Faiva : Trials of Skill

The Song and Dance of Tongan Politics 1773-1993

Frontispiece. Faiva at Pangai mala'e. During the performance of a mā'ulu'ulu dance by Queen Sālote College, a clown came out onto the reception ground. Intruding between the presiding 'eiki and the dancers is a breach of protocol. Traditionally, clowns were granted immunity because they manifested success of the faiva in harnessing the realm of the sacred. The occasion is Heilala Festival, July 1993, celebrating the 70th birthday of H M Tāufa'āhau Tupou IV. Photograph Gary Cocker.

Faiva

Trials of Skill : The Song and Dance of Tongan Politics, 1773-1993

vol.1

by

Wendy Rona Pond

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I shall add one Anecdote which occurred while we stopped here. And that was, that upon some occasion, one of our Men gave one of the Natives a blow, which he returned immediately, and a battle ensued, in which the Islander had the advantage of the Britton, which surprized us very much, and Capt. forbad such tryals of skill in future. For it be highly impolitic to let them suppose that they were equal to us in anything.

(Elliott, a seaman accompanying Captain Cook, at Tongatapu in 1773, in Holmes 1984, p.21.)

Abstract

The work embarks on a quest to discover the parameters of faiva, the dances, martial arts, aquatic and land-based sports which are exhibited on Tongan festival grounds as trials of skill.

The work is organised as a succession of festivals (kātoanga), shows, receptions, night concerts, funerals, and regattas spanning 200 years, from the 1770s to the 1970s.

The work employs a strategy of juxtaposing ethnographic and historical evidence. This technique enriches historical records with an ethnographic reading, and allows historical insight into the choreographic and aesthetic conventions of Tongan performances. It indicates which accounts to trust and what sense to impute to fragments.

Contest on the festival ground, contest in twentieth century social status rivalry, and contest in eighteenth century political challenge, all follow the same codes. The work proposes a new paradigm for interpreting Tonga's political history. That paradigm is faiva.

The work proposes a critical theory for reading Tongan records. Tongan accounts are not intended to recount historical origins, but to validate new configurations. In politics, history, and faiva, the eighteenth century objective was to harness the realm of the sacred.

Part I is an ethnographic description of villagers rehearsing a dance in 1971, torn between reluctance to fulfill feudal obligations to the ruling aristocracy, and the appeal of retaining a reputation as the island's leading dancers. Of all tasks, presentation of a faiva was given priority.

Part II is a historical reconstruction of the repertoire of the late eighteenth century. Here each faiva is seen exhibited in its lakanga : appropriate occasion. Martial arts and implement dances accompanied presentations between chiefs contesting for power. Mock battles followed presentations to the gods. Night dances were lit by torchlight. High-ranking women processed at the weddings of sacred chiefs. Appropriate settings enhanced the peculiar aesthetic of each faiva; political and religious agendas added force to performances.

Part III describes the process of a new repertoire emerging, and the social fabrication of its legitimacy.

The Appendix assembles an eighteenth century repertoire of choreographies and song texts, demonstrating that records exist for the scholarship of early Tongan music and dance.

Acknowledgements

To the gardeners at Victoria University
and all those who gave me their time of day,

Tu'a 'ofa atu

(a salute from one who honours you.)

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A Note on Orthography & Style

The languages of this treatise are English and Tongan. The exploration of Tongan concepts is bicultural and, following the practice of the later issues of *Faikava* and the Waitangi Tribunal, Tongan words are not italicised. Tongan orthography follows the Tonga Government standard except where direct quotations are cited. The letters of the alphabet are: a e f h i k l m n ng (g in C19th texts) o p s (j in C19th texts) t u v ' (glottal stop). The glossary follows this order. Double vowels are marked with ". Tongan words incorporated into English prose are used without plural markers.

I have written in a style that makes available the voices of the original texts. In some chapters, eighteenth century narratives in English and narratives in Tongan have been cited extensively. In these tracts the use of language is masterly - modern prose does not express the ideas better. Eighteenth century explorers described dances and feats which our generation has not seen. I have provided contexts in which the language and prejudices of the original texts can be understood, and then I have accommodated the descriptions of the day into my narrative, as they were stated. Elders have charged researchers not to write our own theory over records of their culture. I have incorporated primary texts in the narrative, so that a resource for reinterpretation and assessment of conclusions remains with the reader.

bold Statements in bold are direct quotations from a printed source. Most quotations have been integrated into the overall narrative. Only where a quoted extract recounts a complete episode or has its own narrative structure, has the text been indented.

italics Phrases and words in italics are problematical texts, under discussion.

' Single quotation marks denote an unpublished translation.

p. 8-9 p. denotes reference to a continuous text.

pp. 8, 9 pp. denotes reference to discontinuous extracts.

ca circa, an estimation of the date.

The presentation of this thesis fulfills the requirements of Victoria University Library, *Guide to the Presentation of Theses*, 1995.

TONGA

Tonga in the Pacific ocean: Ongo Niua (Niuafu'ou, Niuatoputapu);
Ha'afuluhao (Vava'u); Ha'apai; Tonga (Tongatapu & 'Eua).

(SOURCE: Spennemann 1986, p.3.)

TONGA

Fig. 1b. Tonga's maritime domain in the late 20th century. Ongo Niua: Fatu Kau (Curaçoa Reef), Fatu Kālapu (Curaçoa Shoal), Niuafo'ou, Tafahi, Niuatoputapu. Ha'afuluhao: Fonualei, Tokū, 'Uta Vava'u & 'Otu Motu Lalo. Late, Lateiki, Kao, Tofua. Ha'apai: Ha'ano, Nukunamo, Foa, Lifuka, Uoleva, Tatafa, 'Uiha, Tofanga, Uonukuhahake, Uonukuhihifo & atolls: Ofolanga, Mo'unga'one, Lofanga, Fotuha'a, Fatumaongi, Niniva, Meama, Nukupule, lofanga. Ha'apai Lulunga: Kotu, Putuputua, Fonuamaka, Fetoa, Teaupa, Onoiki, Kotu, Ha'afeva, Matuku, Tungua, 'O'ua, Lekeleka, Fakahiku, Pepea, Nukulei, Tokulu, Fonuaika. 'Otu Motu Mu'omu'a: Nomuka, Nomukaiki, Mango, Mangoiki, Nukutula, Meama, Fonoifua, Tanoa, Nukufaiiau. 'Otu Tolu: Fetokopunga, Telekivava'u, Lalona, Telekitonga. Fonuafo'ou, Hunga Tonga, Hunga Ha'apai. Tongatapu, Fafā, 'Onevai, 'Atatā, Pangaimotu, Nukunukumotu, 'Oneatea. 'Eua, 'Euaiki, Kalau. 'Ata. Telekitokelau (North Minerva Reef), Telekitonga (South Minerva Reef), 23°S, 179°W. (Crane 1993, Salui MS.)

Introduction

It would weary you to describe the food, the presents, and the dances. The native cloth was over a mile in length, and everything in proportion.

Rev. Dr James Egan Moulton, Miscellaneous Papers, A Great Church Festival (description of events on Thursday, the Day of the West End, celebrating the landing of Wesleyan missionaries in 1826), in *Glad Tidings*, 1st March 1893. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau, Manuscript Series, Microfilm no.719.

The Songs and the People

Fieldwork and Acknowledgements

The account begins at Niuatoputapu in the Kingdom of Tonga, on an island abounding with Lapita pottery and disused fermentation pits, abandoned navigational beacons, pigeon-snaring mounds pre-empted for gardens, tombs in uninhabited places, and songs of emotional and metaphorical beauty. Across the strait the volcanic peak of Tafahi snagged the clouds. Here in 1969 I began my researches, exploring and mapping in the company of good companions, Paula Afe Havea and Paulo Faka'osi. We took place names from the songs and set out to find them, getting further directions on the way from plantation owners and fishermen along the coast. On our return to the village the elders would recount the place name histories onto the hand-wound Butoba. As a search for the meaning of the songs progressed, this island of flies, heat and disease, swamps and mudflats pockmarked with crab holes, and incurable filariasis, became an enchanted land.

Certain volcanic outcrops carried the names of the upstart Fatu brothers who had turned themselves into rocks, one to avoid commoners standing on his head, one to be a lookout for boats, one to be a submerged reef, signposting to fisherman out of sight of land. Draughty casuarina trees covering the barren outcrops of coral cast a carpet of pink pine needles: a mat for the 'eiki Mä'atu Ngongo, who died fighting in 'Uvea in 1835 using the new Christian god as a cover for political designs. The waves breaking on the fringing reef encircled the island in a white border: a bark cloth for Ngongo's sister Veiongo. Veiongo married 'Ulukälala Tu'apasi of Vava'u, who died in 1833. Events that cohered in a metaphorical circuit were also events of a linear political narrative. Pacific historians have used Tongan accounts to fill out their own storylines, while failing to meet the challenge of developing a critical discourse which is equally knowledgable about Tongan modes of historical narrative, where the past is reconstituted to empower contemporary configurations.

During the 1960s -'80s much scholarship in Pacific history and anthropology, archaeology, and linguistics which received academic

acclaim, was written to advance its own theoretical agendas. The place name histories however contain agendas determined by the attentions of the elders. Pacific people are asking for reports which are not over-written with western theory, reports which will assist in recovering a body of cultural knowledge now reasserted with confidence. The dance songs address Tongan priorities. They offer a critical challenge to an academic stream which has accorded renown to its own theorists and excluded Tongan paradigms of explanation.

The fieldwork which underpins this thesis took place between 1967-1971. It was an era of conversations. I recall Pauteni recounting the trials between the ubiquitous Māui and the local shark-god Seketo'a. Māui had dumped his burdens, in the form of two volcanic necks, on the east coast of Tafahi. As Pauteni talked children crawled in through the doorway and sat cross-legged on the mat around him, until the house was like a gathering at the pool. Pauteni talked in the present tense, using inclusive pronouns. Seketo'a was present with us. Events that should have happened some million years ago, when Māui abandoned his burdens at Tafahi, were placed alongside events within genealogical reckoning: events and gods were in orbit it seemed, to be plucked by the story-teller, without call for an ending or a chronological sequence of development. Years later, researching Shamanism, I recognised that accounts of decoy pigeons tied to a string, while flying from one island to another, retain fragments of a shamanic heritage, see pp.22-3, 202-3, 344, 345, 452. In Tonga's oral repertoire political satire, historical events, and shamanic cosmology are interwoven with humour and a love of heritage. Here there is an archive for decoding the dance songs.

During my sojourn in the Niua islands I had the company of Garth Rogers and Tavi Maupiti. Garth's awareness of economic relations (Rogers 1968, 1975, 1986) and Tavi's penetrating knowledge of Tongan thinking enhanced my work on the songs.

Garth Rogers was a working class lad from North England who became an Australian farm hand and eventually a historian and social anthropologist. He had a clear view of western economic strategy and a strong empathy with people's hopes. In Falehau his bona fide companions were his neighbour Sāmiu Tokalahi; and Siale Lahi, a bushman with no status or fame on the mala'e but renown as Falehau's

best yam grower. Garth was not a good linguist, yet he produced enduring ethnography from his love of history and of working the land. The Niua people took him to heart in mutual regard. When they recognised what he was trying to ask, they taught him how to question them.

Tavi Maupiti (Preben Kaufmann) was a Danish engineer who sailed to Tonga as a young man. He was adopted by the great 'eiki Havea Tu'iha'ateiho. Havea had a rigorously critical intellect and passed on to Tavi the secrets of many metaphors of the land's traditions. Tavi spent winters on Tafahi, in an isolated cove at Tamatama, in a rock shelter extended with plaited blinds. He is undoubtedly named after the Tutavi described by Mariner (Martin 1981, p.384-6). At Tamatama the sea surged restlessly. Coastal forest at the base of the cliff created a sheltered grove dappled with light and here Paulo Faka'osi, Tavi, Garth and I conversed, exploring the mysteries of Tongan tradition.

I had become aware of the importance of the songs through joining rehearsals of lakalaka dances at the coronation of Tupou IV in 1967, and again at the Niutoputapu agricultural shows of 1969 and 1971. The composer Sete Selui of Vaipoa wrote down the songs he had composed, and collaborated in making a complete record of the place name histories which informed his use of metaphor. In the stillness of the evening Garth would operate the Butoba while Sete recounted a repertoire of traditions which retained knowledge of Niuatoputapu's Sāmoan connections, and of independence from the tributary colonisation imposed by Tongan 'eiki. It was in some measure a forbidden history. After Mā'atu Ngongo had gained paramount power during the 1830s, he had annulled the titles of the land's leaders and forbidden the land's history to be told. Important as this is in Tonga's political history, Sete's Selui's manuscripts made no contribution to the structuralist theory of the '70s, and were not published. Yet, for the scholarship of world music, the collection contains a unique record of a composer's body of knowledge.

Place names are the medium of metaphor in song. The technique is called laumātanga, recounting placenames as clues to a genealogical journey through landscape and history (Helu 1986). I had collected ta'anga by two of Niuatoputapu's greatest twentieth century composers,

Sioeli Filianga (1979, 1982) and Peni Lätü Langi (1980). Peni was dead and Sioeli was ill. To find help in unravelling their metaphors, in 1970 I went to the archives of the Tonga Traditions Committee at the Palace Office in Nuku'alofa. Here began a collaboration with Tupou Posesi Kaho which has continued for twenty-five years.

Tupou Posesi was the only child of Sione Kaliopasi Fe'iloakitau Kaho (d.1971). Fe'iloakitau was the youngest brother of the noble Tu'i Vakanö Polutele. He had been adopted by Sunia Foliaki of 'Uiha with the intention that he would succeed to the title held by Malupö Kaliopasi, and he had been trained in 'eiki protocol for this purpose. The Constitution however does not permit succession of adopted heirs, although it was by this strategy that eighteenth century Tonga had achieved its standards of contestable skill. Fe'iloakitau became a school inspector and apprenticed Tupou to his redundant trade; she was his ceremonial spokesman as he travelled through the islands. She knew the great orators and composers of Sälote's reign.

I remained in Nuku'alofa to transcribe, translate, and notate field records. Friendship with the Tu'inuku'afe family at Pahu was a mainstay of the years of research in Tonga. Their involvement in the issues of contemporary society informs this volume. In Nuku'alofa I was now in Tonga 'Eiki, Chiefly Tonga. From the cool, dark interior of the Palace Office Tupou and I would hear the sound of singing and slip across to the palace grounds to see which village had arrived. Some groups eluded us, going straight to the kitchen with their presentation, or waking the royal household at dawn.

The state festivals I attended (the Coronation of Tupou IV in 1967 and the Independence celebrations in 1970) had entertained guests with a feast followed by a concert of dances at Pangai mala'e, the public reception ground adjacent to the Nuku'alofa palace. Within the palace grounds however, we observed the continuity of eighteenth century tradition where pigs, yams and kava (ngäue), women's manufactures (koloa), speeches (malanga) and dances (faiva), comprised a complete presentation of tribute from an estate-'eiki to the king, reigning as hau, the paramount chief commanding the land's resources.

The lakalaka songs call on a knowledge of Tongan history. The succession of verses does not however provide a linear narrative, but a succession of glances at a moment in history which has continued to

resonate, as ripples expand from a thrown stone. A song will return again and again to the one theme. Tupou would know we were on the right track when we kept reading the same clues in different metaphors. As we translated she would sit with tears rolling down her face, as the metaphors disclosed the emotional resonances of the poetry. This was how I learned that the composer's prior agenda is to arouse pity and compassion, to move his audience.

In 1967 Kaeppler began publishing her researches on Tongan dance. The ethnographic detail of her work, with its photographic record, its accounts of composers, choreographies, song texts, and of the circumstances in which dances were composed, documents the end of Sälote's era when the lakalaka was at its height. Her painstaking recovery of the material collections of Cook's voyages gives scholars reconstructing the eighteenth century repertoire, a knowledge of costume and implements. Kaeppler founded the historical study of Tongan music and dance, and Moyle (1987) contributed an encyclopaedic coverage of sources. The Shumways produced two papers on the lakalaka (1977, 1981) which are gems.

Meanwhile a Tongan scholar was pioneering the critical practice of Tonga's performance repertoire. Futa Helu founded 'Atenisi University in a wooden barn in the Sopu swamp. Here he would emerge from the doorway of a Tongan fale, in black shirt and vala, to be immediately surrounded by a pack of dogs. Tonga's Bertrand Russell was in every one's consciousness. He perceived astutely the negotiation of power in Tonga, the scathing wit, and political critique of the old composers. His paper on Laumätanga (1986) is a classic account of poetic metaphor. The collaboration with Tongan scholars, a broad ethnography, and knowledge of the lakalaka songs, equipped me for writing this volume.

Four views of the era 1773-1834 were correlated: eyewitness journals of European exploring expeditions together with material collections and pictorial records; recollections of missionaries and beachcombers; Tongan texts recorded by the Catholic priests during 1880-1910, and by the Tonga Traditions Committee during 1958-60; and the songs of the lakalaka. Just as the place name histories embroidered the Niuatoputapu landscape with a richer social history, so the song texts make available the cultural aesthetic of the eighteenth century. On

11 June 1777 Cook persuaded the Tu'i Tonga Pau to take him to Mu'a, the centre of his sacred and political power. Cook wrote (Cook 1777, p.127):

it was a Villige most delightfully situated on the bank of the inlet, where all or most of the great men in the island resided, each having his house in the midst of a small plantation...Great part of some of these plantations were laid out in grass plats, and planted with such things as seemed more for Ornament than use; but hardly any were without the Cava plant.

A lakalaka song composed by Sälote Tupou III ca 1930 also describes Mu'a (Mähina 1993, p.114):

Ko e ha'ofanga ë luva'anga ë kakala
He ko Molimohe'a mo hono siale moto
Pea moe langakali ë 'api ko Lotunofu
'A 'Utulifuka mo e huni kautoto...

Herein the chiefly circle for yielding aromatic plants
There is Molimohe'a and its budding gardenia
As well as *langakali* of the residence Lotunofu
There's 'Utulifuka and its blood-stemmed *huni*.

(Sälote Tupou III, ta'anga lakalaka, ca 1930.)

Mähina (1993, p.114) writes, the Tu'i Tonga residence in Lapaha...was chock full of sweet-smelling flowers, symbolising the 'eiki status of the Tu'i Tonga. The residence of the Tu'i Tonga Fefine named Moli-mo-hea produced a bouquet of moli and huni blossom. At Takuilau grew fragrant heilala. A residence of the Tu'i Tonga named Lotunofu was renown for its langakali blossom. 'Utulifuka was renown for its huni blossom. From the residence named Malila emanated the heady perfume of the pandanus called päongo. Heilala shed their sickly sweet fruit (pulu) at the tomb named Namoala. The fragrance of kukuvalu wafted from the spring named Moheofo.

Salmond wrote *Two Worlds* (1991) with the objective of reconstructing both landward and seaward perspectives of the first encounters between Mäori and European 1642-1772. Tongan records offer like possibilities. Eighteenth century festivals were a medium of political negotiation between chiefs; this was the context in which they determined and exhibited their status. Tongan chiefs received foreign explorers with festivals, and we can in some measure read the Tonga

agenda from the format of the festivals they ordered. Cook's visit has left no residues in Tongan songs but the songs still carry the ambiance of the eighteenth century. With this insight, the journals of the foreign explorers yield clues to the landward perspective.

The people I worked and talked with receive scant mention in the text of this volume, but it is to them I owe its ethnographic insights. The songs also scarcely appear, yet the years of work on song texts acquainted me with the eighteenth century and alerted me to Tongan perspectives.

