

### CHAPTER III

## BACKGROUND TO TONGAN SOCIETY AT THE TIME OF CAPTAIN COOK'S VISITS

I want now to give a Tongan view of the myths, legends, and traditional stories that are cited as history or explanations of Tonga as Cook saw it. I shall first describe various myths of origin and then give an account of the Tu'i Tonga, his court, and the *ha'a* derived from his line, then of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and the *ha'a* derived from it, and finally the Tu'i Kanokupolu and the *ha'a* and titles derived from it.

#### THE TU'I TONGA

##### *Origin Myths*

The origin myths of Tonga, and especially the origin myth concerning the Tu'i Tonga, throw a good deal of light on Tongan ideas about their political system.<sup>22</sup> In the beginning, the first inhabitants of Tonga are said to have come from the sky and from the underworld, the men from the sky, the women from the underworld. There is no myth of migration from a distant land.

It is said that one of the five Tangaloa gods came down from the sky to see whether there was any land in the region where Tonga now stands. He reported to another Tangaloa in the sky that there was nothing there except a shoal. On each subsequent trip the shoal became shallower, until it was a bar of sand, and finally a sandy island. This was the island of 'Ata near Tongatapu. When the Tangaloa gods heard that there was nothing but a shoal, Tangaloa-Tufunga 'Tangaloa-Carpenter' poured chips and scraps from his workshop on to the region of the earth and created the island of 'Eua. Another Tangaloa sent down some vegetation for the island of 'Ata, but there were still no people. The first three men of the island were created by a Tangaloa who broke off a piece of the root of a vine, thus turning it into a maggot. Then he broke the maggot in two, and each part became a man. One was called Ko Hai 'Who is it?' and the other was called Ko Au 'It is I'. A third bit stuck to his beak, and that became the third man. His name was Momo 'Fragment'. These three men lived on 'Ata, but they had no women with them.

Then several of the Maui came from the underworld. They went to Manuka (Manu'a in Samoa) where they found Tonga Fusifonua 'Tonga the Land-Fisher', a mythical being with a special fishhook that he was

using to fish lands up out of the sea. One Maui tricked Tonga into giving them the hook, and promised to name the first land they fished up Tonga, in remembrance of him. They made a trial first to see whether they had been given the right hook, and fished up Tokelau. Then they moved up and fished up their first real land, and named it Tonga. This is the island of Tongatapu. At the same time they discovered the island of 'Ata with its three solitary men, and promised to go back to the underworld to bring them some women. Having done so, they busied themselves in pulling up more islands—Ha'apai, Vava'u, Niua, and the other islands of Samoa besides Manuka. The high islands—such as Kao and Late—were thrown down from the sky.

By this time the land was there and the people were multiplying. Ko Hai is said to have been the first Tu'i Tonga, and Ko Au the second. On an island near Tonga there was a giant *toa* tree that one lord of heaven, Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a, used to climb down to the earth. On one of his trips he slept with a lovely Tongan woman, Va'epopua, and she gave birth to a son, 'Aho'eitu. 'Eitumatupu'a went back to heaven, leaving his son on earth with his mother. When the boy grew up he wanted to see his father, so his mother told him about the tree. He climbed up and found his father, who greeted him with joy and prepared food for him. 'Eitumatupu'a had other, older sons with heavenly mothers. These sons were living in heaven with him, and he sent 'Aho'eitu out unaccompanied to see them. They were jealous of 'Aho'eitu because of his beauty and his skill in a game he played with them, and so they killed and ate him. When 'Eitumatupu'a could not find 'Aho'eitu, he summoned his sons and accused them of harming him, but they said they were innocent. But the father did not believe them. He ordered a large wooden bowl to be brought, and made them vomit into it. The bowl was filled with flesh and blood. Then the brothers confessed, and brought the head and the bones and put them into the bowl with the flesh and blood. A little water was poured in as well, and then the whole was covered with leaves of *nonu* (*Morinda citrifolia* which is still used for healing). After a time all the parts reunited and 'Aho'eitu sat up in the bowl. Then the father summoned 'Aho'eitu and all the older brothers to come before him. He told them that 'Aho'eitu would go down to Tonga and would become Tu'i Tonga, replacing the line of Ko Hai and Ko Au, but the brothers of 'Aho'eitu would have to stay behind. Affection awoke in the breasts of the brothers, and they wept for what they had done. Later these brothers followed the Tu'i Tonga, and became his attendants on earth. The eldest, Talafale, was told by his father that he would be Tu'ifaleua, king of the second house, so if 'Aho'eitu's line failed, his descendants would become the Tu'i Tonga. But he could not become Tu'i Tonga himself because he

had committed murder. The other four brothers formed the Tu'i Tonga's first Falefā 'House of Four': Matakehe, Maliepō, Tu'iloloko, and Tu'ifolaha. The first two were to guard the Tu'i Tonga, and the second two were to help him to govern and to conduct his funeral.<sup>23</sup>

One of the interesting things in this myth is that it was the youngest son who became king. In the normal course of events this would not happen in Tonga, for it was usually an elder son (or a brother) who succeeded to a title. But a more important principle overrode that of seniority, and that was that 'Aho'eitu's mother was a woman of the earth, whereas the mothers of the other brothers were women of heaven. 'Aho'eitu became the ruler among the people of the earth because he had the support of his mother and her people. His brothers had no claim on the loyalties of the earth people. Queen Sālote stressed that this same situation was acted out time and time again in Tongan history—it was the mother's people who gave support to an aspiring chief, and if they were not strong he had little chance of success. It was difficult for a chief to get an established following on a new island unless his mother came from that island, or unless he himself married women from the island. Relations with the mother's people were usually more friendly and cordial than relations with the father's people (see Chapter II, "Rank and Authority"), and one could ask for assistance from the mother's people much more readily and without worrying about repaying them.

The origin myth expresses another basic principle of Tongan social and political life, namely, that brothers of the same father were supposed to love and honour one another, but, in fact, they were likely to be jealous. In the myth the jealousy is openly expressed. In reality it was often suppressed and hidden, but all the same it was there. It would never do for close brothers to quarrel or murder each other, but they might get others to do the dirty work for them. In fact, other myths continue to express this theme, for it is said several subsequent Tu'i Tonga were murdered, and it was people of the line of Tu'ifaleua who were responsible. They did not always do it themselves, but they were behind the assassinations of the Tu'i Tonga.

