supporters of each kingly lineage at the time. Without an overarching central authority, warlords are freed to exercise arbitrary power over their territory and the people in it. In fact, the kingship authority of the TK diminishes and ultimately became insignificant as *hau* fell into the hands of the local warlords as absolute rulers. Now we can see why oral traditions may have forged or invented a great part of pre-contact history of Tonga because anachronism plays a big part in assuming that the dual responsibilities carried by the Tu'i Kanokupolu would have been the case with the *hau* office and that of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua.

FUTUNA

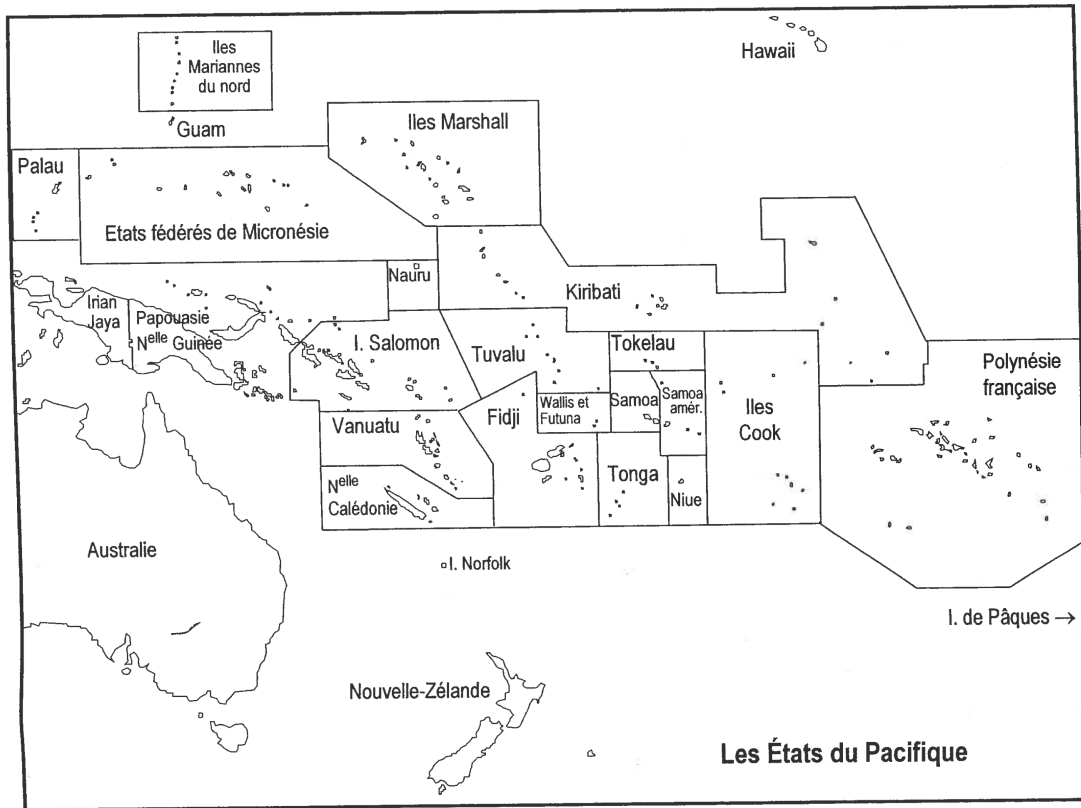


CARTE 2. - Futuna-Alofi (© LACTO)

TONGATAPU



POLYNESIA

*Abbreviations:*

- TA* – Tui A'ana.
Tt – Tui Atua.
TT – Tu'i Tonga.
TH – Tu'i Ha'atakalaua.
TK – Tu'i Kanokupolu.
TMh – Tamaha.
TTF – Tu'i Tonga Fefine.
THT – Tu'i Ha'ateiho.
TM – Tui Manu'a.
TVv – Tu'i Vava'u.
Thp – Tu'i Ha'apai
TE – Tu'i Eua.
TN – Tu'i Niua.