Fieldwork Synopsis

1962, completed a BA at Auckland University in European philology and Anthropology. 1963, worked on the first Proto-Polynesian lexicon. 1967 with Garth Rogers anthropologist, navigated "Caprice", 20-foot clinker-built yawl (ex Jack Scott), to Tongatapu for the Coronation of Tupou IV. Joined rehearsals of Ma'ofanga vaka eke "Lopa tuia", and Lakalaka "Laione" (Luani). Observed the Taumafakava 'o e Hilifaki Kalauni. Sailed to Niuafo'ou, anchored the boat at Futu, and lived inland with Fusitu'a and Pisila on the house site "Tuva" at Sapa'ata. Studied the Niuafo'ou dialect. With Kitione Mamata, recorded songs and place name histories. 1969, at Pahu with Edith, 'Atolo and Sela Tu'inuku'afe. With Garth Rogers, lived at Hihifo, Niuatoputapu, in the homestead of Mosese and Mele Havea. Joined rehearsals of the lakalaka "Matafi 'ae Tonga 'i Fale" (Sioeli Filianga). Studied the Niuatoputapu and Tafahi dialects, recorded songs and place name histories with Paula 'Afe Havea. Made a collection of arthropods and recorded Niua classification. 1970 with Tupou Posesi, worked in the Palace Office. With Tupou Uluave, worked with the Niuafo'ou people on 'Eua. With Makalita Pongi, transcribed the year's recordings. 1971 with Garth Rogers, resided at Falehau, Niuatoputapu. Joined rehearsals of the lakalaka "Fo'ou". With Paulina 'Otuhouma, transcribed Niua recordings. With Paulo Faka'osi, recorded songs and place name histories of Tafahi. With Garth Rogers, travelled through the Lulunga islands of Ha'apai. 1970s-80s, continued a collaboration with Tupou Posesi, translating ta'anga lakalaka. 1993 with 'Umata Fonua, reconnoitred the visits of Tasman (1643) and Cook & the Forsters (1773) to the Hihifo district of Tongatapu.

I wrote the thesis in the Archive of Asia and Pacific Music at Victoria University, with rehearsals of the Gamelan Orchestra and classes in World Music taking place around me. These were the happiest of circumstances. Funding was from my own initiative until 1994-95, when Victoria University (Internal Grants Committee) supported the writing of the thesis and the search for Tongan texts of the law codes. Kathleen Coleridge made available the resources of the Beaglehole Library. Ray & Elizabeth Harkness solved computer problems. Ann Chowning and Phyllis Herda contributed rigorous thought. Allan Thomas and Jennifer Shennan were an inspiration.

Reader's Map

This is a book of festivals, describing dances in their social milieu. The festivals, shows, night concerts, funerals, and regattas span two hundred years, from the reception of Cook at Ha'apai in 1777 to the reception of His Majesty Tupou IV at Niuatoputapu in 1971. As new political and religious configurations prevailed, Tongan composers and choreographers created, borrowed and transformed repertoires to suit the new occasions.

Existing works on Tongan music, song, and dance, notably by Kaeppler (1967-1993), the Shumways (1977, 1981), Helu (1986), and Moyle (1987), have pioneered an appreciation of Tonga's performed repertoire. This volume complements the description of Tongan dances as genre (Moyle 1987) and as structured movement systems (Kaeppler 1985). Here the objective is to create an audience capable of critical appreciation of Tongan performances. With knowledge of Tongan concepts as they were used in each decade, we can perceive why people made the political decisions they did, why a performance generated the force it did, why Tongan history followed the course it did. With knowledge of the style of each decade we can appreciate the criteria used to assess performances and the demands made on performers. This volume works with Tongan concepts, styles, and innovations.

A dance in rehearsal is simply a ta'anga, a song text requiring mastery of words and the addition of melody and choreography. It becomes a faiva when, after weeks of rehearsal, it is presented at the reception ground, together with the produce of the land, to the presiding 'eiki. At eighteenth century festivals the presence of an 'eiki demanded immaculate ordering, added majesty of the occasion, and invoked the realm of the sacred. Here there was challenge and competition for reputation. Audience and performers interacted in increasing māfana : fervour. A faiva succeeded when it exhibited co-ordination and prowess, when the elements combined to transport audience and performers, when it generated a force, when it propitiated

the gods, when it outdid its political rivals. All elements work together to create a sense of *mälíe* : surpassing fairness. The key ingredient of the power to evoke *malie* is in the concept of *mau*, or order, with everything in its place, flowing smoothly, logically, and coherently with precision (Shumway 1981, p.479n).

In 1971 Falehau village prepared for a choir singing competition. On dress-rehearsal day, in front of the entire audience of Niuatoputapu island, the Falehau choir sang off-key. The conductor set a pace twice the usual speed but once started, the choir didn't stop to make any adjustments. Half way through the audience began to laugh. The choir sang on with aplomb, and the performance ended in applause: "Na'e tö 'a e hivá ka mälíe ! The song was a flop but what a brilliant performance!" Falehau's song was a feat. Under daunting circumstances, the choir kept an intrepid presence of mind. The group held together. The performers did not falter.

As the volume proceeds through shows, receptions, night concerts, funerals, and canoe regattas, each *faiva* is seen exhibited on its appropriate occasion, where political and religious agendas add force to performances, and settings enhance aesthetic impact. The proper occasions (*lakanga*) for each *faiva* are explicit in eighteenth century records. Martial arts and *me'etu'upaki* dances were exhibited following presentations of produce at festivals for the burials of chiefs, and for the reception of Kauhala Lalo chiefs and European captains. At festivals celebrating the marriages of Kauhala 'Uta chiefs, women of rank performed processional dances, displaying their elegance. At night concerts *fakaniua* orchestras and *mele'aufola*, *ula*, and *he'a* dances were exhibited at dance grounds lit by torchlight. At sacred festivals mock battles (*toutakao*) followed allocations of produce to the gods. During funeral rites (*tome'e*), women's dances dispatched the forces of the Afterworld.

Christians described the dances of the era as heathen, and did not enquire into the religious force of *faiva*. Scholars of religion have identified the Tongan paradigm as shamanistic (Eliade [1951] 1972; Gunson 1990, 1993), with practising shamans, journeys to retrieve the dead, and an axis mundi represented by the volcano Tofua and other landmarks (Gifford 1924, p.183; Gifford 1929, pp.287, 316). Eliade's

definition of shamanism is followed here: the essentials of shamanic ideology and technique - that is, communication among the three cosmic zones and along an axis situated at the "Centre" and the faculty of ascension, or magical flight - are abundantly attested in Polynesian mythology (Eliade 1972 p.366). Tongan cosmology has some features of a shamanic heritage, notable in the three zones of shamanic consciousness: the multiple bowed heavens (Langi), the Underworld (Lolofonua), and this world of light (Maama ni). A fourth zone, Pulotu the homeland and Afterworld, was apparently intrusive in this cosmology (Gunson 1993, p.152; Geraghty 1993, pp.365, 366), and seems to have displaced the Underworld (Lolofonua) as the realm of ancestral spirits. The mythology abounds with shaman-gods, most notably the Māui brothers who fished up land and now reside in the underworld, having finished their work. The kava ceremonial is organised by a shamanistic mythology in which the founding ancestor of the Tu'i Tonga lineage was chewed up by his sky brothers and reconstituted in a kava bowl. The chiefs ('eiki) were beings of sacred descent from the zone of the langi; they were accorded status on the basis of descent through women of rank (ta'ahine), and exercised social control through their both their rank and their skill in club-fighting. The social order was feudal; relationships between chiefs were tributary and hierarchical; lineages vied for power. It was a society of contest and challenge.

During the late eighteenth century power was shifting from the high-ranking lineages of Kauhala 'Uta and Kauhala Lalo, to a low-ranking lineage with fighting strength. When Cook arrived in 1773 sacred power was still held by the lineages of Kauhala 'Uta. The Tu'i Tonga was Pau, aged ca 50. The Tu'i Tonga Fefine was probably his father's sister, Sinaetakala 'i Fanakava ki Langi. She was not recognised by any of the explorers; she was old and resided at Vava'u or Sāmoa.

Paramount power (hau) was held by Kauhala Lalo. In 1777 the highest ranking Kauhala Lalo 'eiki was Maealiuaki; he was the son of the Tu'i Kanokupolu Ma'afu 'o Tu'i Tonga, but he may at this time have held the title of Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, as he was not addressed as Tupou. In 1777 the great 'eiki of both Kauhala 'Uta and Kauhala Lalo had residences at Mu'a, the political centre of Tongatapu. Islands and estates were governed by appointed chiefs. The Hihifo district of Tongatapu was quiet and orderly, governed by chiefs of the Ha'a Ngata. Cook's "old King" was possibly Ata Puakahuhua, see fig. 36.

By 1793 however antagonisms had developed and the configuration had changed. There were now two centres of power in Tongatapu. Maealiuaki's younger brother Tupou Mumui held paramount power as Tu'i Kanokupolu, at Nuku'alofa. The Tu'i Tonga Fefine, possibly Siumafua'uta or Nanasipau'u, received D'Entrecasteaux at Pangai Motu. She was caretaking the office of Tu'i Tonga because the paramount 'eiki, Tupou Mumui, had refused to appoint Pau's son to the office. When Malaspina arrived at Vava'u in 1793, he was taken to Pau's grave at Pouono in Neiafu. Wilson's map of the 1797 configuration records Mumui at Nuku'alofa and Pau's son, Tu'i Tonga Fuanunuiava, at Mu'a, see fig. 33.

During Waldgegrave's visit in 1830 there were two great chiefs at Mu'a. The Tu'i Tonga was Pau's grandson, Laufilitonga. Fatukimotulalo, grandson of Maealiuaki, represented the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua title of Kauhala Lalo, see fig. 18. The Tu'i Kanokupolu, 'Aleamotu'a, was at Nuku'alofa. Thus antagonism persisted between Mumui's descendants at Nuku'alofa, and the high ranking 'eiki of both Kauhala 'Uta and Kauhala Lalo who were stationed at Mu'a.

The centre of political power however was at Ha'apai, where in 1826 the Tu'i Tonga Laufilitonga had been defeated in battle by a low-ranking Kauhala Lalo 'eiki, Täufa'ähau. By 1831 Täufa'ähau was styled "King George" (Tupou I). As he gained paramount power through warfare with guns, he introduced legal codes modelled on Wesleyan theology and British laws, and annulled the sacred power of Kauhala 'Uta. As Tonga became Christian the ways of the ancestors (motu'aanga) and the performing arts were suppressed. The English text of the 1850 code prohibited all indigenous Tongan dances and customs, see fig. 34.

The contemporary political configuration is described by Marcus (1978b, 1979, 1981), Powles (1990), and Campbell (1993) who characterise it as a parliamentary or constitutional monarchy. Mumui's descendants ruled unopposed, their succession secured by the 1875 Constitution. In 1968 the Vava'u People's Representative, Masao Paasi, had been jailed and charged with treason for proposing that all members of parliament be elected by the people (*Matangi Tonga*, Aug/Sept 1994, p.37). In 1971 the legislative assembly still comprised 30 members (12 cabinet members appointed by the King, 9 estate-'eiki elected by 33 estate-'eiki, and 9 people elected by 100,000 people). The King had the power of veto over

legislative decisions; he presided at state festivals, receiving presentations of allegiance from all lineages.

Within the succession of festivals, the volume juxtaposes a twentieth century ethnography against a historical reconstruction of the decades between 1770s - 1830s. This juxtaposition enables festivals to be viewed from multiple perspectives. A back-door perspective of village people providing the labour and produce for a festival is juxtaposed against records of expeditions who arrived by sea and saw the face of festivals. The late twentieth century style, with its political contradictions and malaise, is juxtaposed against the intrepidity and dexterity of the late eighteenth century, where festivals were occasions of political challenge, and faiva propitiated the gods. The juxtapositioning is an essential technique of the volume. It enriches historical records with an ethnographic reading, and allows historical insight into the choreographic and aesthetic conventions of Tongan performances.

The quest underlying this volume is a search for the meaning of faiva. The following synopsis traces the path of the argument.

PART I. "Burdens of the Royal Visit". In 1971 Tupou IV made a royal tour of the Tonga kingdom, opening agricultural shows. Exhibitions of faiva had moved with the times and during the royal visit kailao, mā'ulu'ulu, lakalaka, vaka eke, and soccer entertained the public. Between the programmed events Falehau village came forward with a tributary presentation of produce, which it followed with the faiva for which it had gained renown, the lakalaka "Feke". Why did a faiva accompany a presentation of produce? Why could a faiva be exhibited only for an 'eiki? Why was so much labour invested in preparing a faiva? These questions motivated the historical quest.

PART II. "Eighteenth Century Backbearings". The trials of skill (faiva) practised in the illustrious era were exhibited at land-based festivals, sea-based festivals, at religious festivals, and at burial festivals, in the courts of the sacred chiefs, and in the torch-lit settings of night concerts. Exhibited on the appropriate occasion (lakanga), faiva were enforced by the religious and political agendas in which they took part.

9. "The Illustrious Era". Eighteenth century contestants acted with a fleetness and sleight of hand that outstripped European ability. Dexterity, intrepidity, agility, strength, equanimity, and control of the breath were noted.

10. "Kauhala Lalo rules". In 1777 a succession of festivals was held at Ha'apai, Tongatapu, and 'Eua for the reception of captains Cook

("Resolution") and Clerke ("Discovery"), and Omai. The leading political figures took charge, and innovated a protocol which was replicated for the reception of later expeditions. The chapter suggests a reading of the religious and political agendas of the festivals, of the status accorded Cook, and of the poetics of the lakalaka songs. Western constructions of Tongan history are challenged.

The faiva at which the warrior-'eiki excelled were club-fighting contests (fetä'aki) and me'etu'upaki dances. Champions of lesser rank won renown in wrestling (fangatua) and boxing (fuhu). This reconstruction adds historical depth to nineteenth century records of the me'etu'upaki where it appears as a dance of the court of the Tu'i Tonga, with fixed choreography.

The chiefs of Kauhala Lalo governed with resort to both their 'eiki rank and their prowess in the martial arts, supported by their warriors and working chiefs. On the festival ground, faiva encoded the contest and challenge of Kauhala Lalo polity.

Faiva followed presentations of produce (hä'unga) and brought festivals (kätoanga) to a conclusion, see figs 11, 13, 15, 17, etc. The hä'unga presentations which Tupou Posesi and I recorded during the 1971 royal tour (Hä'ele ki Tokelau) did not have an accompanying faiva, but we did see the eighteenth century format in the tributary presentation (hala 'o Fuimaono) made by Falehau village in 1971. Here, a faiva followed presentation of the land's produce. The faiva identified are fangatua, fuhu, fetä'aki, and me'etu'upaki at the day festivals; fakaniua, me'elaufola, and possibly ula, fa'ahi ula, and he'a at the night concerts.

11. "Kauhala 'Uta's Elegance". Eighteenth century lineages maintained a dual repertoire of faiva. Kauhala Lalo's was a public repertoire of martial arts and martial dances, demonstrating agility and political strength. Kauhala 'Uta maintained an exclusive repertoire which demonstrated its sacred power and the elegance of its high-ranking women. The public was excluded from participation; eyewitness glimpses are rare; and the faiva described have no correspondence with the repertoire practised in the twentieth century.

12. "Sacred Festivals". Contemporary Christian festivals (kätoanga 'o e misinale) replicate some features of sacred festivals witnessed by eighteenth century journalists. In the precinct of the festival everything is set in order; activity ceases; a portion of wealth or produce is offered; faiva are exhibited competitively; a speech announces the end of the festival; the ground is immediately abandoned. Statements of escatology also match. At the annual yam festivals a portion of the land's produce was offered to the gods...to ensure the protection of the gods [for] the welfare of the nation generally, and in particular [for] the productions of the earth (Martin 1981, p.342). A minister speaking at the misinale in 1971 stated, "today we sport with glad hearts (faiva mo e fiefia) and dance with happiness (me'e mo e fiefia) in expectation of receiving blessings and good fortune (ngaahi täpuaki mo e ngaahi monu'ia) from the realm of the divine (langi)."

At festivals where a portion of the land's produce and wealth was displayed, faiva followed. Possibly, it was the faiva that harnessed the realm of the sacred, securing productivity and wellbeing. A statement by Mariner is suggestive: When [the faiva] are ended, the people retire home, perfectly assured of the protection of the gods (Martin 1981, p.3345). If this was indeed the accomplishment of faiva, eighteenth

century performers would have been challenged to meet standards of exactness; audiences would have been challenged to support the dancers with encouragement; and performances would have been charged with force. The stringent necessity of propitiating the gods is absent in contemporary exhibitions of faiva.

The eighteenth century 'eiki were the representatives of the cosmic realm, the langi, the source of the land's productivity and the people's wellbeing. In 1971 Falehau village could not begin rehearsing its dance until the estate-'eiki gave the order; the Government Representative could not preside at the dress rehearsal because he was not 'eiki; the dance was not spoken of as a faiva until it was presented to the paramount 'eiki, His Majesty Tupou IV. This configuration again suggests that a faiva could be presented only to a representative of the sacred because it harnessed the realm of the sacred.

13. Harlequins & Clowns. Christian theology excludes dance from sacred rituals. At state festivals the appearance of clowns, and the reciprocal participation of audiences and performers in achieving a state of transportation (mäfana), are received as enjoyment (fiefia). Eighteenth century records suggest however that the technique of ecstasy had a religious agenda.

Eighteenth century faiva had different kinds of clown. Club-wielding harlequins, performing with prodigious agility, accompanied me'etu'upaki dances exhibited at day festivals. Old women clowns accompanied me'elaufola dances, a faiva of the night concerts. In Tongan mythology it is characteristically in the cosmic realms that social order is inverted. In the reading presented here, harlequins and clowns make manifest the success of faiva in harnessing the realm of the sacred.

This chapter completes the quest for answers to the questions posed by "Burdens of the Royal Visit". The juxtapositioning of ethnographic and historical records indicated which accounts to trust and what sense to impute to fragments. The exploration of faiva is based entirely on internal evidence, drawn from Tongan ethnography, history, language, and literature.

The preceding chapters have established the format of festivals. The volume continues to explore faiva in their appropriate occasions (lakanga), recognising that the Tongan chiefs were innovating to meet contingent circumstances.

14. Dance Grounds. Eighteenth century descriptions record a mala'e complex comprising a clearing amongst very tall trees, a chiefly burial ground, a large meeting house (fale lahi) with dance drums, and sometimes a house (fale 'otua) for the deity of the presiding 'eiki. McKern notes that god houses were sometimes dance houses (fale me'e); Malaspina's expedition saw dance pallets stored in a fale 'otua.

At the mala'e complex, the paramount 'eiki of a district met in council (fono) with his supporting chiefs and presided at festivals. Here chiefs demonstrated their championship in the martial arts and legitimated their challenge for power (hau). Dance grounds were the centres of political and religious power. The mala'e described are Pangai in 'Eua, Olotele, Popua, and Pouono.

15. Night concerts. Eighteenth century festivals were concluded with a night concert. After the day's formalities people feasted, and then retired to rehearse and prepare their costumes for the evening. The programme was entirely song and dance, with comic speeches. A complete night concert can be reconstructed from the records of Anderson, Samwell, Williamson, and Cook at Ha'apai in 1777.

Kaeppler has demonstrated the derivation of the lakalaka from the repertoire of the night concerts; here it is further suggested that twentieth century state festivals replicate the format of night concerts. The eighteenth century format, of a presentation of produce followed by faiva, survives in the palace grounds, in hä'unga (truncated with loss of faiva), and in the hala of people of an estate presenting tributary produce to the estate-'eiki.