### *Legends of the Early Tu'i Tonga*

In the early days, the Tu'i Tonga was evidently both a secular and a sacred ruler, that is, he managed the day-to-day government of the country, but he was also the intermediary between the people and the gods. Very little is known about these early Tu'i Tonga. There are hardly any legends about the ones in between 'Aho'eitu and Momo, the tenth one. One cannot even be sure how many of the Tu'i Tonga there were in the line, for the lists differ. Gifford (1929:50) lists 39. A list published in

*Koe Boobooi* in 1877 has 48.<sup>24</sup> This list is based on the Tamahā's, but was corrected by Lupepau'u, her brother Veale'ovale, and Hepisipa.<sup>25</sup> It appears, however, as if these early Tu'i Tonga lived inland on the island of Tongatapu, roughly in the region where Toloa is now. In the time of Momo, said to have been the tenth Tu'i Tonga, the Tu'i Tonga's residence was moved to Heketā on the north-east coast of the island, probably where the Ha'amonga 'a Maui stands, and it is said it was the aggressiveness of the people of Tu'ifaleua that caused this move, as the descendants of Talafale lived in the area where Pelehake is now (i.e., not far from Toloa).

There are several legends about Momo. According to the list of Tu'i Tonga published in *Koe Boobooi*, this Momo was the same one who was created by the Tangaloa in the beginning, even though, according to this list, there are supposed to have been 12 Tu'i Tonga in between Ko Au and Momo. (As usual in Tonga, the same name means fusion of identity.) There is also a legend about Momo and Nua, the daughter of Lo'au, who was Tu'iha'amea, or lord of the central part of Tongatapu. Momo sent a *matāpule*, Lehā'uli, to ask Lo'au for a piece of yam, meaning his daughter Nua. Lo'au replied that the yam was old and had already sprouted, meaning that Nua had already had a child, to which Momo sent back a message saying never mind, as long as it was Nua.

Lo'au is an important figure in Tongan tradition. There appear to have been at least two, and perhaps three, Lo'au: one in the time of Momo, another in the time of Tu'i Tonga Kau'ulufonuafekai, and another much later, in the time of the second or third Tu'i Kanokupolu. All are said to have been *tufunga fonua*, literally 'carpenters of the country', meaning the founders of customs and the regulators of social life. Whenever a major reorganisation of the country took place, the name Lo'au crops up. All three Lo'au are supposed to have disappeared when their tasks were completed. The name has come to be used for someone who establishes customs. Hence we were often told in 1959 by various *matāpule*: "The Queen is our Lo'au today", and the special discussions which were held in 1959 with the *matāpule* by Her Majesty in *kava* ceremonies were called Lo'au.

The first Lo'au is supposed to have played an important part in the origin of the *kava* and, as the *kava* ritual is such a vital part of Tongan social life, I shall describe the legend. The version I am giving here is the one which Queen Sālote wrote down for the Tonga Traditions Committee. There are many other versions of the same story, but they agree on the main theme.

One day the Tu'i Tonga went fishing for 'atu 'bonito' with a friend, for at that time he was not sacred as he was later on, and he could go

fishing like other men. They did not catch anything, but they became very tired and hungry so they called in at the little island of 'Eueiki to get something to eat. At that time there was only one couple living on the island, the man's name being Fevanga and the woman's Fefafa. They had a daughter who was ill with leprosy. It was a time of famine, and the only food they had left on the island was a large *kape* 'giant taro', which stood near the beach. When the Tu'i Tonga landed, he sat down to rest under this plant. When Fevanga and Fefafa knew who their guest was and realised that he was hungry and tired, they immediately set about making an 'umu 'ground oven', but when they came to get the taro, they found that the Tu'i Tonga was leaning against it, and this meant that they could not use it. The Tu'i Tonga's friend watched them closely and saw them hit something inside their house and then bring it out to be baked in the ground oven. He saw that they had killed their own daughter, because they had nothing else they could give their king. The king's friend went and told him what the old couple had done. The king was deeply touched by their sacrifice, and rose up immediately and returned to Tonga, leaving the old couple to bury their child properly. Two plants grew from the grave, one at the head end and the other at the foot. One day the old couple saw a mouse bite the first plant, stagger a bit, and then bite the second plant, after which it recovered its balance. Lo'au came to the island, and the old people told him all that had happened. He sat in silence for a time, deeply moved, and then spoke in poetry, telling them what they should do. They must take the two plants to the Tu'i Tonga and give him Lo'au's instructions about how the plants should be used. The one was to be used to make a drink, and that was *kava*. The other was to be eaten with the drink, and that was the sugar-cane. The old couple did as he told them. At first the Tu'i Tonga thought the plant might be poisonous, so he had one of his *matāpule* taste it first. But on finding it was all right, he directed his people to carry out Lo'au's instructions. And so *kava* was made for the first time, and the rules of procedure in making and serving it were established.

The drinking of *kava* is thus a communion. It commemorates not only the sacrifice of the people for their king, but also the sympathy and appreciation of the king for his people. But life is not ruled by love alone. The story of the *kava* includes the bad with the good, the bitter with the sweet. For although Fevanga and Fefafa made a great sacrifice, their daughter had leprosy, and eating her might have harmed the king. And although the king was touched by their sacrifice, he at first suspected that the plant they brought to him might be poisonous. So the story of the *kava* and the drinking of it expresses not only the good aspect of relations between the king and people, but also doubts and suspicions as well.

It is said the son of Momo and Nua was Tu'i Tonga Tu'itātui, and there are several legends about him. He was the reputed builder of the Ha'amonga 'a Maui, the stones for which were said to have been brought all the way from 'Uvea. It was in his time that the carapace of the turtle, Sāngone, was recovered from Samoa. Tu'itātui is said to have struck the knees of his *matāpule* when they came too close to him in the *kava* ring, for fear they might assassinate him. There is also a story about how Tu'itātui committed incest with his sister Lātūtama.<sup>26</sup> Some say that it was Tu'itātui who married Nua, and he first saw her on 'Eueiki. Tu'itātui is said to have had a platform (*fata*) in his house thus making it into a two-storeyed dwelling. The platform was made of a wood called *fehi*, and after his time Fatafehi became the family name of the Tu'i Tonga.

It is said Tu'itātui's daughter, Fatafehi, did not like the sound of the waves constantly beating on the reef at Heketā, and so her brothers removed the court and the capital to Mu'a. Langileka was built at this time, and it was the first of the '*otu langi* 'royal tombs' at Lapaha. Olotele was the name of the Tu'i Tonga's *mala'e* 'clearing' in Lapaha.

It is said Tu'i Tonga Talatama, Tu'itātui's son, did not have a son, and was succeeded by his brother Tala-'i-Ha'apepe. But succession was always supposed to go from father to son in the Tu'i Tonga line, and so before Tala-'i-Ha'apepe could succeed, a fictitious king was made of wood, Nui Tamatou. Nui Tamatou then "died", and then Tala-'i-Ha'apepe, his "son" was declared Tu'i Tonga.