Glossary

- aiga* – political confederation
ali'i – sacred chief
ali'i pa'ia – sacred chief with godly attribute, god-king
ao – district paramount title
aualuma – council of virgins, district confederation of women
aumaga – council of untitled men
'eiki – a Tongan chief.
'eiki lahi – a Tongan high chief.
'eiki toputapu – a Tongan sacred chief.
fahu – arbitrary power inherent to highest female chiefs
faka'apa'apa – respect, honour
fale – dwelling
falefa - House of four. The four ceremonial attendants of the Tu'itonga.
faleha'akili - Group of titleholders in the court of the Tu'ikanokupolu
falekanokupolu – Tongan equivalent of Sāmoan faleupolu.
falefisi – descendants of unions between tu'itonga-fefine and Fijian high titled chiefs.
faleupolu – paramount chief's council of advisors
fangana – fictitious story, accounts about origin of things
fatongia - A hereditary profession assigned to every ha'a, group duty
feagaiga – sacred covenant between sister and brother
fono – public meeting
ha'a - The largest social group in Tonga.
hau - A designation ascribed to a ruler of the second order, secular ruler
hohoko – genealogy
hingoa fakanofu - title
hopoate –war prisoner, slave
'inasi – tribute, presented to the Tu'i Tonga on annual basis.
pule – orator groups who control the conferment of high titles of Savai'i.
hingoa - A traditional title.
hingoa fakanofu - A hereditary chiefly title.
hou'eiki - chiefly class.
Inasi – first fruit; share of the gods
kainga – kinsmen, blood connection/relation.
Kalia – large Tongan double hull canoe (can carry up to 1000 warriors)
kauhalalalo – lower side of the road, Tu'ikanokupolu tradition.
kauhala'uta – upper side of the road, Tu'itonga Tradition.
kava – piper methysticum a plant used to make drink
kitetama – cross-cousin marriage, chiefly prerogative
koloa – wealth, mainly fine mats and barkcloth
Langi –Tu'i Tonga's tomb
mala'e – public area used for meetings (open space)
mana - Supernatural power/attribute.
matai – title of the aiga
ma'itaki – Principal wife of the Tu'itonga, (Sāmoan Taupou).
matapule – Tongan chiefly attendant.
mehikitanga – father's sister
moemoe – gesture of obeisance

moheofo – The principal wife of the Tu'itonga, (Tu'i Kanokupolu's daughter).
muli – foreigner
mu'a – ancient rank for sons of aristocratic women
polopolo – first fruits, share of the chiefs
popula – slaves
pule – authority, power
sa'o – leader of men and women village organisation
sa'o aualuma – taupou's office
sa'o aumaga – manaia's office
sa'otama'ita'i – ancestress title
sinifu – secondary wife of the Tu'i Tonga
sino'i - 'eiki
tafa'i – protectors of a sacred ruler
tafa'i fa – paramount ruler
talatupu'a – ancient traditions relating to the gods
tau tahi – sea forces
tau 'uta – land forces
taumafa kava – royal kava ceremony of the Tu'i Tonga
taupou – virgin
tehina – younger sibling, same sex
tohi hohoko – genealogy book
tongiaki – Tongan war canoe
toto – blood, reference to immediate relation
to'a – warrior
tu'a – commoner, non-elite
tu'i - King, ruler or emperor.
Tu'i Aana
Tu'i Tonga fefine – female Tu'itonga
Tu'i Ha'atakalaua – Secular Ruler, name for the second dynasty in Tonga.
Tu'i Ha'amea – Lord of Ha'amea.
Tu'i Ha'apai – King of Ha'apai group.
Tu'i Vava'u – King of Vava'u group.
Tu'i 'Eua – King of 'Eua.
Tu'i Niua – King of Niua.
Tu'i hihifo- paramount title of hihifo district in Tonga.
Tu'i ha'amo'unga - another version of Tu'i hihifo title.
Tu'i Kanokupolu – recognised title of the rulers of Tonga's third dynasty.
Tu'i Tonga – royal title of sacred king of Tonga.
Tu'i Uvea – King of Uvea.
tulafale – chief's orator
tulafale ali'i – an orator with a sacred function
tamaha – daughter of the Tu'i Tonga fefine, Sacred being.
tamatauhala – the most sacred/extraordinary being.
tapu – Taboo, sacred, complete out of bound.
tu'a – Commoners, untouchable class
'ulu – head of the kainga
'ulumotu'a – head of the extended kainga

Index

A.