Night concerts were the occasion when women danced. Associations between the faiva of the night concerts and the Afterworld of Pulotu are suggested. There are adequate records of choreography and costume for restoration of some eighteenth century dances.

16. Three Lineages of 1793. Twenty years after Cook's visits the political configuration has changed. This chapter explores glimpses of Tongan polity through the festivals ordered for exploring expeditions which arrived in 1793. With the foundation of the preceding chapters it is possible to handle anomalous records and read Tongan agendas; there were no night concerts. The faiva identified are 'üpë, fa'ahi hiva, fa'ahi ula, fakaniua, me'etu'upaki, meke fakafisi, me'elaufola and possibly heä.

17. Festivals of the Dead. Funerals of chiefs were fraught with religious and political danger. Festivals were held at two stages of the funeral rites: kätöanga 'o e tome'e, and kätöanga 'o e fakalahi. The faiva identified are processional dances by women and me'etu'upaki by men. An interpretation suggested is that the faiva of high ranking women dispatched the gods of Pulotu; the faiva of the warrior-'eiki restored the productivity of the land. The festivals described took place at the funerals of Tupou Mumui in 1797, and Finau 'Ulukälala 'i Feletoa in 1809.

18. The Sacred Regatta. An account in Tongan of a twenty-four hour, maritime festival celebrating marine fertility, documents technical vocabulary, costume, the ethos of social equality amongst competitors, and a renown compared with championship in war. The faiva named are siu'a'alo (canoe racing) and tau fa'ao (? kick boxing).

From 1834 the performing arts were suppressed by Protestant and legal codes; the skills of the illustrious era faded, but the heritage remained in the lakalaka songs.

19. Soakai's History of the Lakalaka. In 1862 the Edict of Emancipation encoded a new political configuration. A new faiva, the lakalaka, appeared. Sälote Tupou III used the lakalaka to claim the allegiance of all lineages, and to transfer the lines of sacred descent to her successor.

20. Niuniupulu, Moemoalulu. A new dual repertoire emerged during the late nineteenth century. The Catholics represented their repertoire as old and sacred. The Tupou dynasty represented its repertoire as new and borrowed. The chapter examines the sleight of hand by which

Tongan choreographers legitimated the retrieval of their outlawed, "heathen" heritage.

21. Conclusion. Contest in faiva, contest in politics, and contest for social status follow the same codes. The work proposes a new paradigm for interpreting Tonga's history. This paradigm is faiva.

Appendix. The appendix contains an inventory of faiva which can be identified in the records of the last 200 years: the public feats, contests, and trials of skill exhibited on the festival ground in the presence of a chief of sacred descent.

The last chapters brought the work full circle as they investigated the emergence of the lakalaka dance, and the new history that was fabricated for it. With the 1875 Constitution Tongan society lost the challenge of independent lineages and became rigid. The contest was over. A hundred years later a new paradigm of Christianity, monetarism, and Constitutional government had impoverished the land's people. Here the search begins, with the transformation of a song-text (ta'anga) into a faiva presented before a presiding 'eiki, with a village staking its reputation on the festival ground.

Philosophy of the Thesis.

My task is plain. It is to present records so they can be read with insight; to present ideas founded in sound ethnographic and historical scholarship; an agenda determined by Pacific priorities; in language which is clear and accessible. The work is multi-disciplinary in its techniques, and bi-cultural in its perspectives. It creates its own paradigm, describing dances in the wide scope of faiva, examining wrestling matches, mock battles, and yam festivals along the way. Eighteenth century dances were exhibited not as bare genre but in suites: me'elaufola and me'etu'upaki were preceded by recitatives; me'etu'upaki had interludes of club-handling by champions; me'elaufola were concluded with a thrilling undulation. Dances were complemented by the occasion; in the wider social milieu political and religious agendas enforced performances.

The work employs techniques appropriate to the problems. "Burdens of the Royal Visit" employs ethnographic skills to create an account of true proportions, so that readers can experience the ambiance of an era, the political malaise of the late twentieth century, the exigencies of a monetarist economic policy, the uncertain relevance of faiva, and the confined occasions which a small village grasped for the presentation of its dance. Critical readers can ask, are the priorities justly represented.

Eighteenth century challenge between lineages was played out in contest on the dance grounds. Records of the era represent a foreign view of Tongan affairs, but song texts and Tongan literary forms provide a reading. Critics can ask, have the religious and political paradigms of the era been justly retrieved.

Before reconstructing the eighteenth century festivals I made a reconnoitre of the social history of the era. Musicologists have simply fished up eighteenth century episodes to give a historical dimension to their descriptions of twentieth century practices. Thus Moyle associates contemporary male composers playing nose flutes with eighteenth century records of women playing nose flutes, as if demonstrating a continuity of tradition (Moyle 1987, pls 8 & 9). The interpretation made here (see Appendix) is as follows. Eighteenth century ensembles of women played nose flutes while performing a faiva called 'üpë.

Dismembered fragments of the 'üpē reappeared in the twentieth century. The songs became lullabies recounting the genealogical lines of chiefs. The nose flutes were now played by old male composers. The social occasion for the 'üpē, its lakanga as informal entertainment, was taken over by string bands, solo tau'olunga dances, and pop songs (hiva kakala); thereby young people's attraction to western music was accommodated within Tongan social convention. The 'üpē songs were transformed into aristocratic lullabies, and thereby a tradition of women's genealogical knowledge was retained.

It is not always possible to reconstruct eighteenth century faiva, such as ensembles of women singing 'üpē, by looking back from the twentieth century transformations. Nor is it possible to discern that the women's ensembles were displaced from their proper occasion and dismembered. If, wanting to give a historical dimension to twentieth century dances, scholars fish up fragments of eighteenth century history, there is no means of demonstrating that the connection is a correct one, and there is no account of the process. When instead the social milieu of the eighteenth century is known, it can set the agenda for the questions we ask of the records, and processes can be followed through towards the present, where outcomes are knowable with thoroughness and finesse. To revisit the eighteenth century, and to critically appreciate performances, musicologists need training in techniques from a multiplicity of disciplines.

Use of Tongan concepts contributes to a more dynamic view of historical process. Wesleyan rules, published in Tongan in 1834, initiated an era of cultural destruction. The ways of the ancestors, the fundamental social codes (motu'aanga), were made unlawful. When confidence in Tongan culture returned during the 1850s there was a need for a new repertoire of dances, and around the turn of the century a number of dances were borrowed. The kailao, an 'Uvean implement dance, was introduced to Ha'apai by the dance-master Kuliimoetoke during the reign of Tupou II (1893-1918). A Tonga Training College teacher discussed early choreographies of the kailao:

Ko e 'uhinga na'e liliu ai he na'e 'ikai loko ai ha lākanga ia 'o e kailao faka-'Uveá. Pea liliu ai 'e Kulií ia 'o hangē ha tau faka-Niua 'o lahi ai e ngaahi lākanga kuo 'ai he kailao he taimi ni.

The reason it was changed is that there wasn't really any appropriate occasion (lakanga) for the kailao in its 'Uvean form. So Kulii changed it into a kind of Niua war dance, and as a consequence there are now many occasions (lakanga) when a kailao can be performed (Pond, papers 1971).

The concept of lakanga carries connotations of both context and purpose, so that a faiva is in some measure inseparable from its lakanga. Change in the repertoire occurs when new political and religious styles bring about new occasions with new agendas. At eighteenth century festivals, occasions for martial faiva were filled by the me'etu'upaki, performed by high-ranking, highly skilled warrior-'eiki. With popular participation in state festivals 'Uvean and Niua war dances came into favour. Tupou III brought the lakalaka into the palace grounds, and Tupou IV patronised soccer.

During the reign of Tupou IV the composer Peni Tutuila presented a new faiva, performed by a company from 'Uiha in Ha'apai in 1976. Women seated in the front lines performed in mā'ulu'ulu-style while men standing in the back lines performed in lakalaka-style. In Shumway's account, the faiva carried the emotion of the day to new heights, while Peni was the darling and the dandy of the crowd. He was complimented by the Tongan royal household and by the paramount Sāmoan ali'i Malietoa (*The Punake of Tonga*, Brigham Young University at Hawai'i, video [1981]). But whereas the kailao had secured a place in the repertoire, Peni's new faiva was abandoned. The most popular of choreographers could not bring about change while church and state peacefully maintained everything in its place.

A full review of the dynamic interaction of faiva and lakanga must await a social history of the nineteenth century, where the proliferation of faiva is astounding. Wesleyan codes had prohibited performances of faiva from 1834 on. When faiva were again legitimated they were borrowed or revived in new styles and given new histories. The 1880s legislation named meke fakafisi, ula, lakalaka, 'otuhaka, and sipi. The tau'olunga was borrowed from Sāmoa and the kailao from 'Uvea. The lakalaka was standardised. Bishop Blanc noted fakaniua, me'etu'upaki, fa'ahi ula, eke, tafi, and mā'ulu'ulu also in the repertoire at the turn of the century (Blanc 1910, p.81).

Western scholars use linear chronologies in their historical discourse; thus Kaeppler recognises that the lakalaka derives directly from an outlawed night dance, the me'elaufola (Kaeppler [1967] 1993, p.95). However, Tongan choreographers possibly handle their repertoire according to a different model. In Soakai's account of the loss of the sacred protocols (talaefonua) of the Tu'i Tonga title, Pau scattered (veteki) the traditions during a time of political disorder (Hafoka [1959, p.61]). Ve'ehala Leilua accounts for the lakalaka as a new faiva created from the choreographic elements of many of the old dances (Moyle 1987, p.139). This is a paradigm of dismemberment and reconstitution of the 'heathen' repertoire to create a new faiva for the new era of the Emancipation Edict 1862. The paradigm is analogous with shamanistic accounts of the sacred 'origin' of the Tu'i Tonga line. The first Tu'i Tonga, 'Aho'eitu ('eitu 'spirit'), was born of an earth woman and sky god. He was dismembered, eaten by his elder sky brothers, and reconstituted in a kava bowl (Gunson MS1993). Here is an indigenous model for describing historical change in the 'üpē, and other faiva of the eighteenth century repertoire. Choreographers and composers, these masters of heliaki, will surely have used the strategies of their own paradigm when challenged by new political and religious configurations.

The work proposes a critical theory for reading Tongan records. Tongan accounts are not intended to recount historical origins, but to validate new configurations. The me'etu'upaki was revived at Catholic festivals during the 1880s and thereafter performed by men of Lapaha, at the seat of the sacred Tu'i Tonga. The me'etu'upaki described by Cook in 1777 however was danced by warrior-'eiki, and champions gave exhibitions of club-handling between stanzas. Nevertheless, a history was fabricated which represents the twentieth century me'etu'upaki as an ancient dance performed in honour of the sacred Tu'i Tonga. In both politics and faiva, the objective was to secure sacred sanction.

Western scholarship is obsessed with origins. The past is a trail of debris extending for thousands of miles. For Tongan composers the past is a time bomb. They dismember and reconstitute the past. The dance songs encapsulate the past and empower the present with it. From the perspective of the twentieth century, the nineteenth century is a window with one-way glass, because the past has been brought forward

into 1860-80, the decades of a new political configuration, a new repertoire of faiva, and a new account of origins.

Scholars have proceeded to write about Pacific history, society, language, and culture without having developed a critical theory for handling Pacific discourses. There are two problems. Firstly, Pacific sources have been mixed into western narratives without acknowledgement that each side has a different critical theory of history. Secondly, a defeated lineage retains its history at the risk of life and opportunity. Where a new configuration of power (hau liua) has made it dangerous to assert old claims, historical allusions are cryptic. Historical events are not described, and the allusion is intended only for those already informed. Historians have been misled by the surface appearance of Pacific discourse, instead of undertaking a search which would lead to a complex representation of events. Here is old Tupou Posesi reminding Tonga that her lineage forebears of Ha'a Havea were massacred by Tupou I at Hule in 1837. The song is sung as a lullaby ('üpē) by her grand-daughter Pesenga, and beguiles with its list of beauty spots (Kaho & Pond 1986):

Lätüfuipeka pe'i ke me'ite mu'a
'O ke vakavaka'ahina 'i hoku uma
Ka u 'avea koe he 'Otu Mātanga
Ka ta hifo he vai 'o Henamo'uta
Toli he heilala ko Tapungatata
Ke mahino koe fefine 'o e Ha'a Havea.
Lätüfuipeka, be good-humoured
And ride astride on my shoulders
I'll take you to see the sights
We'll go down to Henamo'uta's pool [died at Hule fort]
And pick Tapungatata's gardenias [tree in the Hule fort]
To confirm you're a lady of the House of Havea.
(Tupou Posesi Kaho, "'Üpē 'o e Ta'ahine ko Lätüfuipeka", ca 1985.)

Tongan composers love riddles and hidden mysteries. They are masters at hiding their themes, and masters at discerning the meanings hidden in metaphor, the art of heliaki. Until western scholars master this poetic art, we will be beguiled by the mirroring surface.

The long search notwithstanding, the quintessential essence of faiva remains enigmatic. In 1777 Cook's seaman Elliott described boxing contests as 'tryals of skill' (Holmes 1984, p.21), recognising the element

of contestable skill in faiva. In 1985 Kaeppler included faiva in 'structured movement systems', emphasising cleverness: *Faiva* refers to any kind of task, feat, craft, or performance requiring skill or ability, or anything at which an individual or group is clever (Kaeppler 1985, p.95). The original thesis presented here is as follows. Faiva have a historical heritage which Christian practice has denied and contemporary scholarship has ignored: faiva propitiate the gods who are represented by the sacred chiefs, the hou 'eiki. This is why faiva accompany a presentation of produce between chiefs, why faiva can be exhibited only for an 'eiki, why so much labour is invested in preparing a faiva. The attempt in this volume is not to define the concept of faiva, but to document and explore its practice so that Tongan performances can be appreciated critically.

Throughout the historical record, faiva appropriate to different occasions have employed different techniques for achieving the sacred agenda, and for this reason the ordering of the occasion (lakanga) has been as important as the accomplishment of the feat (faiva). At martial contests equanimity and good humour were maintained by victors and losers alike; at sacred yam festivals all movement ceased as the tapu descended; night concerts were held in clearings secluded by tall trees, lit by torchlight, and accompanied by music of 'vast power', see p.249. Musicological scholarship of Tongan dance has largely ignored the part played by appropriate occasion (lakanga) in accomplishing the impact of faiva.

The phrase 'technicians of the sacred' was used by Rothenberg ([1967] 1985) to acknowledge that oral poetry is complex and handles multiple elements, that the poet may also be dancer, singer, or magician (p. xxviii), that it is poetry of the spirit and the poets often shamans (p. xxx), that music, dance, myth, and painting are often elements of one activity (p. xxvi). Rothenberg's expression 'creation of the sacred' (p.xxx) is restated here as 'harnessing the realm of the sacred'. Through 200 years of Tongan records, faiva on the festival ground have garnered the blessings of the multi-layered shamanic heavens (langi), of the afterworld (Pulotu), of the titular deities ('otua) of eighteenth century priest cults, and of the nineteenth - twentieth century Christian benefactor ('Otua). Tongan practitioners have retained

continuity in seeking divine favour (höifua) and community well-being (monu'ia), whatever the lakanga, whatever the faiva, whatever the theology.

In a journal memo dated 30 August 1834, Rev Watkin recorded: This people used to have sacred pugilistic encounters [toutakao] not of two individuals but the inhabitants of one place would be pitched against those of another...used to to fight like furies, that the god might be propitious and send them a plentiful crop of breadfruit and cause a particular fish to come in shoals to their shores (Watkin 1834, p.189). Mariner observed of this pugilistic faiva, At these general battles [toutakao], the highest chiefs engage as well as the lowest tooas [tu'as], and any one of the latter may, if he pleases, attack the king...without the least danger of giving offence...The most perfect good humour constantly prevails on these occasions (Martin 1981, p.347). Fe'iloakitau Kaho's report to the Tonga Traditions Committee in 1960 states explicitly that when a finger-joint was sacrificed, it was the blood flowing out that propitiated the god, *see* p.210-12. It can be inferred that on occasions of martial contests the spilling of blood effected divine favour.

At yam festivals a portion of the land's produce was offered to the gods...to ensure the protection of the gods [for] the welfare of the nation generally, and in particular [for] the productions of the earth (Martin 1981, p.342). At Christian misinale festivals a portion of each household's income was offered to the Church: "Today we sport with glad hearts (faiva mo e fiefia) and dance with happiness (me'e mo e fiefia) in expectation of receiving blessings and good fortune (ngaahi täpuaki mo e ngaahi monu'ia) from the realm of the divine (langi)." It can be inferred that faiva (lī pa'anga) and me'e, with their accompanying clowing, effected divine favour and brought about well-being for the community generally.

The dances of the night concerts were neither martial nor associated with presentations. Here, possibly, the realm of the sacred was Puluṭu, the Afterworld. Dance choreographers, poets, and composers are called pulotu, suggesting they are 'technicians of the Afterworld', and the inversion of the social order manifested by clowns likewise replicates mythical accounts of Puluṭu, *see* p.218-19. Here, possibly, faiva 'harnessed the realm of the sacred' by a choreographic technique of

ecstatic transportation (mäfana) in which performers, clowns, and audience alike participated. Eliade ([1951] 1972) characterised shamanism as quintessentially a 'technique of ecstasy' by which shamans journey solitarily to retrieve the spirits of the dead. The original thesis proposed here is that the pre-Christian night dances and their transformation, the twentieth century lakalaka, have retained an archaic technique of ecstatic transportation which brings well-being to the community. The force of faiva can now unfold. I salute the scholars who pioneered the path.

PART 1

When was there a big festival in Tonga without a disturbance ?

Rev. Dr James Egan Moulton, *Miscellaneous Papers*, A Great Church Festival
(description of events on Thursday, the Day of the West End, celebrating the
landing of Wesleyan missionaries in 1826), in *Glad Tidings*, 1st March 1893.
Pacific Manuscripts Bureau, Manuscript Series, Microfilm no.719.

PART 1

The Burdens of the Royal Visit

"Burdens of the Royal Visit" follows the production of a lakalaka from its beginnings as a poem ('etau ta'anga) to its presentation as a faiva on the ceremonial reception ground.

When the Tonga Constitution was adopted in 1875 the authority of the chiefs remained in place, but there were new rules of inheritance and appointment. Contest for power was suppressed. The best no longer succeeded, unsuitable leaders were no longer challenged, and the ruling house cumulatively usurped titles and privileges for itself. This account describes the political malaise of Tongan society in 1971.

The lakalaka is an affirmation of loyalty to the socio-political system. The songs eulogise the governing chiefs and organise genealogical descent to legitimate their privileges. In 1971 the people of Niuatoputapu island had become disenchanted with the government of Tupou IV and disenchanted with the lakalaka. This account documents a dance in crisis.

The account was compiled from the field journals of three ethnographers, Tupou Posesi Kaho, Wendy Pond, and Garth Rogers.

Niutoputapu

Fig. 2. Niutoputapu Island. The main road runs along the lagoon shore from the wharf at Falehau, through Vaipoa and Hihifo villages, through the abandoned village of Matavai, and continues round the back of the central ridge, with its peaks Mu'ihelu, Fo'imoa, and the pass at Funga Mafa. Niutoua is a feshwater spring, creating a bathing hole in the coral shelf. Mä'atu Siouli Kivalu (d.1894) moved from Vaipoa and established a new residence in Hihifo at Matangi Mälie (Loto'ä), beside the spring Niutoua. Tupou IV was accommodated here in 1971, adjacent to the Agricultural Show grounds. (Source: Rogers 1975, *Kai and Kava*, map 3.)