Tala-'i-Ha'apepe was succeeded by Talakaifaiki, who ruled Samoa as well as Tonga. Most of the early Tu'i Tonga line are supposed to have ruled Samoa as well as Tonga, and the legends show that connections with Samoa were very important at this time. In the reign of Talakaifaiki, the Tongans were expelled from Samoa by Tuna and Fata, the ancestors of the Malietoa title. This is an important legend in Samoa, but does not occur in Tonga, doubtlessly because the Samoans won on this occasion, and all peoples prefer to remember their victories and forget their defeats.

Then follow three Tu'i Tonga of whom little is known. The next, Havea I, was murdered, and his body was cut into two pieces. When his mother's people heard of his death and mutilation, their chief, Lufe, told them to cut his legs off and take them to complete the body of the Tu'i Tonga. They did this, and joined up the legs to the body so the Tu'i Tonga was made whole again. Then he was buried. Here again we see the devotion of the mother's people to their daughter's child. This Lufe is still a title in Tongatapu at the present time, with its seat at the village of Folaha.

The next Tu'i Tonga was Tatafu'eikimeimu'a. He is remembered for

his unsuccessful courtship of a beautiful Samoan girl, Hina. Tatafu's brother, Nganatatafu, was more successful, and Hina gave him two bonitos as a remembrance of her. It is possible that this Ngana was the founder of the Ha'a Ngana, for his home was said to be the island of Ha'ano in Ha'apai, where the present title of Tu'iha'angana has its seat.

Lomiaetupu'a is said to be the next Tu'i Tonga, but little is known of him. The next was Havea II and, like Havea I, he is said to have been murdered: by a Fijian, Tuluvota, though the reason is not known.

Havea's son and successor was Takalaua, about whom there are several stories. One story concerns his marriage with a beautiful girl called Vae, who was so lovely that Takalaua struck himself in the face with a stick when he was beating the drum for a dance, because he was trying to see her instead of watching his drumsticks. Hence her name, Vaelaveamata 'Vae the face-wounder'.<sup>27</sup>

Takalaua was murdered by two men of the Ha'atalafale, Tamosia and Malofafa, supposedly descendants of 'Aho'eitu's oldest brother Talafale. Takalaua's sons swore to avenge the murder before they buried the Tu'i Tonga. Accordingly, they pursued the assassins to 'Eua, Ha'apai, Vava'u, Niuatoputapu, Niuafo'ou, Samoa, Futuna, Fiji, and 'Uvea, waging successful wars in all these places. Eventually the assassins were caught and killed in 'Uvea, after which Takalaua's sons returned home and buried their father.

It is probable this story embodies a romanticised version of a time when Tonga was extending its influence in the places mentioned. The Tu'i Tonga followed up his successful wars by sending men out to live on the conquered islands. He did not succeed in holding Fiji or Samoa, however, though connections with Samoa continued to be very close and there was much intermarriage of the subsequent Tu'i Tonga line with Samoan women, and of Tongan women of high rank with Fijian men. The legends suggest that links between Samoa and Tonga were very close in the early period. Possibly Samoa once ruled Tonga. The fact that Tongan "chiefly language", that is, the language of respect, shows Samoan influence suggests that the rulers of Tonga may originally have been Samoan. But later on it appears as if Tongan rulers were governing Samoa, for there are repeated references in Samoan legends to the driving out of the Tongans. Even after this period, relations between Tonga and Samoa were close.

From the time of Tu'i Tonga Kau'ulufonua Fekai onwards, the kingdom of Tonga consisted of Tongatapu and its neighbouring island groups, Ha'apai, Vava'u, the two Niua islands and 'Uvea. Because 'Uvea was so far away, Tonga's grip on it was not firm, and even the two Niua islands were fairly independent. One of the striking things shown



by the legends is that the kingdom as it exists today has been united under one government for a very long time. There is no evidence of conquests of Ha'apai or Vava'u, and equally there is no tradition of rebellions in these islands in the early period.

*The Creation of the Title Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, and the Sending of Other Chiefs to Outlying Islands*

Takalaua was succeeded by his son, Kau'ulufonua Fekai, called *fekai* 'ferocious' because of the way he pursued and treated his father's murderers. His reign appears to have been a time of reorganising the nation, for several important changes are said to have been made by him.

First, he created a new title, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, and appointed his brother Mo'ungamotu'a as the first holder of the title. The duties of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua were to look after the secular affairs of the kingdom, that is, to take charge of the day-to-day government. It became his duty to divide the lands, and because of this he was sometimes called Tu'i Kelekele 'Lord of the Land'. It was also his responsibility to see that the people paid respect to the Tu'i Tonga, and particularly that they sent *'inasi* and the other forms of tribute customarily required. It was his duty to protect the Tu'i Tonga. From this time on, the Tu'i Tonga became the ritual head of the nation and he was no longer its secular head. His position became more and more sacred and less and less powerful as time went on, until by the time of Tu'i Tonga Paulaho he had scarcely any control of the nation, even though his title was of the highest rank and his presence was essential for the performance of the *'inasi* ceremony. (The Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and his functions are discussed below.)

Besides creating the new kingship, Tu'i Tonga Kau'ulufonua Fekai sent many relatives to outlying islands: Takalaua to 'Eua, Haveatuli and Niutongi (or Niutongo)<sup>28</sup> to Vava'u, Kolomoe'uto and Mata'uvave to Ha'apai, Talapalo to Niuatoputapu, Makauka and Hakavalu to Niuafo'ou, and 'Elili to 'Uvea. The Takalaua who was sent to 'Eua was a younger brother of Kau'ulufonua Fekai. The identity of the others is not known. Some say that the first Fotofili of Niuafo'ou was a son of Kau'ulufonua Fekai, but the accepted version is that he was a son of Tatafu, who in turn was a son of Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Fotofili. Of all these early Ha'atakalaua titles, only Haveatuli and Mata'uvave have survived. The seat of the Haveatuli title is at Mataika in Vava'u, and he is now described as an *'eiki si'i* 'petty chief', and is appointed by the sovereign. His duties are to receive royal visitors from Tonga and also to lead the people of Mataika. Gifford says that when he was in Tonga in 1921 Haveatuli was being appointed by the *matāpule* Tahifisi, and was evidently considered to be subordinate to him. Mata'uvave is now



described as a petty chief at Tongaleleka in Lifuka, Ha'apai.