Ahio.....	117, 156, 172, 216, 221, 268, 289
‘Aho’aitu	7, 16, 18, 45, 86, 88, 106, 154, 157, 158, 161, 164, 165, 168, 170, 193, 208, 239.
Aleamotu’a (TK - 1827-1845)	263, 287.
Ama (Kama).....	119, 134, 150, 151, 152, 153, 194, 206, 209, 210, 211, 221.
‘Amelia (Tamaha)	21, 104, 230, 231, 268.
Ata	30, 31, 32, 65, 85, 117, 153.
Atamata’ila (TK).....	14, 47, 65, 117, 156, 212, 216, 221, 222, 223, 224, 235, 248, 249, 261, 275, 292.

F.

Fa’e (hau - 1816-1835).....	10, 11, 14, 15, 35, 42, 49, 65, 67, 69, 74, 117, 261, 262, 287, 290.
Fakafanua	33, 65, 251, 268, 277.
Falekaono	33, 251, 277.
Fielakepa, Baron. (Aleamotu’a), 2010, 2011.....	74, 224, 226, 268.
Finau Tuku’aho, son of TK Mumui.	10, 11, 14, 15, 17, 19, 37, 45, 47, 66, 117, 235, 261, 262, 265, 271, 281, 284, 287, 290, 294, 297.
Finau Tu’ihalafatai, son of TK Tupoulahi	10, 47, 49, 117, 236, 257, 261, 262, 273, 280.
Finau Ulukalala I (Elected Governor of Eua – 1795.....	42, 117, 224, 261, 278.
Finau Ulukalala II (hau)	10, 11, 15, 35, 117, 224, 261, 262, 283, 284, 286.
Finau Ulukalala III.....	11.
Fisilaumali TP, Lord of Pelehake.....	269.
Fotofili (TH), son of TH Mo’ungatonga.	22, 47, 65, 113, 114, 117, 119, 156, 209, 210, 211, 212, 230, 237, 252, 261, 262, 275.
Fotofili (TN), son of TH Tatafu	33, 251, 252, 268.
Fuanunuiava (TT), son of TT Pau.....	24, 47, 155, 157, 163, 170, 174, 193, 240, 244, 264, 271, 273, 274, 294.
Fusitu’a, Hon. (‘Alokuo’ulu), 2009,2010,2011.	74, 75, 222, 223, 268.

H.

Hafoka.....	9, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 224, 225, 288.
Havea I (TT).....	19, 101, 163, 169, 183, 184, 185,
Havea II (TT)	19, 101, 163, 169, 185, 186, 187, 292.
Helu, I. F. (2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011).....	157, 159, 160, 161, 167, 171, 172, 174, 281, 285.
Hikule'o.....	101, 184, 185, 190, 259, 266, 279, 291.

I.

Ilaiu, SL.....	2, 5, 7, 8, 27, 40, 71, 72, 111, 113, 118, 131, 134, 150, 151, 155, 158, 164, 207, 208, 210, 211, 214, 216, 217, 219, 220, 226, 234, 255, 259, 265, 273, 274, 283.
----------------	--

K.

Kalaniūvalu	33, 34, 156, 235, 240.
Kaloafutonga.....	14, 47, 65, 117, 209, 212, 230, 231, 238, 239, 264.
Kau'ulufonua-Fekai (TT).....	10, 104, 105, 109, 113, 156, 163, 182, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 199, 204, 208, 219, 292.
Kau'ulufonua II	47, 138, 169, 194, 195, 196, 197.
Kau'ulufonua III	47, 157, 170, 195, 209, 212, 225, 230, 233, 235, 237, 238.
Kafoa (TH).....	17, 47, 117, 224, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 265, 275, 276, 291, 292.
Kili (Ili)	118, 210, 211, 220, 221.
Kioa (Tomu), 2006, 2007, 2010, 2011, 2012.....	74, 150, 159, 161, 185, 186, 187, 192, 220, 226, 264.
King George. (TT/TH/TK/hau).....	4, 7, 21, 32, 47, 73, 74, 83, 104, 154, 168, 170, 182, 240, 241, 257, 258, 272, 274, 298.

L.