Lineage of Mā'atu

Fig. 3. Lineage of Mā'atu, paramount title of Niuatoputapu.

(SOURCES: Rogers 1975, tables 8, 9 & 10; also Thomas MS1865, pp.762, 951-3, 1005-1131; Turner 1873, p.427; Gifford 1929, p.284-5; Sharp 1968, p.158; Moeaki Takai, pers. comm., 1970; Bott 1982, figs 17, 28; Campbell 1983, p.157-62; Pond 1983, p.31-43; Moyle 1984, p.171-81; Campbell 1992, p.237.)

[1600]

KAUHALA 'UTA - HA'A FALE FISI

a man from Lakeba, Lau,
known in Tongatapu as Tapu'osi and Tu'i Vasivasi (Waciwaci).
= O TU'I TONGA FEFINE Sinaetakala 'i Langileka (Kauhala 'Uta).

Schouten and Le Maire anchor at Tafahi, in 1616. The Niua people have a non-Tongan language. The paramount 'eiki is addressed as Lātū (LAU Ratu) and kava is called akona (LAU yaqona). The chiefs Sisi Palaevae, Seketoa, and Lātū Lomitau are renown. The political independence of Niuatoputapu from the 'eiki rule of Tongatapu is recorded in the nickname "Niua-teke-vaka, Niua, Rejector of Boats".

Fonomanu, TU'I LAKEPA of Ha'a Fale Fisi, Tongatapu.
= O TU'I TONGA FEFINE 'Ekutongapipiki (Kauhala 'Uta).

Fonomanu's son, Lātūmailangi sails to Niuatoputapu. Fonomanu's daughter, the TAMAHĀ Tu'imala, marries the Tu'i Kanokupolu, Mataele Tu'apiko.

Tasman anchors at Hihifo, Tongatapu, in 1643. 'The King who lived at the point' is possibly the TU'I KANOKUPOLU Mataele Tu'apiko. The TU'I TONGA is 'Uluakimata II; the TU'I HA'ATAKALAU is Fotofili.

Lātūmailangi

This 'eiki of Kauhala 'Uta (Ha'a Fale Fisi) has Lau connections. He begins the establishment of 'eiki rule in Niuatoputapu, and the displacement of

the indigenous political leaders. In Niuatoputapu he is known as Puakatefisi, "Fijian Pig". In Tongatapu he is known as 'Lātū from the skies': lātū denotes his leadership in the Niua political configuration; langi is a metaphor denoting the sacred descent of Kauhala 'Uta from the realm of the gods.

Puaka'ilakelo MĀ'ATU

"Yellow-spotted Pig". The first to hold the title Mā'atu. Marries Siulolovao, daughter of Valamotu, daughter of the governing 'eiki, Fotofili Alofi of Niuafo'ou, of Tongan /'Uvean descent.

[1700]

Ikamafana I. MĀ'ATU

"Hot Fish". Possibly contemporary with the Tu'i Kanokupolu Maealiuaki who meets Cook in 1777.

Pungakaitafolo
MĀ'ATU

"Ulcerating sore". Elder brother of
Puaka'ilakelo.

Fehi'a, daughter of Fuimaono, marries Fīnau 'Ulukālala 'i Ma'ofanga of
Vava'u, d.1797.

[1800]

▲ Ikamafana II.
MĀ'ATU

Marries Lātūtama, daughter of Maealiuaki.
Meets Thomas in 1828. Dies in Fiji ca
1832 after being lost at sea. In his
absence, his sons Mafoa and Tavana are
the leading 'eiki of Niuatoputapu.

Wesleyan missionaries establish bases at Tongatapu, Ha'apai, and
Vava'u. In 1832 Rev. John Williams on coming ashore at Niuatoputapu,
finds a vaka eke (sōkē) dance being performed: It was said to be a
calling upon their gods to bring their chief Maatu back, who had
gone to sea about three months ago & had never been heard of.

Mafoa becomes interested in Christianity while visiting Ha'apai and
Vava'u as a young man in 1831 (Thomas MS1865, pp.762, 952). Williams
writes of Tavana, 'He is far more prepossessing in his appearance
than his brother & has much more the manners of a Chief' (Moyle
1984, p.179).

▲ Ngongo.
MĀ'ATU

Resident at Maloloaehau, Vaipoa. Grandson
of Maealiuaki. Contemporary with Tupou
I. Becomes a Christian and wars against
local chiefs; defeats all chiefs of

Niuatoputapu; forbids transmission of knowledge of the pre-Mā'atu
lines. Dies 1835 fighting in 'Uvea, pursuing a strategy which parallels
the Christian wars of Tāufa'āhau (Tupou I).

Ngongo's sister Veiongo marries Fīnau 'Ulukālala 'i Pouono of Vava'u
(Tu'apasi), d. 1833. In 1835 Rev. Peter Turner reports the presence at
Niuatoputapu of many Sāmoans.

▲ Seuli Kalaekīvalu.
MĀ'ATU

Spends childhood in 'Uvea. Returns to
Niuatoputapu to become Mā'atu, resident
at Maloloaehau, Vaipoa. The hau of Tonga
is the Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupou I.

▲ 'Uatahausi Lātūmailangi
MĀ'ATU

Resident at Maloloaehau, Vaipoa, d. 1877.

Many Niuatoputapu people have become Christians (Wesleyans).
Cessation of warfare. Cessation of political independence.

▲ Sioeli Kīvalu
MĀ'ATU

Moves his residence from Vaipoa to
Matangi Mālie beside Niutoua spring in
Hihifo. Buried at Matangi Mālie, d. 1894.

Arrival of the Catholic missionary Père Jouny in 1886 with 'Uvean families who settle at Vaipoa and Hihifo.

[1900]

▲ Sione Pānuve
MĀ'ATU

Buried at Tongatapu, d. 1923.
Contemporary with the hau Tupou II and
Tupou III, and the anthropologist E.W.
Gifford.

During the 1920s Michael Müller (Miki Mila) arrives to eradicate the rhinoceros beetle which is destroying Pacific coconut crops. With community cooperation and ingenuity, the scheme succeeds at Niuatoputapu. Miki Mila is immortalised in a popular song (hiva kakala) "Toki tumu kita he manu-kai-niu".

▲ Ma'afu 'o Tu'i Tonga
MĀ'ATU

Known in Niuatoputapu as "Mā'atu Loholoho" because of his drunken violence against the Niua people. Buried at Tongatapu, d. 1935. Under the Tonga Constitution there is no direct heir. The title is claimed by colateral descendants but the hau makes no appointment.

In 1927 a kātoanga is held for the visit of the hau, Sālote Tupou III, to celebrate the centennial of the Wesleyan church (1826). At Niuafo'ou her visit is preceded by the great lakalaka choreographer, Fakatava, who teaches two ta'anga lakalaka composed by Sālote herself. However there is no record of when the lakalaka first reaches Niuatoputapu.

An 'Uvean 'eiki and dance-master, Tu'ulōmia-ma'utāmakia who arrived with Father Jouny, teaches a vaka eke with an 'Uvean text for the kātoanga. During the 1930s his son, Tēvita Tavake, composes a new eke text for the Tafahi people. The text has Tongan words and Tafahi place names.

During World War II (1939-1942) New Zealand and Australian Soldiers are stationed on Niuatoputapu. The faiva of Taufakaniua, a dance emulating the parading of arms, is created.

From 1935 the Mā'atu title is vacant. The leading title-holders are Fuimaono (Falehau), Tangipā, Vīvī (Vaipoa), Tēlai, Tupa (Hihifo), Vaka (Tafahi). They provide hard-working and skillful leadership.

In 1959 the hau, Sālote Tupou III, visits Niuatoputapu to explain the Lo'au to be held at Tongatapu in September. The Lo'au will determine the ranking and seating of all title-holders in the kingdom under one hau, definitively annulling the superior rank of the Ha'a Falefisi, Tu'i Tonga, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, and Mā'atu titles.

A kātoanga is held for the reception of the hau, with premier performances of the lakalaka "Matafi 'a e Tonga 'i Fale" by Sioeli Filianga (Vaipoa), and the lakalaka "Feke" by Peni Lātū Langi (Falehau). The Mā'atu title is vacant. The hau is petitioned by the Niua chiefs to install a successor.

In 1969 the hau, Tāufa'āhau Tupou IV, arrives to open Niuatoputapu's first agricultural show. The Mā'atu title is vacant. The hau is petitioned to install a successor.

▲ Alaivahamama'o.
MĀ'ATU

A Tongan 'eiki, second son of the hau, Tupou IV. Appointed to the Mā'atu title in 1979. Establishes a new residence on Hunganga island.

Until the Constitution of 1875, Niuatoputapu and Tafahi islands were self-governing under the paramount 'eiki Mā'atu. This title had been established by a lineage of the Ha'a Falefisi who were descended from the Tu'i Tonga Fefine, 'Ekutongapipiki, sister of the Tu'i Tonga Kau'ulufonua III who reigned ca 1600 (Bott 1982, fig.1; Campbell 1992, pp.230, 237). The lineage married back into the 'eiki lines of Tonga, Vava'u, and Niuafo'ou and retained high social rank. Some Niua chiefs remained independent of Mā'atu's hegemony until the 1830s, when Mā'atu Ngongo once and for all defeated them in a series of wars, abolished their titles and renamed them, and seated them in his own kava circle (Rogers 1975, p.372). Thereafter Mā'atu was hau: he controlled the land and its resources, and forbade any transmission of the island's former history (Gifford 1929, p.185-6; Rogers 1975, pp.53-66, 100).

As descendant (kau sina'e) of a Tu'i Tonga Fefine, Mā'atu was fahu to the Tu'i Tonga and was thus not obliged to send tribute to the sacred yam festivals (kātoanga 'o e 'inasi) (Bott 1982, p.157). Further, Niuatoputapu's nickname "Niua-teke-vaka, Niua repeller of boats", recalls an era when the governing Mā'atu maintained political independence from the hau of Tonga. During the nineteenth century, as Tāufa'āhau (Tupou I) progressively defeated the chiefs of Tonga and in 1865 claimed the sacred privileges of the Tu'i Tonga (Campbell 1992, p.75), Niuatoputapu remained the only estate governed by an 'eiki with both political independence and sacred descent.

This was not tolerable to Tāufa'āhau. Land acts in 1882 and 1927 reallocated Niuatoputapu land so that Falehau became Royal estate (Tofi'a 'o e Tu'i) (1927), Vaipoa became the estate of the 'eiki Tangipā (1882), Hihifo became part Mā'atu and part Government estate, and Tafahi became Government estate (1891) (Rogers 1975, pp.102, 125, 118-20). In 1923 Mā'atu Panuve died without a legitimate heir. The title passed to his brother Mā'atu Ma'afu 'o Tu'i Tonga who died in 1935, also without a legitimate heir. In 1959 Sālote Tupou III visited Niuatoputapu and was petitioned by the chiefs to appoint a successor to the title, but she did not do so (Rogers 1975, p.64).

In 1969 Tāufa'āhau Tupou IV arrived to open Niuatoputapu's first Agricultural Show. The Mā'atu title was still vacant. Thirty-five years of vacancy had undermined the strength and independence of Niuatoputapu polity. Of the chiefs who had formed Mā'atu Panuve's kava circle, Sika and Kaufana retained legitimacy as king's matāpule; Tangipā was a Constitutional noble appointed by the King; and Fuimaono was the appointed 'eiki of the King's estate. The land's chiefs however, Tupa'olelangi, Tafea, Vivili, Telai, Manuefata, Vīvī, Tūpō, Tuisē, Tauaka, Vaka, Langi'oha'avakafuhu, Maiavatekimoto, Lapuka and Motu'ahala, had neither charter nor the status to take charge of festivals (Rogers 1975, p.66). The social order maintained strenuously by Mā'atu had been displaced by the debilitating rule of Tonga[tapu] government and chiefs. Again the hau was petitioned to appoint a Mā'atu and again the title was left vacant. In 1979 Tupou IV appointed his own son, Alaivahamama'o, to the Mā'atu title.

1. Twentieth Century Contradictions

Ko e Ngaahi Kavenga Kehekehe

I

In 1971 the paramount chief of Tonga, the hau, Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupou IV, made a royal tour of the kingdom to open agricultural shows*¹ at Niuafo'ou, Niuatoputapu, Vava'u, Ha'apai, 'Eua, and Tongatapu.

The dates for the Royal Visit to Niuatoputapu were set at 25 & 26 August.*² Six weeks before the King's arrival the Falehau Town Officer addressed a meeting of household heads (fono, fakataha) and urged them to begin rehearsals of the village's lakalaka ('etau ta'anga).

Falehau was the King's estate, and in Falehau village preparations were beset with contending priorities. The 1862 Edict of Emancipation (Article 34) had given each Tongan male aged 16 years the right to rent a personal allotment of land. As a consequence Falehau gardeners had to pay two dues: taxes (tukuha) to the Government, and rent (lisi) to the 'eiki of the king's estate, Fuimaono Ūkakala. Failure to meet these payments could mean prosecution or loss of land title.*³ But that was not all.

In 1971, Falehau households also had to raise cash for offerings to their churches at the annual collections (kātoanga 'o e misinale). Failure to give generously meant loss of reputation. They also presented first fruits (polopolo) to their church ministers and paid ground rent (ta uvao) in agricultural produce to owners of fertile soil, on which they gardened in communal plots. Some of the best soil was Fuimaono's.*⁴

Cash to meet payments for government taxes, school fees, church collections, freight, and purchases of store goods, petrol, and fishing gear came mainly from copra production. Land for coconut plantation was acquired by encroaching on the uncultivated bush (vao lahi) where Falehau people gathered firewood, wild food during famine, flowers and materials for dance costumes; or by encroaching on the fertile soils traditionally used for staple root crops. Copra did not give a fair return for the labour and soil expended on its production. In 1971 Falehau people were impoverished and physically exhausted by the three-fold exaction of tribute paid to government, church, and estate-'eiki.

The purpose of the Agricultural Show, it seemed from the perspective of Niuatoputapu, was to increase agricultural production and promote cash cropping. The presence of H M Tupou IV at the annual openings of the Shows lent emphasis to the importance of agriculture in maintaining the Kingdom's prosperity. The Royal Visit would be a highlight of the year. Falehau people would be lifted out of the drudgery of their daily lives. The trials in which they had excelled would remain an inspiration to the community.

Falehau was a small village in 1971, see fig.4. Roger's census recorded 270 heads and an active male work force of 55 (Rogers 1975, p.26). As preparations for the Agricultural Show got underway Falehau's effort now comprised: The daily labour expended on agriculture, fishing, and weaving to sustain the household, and on cash-cropping to pay bills. Constructing a fence round the village. Entering plantations, flower gardens, and produce for the Show competitions. Rehearsing songs for the Tonga Radio competition. Meeting a share of the island's obligations to welcome the King : constructing houses for H M Tupou IV

and for H R H 'Aho'eitu, constructing archways, providing labour, and raising money.

But Falehau had yet another burden: tribute (hala 'o Fulmaono) to the voyaging hau as occupiers of his estate. Fulmaono's hala comprised 50 baskets of sweet yams, a large pig, a large kava plant, many fine mats (kava koloa) and a faiva to complete the presentation of tribute to an 'eiki.

The tradition of tribute had been abolished by the Emancipation Edict in 1862 (Cummins n.d., p.153), see fig.34d, but just as Fulmaono still exacted ground rent (ta uvao), likewise the hau still received tributary presentations from the kingdom's estates at coronations, birthdays, anniversaries, church and state centennials, and royal visits. Failure to comply meant loss of royal favour.

The Niuatoputapu poets credited Tupou IV with ensuring the Kingdom's prosperity through initiating and opening the Agricultural Show, and Tupou IV exacted the traditional tribute due to the land's spiritual head.

II

Planning for the Royal Visit was in the hands of a committee chaired by Tongatoutai, the Government Representative (Fakafofonga, Fakamaau). It is possible the committee will have received instructions from Tonga[tapu] regarding preparations required for the Royal Visit. Garth attended the meeting in Hihifo and recorded some of the mandatory contributions. Foremost of these were sweet yams ('ufi lei, *Dioscorea esculenta*), Niuatoputapu's traditional tribute to the sacred yam festivals which were abolished in the nineteenth century. In 1971 the allocations were: Hihifo: 50 baskets of sweet yams (= 500 yams); food-

trays for the voyagers on Show Day. Vaipoa: 30 baskets of sweet yams; food-trays for the midday meal on arrival. Falehau: 20 baskets of sweet yams; food-trays for the evening meal. Tafahi: all kava; \$1 per adult male; raw food (oho) for the voyage. All householders to participate, including those without tax allotments. Allocations of labour not recorded (Rogers 1975, pp.36, 146, 302-3).

III

A Royal visit, with its presentations of tributary produce (faka fonua) and dances (faiva) was an event concerning the estate-'eiki. In Falehau dance rehearsals should have been initiated by Fuimaono. At the same time, preparations for the Agricultural Show, which the King was arriving to open, were matters for the government officials to organise. A new turn of events in Falehau emphasized this contradiction.

On 13 May 1971 elections for Village Officer took place in Falehau. This was a civil servant post. Formerly it had been held by Fuimaono's spokesman, the matäpule Faikimu'a (Sëmisi Nunu), who was loved and respected, but he was old. At this election Sëmisi Nunu was replaced by a commoner, Paki Tangimana.

The responsibility of upholding Falehau's reputation in its faiva lay with Fuimaono and his spokesman. However, strength of leadership in the village lay with the new Town Officer, a commoner, the elected choice of the Falehau people. The choir master, a key figure at the beginning of rehearsals, waited for the order to begin. The straitened circumstances of Falehau's 'eiki and the republican sentiments of the new Town Officer introduced a new contradiction into dance rehearsals.*5

There was also a growing sense of unease about the new lakalaka the village was rehearsing. Falehau's old lakalaka "Feke", the "Octopus", had won them renown as the island's leading dance exponents. Three weeks before the Show the older women led a revival of their proven "Octopus" lakalaka. Thereafter there was uncertainty as to which dance would be chosen to welcome the King, and uncertainty about what show of force the village could succeed in mustering on the day.

Key to Falehau Village Map

KEY

- - fence
- - boundary
- - edging stones
- - track
- - houses
(length in fathoms)
- - cooking-houses
- - food-store
- - wash-house
- - pit latrines
- - copra-drier
- - weaving-house
- - church:
 - FWC - Free Wesleyan
 - FCT - Free Church Tonga
 - RC - Roman Catholic

HAO - place-name

Trees:

- b - breadfruit
- c - coconut
- f - Barringtonia a.
- M - mango
- t - Pomelia p.
- v - kapok
- - pigsty
- - well
- - water tank
- - outdoor workshop

Fig. 4. Falehau village, Niuatoputapu, mapped by Garth Rogers in 1971. The hereditary chief of Falehau, Fuimaono, was defeated by Mā'atu Ngongo in the warfare of the 1830s and the direct line of descent terminated. When Falehau was claimed for Royal Estate between 1889 and 1927 the title was retained, but transferred to another lineage. In 1971 Fuimaono 'Ūkakala was both a kinsman (kui) of the King, and a local chief ('eiki si'i) of the King's estate. Falehau was two hours' walk from the government headquarters at Hihifo but government personnel, usually educated in Tongatapu, regarded Falehau people as country folk. When you walked towards Hihifo village you were going to town, 'alu ki kola. When you walked towards Falehau you were heading for the bush, 'alu ki 'uta.