*The Falefā of the Tu'i Tonga*

In the time of Takalaua and Kau'ulufonua Fekai certain changes were made, especially in the organisation of the Falefā, the attendants of the Tu'i Tonga. Once again the name of Lo'au is mentioned as the guiding spirit behind these changes, and also in the sending out of people to all the islands. The exact nature of the duties of the Falefā before the time of Takalaua is not certain, but some of the legends indicate that they were supposed to help the Tu'i Tonga with governing the country. Even for the time after Takalaua our knowledge of the Falefā is scanty. This is because the dynasty of the Tu'i Tonga declined in the 18th century and finally ended in the 19th century, and the importance of the Falefā decreased with the decline of the 'eiki whom they served, so their functions are not well remembered. They are still appointed today, but their duties are like those of other *matāpule*.

Tungī Halatuituia left an account of the reorganisation of the Falefā (Gifford 1929:66-9). According to this account, the house descended from 'Aho'eitu's brother, Matakehe, had died out by the time of Takalaua. Maliepō was sent to serve the newly created Tu'i Ha'atakalaua. Newcomers had been brought into the Falefā from Samoa, Fiji, and Rotuma, and the organisation of them into houses was as follows. There were two houses of the right, Fale-'o-Tu'iloloko and Fale-'o-Tu'imatahau, and two houses of the left, Fale-'o-Tu'italau and Fale-'o-Tu'i'amanave. At *kava* ceremonies, the Falefā of the right sat on the Tu'i Tonga's right-hand side, and those of the two houses of the left sat on his left.

The Fale-'o-Tu'iloloko was the only house that was continued from the first organisation of the Falefā. The main title of this house was Malupō. The duties of the members of this house were the blowing of the conch shell, singing at the funeral of the Tu'i Tonga, providing the oil for his funeral, and *tufa* 'directing the serving of the *kava*'. The second house of the right was the Fale-'o-Tu'imatahau, and the main titles were Veamatahau, 'Aphala (originally from Rotuma), and others from Fiji: Fakahafua, 'Alusa, and 'Ahiohio. The members of the Fale-'o-Tu'imatahau had charge of dances.

The members of the Fale-'o-Tu'italau came mainly from Fiji. The original one was Tu'imotuliki, but his name was changed later to Tu'italau. The other major titles were Fainga'a and Soakai. Their duties were to divide the *koloa* (mats and bark-cloth) and the food presented at the Tu'i Tonga's funeral. Soakai was also entitled to eat the remains of the Tu'i Tonga's food, a custom that is still maintained in the *kava*

ceremony of the Tu'i Kanokupolu, where Soakai is the only person who eats his *fono* 'relish'. The Fale-'o-Tu'i'amanave was composed mainly of Samoans: Kavapele, Tuivai, Lehāpoto, and Uhatafe. Their duty was to receive the people who came to the Tu'i Tonga and to tell them what to do.

Some people attribute the reorganisation of the Falefā to the time of Momo and Tu'itātui, a very much earlier period than that of Tu'i Tonga Takalaua. Others put it much later, to the time when the title of the Tu'i Kanokupolu was created. What has probably caused the confusion is that, shortly after the creation of the Tu'i Kanokupolu, two *matāpule* were sent out to each of the major island groups, and this reorganisation has become confused with the regrouping of the Falefā.

From the tale of the reorganisation of the Falefā it seems clear it had become the custom for foreigners to come and stay with the Tu'i Tonga at his court. Many of them wanted to stay permanently in Tonga, and one of the ways they were assimilated into Tongan society was by absorbing them into the Falefā, a convenient practice, since foreigners were able to provide services for the Tu'i Tonga that the Tongans could not because of the *tapu* upon his person. Indeed, not only the Falefā but also most of the other *matāpule* in Tonga were of foreign origin.

### *The Tu'i Tonga after Tele'a*

The succession of Tu'i Tonga after Kau'ukufonua Fekai is not at all certain, but the various lists are in agreement after Tu'i Tonga Tele'a ('Uluakimata), and this is the point at which fairly detailed genealogical knowledge begins (see Figure 1 for the succession of Tu'i Tonga from Tele'a onwards).

There were 10 Tu'i Tonga after Tele'a, and this is an interesting point because in other parts of the world it has been found that 10 generations is about the limit to which most peoples can trace their genealogies with some semblance of accuracy—unless they have writing. At present, of course, the genealogical knowledge in Tonga extends over more than 10 generations because so much has been written down. In Tonga today only a very few aristocrats can remember back even five or six generations without consulting their genealogical books, and most people of lower rank trace their own families only back to their grandparents or great-grandparents. However, there is a great deal of variation from one person to another in this respect. Generally speaking, women are much better at remembering genealogies than are men. In Tonga, unlike Samoa, the *matāpule* do not have the task of remembering their chief's genealogies; in fact, they were not supposed to know too much about them, and even today it is difficult to get a well-bred *matāpule* to talk

about his chief's genealogy even when he knows it. In Tonga women of high rank took on the duty of remembering the genealogies of their families. (Sometimes they used to play a game of starting with a little-known ancestor and coming down and down until people of high rank began to emerge. It was against the rules to start with an aristocrat. Perhaps the great ladies of the past used this game to remind one another of their more obscure origins.)

Some time after the establishment of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, the institution of the *mohefo* developed. As described above, it consisted of the Tu'i Tonga marrying the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua's eldest daughter. The first such marriage is said to have been made by Tele'a's son, Fatafehi, who married Kaloafūtonga, daughter of Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Mo'ungātonga, the sixth of the line of Tu'i Ha'atakalaua. Before that time, the Tu'i Tonga had had a large number of wives, and the *mā'itaki* or chief wife was simply the one he favoured. Many of the wives were Samoans. But the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua's daughter was called the *mohefo*, and she was always the mother of the next Tu'i Tonga. It did not matter whether she was the favourite wife or not.

After the time of Tele'a, the life of the Tu'i Tonga was much more peaceful and settled. There was unbroken succession from father to son for seven generations down to the time of Paulaho. There were no more murders of a Tu'i Tonga. During this period the formal etiquette and gracious manners so admired by Cook were brought to perfection.

In nearly all cases the succession of the Tu'i Tonga was from father to son, and it was the eldest son of the *mohefo* who succeeded. Normally there was no discussion about who should succeed; it was automatic.

It is evident, however, that even in Cook's day something queer was going on in the Tu'i Tonga's court, for the succession of Paulaho had not followed the customary rules. Pau's mother was not a *mohefo*, she was only a secondary wife (*fokonofa*): this was a sister or another close relative of the *mohefo*. In addition, Paulaho succeeded before his older brother, Ma'ulupekotofa, whose mother is generally thought to have been *mohefo*. Actually, not all the written genealogies agree on this point. Some say that Ma'ulupekotofa's mother 'Anaukiesina was a *mohefo*. Others say that only Tu'ilokamana, daughter of Tu'i Kanokupolu Vuna, was a *mohefo* and that 'Anaukiesina was only a *fokonofa*, even though she was also the daughter of a king. Her father was Tu'i Kanokupolu Ma'afu'o-tu'itonga. But everyone is agreed that Paulaho's mother, Laumanukilupe, was only a *fokonofa*. In any case, it was irregular for the younger brother to become Tu'i Tonga before his older brother. We know that Ma'ulupekotofa was alive when Paulaho became Tu'i Tonga, because it was Ma'ulupekotofa who became Tu'i

Tonga after Pau had died. (Tu'ilokamana's son did not succeed because he died in childhood.)