Latukefu, S.	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 16, 23, 25, 29, 40, 42, 44, 48, 67, 68, 74, 83, 89, 105, 107, 109, 111, 150, 155, 189, 207, 208, 233, 241, 244, 256, 258, 259, 263, 269, 271, 274, 277, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 289, 295, 297.
Latunipulu (TL).....	224, 230, 272.
Laufilitonga (TT), son of TT Fuanunuiava.	7, 16, 34, 47, 83, 154, 155, 156, 157, 163, 170, 174, 193, 235, 240, 241, 244, 258, 271, 274, 287, 290, 294.
Longo, d. of TH Vaea	24, 47, 117, 253, 254, 255, 264.
Luani	31, 33, 117, 200, 251, 268, 270, 277, 286.
Luani Lahi, son of TH Vaea.....	277.

M.

Ma'afu'otu'itonga (TK), son of TK Mataeleha'amea...44, 65, 66, 245, 247, 255, 257, 262, 263, 264, 265, 272, 279.	
Ma'afu Tuku'i'aulahi, son of TK Mataeletu'apiko.....24, 224.	
Maealiuaki (TH/TK), son of TK Ma'afu'out'itonga.....22, 23, 24, 47, 65, 66, 77, 240, 258, 261, 263, 265, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 278, 280, 296.	
Malietoa, tama aiga	27, 31, 121, 122, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 136, 138, 140, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 161, 180, 181, 185.
Malofafa, co-assassin of TT Takalaua.	1104, 187, 193.
Mata'afa, tama aiga.....	126, 146, 148, 149, 150.
Mataeleha'amea (TK), son of TK Mataeletu'apiko.	14, 15, 24, 38, 47, 65, 117, 224, 225, 233, 236, 239, 242, 243, 246, 247, 254, 255, 256, 257, 261, 262, 264, 265, 269, 270, 272, 275, 276, 277, 279, 281, 294, 296.
Mataeletu'apiko (TK), son TK Atamata'ila.....	13, 14, 22, 47, 65, 76, 109, 156, 206, 212, 223, 224,

	225, 226, 231, 236, 237, 249, 261, 275, 276, 278.
Ma'ulupekotofa, s. of TT Tu'ipulotu II.	7, 47, 155, 157, 163, 170, 193, 244, 245, 246, 247, 272, 273, 294.
Meleisea, M.	31, 39, 44, 100, 107, 120, 121, 122, 123, 125, 128, 148, 149, 161, 164, 214, 298.
Moeakiola I (TH), son TH Vaea.	17, 47, 65, 117, 210, 233, 236, 247, 248, 249, 251, 252, 261, 275, 276, 284, 291, 292.
Moeakiola II, son of TH Moeakiola.	65, 117, 236, 250, 251, 252, 261, 284.
Mo'unga'olakepa,	246, 272.
Mo'ungamotu'a (hau), son of TT Takalaua.	2, 7, 16, 17, 21, 47, 48, 104, 105, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 163, 188, 191, 195, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 203, 204, 208, 220, 233, 235, 259, 261, 262, 275, 291, 297.
Mo'ungatonga (TH), son of (hau) Vakalahimohe'uli. ...	1, 16, 17, 22, 47, 107, 108, 109, 111, 113, 114, 115, 117, 118, 119, 134, 156, 191, 193, 194, 203, 205, 206, 207, 208, 210, 212, 230, 233, 234, 235, 238, 247, 252, 259, 260, 262, 264, 275, 292, 295, 296, 297.
N.	
Ngalumoetutulu, son of TK Ma'afu'out'itonga.	224, 239, 278.
Nafanua (war goddess), Falealupo.	132, 133, 137, 138, 145, 147, 169, 180.
P.	
Palula,	117, 223, 235, 248, 292.
Pau (TT). (Son of TT Tu'ipulotu II).	7, 9, 10, 11, 19, 38, 47, 48, 117, 154, 155, 157, 163, 170, 174, 193, 230, 236, 237, 240, 242, 244, 245, 247, 254, 258, 259, 264, 271, 272, 273, 278, 280, 294.
Pāunga.	287.

S.

Sa'ena (2010, 2011)	125,
Salamasina (Tafa'i Fa)	37, 38, 118, 121, 134, 135, 138, 139, 141, 195.
Seuli (Pea),	2010, 2011, 2012, 2013.
.....	
Silivaka'ifanga (TH), son of TH Tu'ionukulava.....	47, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 265.
Simuoko (TMh), d. of THT Tungimana'ia.	117, 210, 230, 231, 248, 249, 252, 284, 292.
Sinaitakala,	207
Sinaitakala-'i-Fanakavakilangi. (TTF).....	239, 243.
Sinaitakala-'i-Fekitetele	231, 240,
Sinaitakala-'i-Langileka. (TTF).....	210, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 234.
Sinaitakala-i-Lotunofu. (TTF).....	231, 240, 241.
Soane Patita Mulikiha'amea (Uvea), 2012.	19.