The village plan shows the old diagonal paths which in 1971 continued to ignore the surveyed grid of town allotments. The path from Pasivūlangi wharf, running north-south through the village, divided it into Vēlangi to the east, Taumāhina to the west. The village fence began at Pasivūlangi wharf, bordered the village, and then continued along the main road to link up with the Vaipoa fence. Village meetings (fono) took place at mala'e ZCO. Dance rehearsals were held in the weaving house, Fale Kautaha 'a Fuimaono (circled), beside the Free Church of Tonga. People of Tafahi arriving for the Agricultural Show performed their eke at Fangahangale. Rogers' tent-fale was under the futu trees (f) on the edge of the lagoon. (Source: Rogers 1975, pp.35, 47, 58, 63, 122-35, map 6, fig.19.)

Falehau Calendar

Ko e Tohi Mähina 'a Falehau*6

Falehau people accommodated preparations for the Royal visit to their seasonal activities of economic production.*7 In Tonga the year began with uiki lotu, a week of morning and afternoon prayers with feasts for the preachers twice a day.

Vai Mu'a. During January allotment holders in Falehau completed the mandatory planting of 200 plantain and banana plants.

Vai Mui. In February members of the Free Wesleyan Church (Siasi Uesiliana Tau'atäina 'o Tonga) harvested long yams ('ufi kahokaho, *Dioscorea alata*) from their communal gardens (toutu'u) at Mo'ungasiu and Pöme'e. The harvest of first fruits was celebrated with a communal feast and church service. First fruits (polopolo 'ufi) were presented to the church minister, and ground rent in yams (ta uvao) to the land owners.

Fakaofimo'ui. In March the Free Church of Tonga (Siasi Tau'atäina 'o Tonga) harvested sweet yams ('ufi lei, *Dioscorea esculenta*) from its communal garden in Fuimano's allotment at Pöme'e. Ground rent was presented to Fuimaono and a communal feast prepared to celebrate the harvest of first fruits. Allotment holders completed the mandatory planting of 200 kape (*Alocasia macrorrhiza*).

Faka'afumate. In April preparations began for the Free Wesleyan Church children's anniversary (fakamä). Catholic children were prepared for their first communion at the Catholic church in Vaipoa. A chiefly

funeral (pongipongi) was held in Hihifo for the Catholic priest, Pätele Petelo. Falehau families prepared pigs and agricultural produce for the related kava ceremonies and feasts.

All the while, village activities continued. There was some division of skill between fishermen living along the lagoon edge (Kauhala Tahi) and gardeners living on the landward side of the main road (Kauhala 'Uta), but in 1971 many tasks were undertaken by all households. Women's weaving coöperatives boiled pandanus leaves in drums, tending the fires through the night. Families made copra and cleared land for the coconut replanting scheme. At Ilaisa mini's cart-building workshop, Niu'unga's old cart was reconstructed. At the sawmill in Tauaka's yard, Tëvesi Fuimaono began building a new boat to fulfil an order from Tafahi; Himiliti made kava bowls and food-troughs on commission. There were weekly rhythms also: a compulsory work-day in the coconut plantations; fishing and assembling produce on Saturdays for the Sunday oven; Saturday washing at the wells. Meetings of household heads were held on the cricket pitch (Mala'e ZCO). Allotments were cleaned up for periodic inspections. Village roads, a ward of the hospital at Hihifo, and the Falehau baby clinic were maintained by work parties of voluntary labour.

During the day fish were caught by the Niua method of swimming alongside a floating pole from which fish are hung as the fishermen dive to spear or shanghai them (fakalukuluku). Fuimaono's brother, Tëvesi, was expert at catching fish with a throwing net (kupenga sili, sili pulou). Kavafisi (*Derris trifoliata?*) and futu seeds (*Barringtonia asiatica*) were pounded for fish poisoning ('aukava). Women in groups trapped fish in fences of coconut leaves (faka'uvea) and men in groups drove

fish into a standing net (tä ika). Set nets were left over-night. Men went line-fishing (taumäta'u) in canoes and at low tide women gathered reef creatures (fängota) or felt with their toes (moemoe'i) for shellfish in deep water. At night we would see the lights of men working along the reef with torches (ama), and of rafts (vaka'ämei) fishing along the outer reef. The pounding of kava, while fishermen waited for the tide, continued through the night. The canoes were paddled or driven by outboard motors. In 1971 there was not one double-hulled voyaging canoe. Niuatoputapu no longer initiated inter-island voyaging, deep-sea fishing, and seafaring trade. These intrepid enterprises were in the control of Government and foreign consortiums. The Agricultural Show would celebrate the landward agenda.

Hilinga kekekele. In May the Free Wesleyan Church harvested sweet yams from its communal garden at Pöme'e, and held its fakamä. The Church of Tonga in Falehau held its annual misinale collection. During the arduous preparation of flour from grated arrowroot (feihili), householders of the church prepared communal feasts to support the workers. Paki's new fishing canoe (pöpau) was launched, built by Fuimaono's sons. The finishing work was done under the futu trees (*Barringtonia asiatica*) by our tent-fale. 'Aleni 'Otuhouma thatched his new copra dryer. Allotment holders had to complete the mandatory planting of 200 kumala (*Ipomoea batatas*).

With transition from the wet to the dry season in May, the yam-planting season began: long yams were planted May-September; sweet yams August-October.

On 13 May local government elections (fili) were held for District and Town Officers. Paki Tangimana became Falehau's new Town Officer, replacing Fuimaono's spokesman, Sēmisi Nunu.

Meanwhile pigs rooting in the bush were damaging unfenced gardens. The people of Falehau began to construct a retaining wall ('ä fonua) around their entire village, to keep the pigs within, *see fig.4*. A village fono had decided that it should be built of posts and Australian barbed wire. Socials (kalapu kava) were held to raise funds, in association with a series of village work-days.

At the first work-day on 13 May, fence posts were cut from a coastal allotment at Fäkikava and piled on the shore. On the second work-day on 18 May the posts were carried out to the barge, transported along the coast and carried inshore to the village. The men began digging postholes and putting in a line of posts along the back of the village. On both occasions householders contributed food to a large communal mid-day meal (kai fakakolo). Preparing the ground oven was the work of the older men. Kava followed.

At this stage, at a village meeting (fono) held at mala'e ZCO, *see fig.4*, Fuimaono advised Falehau householders of their allocation of tasks for the Royal Visit planned for August. Two houses had to be constructed at Loto'ä, Mä'atu's old residence in Hihifo, one for H M Tupou 1V and Princess Pilolevu; another for Prince 'Aho'eitu to respect the constraint between brother and sister. The site had to be fenced. Tribute from Falehau estate (hala 'o Fuimaono) and mandatory contributions to the island's presentation of yams must be assembled. Garth recorded the fono on a hand-wound Butoba tape-recorder.

FUIMAONO: Kuo kamata 'etau fono. Tapu hē mo ha'a lotu, pea tapu mo Latu, kae'uma'ä 'a Kiva mo ha'a matäpule..... Ko e ngähi 'ü me'a koeni ki he 'amanaki 'etau tali hä'eale 'oku ou kole atu ke tau alea'i.... Ko e me'a 'oku tau fono ai he pongipongi ni ko 'etau fale, ko e konga 'etau fale ko 'etau taa'i fale, mo 'etau 'ä..... Ka ko e me'a ke tau alea'i kätöa ki ai, ko 'etau me'a kätöa ko eni 'oku fai, na'e uki nai he kuohili, ko e tänaki 'ufi mo e 'ufi lei. Ko 'etau ngähi 'ü me'a fonua ia 'a tautolu, pea 'oku ou kole atu he pongipongi ni ke tau tänaki mai pē ki he 'Ofisa Kolo ke fei mo maau. Pea ko 'etau tänaki pa'anga 'e taha 'a e 'api kotoa pē. Pea ko e me'a e taha hangē ko 'etau pola taumafa mo e Fale 'Alo. Pehē pē 'e au ko e fai atu pē koeni 'a e fatongia 'o'oku ia, ka 'oku ia Faikimu'a, 'Aholangamaka, mo Tuivai 'a e fakakauakau'i 'a e ngähi me'a mo e anga hono tali 'etau 'amanaki hä'eale.

Ko e me'a 'oku ou ki'i lau atu ki ai, he fakakaukau'i ange pē 'e lava ha'atau ki'i kalapu ke tau tätänaki atu ha'atau ki'i sēniti ki he 'amanaki kumi ha'atau ki'i puaka. Pea hangē ko e tänaki me'a ki ai 'oku tonu pē ke fai ha fakakaukau, tau taki tauhi pē ki'i puaka, he 'e ma'u pē foki e ma'u ia, ka 'e nofo lelei pē fa'ahinga he'ikai ke lava. 'Oku ou kole atu ko e me'a ki he'etau me'a, kätöa. Na'e lahi foki 'emau lau ki he anga 'o 'etau founga mo e hala 'o'oku koeni ke fai. Ka 'oku 'ikai te u tokanga au ki he hala, 'oku ou tokanga au ki he me'a koeni 'oku tau meimei fetu'utaki mo e fanua. Ko ia 'oku ou kole atu he pongipongi ni, ko 'etau tänaki 'ufi lei ke fei mo 'omai ke fei mo kakato ia.

Ko e me'e e taha kau ki he 'etau 'ä. 'Oku ou mä 'aupito ke u lea kau ki he 'etau 'ä, he ko e fu'u motu'a au pea ko 'eku fainga holo. 'Oku ou kole atu ki he 'Ofisa Kolo ko e uike ni 'oku toki 'ai ai 'a e fo'i niu pea ko hono anga ē, 'oku 'ikai ke 'iai hatö fale niu, ko ia 'oku ou kole fakamolemole atu ai, na'a pehē kuo te fai 'a e tu'utu'uni pea te 'ela kita 'o hangē ha fu'u pate, ka ko 'eku kole atu, 'ilonga koe 'oku ke fainga[mälie] he taimi ni, 'ofa mai 'o 'omai ha'atau fo'i uaea.... Ko e me'a taha 'oku ou ki'i lave atu ko ē ki ai, ko 'etau tänaki koeni 'a e ki'i puaka ke tau taki taha mu'a 'a e ki'i puaka 'a e 'api kotoa pē, he kapau ko hono anga eni 'o e tali Tu'i ke ta'e maau pē ia.....

FUIMAONO: Our meeting is open. My respects to the Christian community. Respects to Lätü, and to Kiva and the foremen... There are a number of matters relating to the expected visit of His Majesty which I should like us to resolve... The subject of our meeting this morning is our house. Our section of the house is the oval end, and as well there is our fence. [The royal enclosure at Hihifo] ...And a matter we must all confer about, a matter concerning all of us, which we have put our hand to in the past, is the assembling of [long] yams and sweet yams. These are our traditional tasks as the land's men and women, so this morning I'm asking that we get our yams to the Town Officer so everything is done and in order. Then there is the collection of one dollar from each household. Then there is another matter pertaining to the food-trays we will prepare for the King and the royal children. In my understanding this is undertaken as my responsibility, while Faikimu'a, 'Aholangamaka, and Tuivai will have advice to give on these matters and on how to receive our anticipated royal visitors.

A matter I want to have a short word about is the idea of whether we can manage a small social evening to raise a few cents in anticipation of our trying to obtain a small pig. With regard to the things we have to collect up, we should give some thought; each one of us will provide a piglet, each will do that, but some will sit pretty who can't manage it. I ask you [to oblige]; this is a matter affecting all our preparations, of all of us. They [the organisers in Hihifo] assessed the manner of our living and of my kinship-allegiance (hala 'o Fuimaono) under discussion, and [our contribution] is great. I wouldn't bother about the kinship-allegiance for myself, my concern is for our responsibilities to each other and to our island. So this morning I'm asking you to assemble sweet yams. See to it and bring them, so it's done-with.

There's one more thing concerning our fence. I am deeply ashamed to bring up the subject of our fence. I'm an old man and I have been trying in vain. I am asking you per the Town Officer if you can spare any coconuts this week - and in my typical manner I don't have a copra dryer so I'm making a humble request, lest it be said I gave an order and walked about with my face to

the sky like a periwinkle's eye. So this is a request, if you find yourself in fair circumstances for the present, please help me to contribute a roll of wire... Another matter I'll raise briefly with you is our providing piglets, each one of us please a piglet from every household, because this is the proper way of receiving the King.

Fuimaono was hard-pressed to fulfil his quota of wire for the Falehau fence, and the people of Falehau were hard-pressed to find funding for the burdens of the royal visit. Resistance was expressed silently, through inaction. Sēmisi Nunu evoked the pre-Constitutional ethos of tribute (*fai fatongia*) and reminded the housholders of Falehau that it was the King's soil they had built their abodes on: *pea ko e me'a ke tau manatu'i ko hono kelekele 'eni ia 'o'ona 'oku tau fetāngutu'i ai*. He went on to say that no-one should complain that they couldn't manage:

FAIKIMU'A (SĒMISI NUNU): *Ko e 'aho ki he 'aho, pongipongi mo e efiāfi, ko e kina hoku telinga he fanongo ki he ui e puaka ke fafanga ke fua'aki 'a e kavenga. Ko e kavenga 'oku 'ikai ko ha me'a ia 'e faingata'a. Ko ia 'oku lea atu kia kimoutolu hotau kāinga, tu'u 'a e Falehau kotoa pē ia 'o kumi ha puaka. He ko e me'a ia 'oku pehē atu ai ke fafanga e fanga puaka ke hokosia mai 'e pehē mai 'a e taki 'o e kolo, "Puaka !" 'oku ma'u e puaka, "Moal" 'oku 'iai, "'Ufi!" ko e 'ufi, "'Ufi lei !" 'oku 'iai 'a 'ufi lei, ko ia ai fanga manu pea toe ngoue ke fai ho'omou loto.*

Day after day, morning and night, my ears are weary of hearing pigs being called to be fed, fattened to meet social obligations none of which is onerous. I exhort everyone in Falehau to get going and produce a pig. That's why you are keeping pigs, so that when the village leadership calls for a pig, a pig is to be found; hens are to be found, long yams are to be found, sweet yams are to be found, along with livestock and garden produce to the heart's content.

Thus labour and fund-raising for the construction of the Falehau village fence was now intermeshed with assembling produce, providing labour, and raising funds for the Royal Visit.

Hilinga mea'a. In June the Free Church of Tonga harvested sweet yams from its communal garden at Ngahau, and immediately began clearing a communal garden at Tafangufangu for growing long yams; digging and planting began in late June. Ground rent was presented to Fulmaono; good-will presentations of first-fruits were made to the minister and widows and other needy households. During June three socials (faikava kalapu) were held in Falehau to raise funds for the Royal Visit.

Ava Matakilikili, the reef passage opposite Falehau, was made navigatable by dynamiting; in June the "Pakeina" came in through the new passage bringing representatives for the Parliamentary elections. It was the first cargo vessel to enter the lagoon.*⁸ Representatives of the Tongatapu candidates gave speeches in Hihifo. Civil servants in Hihifo stepped up planning for the annual Agricultural Show. The dates were announced: 25 & 26 August.

'Ao'ao. During July each allotment holder had to complete planting 100 long yams. The subject of Falehau's dance-song ('etau ta'anga) was first raised in a village meeting at the beginning of July. It came up amongst other matters: the expected arrival of wire on the next cargo vessel, extensive damage to gardens by pigs, householders to raise funds to buy their allocation of wire so the village fence could be completed,

fundraising to buy nails so that wire which had been donated could be put up; letter from the Coconut Replanting Scheme urging people to clear, survey and plant their allotments as a source of cash income, tying up of horses to prevent damage to crops, clearing of road frontages as required by law, forthcoming inspection of gardens by the Town and District Officers, absenteeism of Falehau children from school, land rents in arrears from 1969 and 1970, and theft of unhusked coconuts and piglets on Saturdays. Sēmisi Nunu warned that a number of large undertakings were looming. Sēmisi Pongipongi proposed a social.

LELEIMOEPÖ (PONGIPONGI): Ko e kavenga 'ena 'o e sēniti ki he fakafonua pea ka toe hilifaki atu mo e sēniti ki he 'ā fonua kuo pau pē ke ke to'e pea ke hanu. Ko ia 'oku ou pehē kātaki 'a hou'eiki mo hotau kāinga tau fai ha kalapu, ke poupou 'aki atu ki he'etau ngāue 'oku teu ke fai, hangē ko e ta'anga. Ko e me'a pē ia 'akimoutolu kau tangata, 'oku mou kei malohi he ta'anga. 'Oku taau pē ke fakato'oto'o 'a e me'a kotoa pē, ha'u pē uaea 'o lahi, fakapipiki leva koe'uhi telia 'etau ngoue. Mälö 'aupito.

PONGIPONGI: There is the burden of finding cash for the island's traditional obligations and if finding cash for the village fence is also laid upon you, you are sure to groan and moan. So I'm proposing, with apologies to the chiefs and our families, that we hold a social to provide capital for the work ahead of us, to wit the dance-song (ko e ta'anga). In this, gentlemen, you are still the champions (kei malohi he ta'anga). It would be appropriate to bring everything to a speedy conclusion, to assemble ample wire and get it stapled up, otherwise we'll lose our gardens. Thank you.

Tangimana followed on immediately. During preparations for the Royal Visit Falehau people did not use the word faiva. They simply spoke of "our dance-song" ('etau ta'anga):

'Oku ou kole atu ki he kau mātu'a ke tau ue'i mu'a 'etau ta'anga he uike ni, neongo pē 'oku 'iai mahalo e me'a faka'eiki he taimi ni, ka tau toloi atu pē mu'a 'etau ta'anga ki he 'aho Tu'apulelulu pe ko e

'aho Falaite, ha 'aho kaekehe ke lava he uike ni. Ko ia 'oku ou kole atu ki he kau talavou, mou kătaki kae fai leva 'a e ta'anga. He 'oku 'ikai ke a'onga ke tau kei toloi ai pē 'a e ta'anga neongo pē 'oku te'eki ai ke kakato 'a e uaea ia...

Ko e uaea 'eni ia kuo 'i heni, tonu ke fai e ta'anga ia 'o tō e 'ä, kae tuki e uaea ia 'a e kau tama ko'eni kuo lava mai. Ko kitautolu ko é te'eki ai ke lavá, ko 'etau sio atu ko é kuo tuki mai 'a e uaea. Kuopau ke tau nima mo e ava'e hono feinga 'etau uaea ke lava. Koe'uhi kapau te tau kei fakatukutuku'i ai pē he 'ikai ke lava 'etau 'ä...

TANGIMANA: I would request of our elders that we get our dance-song going this week, not withstanding the present likelihood of a funeral, in which case we would defer our dance-song to Thursday or Friday, whatever day is available this week. I'm asking the young people please to get the dance-song underway forthwith. There is nothing to be gained in deferring the dance any longer, even though all the wire hasn't yet been collected...

As for the wire that has been donated, it is expedient to get on with the dance-song and abandon the fence, and let the men assembled here nail up the wire. Those of us who are no longer able-bodied will see to nailing the wire. We'll certainly use all means to get the fencing done. Otherwise, if we continue to put it off, we won't get our fence built...

(Fono recorded by G. Rogers. Tongan transcription by Paulina 'Otuhouma. Trans. W. Pond. Victoria University of Wellington, School of Music, Archive No. Tonga 90.032.)

Thus it was in the midst of the yam-planting season (tō ta'u), with work underway on the village fence, exhortations to the Falehau people to fulfil their tributary obligations, and plans for fund-raising that the matter of Falehau's faiva for the royal visit was raised. Falehau proceeded in the knowledge that in the past it had produced the island's leading dance.

Faka'alī'ali Ngoue 1969

Fig. 6. Faiva rehearsed for the visit of the hau, Tupou IV, to open the first Agricultural Show at Niuatoputapu in 1969.