Another strange thing about Paulaho and Ma'ulupekotofa was that, although he was Tu'i Tonga first, Paulaho's full sister Siumafua'uta was not Tu'i Tonga Fefine, or at least, most of the genealogies do not specifically mention her as such. But everyone is agreed that Ma'ulupekotofa's full sister Nanasipau'u was a Tu'i Tonga Fefine.

There is no way of finding out why the succession was irregular at this time. Perhaps Ma'ulupekotofa was away from Tonga at the time of the appointment and people thought he had left for good. But there is no way of being sure.

When a Tu'i Tonga died there was a very large funeral, and people from all over the nation came to Mu'a, the capital, with 'umu 'cooked food' and *kava* for the *pongipongi* of the funeral. There were several such funeral *pongipongi*, for not all the people came at the same time. Mourning lasted for 100 nights. At the end of this time there was a ceremony called *faka'ō ngafingafi* at which their mother's people came and put new mats on the children of the late Tu'i Tonga. This ended the mourning for the relatives. Mourning for the nation was ended by the ceremony of *hifo kilikili*, where all other mourning observances were removed. Special black pebbles called *kilikili* were brought from the island of Tofua, oiled, and placed on the grave. Many separate contributions of 'umu were presented by all the people, and there was a *kava* ceremony at which the undertakers (*ha'a tufunga*) officiated. Then the undertakers were given their share of 'umu and *koloa* (mats and bark-cloth), after which everyone went home.

The appointment of the new Tu'i Tonga consisted simply of his sitting at the head of the *kava* ring and being served with *kava* for the first time, which took place after the ceremony of *kilikili*. Then finally came the *pongipongi* at which all the people brought in the 'umu and presented it to their new king as an acknowledgement of his new status.

### *The Court of the Tu'i Tonga*

A very considerable number of people lived with the Tu'i Tonga, constituting his court. First, there were his various wives and concubines. Of these, the *moheofo* was the most important; she had a house for herself and her children. She brought a good many of her own relatives with her as attendants and assistants. There were the *fokonofa*. The reason for bringing close relatives as secondary wives was that their children would be less likely to dispute the succession with the *moheofo*'s children. They would support her children and help them. There were the *sinifu fonua*. These were the daughters of important men, usually those who had large

*kāinga* and held large tracts of land. These girls often left after they had had a child by the Tu'i Tonga, and married someone else. There were other women whom the Tu'i Tonga fancied and wished to have at his court, even though they were not the daughters of important men. These women were called *sinifu*.

Second, there were usually a number of the Tu'i Tonga's brothers and sisters, including those of lower rank, that is, the children his father had had with any of his *sinifu*.

Third, there were the *kau fa'u*. These were people of the Tu'i Tonga's mother, and they came to prepare his food and to look after him generally. Nowadays, according to Queen Sālote, people use *fa'u* as a term of contempt, thinking that it means commoners of low rank who do the cooking and heavy work. But in the beginning it meant close relatives on the mother's side who came to look after the Tu'i Tonga. It seems probable, however, in time the term *fa'u* was extended in meaning to include not only the mother's people but also all those relatives of low rank who helped with the cooking. I have been told that in time it came to mean distant relatives of the mother, such as people connected through the mother's mother and therefore having lower rank than the immediate relatives of the mother. Besides the *kau fa'u*, there were women called *kaunanga* and men called *tamai 'o 'eiki*. These were very close relatives on the mother's side. They cooked the *'eiki's* food, but they did not do heavy work. The expression *tamai 'o 'eiki* came from an early Tu'ilakepa. There was a man called Paleinangalu, himself an *'eiki*, who had a son, Tungimāna'ia. This son was adopted by an early Tu'iha'ateiho, Fakatakatu'u. Paleinangalu so loved his son he went with him to prepare his food and generally to look after him. Since he was Tungimāna'ia's father, the expression *tamai 'o 'eiki* came to be used for those men who came to look after the *'eiki's* food.

Fourth, there were the *pōpula* or *tu'avivi*, a word used to describe people captured in war and put to work for their captors. *Pōpula* is usually translated as 'slave', though in Tonga there was no sharp distinction between these *pōpula* and relatives of low rank (*tu'a*). There were comparatively few war-captives in any case, and it seems likely the word *pōpula* was sometimes used for relatives of low rank, especially when one wished to annoy them.

Fifth, there were the Falefā, whose duties have been described above. They were mainly ceremonial attendants, and they directed the Tu'i Tonga's *kava* ceremonies.

Sixth, there were the *toutai vaka* 'navigators', *toutai ika* 'fishermen', *kau tufunga* 'carpenters', and other special craftsmen.

There were also foreigners, *kau muli*. They were kept at court more or

less as pets. Hospitality to foreigners has been a tradition in Tonga for a very long time, and they were well treated.

The court of the Tu'i Tonga must have been quite large, perhaps several hundred people. They were maintained and fed by the relatives of the Tu'i Tonga, by the relatives of the wives and concubines, and by the people of the Tu'i Tonga's mother. The Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and later the Tu'i Kanokupolu constantly sent presents of food, and there were certain ceremonial occasions at which they also sent food. At the time of the *'inasī* ceremony food was brought from all over the kingdom. It is clear the Tu'i Tonga did not work himself; his person had become sacred. He and his court were supported by others. In fact, many of the early writers speak as if the Tu'i Tonga and the kings (Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu) were grossly exploiting the people. Immense quantities of food and *koloa* were presented to the kings, but much of it was distributed among the people.<sup>29</sup> This had to be done with the food, especially, since it did not keep. In fact, the Tu'i Tonga and the other kings acted as clearing houses through which food was collected and distributed through the nation. An interesting confirmation of this interpretation is to be found in Mariner. Mariner had a great deal of difficulty in explaining to Fīnau 'Ulukālala why the Europeans used money, and when Fīnau finally understood, this is what he said:

. . . certainly money is much handier, and more convenient, but then, as it will not spoil by being kept, people will store it up, instead of sharing it out, as a chief ought to do, and thus become selfish, whereas, if provisions were the principal property of a man, and it ought to be, as being both the most useful and the most necessary, he could not store it up, for it would spoil, and so he would be obliged either to exchange it away for something else useful, or share it out to his neighbours, and inferior chiefs and dependants for nothing. . . . I understand now very well what it is that makes the Papalangis so selfish—it is this money! (Martin/Mariner 1818, I:251)

*Kauhala'uta: Chiefly Titles Derived from the Tu'i Tonga*

Besides the immediate court of the Tu'i Tonga, there were several major groups of titles in Kauhala'uta.