T.

Takalaua (TT).....	19, 47, 74, 104, 156, 161, 163, 169, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 191, 192, 195, 198, 199, 200, 201, 219, 221, 266, 268, 269, 291, 292.
Takai (hau)	9, 10, 11, 14, 15, 35, 42, 67, 69, 73, 74, 117, 261, 262, 281, 284, 285, 286, 287, 290.
Talia'uli	251, 268, 277.
Tamasia	104, 187, 193.
Tamasoali'i (papa fafine)	34, 37, 127, 131, 133, 134, 135, 148, 150, 194, 214.
Tamalelagi (Tn)	132, 133, 134, 138, 195, 196, 197.
Taufa'ahau (hau)	7, 10, 11, 14, 83, 244, 271, 287, 288, 290, 295.
Taufa Tofua.....	195, 200.
Tatafu (TH)	17, 47, 65, 117, 185, 248, 249, 251, 252, 275, 276, 291.
Teukava (hau).....	14, 35, 67, 117, 261, 262, 284, 290.
Tele'a (TT).....	18, 38, 47, 113, 170, 194, 212, 234, 235.
Tokemoana.....	287.
Tuala Auali'itia, 2010, 2012, 2013.	26, 123, 164, 181, 182.
Tuilagi (2017).....	216.

Tungi	33, 65, 156, 198, 231, 235, 269.
Tungimana'ia (THT)	117, 230, 231.
Tu'ionukulava (TH)	117, 224, 233, 233, 250, 252, 265.
Tu'ipelehake, HSH Prince. (Mailefih),	172, 266, 278.
Tu'imaleali'ifano, tama aiga, Falelatai.	135, 145, 148, 150, 176, 179.
Tu'imaleali'ifano Sualauvi.....	136.
Tu'isoso.....	22.
Tu'ivakano, son of TK Mataeletu'apiko.....	30, 31, 32, 74, 105, 107, 108, 224, 225, 226.
Tupoumohefo (TK),	10, 11, 14, 24, 36, 37, 45, 47, 230, 240, 242, 244, 246, 247, 261, 262, 264, 266, 267, 270, 271, 272, 273, 280, 281, 290.
Tupouniua, son of Ulukalala I.....	19, 66, 278, 281, 284, 285, 286, 390.
Tupouto'a (TK), son of TK Tuku'aho.	11, 15, 42, 47, 67, 74, 236, 240, 243, 244, 245, 247, 261, 271, 272, 282, 284, 285, 286, 287, 290, 294.
Tupua Tamasese.....	27, 31, 121, 129, 130, 133, 135, 136, 141, 144, 145, 148, 149, 150.
U.	
Uluakimata (TT).....	18, 47, 113, 117, 170, 194, 203, 204, 206, 209, 210, 212, 227, 228, 230, 231, 234, 235, 236, 237, 239, 253, 254, 264, 279.
Ulukilupetea, d. of Ngalumoetutulu.	224, 278.
Uho-'o-Lototonga. (Siaosi Ahio).	74, 171, 172, 268, 287.
V.	
Vaha'i-'Uto-Ikamanu.....	11, 14, 17, 35, 67, 117, 261, 262, 283, 284, 285, 290.
Ve'ehala	9, 66, 74, 86, 104, 117, 153, 154, 158, 170, 177, 192, 207, 208, 219, 221, 222, 251, 284.
Vaea.....	47, 73, 74, 113, 202, 224, 225, 226, 263,
Vaea Tangitau	10, 13, 14, 15, 24, 38, 47, 65, 117, 187, 200, 206, 209, 210, 212, 230, 231, 232,

	235, 236, 237, 239, 243, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 261, 263, 264, 265, 276, 279, 292.
Vuna Fa'otusia (THT).....	49, 271
Vuna (TVv).....	19, 224, 225, 236, 245, 246, 247, 249, 261, 265, 269, 270, 272, 275, 276, 277, 278, 283, 284.