Lakalaka

"Te u Fakatapu mo e La'ä 'o Tonga", composed by Sioeli Filianga.
Performed by Hihifo village

Lakalaka

"'Oku ke Tu'uni ke Fakamälö", composed by Siua Fonua, 1969.
Performed by Hihifo village

Tau'a'alo

"Fie Tau ä Pea Fokotu'u", composed by Lapuka Loketi.
Rehearsed by Hihifo village.

Lakalaka

"Te u Fakatapu ki he Olovaha Tupu'a", composed by Sete Selui, 1969.
Performed by Vaipoa village.

Taufakaniua

*Composed during the stationing of New Zealand and Australian
soldiers on Niuatoputapu during World War Two.
Rehearsed by Vaipoa village*

Lakalaka "Feke"

"Tapu mo e Sila 'o e Hau 'o Tonga", composed by Peni Lätü Langi, 1959.
Performed by Falehau
The premier performance was given by Falehau village in 1959.

Lakalaka

"Matafi 'a e Tonga 'i Fale", composed by Sioeli Filianga, 1959.
Performed by Kolisi Lotoloto (Wesleyan Middle School, Hihifo).
The premier performance was given by Vaipoa village in 1959.

Mä'ulu'ulu

"Te u Fakatapu mo e La'ä Tupu'a", composed by Lauhingoa Finau.
Performed by 'Ako Teu (Wesleyan Primary School, Vaipoa)

Mä'ulu'ulu

"Te u Fakatapu ki he La'ä 'o e 'Otu Tonga", composer Setefano Lolesio.
Performed by Catholic Primary School, Hihifo.

3. **Sete Selui's New Dance-Poem**

Ko e Ta'anga Fo'ou na'e Fa'u 'e Sete Selui

Falehau was tardy beginning rehearsals of its ta'anga. In 1971 Falehau had no resident dance choreographer (punake) but its musical director (fakafasi), Fine Langatoli, was held in regard. Fine had been away in Ha'apai. When he returned he said it was not for him to give the order for practices to begin; he was waiting for Fuimaono.

Tēvita Foki's daughter told me they had not begun rehearsals because they wanted a new ta'anga for this year's celebrations. Their renown "Feke" had been composed by Peni Lätü Langi of Falehau and first performed in 1959 for the royal visit of H M Sälote Tupou III. I had seen it performed during the Royal visit of H M Täufa'ähau Tupou IV in September 1969, while I was living in Hihifo. The nickname "Feke" ("Octopus") comes from a line where the composer describes the manifold tasks the villagers are performing as they prepare for the royal visit (Faikava No.5, 1980, pp.3-4, 11):

Ko hai mo au e tuetuë
Ko hai mo au e pä'ehë
Tuku ke u teka he kelekele
Pea u keina ai e veve
Ou puna ki tu'a puna ki fale
Pea te hangë atu ha feke
Liuange e lanu kehekehe
He kuo tū'ula ai si'eku lupe.

Who with me would whoop for joy
Who with me would laugh long and loud
Just let me roll on the ground
And devour the rubbish
I rush outside, rush inside
Until I resemble an octopus

Changing into different colours
My dove has alighted here.

(Poni Lātū Langi, Lakalaka "Feke", 1959.)

The audience had roared its appreciation as the dancers performed a choreographed roll on the ground to demonstrate their eagerness to fulfil their social obligations to the Queen. I could see in this ta'anga that the reciprocal love between Sälote and her subjects had inspired willingness and joy. Falehau had continued to perform this faiva confident in its aesthetic integrity and confident that it could arouse its audience to ecstatic praise (mäfana).

During the reign of Tupou IV however, Falehau had become tired of dancing its famous and much-loved lakalaka "Feke". People said they were sick of looking at the same dance; it had lost its excellence for them, like something worn out. So people explained the delay in the commencement of rehearsals as being due to their waiting for a new ta'anga.

21 July, 1971. On Thursday the punake*⁹ 'Oto'ota walked from Vaipoa to Falehau. 'Oto'ota was the island's greatest choreographer of lakalaka. He was from Vaipoa, the historic seat of Mä'atu.

We had heard that Hihifo village had already begun rehearsing a new lakalaka and that Vaipoa was getting ready to learn a sōkē dance. We had heard that 'Oto'ota had gone to Tonga[*tapu*], had brought back from 'Eua the words of the Niuafo'ou vaka eke dance (sōkē), and that the dance actions would be taught to Vaipoa by the Tafahi masters of the faiva. People said 'Oto'ota had come to discuss Falehau's ta'anga for the Royal Visit in August. My expectation was that Falehau was about to begin rehearsing a lakalaka composed by the highly regarded 'Oto'ota.

At the last village fono it had been decided to divide the village into two competing halves in the hope of increasing participation in fund-raising for the village fence. Shortly after dark this evening the Town Officer walked through the village calling out, "Tomorrow, youths to go to the sea, men to go to the bush, women to make puddings and weave baskets. Vēlangi to provide food. Taumāhina to supply kava and mats. Every one to give a hand with the village social."

22 July. Towards evening children ran from house to house selling packets of pudding (faikakai) at 5c each to raise funds for the social (kalapu fakakolo). In the course of the evening the Wesleyan church steward, acting as treasurer, read out the amounts donated by each household and with this appeal to reputation, the event raised \$18 (Rogers 1975, p.412).

25 July. On Sunday evening word was sent through the village that the Town Officer would hold a meeting early tomorrow morning.

26 July. At 7.30 on Monday morning Garth joined the household heads sitting on the treeless cricket pitch, the mala'e named "ZCO" after Tonga's radio station, *see fig.4.* From our tent I could see Garth in his habitual blue vala and white shirt, amongst the older men to the fore around the speaker, cross-legged on the ground with the hand-wound Butoba on a small mat in front of him. Mele was one of the few women who came, a widow with five daughters. She had picked up a fallen breadfruit leaf and it was large enough to serve her for a mat. The elders sat solitarily, widely spaced over the open ground, and I wondered how those who had placed themselves distantly from the speaker could catch his words. They fulfilled the government's laws by attending.*¹⁰

Paki Tangimana, the new Town Officer, reiterated the doctor's orders to cut down trees in the village to remove sources of litter harbouring disease. At the end of his discourse he spoke about the kavenga of the hä'ele, the contributions of labour and produce required of Falehau for the royal visit.

Sēmisi Nunu, spokesman for Fuimaono, spoke strongly. He was fed up with everyone. It was the same routine every year, the burdens were not heavy, and yet the Falehau people were slow to meet them. This brought up the matter of Falehau's faiva.

Paki spoke again. He said the ta'anga was not a matter for the Town Officer, it was a me'a 'eiki, a chiefly matter. Fuimaono spoke with his face down, mumbling, ashamed (mä). Fine Langatoli, the choir master, spoke very briefly saying, "Give us the order and we shall begin." Paki spoke again. "We shall begin a new ta'anga, but the decision as to time and place is Fuimaono's." This closed the fono.

This was a different perspective on the delay in beginning rehearsals. Paki was newly elected to the position of Town Officer and he was forming an independent policy, viz, that he was a government servant, concerned with preparations for the Agricultural Show. People in Falehau confirmed that a faiva is the sphere of the 'eiki. Fuimaono's household was poor and did not have a strong kin network for support. Whoever called for rehearsals to begin would have to supply kerosine for the lanterns and feed the choreographer. So it was not just the lack of a new ta'anga lakalaka that had delayed the beginning of rehearsals; but people were ashamed to impute to Fuimaono reluctance to undertake the burden of funding the practices. Paki must have decided that as Town Officer he would not be a foreman for Falehau's chief. Over the following days he

stated repeatedly that he was carrying the burden of an undertaking which ought to be led by the 'eiki.

However the matter was resolved, that afternoon the lali was beaten, calling people to attend the first practice to learn the tune of 'Oto'ota's new ta'anga lakalaka. It was held in the Fuimaono clubhouse (Fale Kautaha 'a Fuimaono), see fig.4. I could hear from our tent that the tune and words of four verses were mastered. During the practice word reached Falehau of the death of Tonga, wife of Loketi Lapuka, a titled man of Hihifo village. Rehearsals had to cease until the end of mourning.

The women say that learning the song is the difficult part. The words are written up on the blackboard in the clubhouse. The words and tune are learned together, indoors. Once the song has been mastered ('osi ma'u) they stand up and go outside. Learning the dance actions (haka) is easy.

27 July. On Tuesday Tonga was buried.

28 July. On Wednesday the feipulua for Tonga was held in Vaipoa village. At the end of the proceedings, in the early afternoon, Fuataimi Vivili announced he would now beat the lali (a wooden slit drum used as a church bell) and that would completely end the mourning period. Fuataimi beat a kerosine tin. Through this action Tonga's family allowed the community to press on with dance rehearsals.

29 July. On Thursday 'Oto'ota returned to Falehau and slept overnight, so that two days could be spent learning the dance actions. It was a fal'aho, a daytime affair, and the dance actions of four verses were taught: verses two, three, four and five. I was away in Hihifo.

30 July. On Friday I returned from Hihifo late in the day, in time to see the end of the afternoon practice. Fuimaono was present.

Before the night practice began I went to the Fuimaono club-house and copied down the words of the ta'anga lakalaka from the blackboard. The lamps had not yet been brought and the room was in darkness, but the children who ran in, held my torch and read out the erudite text without a mistake.

After dark there was a practice (ako hiva sivi) of the songs to be sung in the Radio Tonga singing competitions. Then there was a brief rehearsal of the lakalaka, outside. I sat with the punake and the old men on the rough mats (papa) laid down on the coral gravel along the front of the club house. Fuimaono was not present.

By the end of the rehearsal, the dance actions taught on Thursday had been mastered ('osi ma'u). Paki spoke first. He made the points he made every time he spoke: "The faiva is a 'me'a 'eiki', a matter for chiefs. There is no 'eiki present so I, Paki will speak, but Falehau's faiva is not a matter for the Town Officer." And: "Falehau has a punake from Vaipoa, a 'kolo faiva', a village famed for its dances, yet the opportunity is not appreciated, not enough people are turning up for practices." Paki developed these two themes very strongly as time went on.

Then Sēmisi Nunu spoke, Fuimaono's spokesman standing upright, stumpy and bow-legged, his face withered in the shadowy light of the Coleman pressure lamp. He was wrapped in a ragged mourning mat (ta'ovala), a real old Tongan matāpule speaking long-windedly and vehemently in support of his culture's chiefly traditions, urging the people of Falehau to join the dance practices and shoulder their social responsibilities (fai fatongia). 'Oto'ota sat cross-legged with his head bowed, in his shiny-black, padded wind-breaker.

31 July. On Saturday Sete Selui walked from Vaipoa to Falehau. By now I understood that the ta'anga had been composed not by 'Oto'ota but by Sete, and that it had been composed for Vaipoa village to perform. Sete explained further that 'Oto'ota had begun choreographing the ta'anga with the Vaipoa people but had then withdrawn it from them because of some disagreement. That was why he had brought the ta'anga to Falehau. There was a rumour that the Vaipoa people were meanwhile continuing to rehearse this very ta'anga, along with their sōkē.

I learned from Sete that 'Oto'ota was not a composer of ta'anga. He was a choreographer (fakahaka) and a composer of tunes (fakafasi), while Sete Selui and Sioeli Filianga were the composers of ta'anga. I also learned that the choreographer of the faiva being rehearsed by Vaipoa was Peau Fonua. Peau did not have 'Oto'ota's renown. At this stage Falehau's reputation still seemed secure: they had the island's leading choreographer.

Sete spent the day in our tent-fale, explaining directly the intended meaning of his verses and what the place names represented metaphorically. He confirmed that only the punake himself can explain what meaning he intends. He showed me how some of his words were chosen to maintain the rhyme on the last vowel, and explained the slightly different meaning he would have expressed, if not constrained by poetic conventions. He also pointed out some lines altered by his cousin 'Oto'ota to suit the choreography. The most significant changes had been made to place names. Sete had composed the ta'anga for Vaipoa. The Vaipoa place names he had used to identify the ta'anga with that village had also served as metaphors of his deeper themes. When the place names had been changed to fit Falehau, the key to the composer's thoughts was lost.

1 August. On Sunday I typed out a translation of Sete's ta'anga and made notes of further questions I wanted to ask.

The New Lakalaka

Ko e Ta'anga 'o e Lakalaka Fo'ou

1.

Tapu ange mo e taloni 'o Tonga
Kalauni 'o e tolu 'i fofonga
Ka u lea tu'u he ha'oha'onga
Na'e melitiane 'ia Tangaloa
Ko e sōtiaka 'o Tatakamotonga
Sone 'i Pangai mo e fu'u koka
Hiliō 'ene fā 'o e kuonga.

Deepest respects to the throne of Tonga
Crown of the three royal heads
Permit me to speak on my feet at this gathering
Tangaloa was the meridian
Tatakamotonga the zodiac
Zone at Pangai with the installation tree
Highest of the four eras.

The opening verse of a lakalaka is the fakataputapu, the paying of respect to the presiding chiefs. Sete was well read. He had borrowed 'meridian', 'zodiac' and 'zone' from the English vocabulary of astronomy.*11 He explained he was creating new metaphors while making the mandatory opening acknowledgement that Tupou IV combines in his person all three lines of kingly descent. There was a fashion amongst contemporary composers to decorate their compositions with borrowings from English. It added a further layer of deflection (heliaki) to their work, as both a decoration of language and a blind to their meaning.

Descent from the Tu'i Tonga lineage is depicted in the metaphor of Tangaloa's meridian. As Tangaloa was the sky-father of the first Tu'i Tonga king, his meridian is at degree 0. Greenwich is the starting point from which longitude is measured, as Tangaloa was the starting point of the Tu'i Tonga's spiritual power.

Descent from the Ha'a Takalaua line of kings is depicted in the metaphor of the zodiac. Tupou 1V received his Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Ha'atakalaua descent from his father, Tungī, 'eiki of the Tatakamotonga estate. Tungī was the path by which the kingly descent travelled, as the constellations of the zodiac mark the apparant path of the sun. 'Sun' (la'ä) is an old metaphor for the Tu'i Tonga. Sete updated it by borrowing technical vocabulary from English, the language of modern science.

Descent from the Tu'i Kanokupolu line of kings is depicted in the metaphor of the zone of Pangai. Traditionally the Tu'i Kanokupolu kings were installed by the Ha'a Ngata at the koka tree at Pangai, in their stronghold in the Hihifo district of Tongatapu. By combining all three lines of descent in his person, Tupou 1V is the highest-born of the four post-constitutional kings.

This verse was not choreographed with dance gestures (haka). It was sung slowly, majestically, hymnally, as the dancers stood still, right arm held diagonally across the chest, paying homage to the aristocratic chiefs.

2.
 Ke tau tulolo ki he laione
 He ko e naite 'o e Moheofo
 Ka tau hehenga fiefia pē
 Kuo molumalu hotau 'aho
 Tō takutaku e vaha mohe
 Kae hao'uli 'a e fokololo
 He ne u lave'i fuoloa pē
 Ne tā ki ai homou uho hē! hē!

Let us bow to the lion
 For he is a knight of the royal house
 Let us follow joyfully
 Today is a solemn occasion
 Gusty weather during the long voyage
 But the entourage beached under full sail
 I had been apprised long ago
 It was destined so for you.

This verse introduces the kaveinga, the purpose for which the

ta'anga has been composed.*12. Here the kaveinga was the occasion of the the royal visit of H M Tupou IV to Niuatoputapu. Tupou IV was knighted by Elizabeth II. *Moheofo* is the nickname of the Tu'i Kanokupolu. As paramount warrior-'eiki (hau), the line raised its aristocratic rank by sending its sisters to be the leading consort (*moheofo*) of the Tu'i Tonga.*13

In 1971 Tupou IV had already become renown for his progressive projects, amongst which was the Agricultural Show. Sete urges the Niua people to take up this new idea; with *hehenga* he encourages them to follow, even though they lack the King's foresight as to the future benefits of the Shows. As a poet, Sete discerns and respects the long-sighted intentions of the chiefs. Sete supports this contemporary project with an old proverb. *Ne tā ki ai homou uho*, 'your umbilical cord was cut upon it' expresses a Tongan practice of cutting the umbilical cord over an object which will impell the child's destiny, such as a hoe to impart skill in agriculture. *Tō takutaku e vaha mohe*, 'strong gusts during the long passage' evokes the power of the King's high birth to affect natural forces; his arrival is characteristically accompanied by stormy weather. And so it proved to be in 1971.

3.

Tau fakafeta'i ki he Tu'i 'o e langi
Tū'uta lelei 'a e hā'ele 'a'ahi
Ke ne fakaava 'etau Faka'ali'ali
He ko e mohokoi 'o e 'uluaki hai
Ke ta fai pau ki he palofesai
Kuo pau ke pupuha pea toki mama ai.

Let us give thanks to the king of the multilayered skies
Welcome arrival of the royal visitors
To open our Show
For here is the blossom of the leading ace
We should heed the prophesy
Man must sweat before he eats thereof.

Sete again describes the occasion for which the ta'anga has been composed: the Agricultural Show, and again supports the purpose of the Show with an old quotation, from the Old Testament. Sete commented that it is customary for a composer to convey the same idea a number of times, in different ways (see also Shumway 1977, p.29).

Again the verse is embellished with English borrowings. *Hai* is from English 'high', the highest card of the suit being the ace. The image is combined with a traditional image of chiefly status, the fragrant mohokoi flower (*Cananga odorata*). Tupou IV is the descendant of Tupou I, the ace who unified the kingdom and brought Tonga into the modern world of agricultural shows. *Palofesai* is from English 'prophesy'.

4.

Fasi pē sila tuku ki Manono
Kae he'ikai pē te u tukulolo
He ko e Tongá mo'unga ki he loto
Si'i Fatu'ulu mo e maile lau momo
Ka u tauleva ko hoku no'o loto
Ko hoku teunga ki he vaha'a kolo
Ki he Fanga tapu mo e Sia ko Veiongo
Ke u lave ai hono utu 'o e lolo.

Bend the sail for Manono
I shall not shirk my duty
For a Tongan's heart is a fortress
Beloved Fatu'ulu and the crumb-leaved creepers
I shall never take it off for it is knotted in my heart
It is my costume for the centre of town
For Fangatapu beach and Mount Veiongo
That I may share in the benefits of the oil.

Why is Manono, a Sāmoan place name, mentioned in this ta'anga, I asked Sete. He explained that Manono had once been a non-hostile anchorage for Tongan canoes sailing to Sāmoa. The line means 'trim the sail to the wind' : each person has their own appropriate duty to perform for the royal visit. The poet's part is to compose a ta'anga appropriate to the occasion, and because he has a steadfast Tongan heart (*He ko e Tonga*

mo'unga ki he loto) all difficulties will be overcome through his love and allegiance.

Fatu'ulu is an outcrop of rock near Falehau village. However, Sete explained that this line had been originally:

Si'i Funga Mafa mo e maile lau momo
Beloved Mafa pass with its crumb-leaved creepers.

The fragrant maile creeper (*Alyxia stellata*) survives on high rock faces. It is plaited into girdles and necklaces. Funga Mafa, a saddle in the ridge above Vaipoa village, used to serve as a pass for Vaipoa people who gardened at the back of the mountain, see fig.2. Since the introduction of horses, farmers had skirted the foot of the mountain; lakalaka poetry finds its metaphors in the resources of the past and present alike. Funga Mafa represents the people of Vaipoa. They are suitably dressed to visit the seat of royal residence in Nuku'alofa (identified by the place names *Fanga Tapu* and *Sia ko Veiongo*) because the 'eiki of their estate, Tangipä, is married to a cousin of Queen Sälote.