*Ha'a Ngana:* There are two Ha'a Ngana titles at the present time, Tu'iha'angana and Malupō. Both originated before the time of Tu'i Tonga Tele'a, but their origin is not well known. Some say that the founding ancestor was Nganatatafu of Ha'ano in Ha'apai, the beautiful young man who was successful in courting the Samoan girl Hina when his brother Tu'i Tonga Tatafu'eikimeimu'a had failed. The girl gave

Nganatatafu two bonitos as a remembrance of her, and this is said to be the way the bonito came to Ha'ano. In time a title developed, the Tu'iha'angana with its seat at the island of Ha'ano in Ha'apai. Some of the Ha'ano people were taken by Nganatatafu or by one of his descendants, Ngana'eiki, to the island of 'Uiha in Ha'apai, and in time a new title developed there: Malupō. I could not discover the exact relationship of the first Malupō to the Tu'iha'angana. There is a legend that the island now known as 'Uiha was formerly called Felemea. Some spirits stole a piece of land from Niuatoputapu and joined it on to Felemea, making the part of the island where the village of 'Uiha now stands. The spirits of Niuatoputapu were very angry over the theft, but they could not find their bit of island because it had been joined together with Felemea. The people of Felemea were afraid to settle on the new land, however, and not until Ngana'eiki came and led them on to the new land did they consent to settle there.<sup>30</sup> Much later Malupō came to be regarded as the chief of Nomuka.

According to the legends, the Ha'a Ngana were embroiled in a war with Mata'uvave and Kolomoe'uto, the two chiefs sent to Ha'apai by Tu'i Tonga Kau'ulufonua Fekai. Some say that the Ha'a Ngana people were already living there and Mata'uvave destroyed them. Later on a few survivors crept back. Others say that the Ha'a Ngana only came to Ha'ano and 'Uiha after Mata'uvave had destroyed the earlier inhabitants of the island.

At any rate, one thing is certain: these two titles are very old, having originated in legendary times. In fact, they are the only ones of the present *nōpele* titles which began before the time of Tu'i Tonga Tele'a. These two titles and their *kāinga* do not appear to have had any special duty to the Tu'i Tonga except that of sending *'inasi*.

For a considerable time during the 19th and 20th centuries, these two titles of Ha'a Ngana were considered to belong to the Fale Fisi. This was because Tu'ilakepa Makahokovalu (Note 21) was descended from Malupō on his father's side, and was linked by kinship with the Tu'iha'angana on his mother's side. At the Lo'au of 1959,<sup>31</sup> however, it was suggested by Queen Sālote that the two titles of Ha'a Ngana should really separate from the Fale Fisi and return to being called Ha'a Ngana once again.

*The Sina'e:* The Sina'e were the 'children' of the Tu'i Tonga, meaning that the titles were originated by children who did not succeed to the title of Tu'i Tonga. There were three types of Sina'e: Sina'e *ki mu'a* 'front' Sina'e, meaning that they sat in the *'alofi* at the royal *kava* ring of the Tu'i Tonga; Sina'e *ki mui* 'back' Sina'e, meaning that they sat in the



*tau'a*; and Sina'e *'eiki* 'aristocratic' Sina'e. There are several Sina'e titles at the present time, but very little is known about their origin or development.

Tamale, Manumu'a, and Lomu'eiki are the three present titles usually considered to be Sina'e *ki mu'a*. The seat of Tamale is at Niutoua in Hahake, the eastern part of Tongatapu. It is said the original Tamale was a son of an early Tu'i Tonga, probably in the days of Heketā. The seat of Manumu'a is in 'Eua. It is said that the first Manumu'a was the son of a Tu'i Tonga and a *sinifu*, though it is not known which Tu'i Tonga it was. A later Manumu'a married the daughter of Hama of 'Eua, a title of Ha'atakalaua. The seat of Lomu'eiki is at Mangia in Vava'u. The original Lomu was a carpenter to the Tu'i Tonga. While doing his work for one of the Tu'i Tonga, he became very friendly with the Tu'i Tonga's little son. Because he was fond of the child, and because he wanted to raise the rank of his title, he asked the Tu'i Tonga for permission to adopt the boy. The boy became the progenitor of the title Lomu'eiki. One of the Lomu'eiki went to Vava'u and the seat of this title is now at Mangia, whereas the carpenter title continued at Tafoa in Tongatapu.

The titles usually said to belong to the Sina'e *ki mui* are Kavakimotu, Lutu, and Fīfī. The seat of the title Fīfī is at Longoteme in Tongatapu, but I could not discover the origin of the title. The seat of Kavakimotu is at Toloa in Tongatapu, though the present holder of the title lives at Hamula. The seat of Lutu is also at Toloa, and the present holder lives at Malapo in Luani's *tofi'a* 'estate'. Luani is a Ha'a Takalaua title. The origin of these titles is uncertain, but as they are both supposed to be at Toloa, it seems possible they originated in the days of the very early Tu'i Tonga, when they resided at Toloa.

It is noteworthy that very little is known about these titles, even by the men who hold them at the present time. The difficulty is that the titles are extremely old, so people have lost track of them. But, also, the importance of the Tu'i Tonga gradually declined and finally this title was absorbed by the Tu'i Kanokupolu, so the titles associated with it have also become much less important.

The Sina'e *'eiki* are much more recent. All are descended from a son of a Tu'i Tonga and the daughter of a king. There were three main titles: Tafolo, Tokemoana and a very much more recent one, Veikune, though Veikune is sometimes considered to be more closely connected to the Ha'a Takalaua. The first Tafolo was a son of Tu'i Tonga Kau'ulufonua (son of Tu'i Tonga Fatafehi) and Tu'utangahunuhunu, daughter of Tu'i Kanokupolu Atamata'ila. Tu'utangahunuhunu was sent to the Tu'i Tonga as a *moheofo*, but this was in the days when the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua was still strong, so that the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua's daughter

became the *moheofo* and Tu'utangahunuhunu was only a secondary wife. This meant that Tafolo could not become Tu'i Tonga, but he was an important man because his mother was the daughter of a king, and his name became a title. Tafolo had a *'api* at Mu'a, but he did not have an estate of his own.

The first Tokemoana was a son of Tu'i Tonga 'Uluakimata and Toa, daughter of Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Vaea. Tokemoana was a full *tehina* 'younger brother' of Tu'ipulotu, who became Tu'i Tonga (Tu'ipulotu-i-Langitu'ofefafa). Tokemoana was at first a personal name but became a title almost immediately, a peculiarity of the Kauhala'uta and Ha'atakalaua. The Tokemoana married women of strong kindreds, and, while it lasted, the title was an important one. They seem to have been close companions of the Tu'i Tonga, and to have lived wherever the Tu'i Tonga was living. Thus, they usually lived at Mu'a, but the Tokemoana who was alive in the time of Tu'i Tonga Fuanunuiava lived at Tongaleleka in Lifuka, Ha'apai. The last Tokemoana was killed at Velata in the war between Tāufa'āhau and Tu'i Tonga Laufilitonga, and Tāufa'āhau forbade the Tu'i Tonga to appoint anyone else. Laufilitonga tried to do so later on, but Tāufa'āhau sent a messenger reminding him of his earlier promise, and Laufilitonga did not try again.<sup>32</sup>

The original link of the Veikune title with the Tu'i Tonga was Tu'ihoua, son of Tu'i Tonga 'Uluakimata and Longo. Tu'ihoua's son was Tongatangakitaupekifolaha, and his son was Fuatakifolaha (who became a Tu'i Ha'atakalaua), and his son was Manulevu, and Manulevu's son was Tongafaleola, and Tongafaleola's son was 'Osaiasi Veikune, a strong supporter of Tupou I. Veikune was not made one of the nobles, however, until the time of Tupou II (Tāufa'āhau's great-grandson).

The difference among the types of Sina'e is embodied in the *taumafa kava* at the present time, for the Sina'e *'eiki* (Tafolo and Veikune) sit in the *fasi*, the Sina'e *ki mu'a* sit in the *'alofi*, and the Sina'e *ki mui* sit in the *tou'a*. (The *fasi* are the sides of the *kava* circle; the *'alofi* is the top part, on either side of and including the presiding chief; the *tou'a* consists of the group of people who sit behind the *kava* bowl, opposite the presiding chief and the *'alofi*.) In the Tu'i Tonga's *kava* ritual, Kavakimotu was *inu anga kava*, that is, he was served his *kava* just before the presiding *matāpule*. Lutu had the duty of preparing and bringing the Tu'i Tonga's relish for him to eat.

The duties of the Sina'e were to provide food for the Tu'i Tonga, and generally to act as his supporters. They did not have to send *'inasi*, however. Nowadays they have no special function except to provide leadership for their own villages. Only one of these titles, Veikune, has

been created a noble.

*The Fale Fisi:* Fale Fisi titles are all descended from Tapu'osi, the Fijian who was brought to Tonga at the request of Tu'i Tonga Fefine Sinaitakala-'i-Langileka, daughter of Tu'i Tonga Tele'a and Mata'ukipa. Tapu'osi's son was Fonomanu. Apparently he did not hold the title Tu'ilakepa, which developed later in the time of Fehokomoelangi. One son of Fonomanu was Nā'utu, and Nā'utu's son with Lelenoa, daughter of Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Vaea, was Fehokomoelangi. Fehokomoelangi is the first one who is known to have been called Tu'ilakepa. Fehokomoelangi married Tu'i Tonga Fefine Sinaitakala-'i-Fanakavakilangi, sister of Tu'i Tonga Tu'ipulotu-'i-Langitu'oteau, and had Tu'ilakepa Lātūnipulu, the one whom Cook met, and three daughters. All were said to have been somewhat deranged or feeble-minded. Lātūnipulu's main wife was Tu'i Tonga Fefine Nanasipau'u, full sister of Tu'i Tonga Ma'ulupekotofa, and half-sister of Tu'i Tonga Paulaho. By her he had Tamahā Lātūfuipeka and Tu'ilakepa 'Iloailangikapu, who was said to be even more feeble-minded than Lātūnipulu. This was the last in this line of Tu'ilakepa. After 'Iloailangikapu came Makahokovalu (Note 21), who was the son of the Tamahā Lātūfuipeka, daughter of Lātūnipulu. The first noble Tu'ilakepa, Apalahame, was descended through Tukai and Kuava from Lātūnipulu and his second wife Letele, daughter of Tu'i'āfitu Lolomāna'ia. (The succession of Tu'ilakepa is shown in Figure 17.)

The second title of the Fale Fisi is Havea Tu'iha'ateiho. One early Tu'iha'ateiho was Fakatakatu'u, grandson of Fautave, but I have been unable in any of the genealogies to discover exactly who he was. He married 'Uliafu, daughter of Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Vaea, and adopted the child of her sister, Hinehinatelangi, who had married Paleinangalu. Paleinangalu was the son of Nā'utu and a woman called Pepe. The name of the adopted child was Tungimāna'ia, and from him are descended the present line of Tu'iha'ateiho. (The succession of Tu'iha'ateiho is shown in Figures 17 and 18.)

The third title of the Fale Fisi is Mā'atu at Niuatoputapu. The first Mā'atu was Lātūmailangi, youngest son of Fonomanu and Tu'i Tonga Fefine 'Ekutongapipiki. The Tu'i Tonga sent Lātūmailangi to Niuatoputapu to see whether he could secure the loyalty of the people there. He succeeded in doing so, and became the great 'eiki of Niuatoputapu, almost an independent king. He changed his name to Utumā'atu shortly after his arrival. There were a number of older titles already in existence there when Lātūmailangi arrived; all have become subordinate. It is possible that some may have been created after he arrived (Vivili, Tafea, Telai).

The last title of the Fale Fisi is Tu'i'āfitu, though its origin is somewhat uncertain. The ancestor of the title is said to be Lolomāna'ia, and he must have lived in the time of Tu'i Tonga Tele'a, for there is a story that he seduced Tele'a's beautiful Samoan wife, Talafaiva. Since Sinaitakala-i-Langileka was the daughter of Tele'a, and she was the founding ancestress of the Fale Fisi, Lolomāna'ia must have lived before the Fale Fisi began. The probable way in which Tu'i'āfitu was brought into the Fale Fisi was by the marriage between Letele, a daughter of Lolomāna'ia and Tu'ilakepa Lātunipulu. However, the first Lolomāna'ia lived before the Fale Fisi began, and the Lolomana'ia whose daughter married Lātunipulu came several generations later, "Lolomana'ia" being another instance of the way in which all the holders of the same title, and even the same name, are regarded, in a sense, as being the same person.