Sete explained that he believed Queen Sälote had planned the marriage between the 'eiki of Vaipoa and her own cousin, 'Ofa Tufuenga, in order to enhance the aristocratic birth of Tangipä's successor. Sete believed Sälote had left the Mä'atu title vacant because she intended to wait for Tangipä's line to rise in status. This would have given Niuatoputapu an indigenous chief for its leader. People listening carefully to his ta'anga would ask why Vaipoa (*Funga Mafa*) was dressed for royal company (*Fanga Tapu, Sia ko Veiongo, Vaha'akolo*) and discern his theme. With the substitution of a Falehau place name, access to the composer's theme was lost, and in the event, in 1979, H M Täufa'ähau Tupou IV appointed his second son, Prince Alaivahama'o, to the title of Mä'atu.

Tupou Posesi had explained to me that Neiafu harbour in Vava'u has historically been represented in poetry by the metaphor *Lolo 'a Halaevalu* 'Halaevalu's [cosmetic] oil', because the surface appears oily when the water is still. In 1971 when Sete composed this ta'anga Tonga was in the grip of oil fever, with plans for prospecting in Vava'u and 'Eua. At the time Tongan people expected great prosperity to result - there were hopes for TV in every home - and the people of the Niua islands feared that they would be left out, as they had been in the past.*14

5.

He ne u fanongo talanoa pē
 'Oku lea pē 'a e ngāue
 Tafenga monū 'o e 'Otu Felenite
 Ke ngoue'i 'a hota kekekele
 Ko 'eta mataka mo e fo'i siaine
 'Oku manakoa ia 'i he kolope
 'Eta siueli mata'itofe
 Pōlepole'anga 'i he Tahi Saute.

I have heard on the grapevine
 Work speaks for itself
 Fruitful channel for the Friendly Isles
 To cultivate our soil
 Our copra and bananas
 Are preferred all over the world
 Our pearl shell jewel
 Source of pride and joy in the South Seas.

The verses of a lakalaka conventionally return again and again to the their kaveinga, describing it with different metaphors, from different perspectives. In this verse Sete again evokes the occasion for which he has composed the ta'anga, the Agricultural Show.

6.

Ka hala ha lea kuo u hūfanga
 'I he'eta fuka mo e 'akau fakalava
 'Oua e lukia tenifa 'i hono moana
 Ka u pailate 'i hota taulanga
 Tūtoatasi 'a e 'Utulongoa'a
 Ne hangehangē ha launga muna
 'Iloa 'e he a'u si'eku lea
 He na'e matua'i pea ikuna
 Kuo maheikau 'a e kakala
 Pea kuo tō tau 'a e fu'u to'a.

If my words are unfitting I am protected
 By my flag and the installation tree
 Don't defy the monster in his ocean lair
 For I am the pilot of our harbour
 One warrior stands above the rowdy cliffs
 Like some vague rumour
 The cronies hark my words
 For such had once been chosen and victorious
 The garland of flowers has withered
 But the warrior has left his mark.

Tūtoatasi 'a e 'Utulongoa'a puzzled me. Sete explained that the line meant an ironwood tree *-toa-* growing on the noisy rocky shore. *Tū tasi* was the Samoan form of *tu'u taha*, 'standing solitarily'. He had used the Sāmoan words to remind people of the Sāmoan origins of many of the Niua titles, prior to the silence imposed by Mā'atu Ngongo. In Sete's original *ta'anga*, this line had been:

Tūtoatasi 'a e Vaipoa
 A solitary warrior of Vaipoa stands out.

The image of a solitary warrior left standing in Vaipoa certainly evokes the warfare of the 1830s, during which Mā'atu Ngongo established his sole supremacy over the indigenous Niua chiefs. In another reading, Vaipoa's 'eiki Tangipä is the outstanding twentieth century 'warrior' of Niuatoputapu, representing Niuatoputapu's interests in distant Tongatapu, both in Government as an elected representative to parliament, and in the royal court through his marriage to 'Ofa Tufuenga. Sete immediately validated this contemporary commentary with archaic expressions employed by composers of *ta'anga*: *launga muna* 'a faint trace from a past era' and *'ilo 'e he a'u* 'known by the old and wise'. However with the substitution of place names, the theme of preparing the way for Tangipä's rise to leadership was no longer accessible.

'Oua e lukia tenifa 'i hono moana 'Don't disturb the monster in his lair' is a conventional challenge from the composer and can be read with

various connotations. Sete was aware of criticism of previous ta'anga he had composed, so he was saying to people: don't blame the poet; if you don't like his ta'anga put it away. The line also serves as a challenge from the dancers to other groups: 'Don't defy someone you can't beat': don't expect to match the excellence of our faiva.

Sete showed me how he has left his own mark in this verse by alluding to his crippled body, *kuo maheikau 'a e kakala* 'the garland of flowers has withered'. Partially paralysed and seemingly useless, he retains

as those of the recent past, citing as a main shortcoming that our contemporary composers are too direct. In this ta'anga: *Ke ne fakaava 'etau 'ali'ali*, 'To open our Show' and *Ke u lave ai hono utu 'o e lolo*, 'So I may share in the harvest of oil' are examples of plainness. But there are also archaic and poetic expressions: *Kuo maheikau 'a e kakala*, 'the garland has withered', and *Ne tā ki ai homou uho*, 'your destiny was so-determined'.

Sete himself now told me of the criticisms of his ta'anga. He added that his ta'anga for the 1969 Show had complained about the arbitrarily low grading of Niua copra, dating from a time of infrequent shipping when copra moulded in the storage sheds. Shortly after the Royal Visit however, Niuatopoutapu copra had been upgraded, and amongst the dancers this change of policy was attributed to his ta'anga.

7.

Kuo lava 'a si'ete ki'i fakafiefia
Mo e fakakakato 'o e fatongia
Mafi kuo fanā fotu 'i Polinisia
Hakailangitau pea pā 'a e kaila
Ko e tupe e 'ikai ke longoa'a.

Our celebration is over
The obligations have been discharged
The champion is a mast manifest in Polynesia
The dancing is ecstatic and cheering bursts out
A lafo disc which cannot be dislodged.

The final verse is the tatau (Shumway 1977, p.29), the farewell salute of the lakalaka. Sete explained that the last line is a restatement of a technical expression from the faiva of disc-throwing (lafo)*¹⁵ : *Ko e tupe he 'ikai ke taiki*, 'a disc which cannot be dislodged'. He was using *tupe* 'lafo disc' as a metaphor of the King, whose unchallenged position as the nation's monarch has been assured by his descent from the three kingly lines and by the Constitution. The King of Tonga stands out, a mast

soaring above the other Pacific nations, for his intellectual foresight in promoting the Agricultural Shows.

Sete's use of place-names had been a strategy to convey hidden messages: the theory that the Mā'atu title was intended for Tangipä's son, who had 'eiki descent through his mother; and knowledge of Niuatoputapu's pre-Constitutional history - the Sāmoan connection, *see fig.*

Without the correct place-names, the ta'anga Falehau performed now bore only its overt messages of declaring allegiance to Tupou IV and of celebrating the Agricultural Show.

Rehearsals Continue

Hoko atu ki he Ngaahi 'Aho 'Ako Lakalaka

2 August. On Monday there was a third all-day practice (fai'aho). 'Oto'ota walked from Vaipoa and taught the dance actions of the last verse, verse seven.

The men were lagging behind the women in learning the dance movements (haka). They were also fewer in number. 'Oto'ota stood with the men in a circle around him, under the shade of the breadfruit tree between the Fuimaono clubhouse and the Free Church of Tonga. Looking across the village from our tent, it was inspiring to watch the rhythmic, alternate swaying of the circle as the men danced, the distance and the swaying unifying the dancers and obliterating the disorderliness of each man's individual work clothes and ragged waist mat. The sway is effected by the alternating shift of weight as the lower legs step and the upper body turns from side to side.*¹⁶ A few women had gathered inside the club house, waiting their turn.

When 'Oto'ota had finished teaching the men the haka for the last verse, he came over to the women. I walked across the village to join in. We stood in a half circle at the back of the club house. 'Oto'ota thought out the arm actions while the women sang each line for him. Sometimes the women objected to an action he proposed, saying it had been used already or had been used often. It occurred to me that the punake was choreographing the haka actions on the spot - they were not actions he had thought out or mulled over, but a spontaneous innovation in response

to the words of the ta'anga. Sometimes the women suggested actions, and to some extent they decreed whether or not an action was acceptable.

As the women rehearsed the haka 'Oto'ota proposed, they reshaped his sparse, masculine gestures with feminine softness and embellishment, so that the actions I learned directly from 'Oto'ota and performed with accurate recollection, were not always what the other women were performing. The women corrected me. There was no disagreement between them, though each woman's style was different; they knew how to transpose a man's haka into a woman's haka. Teaching this verse to the women took about 15 minutes of the punake's time, but for the women it had involved a whole morning of hanging around while the men were taught.

Then there was a performance of the whole lakalaka, men and women together. I joined in, performing the dance by following the actions of the women on either side of me. The women put a tekiteki in my hair, and gave me a flower necklace (kahoa). In 1967 I had had the experience of dancing between a chiefly woman (vähenga) who didn't know the dance and a woman who so embellished the actions (mälie taha) that I couldn't follow them.

In the mid-afternoon we all went back to our households. Fuimaono's daughter, Sulieti, accompanied me home. She made sure I would join the practice tomorrow night. I felt a bit sad that I might displace her as the most highly ranked dancer (vähenga). With generous goodwill she had taken care to articulate the dance gestures so that I could perform them correctly.

3 August. On Tuesday night Garth and Siale Lahi joined the kava circle around Fuimaono, inside the dark club house. The pressure lamps had

been taken outside to light up the dancers. Part of the practice was spent sitting in front of the blackboard going over the words.

At the end of the rehearsal the lakalaka "Feke" was performed, for the first time that year, yet it was danced without hesitation. I heard Sikaleti's wife comment that it was a 'faiva mälle mo'oni' a truly great dance. It was suddenly clear to me that the older women considered its ta'anga and haka much superior to the new lakalaka we were rehearsing.

But there was another opinion. Viliami said the "Feke" had lost its mälle, its 'shine', because it had been seen too often. Sete's ta'anga had mälle because it was new.

4 August. On Wednesday night 'Oto'ota changed the opening haka accompanying the first line of verse two. We no longer knelt for *Ke tau tulolo ki he laione*, 'Let us bow to the lion'.

That night we were also taught the repetitive dance action for the sipa. 'Oto'ota did it with a masculine double stamp which I imitated together with a teki, a flick of my head. This caused mirth. Sulieti and one or two of the others did the haka of the sipa the same way as me, giggling, though it took me a long time to understand why. The action was inappropriate for a woman, the spreading open of the knees and thighs being masculine, and the head flick a sign of enjoyment in that action.*17

During the practice it began to rain. The dancers carried on. Finally there was an onrush into the clubhouse. We sat on the floor, the white feathers of our tekiteki catching the light. Atonio turned down the pressure lamps. The assembly jeered, believing he had turned them down so far they would peter out. Kolo reached up and turned one back full on. Tuimoala from Vaipoa was there and called out from the dark end of the room. The dancers were exhilarated.

Paki made a speech. He said there was a social obligation (kavenga) to thank the punake. There was no chief present to perform the duty so he would do it. He would also take the opportunity of reminding people to prepare fence posts for the work-day at Loto'ä in Hihifo. The unmarried men had been asked to accomplish that job and they had not yet done it. The government tractor-and-trailer would come when they had things ready. Paki spoke while we sat inside the corrugated iron club house, waiting for the rain to stop. He stood erect in the unshielded light of the two Coleman lamps, the long, high-roofed building shafted with shadow.

5 August. On Thursday morning there was a choir practice (ako hiva). In 1971, 90 per cent of the music broadcast by ZCO [A3Z] was composed and sung by Tonga's performing artists. Falehau people went to the choir practices not because they had exceptional singing voices but out of community good-will, to uphold Falehau's reputation against Vaipoa and Hihifo. All the lakalaka dancers were in the choir.

At night there was a social (kalapu fakakolo) to raise village funds for the Royal Visit. It was the sixth social to be held and raised \$11.60, making the total fund still only \$76.60. Vëlangi residents provided kava and floor mats; Taumähina residents provided a basket of food per household, which was sold in the course of the evening. Households not contributing food were to pay 50c (Rogers 1975, pp.407, 411-13).

6 August. Friday was Falehau's work-day at Loto'ä in Hihifo It was devoted to getting the grounds fenced around the King's residence.

10 August. On Tuesday evening there was to be a choir practice, followed by a lakalaka practice later in the night. Garth and I sat on the end of Falehau wharf, identifying the constellations. Tavi Maupiti had suggested that a metaphor used in Niuatoputapu poetry, *kapakau 'o Tafahi*, 'wings of

Tafahi' might refer to the constellation Cassiopea. The W-configuration of the stars would represent the ominous crooked wings of a frigate bird (lofa) slowing its flight ahead of strong winds. I had stood in Falehau village one day as the black forms of the frigates, wings bent, passed overhead like fighter jets. People said there would be a storm.

From Falehau wharf we saw the "wings" of Cassiopea, rising and setting in a low arc along the northern horizon, on the western flank of Tafahi.

11 August. Wednesday was boat day. We watched from high ground as Peter Warner's vessel snaked in through the new passage. It was en route between Vava'u and Pangopango. The day was occupied with loading and unloading procedures.

'Oto'ota came in the evening. He taught a new haka for the repeat singing of the sipa of verse six.

I told 'Ofa and Paulina that the ta'anga of the "New" lakalaka had been composed by Sete Selui, and that it had been intended for Vaipoa. I showed them the original place names: Fungamafa is on the ridge line above Vaipoa and stands for the Vaipoa chief, Tangipä. I quoted the last verse of the "Feke" which really was composed for Falehau and has Hahake district place names:

Fine Tonga tau lulululu he
Ka u lele lki he Hala Hahake
'O eva he vai ko Me'eme'e....

Ah Tongan lass, we'll shake hands
And I'll go by the Eastern Road
To stroll past Me'eme'e pool....

Paulina said the women were very happy I had joined the lakalaka because now it was clear that I would be the vāhenga of the women. Fuimaono's son Kolo would be vāhenga of the men, and Sulieti would be

the fakapotu at the end of the front line, because brother and sister cannot stand side by side in the centre (Kaepler 1971, p.180). Thus there would be no bitterness between the other families of the village as to who would provide the vāhenga of the women.

I said to Paulina that faka-papālangi, in European custom, I would be resented by the other women for being vāhenga because I could not dance as well as they. I ought to stand in the back row so the dance wasn't spoilt by a poor dancer. I said that in Tonga[tapu] only an 'eiki can be a vāhenga; Pālangi like me were never put in the position of vāhenga because we are *tu'a 'ata'atā pē*, without aristocratic descent.

Paulina countered that in Tonga[tapu] there are plenty of chiefly children of the royal family or of nobles who can be asked to be vāhenga, whereas in Niuatoputapu, where there was no-one of the royal family, a foreigner (*muli*) would be fitting instead of someone from the low-ranked Falehau families.

Paulina also said that in Tongan custom it does not matter if the vāhenga in the centre does not know the dance well. Everyone knows that the best dancer (*mālie taha*) is placed in third position. Both the vāhenga with her blood rank and the *mālie taha* with her excellence of performance contribute to the splendour (*mālie*) of the dance.*17b

12 August. On Thursday morning Garth and I finished preparing mail for the boat and then sailed across the lagoon to Hakautu'utu'u, a tiny coral atoll on the outer reef. It has pure white sand with some scrubby bushes, a place abandoned to the vagaries of the sea and wind and too small to inhabit. We wanted a rest from social interaction.

There was a major practice in the afternoon at 3 p.m. 'Oto'ota came again and taught a new verse which he had written himself and appended

to the end of Sete's ta'anga. It was a list of place names in the Hahake district, to make the lakalaka seem to belong to Falehau. You could tell it was added on to the structure of the ta'anga, as it admits: *Ka u foki au*, 'I've turned back'... .

8.

Leveleva 'a e malanga mo 'eku fakamatala
Ka u foki ange au ke u hiki mātanga
Pasivūlangi ě mo e 'Utulongoa'a
'Esi 'o Pilolevu, 'One'one Heilala
Taiufiufi ě ko ho'omau lata'anga hē !

I've come to the end of my speech and my explanation
But I've turned back to sing of the sights
There's Pasivulangi and the Rowdy Cliffs
Pilolevu's Mount and Heilala Beach
There's Taiufiufi where our heart rests !

13 August. On Friday night we could hear the singing of the lakalaka practice from Hakautu'utu'u.

14 August. Falehau people spent the day getting wood and food ready for Sunday, doing the washing, sweeping the village. There was no dance practice.

15 August. On Sunday, in the morning dark, we sailed back from Hakautu'utu'u. Like fishermen who had been out overnight, we tried to be ashore by the last chime of the church drum (lali), before the first chord of praise to the Lord.

'Ofa told me that 'Oto'ota had announced Falehau's dance costume. It was to be a white blouse and vala, with a lä (a waistmat made of sail cloth) and a salusalu (a Fijian style neck-garland made of coloured paper). For the first time this year there would be a faiva competition with a prize of \$8. If Falehau did the "Octopus" Lakalaka, the "Feke", they would be sure to win it. She also told me that Falehau would be the village to

dance on the wharf as the King stepped ashore, and they would do the "Feke" for this too.

'Ofa suggested they teach me the "Feke" day and night. I told 'Ofa that I could not possibly master the "Feke" in so short a time. 'Ofa immediately suggested that this was because the choreography was so fast. I said to 'Ofa that the haka was so complicated I couldn't analyse it and I would have to do that to remember it. I was learning the "New" lakalaka by practising on my own, asking women who called in at our tent to go over certain sequences, and writing down the actions as I learned them.

There was no dance practice on Sunday. As I had resolved on Hakautu'utu'u, I spent the day learning by heart the words of the "New" Lakalaka. I had the tune in my head from the practices I had joined.

That evening I learned from Nuka that each village was preparing two faiva. Falehau would present both its lakalaka. Ailini told me her daughter Hiva would make my lä, the sail-cloth woven from fine, strong pandanus and bleached yellow with lime.

16 August. There was a village fono on Monday morning. It was finished by 8 a.m. Garth recorded Paki's plea for householders to support the social on the coming Friday, in a last effort to raise funds for the expenses of the Royal Visit (Rogers 1975, pp.407, 411-13.). Paki said too few people were attending the lakalaka practices. There were nine days left. Practices for the lakalaka and for the choir competitions would be held every day until the the Royal Visit.

At 10 a.m. Ailini came past with a basket of burnt lime which she specially showed me: lime to bleach my lä. From now on I had a social obligation to fulfill by joining the lakalaka.

There was the sound of a solitary man's voice singing in the Fuimaono club house. I looked questioningly at Ailini and she said her daughters were there. A burst of female song explained that it had been the voice of Fine, the choir master, leading the practice for the choir competition (ako hiva sivi). Someone had been beating the lali insistently for some time.

In the evening there was a lakalaka practice. The "New" Lakalaka and the "Feke" were both rehearsed. The performance was somewhat uncoordinated; the women seemed worn out. 'Oto'ota decided to restore the original kneeling position as we sang the first line of the second verse, *Ke tau tulolo ki he laione*, 'Let us pay homage to the Lion'. I liked making the slow, still genuflexion and then rising into the beauty of the haka and the singing. I stood between Finau and Lavinia Sä who were good dancers. Sulieti, Fuimaono's daughter, was standing somewhere in the back row, out of sight, as she had angered her father. Ma'ulolo stood at the top of the front line of women, in the vāhenga's position. Next to her was Sēmisi Nunu's daughter Kaveinga, as ta'ofi vāhenga. Kaveinga objected to Ma'ulolo's presumption as being "fie vāhenga", but Fine spoke to us all adamantly and said no-one yet knew who the vāhenga would be.