Because the Fale Fisi were descended from a Tu'i Tonga Fefine, they did not have to contribute *'inasi* to the Tu'i Tonga. According to Queen Sālote, they were on the receiving end of the *'inasi*, especially if they married subsequent Tu'i Tonga Fefine. They had no especial duties other than to look after their own *kāinga*. With the exception of Mā'atu, who rarely left Niautoputapu, they all had residences at Mu'a, though they had extensive estates in other areas as well. The Tu'ilakepa had land at Talasiu in Tonga, at Okoa and 'Ofu in Vava'u—and also in 'Eua, according to Cook. Tu'iha'ateiho's main estates were Ha'ateiho in Tongatapu and Tungua in Ha'apai. Tu'i'āfitu's estates were Makave in Vava'u and Holopeka and Fonoifua in Ha'apai.

*Ha'a Talafale:* A fourth *ha'a* of Kauhala'uta was Ha'a Talafale, headed by the Tu'i Faleua, the elder brother of 'Aho'eitu. By the time of Tu'i Tonga Tele'a, this title appears to have disappeared, but the people were still living in Tongatapu, at Angahā, now called Pelehake. A new title developed among these people, the Tu'ipelehake, but this happened after the creation of the Tu'i Kanokupolu, so it will be described later on.

*Other Kauhala'uta titles:* Besides the Ha'a Ngana, Sina'e, Fale Fisi, and Ha'a Talafale, there were a number of other, very old Kauhala'uta titles, which do not seem to have been grouped together into a *ha'a*. There were Mata'uvave and Haveatuli of Ha'apai and Vava'u respectively. As I have described above, they were sent out by Tu'i Tonga Kau'ulufonua Fekai to become the leaders of those islands. There was the title Fakatouio in Felemea, a very old title. The first holder of it was supposed to have been the son of Sisimata'ila'ā and the daughter of a Tu'i Tonga. Sisimata'ila'ā was a legendary hero, son of the sun god and a woman of

Felemea (Gifford 1924:67). There was To'uli, a title of Hōleva village on Koloa Island in Vava'u. The origin of this title is uncertain, but it is definitely a title of Kauhala'uta. There is also the title of Kavaliku at Ha'asini. One of the Kavaliku was the ancestor of Tāufahoamofaleono, the mother of Tu'i Kanokupolu Tāufa'āhau, and by this means Kavaliku was drawn into the orbit of the Tu'i Kanokupolu. In all probability there were many more Kauhala'uta titles in the early days, but they have now been lost.

All these titles of Kauhala'uta were appointed (*fakanofa*) by the Tu'i Tonga. The appointment consisted of a *taumafa kava* 'royal kava ceremony' in which the new title-holder was called by his title for the first time. The Tu'i Tonga did not have to be present, but he always sent someone with a message about whom was to be appointed, though he followed traditional custom in appointing the heir, and was aware of the wishes of the family. Title-holders such as Mā'atu, who lived far away, did not come to Tonga for their appointment. Instead, the Tu'i Tonga sent someone of high rank such as the Tu'ilakepa or the Tu'ihā'ateiho to conduct the *kava* ceremony at Niuatoputapu. However, *all* chiefs sent their *pongipongi* to the Tu'i Tonga. The *pongipongi* of a title is a ceremony at which a newly appointed title-holder presented himself before the king for the first time bringing *kava* and cooked food. He thus acknowledged the Tu'i Tonga as his ruler. Distant title-holders did not come to present themselves, but they sent the *kava*, cooked food, and *koloa*.

In summary, at the time when the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua was created, the Tu'i Tonga had developed an elaborate court with several different types of person in attendance: his mother's people, his wives and their attendants, relatives of high rank, relatives of lower rank who acted as servants, some war captives, his companions and ceremonial assistants, the Falefā, and the foreigners (*kau muli*). Men had been sent out to hold the outlying islands to get them to support the Tu'i Tonga, and a few of the titles of these men survive today. At least two older titles, Tu'ihā'angana and Malupō, and their respective *kāinga* were occupying two islands in Ha'apai, and probably there were other similar titles that have now been lost. The descendants of the Tu'i Faleua were living in Angahā (Pelehake). Scattered throughout Hahake, the eastern part of Tongatapu, were the Sina'e, the descendants of the early Tu'i Tonga who had established *kāinga* of their own, but not much is known about them. Lo'au, the law-giver, is supposed to have lived in Ha'amea, the central area of Tongatapu. People were certainly living in Hihifo, and there are a number of titles there now that are probably survivals of this early period: 'Ahome'e, Tongotea, perhaps Ngaluha'atafu, and perhaps

Tauatevalu of 'Utulau.

After the creation of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, the Tu'i Tonga became more and more sacred and ceased to play an important part in political affairs. However, he retained his right to give lands and to send out people to the islands if he saw fit to do so, though in this later period he usually told the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua to send them, and did not do it himself. Principles of rank became more elaborate, and the institutions of the Tu'i Tonga Fefine and the Tamahā were developed. The first Tu'i Tonga Fefine, Sinaitakala-'i-Langileka, became the founding ancestress of a new ha'a: the Fale Fisi.

#### THE TU'I HA'ATAKALAU

The succession of Tu'i Ha'atakalaua is shown in Figure 2.

#### *General Duties of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua*

The Tu'i Ha'atakalaua was appointed by the Tu'i Tonga, though it is not known for certain whether the Tu'i Tonga himself chose the successor or whether the people of Ha'atakalaua discussed the matter first among themselves. The *pongipongi* was presented to the Tu'i Tonga.

The Tu'i Ha'atakalaua was known as the *hau*, which means 'victor, conqueror' in Tongan, and has also come to mean 'the one who rules, sovereign' (Note 11). The term was first used for the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, then later for the Tu'i Kanokupolu. Later still, in the troubled times of 'Ulukālala's wars, Finau 'Ulukālala was known as *hau* in Ha'apai and Vava'u, and various other title-holders (Vaha'i, Teukava, Tākai) were successfully known as *hau* in parts of Tonga. It must be understood that *hau* means the secular king; the sacred king was of course the Tu'i Tonga.

The general duties of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua were to guard and protect the Tu'i Tonga, to see that the *'inasi* was contributed, and to maintain order in the nation. He apportioned the lands when necessary, which meant that he told various persons to go and live in certain parts of the kingdom and was allowed by the Tu'i Tonga to grant them land.

The population of Tonga was not large, perhaps about 20,000 people, and there was no shortage of land as there is now. Apparently there were few sharp boundaries (*kau'ā-fonua*) dividing the land of one *kāinga* from that of another, and a good deal of land was uninhabited. In theory, the Tu'i Tonga held all land and its people and could dispose of both as he pleased. In practice, certain areas belonged traditionally to certain titles or the descendants of certain aristocrats, and such land was handed down from father to son or from brother to brother. Most of the great *'eiki* had estates in several parts of the kingdom. The personal