Fuimaono was present that night, though he didn't speak. The rehearsal was wound up by one of the elders, Sēmisi Pongipongi.

17 August. On Tuesday Fine told us that the choir competition would take place on the second day of the Royal Visit. There would be two categories, a hymn (himi) and a dance-poem (ta'anga lakalaka). Fine indicated that for the dance dress rehearsal (sivi lakalaka) Falehau would do the "Feke".

Fine also announced that during the Royal Visit, Falehau would perform its faiva at Falehau wharf, on the morning of the King's arrival;

later in the day at Loto'ä; and at Loto'ä at dawn on the second day (the day of the Show) for the fakatakatöfä to wake the royal household.

I knew that the King on a previous visit had asked for the "Feke" to be performed; it was the dance Falehau staked its reputation on; but this year they had a Pälangi who could only perform the "New" lakalaka.

At 10 a.m. there was a singing practice (ako hiva). It was still going on at 2 p.m. when the lakalaka practice (ako lakalaka) was supposed to begin. Finally the singing practice finished. Then it rained. 'Oto'ota didn't arrive until nightfall, and even then the lali was beaten many times before the practice finally began. While we were waiting for everyone to turn up we sat in the club house singing long and tedious repetitions of the lakalaka verses under 'Oto'ota's direction.

The "New" lakalaka" was rehearsed first. Fīnau stood as vāhenga in the front row, then me beside her as ta'ofi vāhenga, then Lavenia Sä as tu'unga mälle, best dancer. For the second run through, the front and back rows exchanged places. Safely hidden, I asked Fīnau to swap places with me so I could dance beside the men, who performed different actions in a different style.

It was exhilarating. I could enjoy the warmth of the women on my right, the dash of the men on my left. I could follow Sulieti standing as vāhenga in front of me and correct actions I hadn't seen while looking sideways at Fīnau. During the sipa, where the men and women danced towards each other, there was the challenge of exchanging head flicks and other gestures of exhilaration (mäfana) and feeling the rhythmic coördination of our different haka. Men who lived their daily lives without apparent drive were here in the lakalaka dancing with spirited force.

Paki spoke while we rested. Then the "Feke" was performed while I looked on. At the end of the "Feke" Sēmisi Nunu spoke, urging more people to join the faiva. While he was speaking Ailini's daughters took me home. I didn't have their stamina. From our tent I heard the "New" Lakalaka being performed again. The dancers were whooping (fakahēhē).^{*18}

18 August. In the morning the lali was beaten to remind people Wednesday had been designated a village work-day. People were to prepare wood for the oven for the royal visit and fulfil other designated tasks. At about 10.30 a.m. there was a singing practice. I heard the singing from our tent: 'E 'Otua Māfima'fi, Ko homau 'eiki koe... 'O almighty God above, Thou art our Lord and sure defence...'. Fisi'ihoi had come from Vaipoa to lead a practice of the National Anthem (Hiva Fakapule'anga).

During the morning Ma'ulolo and Kaveinga came by and I asked them why the married women weren't joining in the lakalaka practices. They both said vehemently that the women were slothful (fakapiko), and wouldn't admit any other explanation, except to concede that last year lots of married women had taken part. Ma'ulolo said this year the burdens of the Royal Visit were heavy.

19 August. On Thursday the royal entourage departed from Tongatapu. The "Olovaha" steamed towards Niuafo'ou. In Falehau there were dance practices afternoon and evening. The older people of the village who had once danced the "Feke" were not joining the "New" lakalaka. The excellence of the "Feke" became apparant as the "New" lakalaka took form. In the "Feke" the metaphorical song lines and elaborate choreography combined aesthetically; the singing and dancing were full-bodied; all elements cohered.

During the day a boat-load of people arrived from Tafahi. They berthed at Pasivülangi wharf and assembled by the copra shed, in the shade of the Barringtonia trees at Fanga Hangale. I suddenly came upon them performing their vaka eke dance (sökë) in the roadway, in their work clothes, in the glaring heat of the day (Pond 1983, pp.15-16, 33-4, 41).

Sökë ! 'Oku kapukapu hotau 'aho
Hë ko e Piu e matangi tö
I sakë io !

Sökë ! Our day is mist beset
And the gusts sweep down from the mountain
With a flick of the heel, I say!

(Tëvita Tavake, Eke 'a Tafahi, ca 1930.)

5. Day of the Dress Rehearsal

Ko e 'Aho Sivi Faiva

The customary protocol is for a village to take its faiva first to the 'eiki of the island so he can approve it before it is presented to the king. For such an occasion the dancers do not dress in their dance uniforms and paper decorations but in floral day-dresses with garlands of fresh flowers (kahoā). The confusion of colour is more glorious than the uniform brightness of costumes.

In 1969 the Government Representative, Nikolasi, had refused to allow the Niua people to bring their faiva to him, explaining that he was not 'eiki. In 1971 a compromise had to be innovated: a dress-rehearsal cum mock-competition would be held, not at the chiefly site of Mā'atu's residence (Loto'ā) beside Niutoua spring, but in the adjacent Show Grounds, *see fig.2.* We had first been told we would perform in day-dress in the grounds of the Government quarters, that is for the Government Representative, Tongatoutai; but then we were instructed to wear our costumes as it would be an 'aho sivi, a day of competition.

However Tongatoutai, like our Town Officer Paki, was clarifying his position. On the day of the dress rehearsal we arrived at Hihifo to learn he had declared himself ill, and retired.

20 August. Garth set out early for the Government headquarters in Hihifo. By 10 a.m. I was dressed in my lakalaka costume: white blouse, white vala, and coloured crêpe-paper salusalu. I went over to Ailini's to be tied into

my lä, with Salome's sisi, a girdle of sweet-smelling flowers, over the top. Sisi always seem to be made too short round the girth, so that somewhere round one's waist there is a gap. The women dabbed scent under their dress sleeves. Then Finau and I walked over to the club house where a number of people in costume had gathered. Paki was there and we quickly learned that the tractor would not be coming for us as we had been led to expect. Paki said there wasn't enough money. We therefore set out walking, fully dressed in our dance uniforms, in order to arrive at Hihifo in time. A good number not yet ready came in a later group.

On the road to Hihifo we passed a group of Tafahi people, raggedly dressed, carrying the long sticks of their vakaeke dance. The sticks were white, having been debarked. As we walked by, someone in our group sang a line of their faiva derisively, taunting the Tafahi contingent with the faiva that identifies them:

Sökë ! Aleifua tauanga folau
He ne u fanongo ki he vātau...

Sökë ! Aleifua harbour
I've heard the waves crashing...

At Hihifo we assembled in the grounds of the government compound, using the verandah of the Police Station to escape from the sun. Here Lolo, the Tongatapu policeman, mounted a chair with his inimitable self-importance, and conducted us in a rehearsal of our competition hymn with pace and staccato precision. Opposite us, on the verandah of the Post Office, there was a table and chair and the solitary figure of Garth alone with his clip board, remote from the excitement.

About 2 p.m. we transferred to the Show Grounds. Pita, the new Post Master, was master of ceremonies, announcing the order of performance from his notebook. The programme began with the choir songs.

Just after Falehau began singing their hymn for the choir competition there was an outbreak of laughter which the audience kept up, adding a final burst as the performance concluded. "Tö e hiva ka mälie ! The singing was a flop but none the less splendid !" Paulina told me she was the first to laugh, because the song was off-key. Further, after the dramatic and sorrowful and varied singing of the other groups, Falehau's hymn was ridiculously short and energetic and precise. Lolo had conducted with aplomb. But it was mälie; it was in its own way a feat.

Then came the lakalaka songs. Today Falehau faced the full implication of having a faiva belonging to another village. The early rumour had been true: our "New" lakalaka was Vaipoa's lakalaka.

Vaipoa went on before us. They sang the "New" lakalaka for the choir competition. During Vaipoa's performance first one woman then later another came out of their ranks and clowned in front of the singers, performing mock-tau'olunga dances to signify they were possessed by mäfana. They brought the house down. The singers pushed a third large woman out of their ranks but instead of rising to the occasion and pretending to be voluntarily transported, she resisted, showing real reluctance and fear. With the end of the song the clowns were absorbed back into the group, which marched off without ado.

Falehau came on and struck up their choir song, conducted by 'Oto'ota. I suddenly realised they were singing the "New" lakalaka and walked onto the mala'e to join them. Other old Falehau people followed suit. Led by Sëmisi Nunu's daughters, the Falehau people showed their gratitude to their punake by giving him prizes (fakapale), mainly cigarettes dropped in his coat pocket. Then Soane came out to the front, grasped 'Oto'ota's arm and mock-conducted. Akata immediately went to

support her sister. Falehau's effort was gallant but uninspired. Falehau already felt themselves the losers.

The presentation of dances followed. Vaipoa performed the "New" lakalaka. Falehau watched every action, assessing which was the better, Vaipoa's haka or ours. I could scarcely bear to admit the greater beauty of some of their lines. It must have been Peau Fonua's choreography. But what struck me as I watched the lakalaka of each village was the second-rateness of the contemporary punake and the excellence of the "Feke", the beauty, rhythm, lilt, and variation of its song, the inventiveness of its haka.

Then it was Falehau's turn. We walked onto the mala'e. Sulieti was vāhenga of the women, Po'uli vāhenga of the men. Haniteli was ta'ofi vāhenga of the men. I was placed about fifth in the front row. I was afraid of forgetting the haka and couldn't dance with exhilaration. On this big, open, sunlit mala'e the impact of the audience and of my fellow dancers was not encouraging and immediate, as it had been in the closeness of the Falehau club house, in the flickering shadowy light of the pressure lanterns, the volume of the singing reverberating from the tin walls, in the relaxation of dancing to an audience of one's own side.

As I danced Sela, daughter of Mele and Mosese Havea whom I had lived with in Hihifo in 1969, gave me her kafa made of human hair as a gift (fakapale), and Motu'ahala's daughter bestowed a shell waistmat (kie pueki), truly generous prizes.*¹⁹ Garth gave Sulieti a glittering gold scarf: a rare chance to bestow a gift on the woman he esteemed the most beautiful in Niuatoputapu. The scarf was taken away by her fahu so Garth, to my astonishment, promptly produced another scarf. No-one else seemed to consider this untoward.

Then the Tafahi people walked onto the mala'e. There was just a small number of dancers led by Pösele Kilione and his father Vaka, the Headman of Tafahi. There was one pair of stocky women in shining blue dresses, a colour missing amongst the stock of black, white, and red lakalaka costumes, and two men in blue shirts. This was the extent of the costuming. The rest were in work clothes. The impact of the dancers was that of a physically small, motley troop roused up for the occasion from the bush, a wild, timid people. They had not come decked out in glamorous costumes, scented oil, and sweet-smelling garlands prepared with a well-rehearsed and stately performance, to pay their deferences to the hou 'eiki and receive an aristocratic vāhenga. They were people from a rugged, out-back village who had rounded up their small number and assembled to do their dance in their own way, with integrity, undaunted by the regime of Tonga 'Eiki.

Tafahi assembled in the middle of the mala'e and began to work out some matter amongst themselves. Pösele's leadership was directed to the troop. This was not a spectacle for entertaining the audience. After each verse the dancers conferred and prepared for the next verse. No regard was paid to the spectators fringing the mala'e.

The Tafahi manner of performing the eke was inimitable. The stick actions were executed with breathless speed and dexterity. The dancers were small and stocky, agile, vivacious, energetic. They danced with knees bent, low to the ground, leaping as their sticks struck. Each verse was fast and decisive. By comparison, the lakalaka dancers comported themselves like chiefs arrayed in finery, commencing with their hymnal introduction, elegant, self-composed, pleasing their audience, including the

male dancers whose teeth gleamed whenever their eyes, following their hands, glanced out at the audience.

While the performances of faiva continued in the Show grounds, a group of mourners in ragged mats (ta'ovala) sat patiently in the sun with a presentation of baskets of pork. One of them made a long speech addressing the realm of the ancestors. In their forbearance, as in the Tafahi performance, was the aura of an old heritage, unaided by crêpe paper and planning committees.

In Falehau that evening there was a final social to raise money for the expenses of the Royal Visit. Enthusiasm had waned and only \$8 was collected. It was enough. The Falehau elders purchased a large boar from Hihifo for \$75 and had \$9 in hand to buy tinned beef to make lü pulu for the food-trays to feed the voyagers (Rogers 1975, pp.407, 413).

21 & 22 August. On Saturday and Sunday there were no further practices. People were busy fulfilling other obligations for the royal visit. Sulieti came by our tent and talked to Garth. Fuimaono had said Garth was worn out (fakahela) giving her prizes.

23 August. On Monday morning Paki, the Town Officer, held another meeting (fono) in Falehau village. He called for people to voluntarily contribute piglets and fowls for the food-trays. Falehau had to provide the Wednesday evening meal for the royal household and for the voyaging entourage.

24 August. On Tuesday night, on the eve of the royal visit, there was a final rehearsal. Garth recorded the choir practice. We were told to be ready for the King's arrival at 6 a.m. on the morrow.

6. Royal Visit & The Agricultural Show

Ko e Tali Tü'uta mo e Faka'ali'ali Ngoue

Events in Falehau

25 August. Day of the royal reception (tali tü'uta). I woke up. No boat in sight. We had been told that His Majesty would be the last ashore so I calculated I would not need to put on my lakalaka costume until the "Olovaha" appeared. The vessel would anchor outside the reef and it would take several hours for the outboard motors to go back and forth conveying the voyagers ashore.

However, when I looked out of the tent I saw able-bodied men in lakalaka costume walking around the village fully arrayed, and thus indisposed to take any part in the work of preparing the village oven. Lakalaka women were gathered under the futu trees by the wharf together with Fine, the dance leader. The horizon was empty. Lesieli alerted me that the King would be the first ashore. As I returned to our tent 'Aleni walked by and said that the "Olovaha" was due at noon.

I remained resolutely in my house clothes and went on with my work. Garth went abroad and made a record of the island's activities:

The day dawned very stormy with heavy squalls from the east, a head wind for the visiting party which was due officially at 10 a.m. Vaipoa cooks were in the excruciating position of not knowing when the royal party would arrive. As a large oven takes about three hours to cook they put theirs down at 9 a.m.

By 10 a.m. the fires for the Falehau contribution were blazing hot with many people already assembled and participating in one way or another, and the elders already seated around the *kava* bowl. Paki, the Town Officer, was chief cook; the Church Steward was his "secretary" keeping tallies of the various contributions. Every household was expected to produce one *kape* (*Alocasia macrorrhiza*), one long yam, one piglet, and one fowl. Men carried in their contributions and began to peel the *kape* and long yams. One young man stuck the piglets and three others singed, scraped and tossed them about. An elder supervised the dressing of the huge \$75 boar bought from Hihifo, while Sēmisi Nunu directed the actual butchering, taking great care to preserve a large saddle-back (*tu'a*) for the King's own *pola* (Rogers 1975, p.303, edited).

About 10 am Sikaleti and Lesieli came together to our tent to ask for help with funds to buy a piglet for the oven.

As the morning wore on the *kau faiva* abandoned their glad rags and by 10 a.m. had joined in the work of preparing the food trays. Although the dancers were now in everyday clothes some of the young women still stood around watching the work and had to be cajoled into joining in. The Falehau people were none too pleased about the 60 [actually 35] travellers whom they believed to be accompanying the King and made a slap-dash job of the dough-boys (*töpai*) for the five food-trays for the retinue, using very little sauce and very small handfuls of dough on the principle that it was better for each person to eat several packages than for there to be too few if the numbers were large. There was still half a sack of flour in the store, but Falehau people simply had no money. The sauce and the *päpä* had been made the day before. Unaloto was crossly shown slabs of *päpä* which had been burnt and was blamed for not looking after the oven properly.

The royal tray (pola taumafa) was given an elaborate pudding (faikakai) with a large amount of sauce, land crabs, and other delicacies. The trays for the entourage were simply given piglets and yams and packets of pudding (faikakai), as if they didn't care that the circumstances of the entourage were most like their own. When the oven was put down, left-overs from the preparation such as pig intestines were divided out to each household, represented by a ring of enamel washing basins. While we were preparing the food for the oven the "Olovaha" appeared beyond the reef's horizon and we were excused.

The lakalaka dancers assembled on the wharf and for the rest of the afternoon alternated between the end of the wharf, where they braved the drenching rain under canvas, and the futu trees along the lagoon foreshore. The dye from their crepe paper leis ran down their white costumes. Kolo and I alone of the dancers remained in the tent, observing through the binoculars. Garth kept a record of events:

The vessel appeared from the west at noon and anchored about a mile off-shore shortly afterwards. At this point, some time before 1 p.m., the Falehau cooks put down their huge oven comprising 40 large kape, 31 long yams, a basket or so of sweet yams, 22 piglets, the large hog jointed, baskets of shellfish, and just three hens.

By 2 p.m. the squalls were very heavy and frequent, the seas rough. The Falehau dancers in their finery; the Government Representative in white vala, coat and tie, and narrow-brimmed trilby hat; Postmaster; and Agricultural Officer in topee, began a three-hour wait on the end of the wharf, huddled for most of the time under a tarpaulin (Rogers 1975, p.303, edited).

Prince 'Aho'eitu came ashore ahead of the royal party. At the Falehau wharf he was greeted by Fuimaono and the Government Representative, Tongatoutai. Thus both Government and chiefs received the Royal party.

Then 'Aho'eitu was whisked away to Hihifo on the Government tractor-and-trailer, accompanied by Fuimaono and a small contingent of the entourage, including 'Aho'eitu's kau matäpule, and Tonga Radio personel. 'Aho'eitu was still a slender youth. He was dressed in black shirt and vala, with a large mat folded in pleats round his waist, seated cross-legged on a pile of mats in the back of the trailer. On his arrival at Loto'ä in Hihifo the Church of Tonga immediately presented him with a tray of food (pola taumafa). Meanwhile, Fuimaono returned to Falehau with the same tapa cloth, pillow and mat to be used for Princess Pilolevu.

Here my notes end. None of these details I now recall. I don't remember the rain or the waiting all day, or the last-minute scuffle to fulfill household quotas. Instead I recall the cordon of shell-embroidered mats (fala pueki) strung the length of the wharf, and the decorated archway bridging the junction of causeway and land. I recall that we stood on the end of Falehau wharf, dancing our "New" lakalaka as the royal barge approached. I recall how freely and ecstatically I danced knowing the haka kinesthetically, in the midst of the excitement of the dancers around me.

I recall that when we were in midstream Fine suddenly gave the order to stop. His voice led us into the hymnal National Anthem : *E 'Otua mafimafi, Ko homau 'Eiki koe...* We stood still, our right arm held diagonally across our chest as His Majesty stepped onto the wharf. *Ko koe ko e falala'anga, Mo e 'ofa ki Tonga, 'Afio hifo 'emau loto, 'A ia 'oku mau fai ni, Mo ke tali homau loto, 'O malu'i 'a Tupou.* Then the King was gone, into the gathering darkness of the road to Hihifo, and I returned to our tent.

Garth recorded events on the spot:

At 5.30 p.m., welcomed by the dancers, the King dressed in yellow

oilskins stepped ashore from the ship's lifeboat, shook hands with the Government Representative, kissed Fuimaono on the cheek and was whisked away to Hihifo in a Land Rover brought specially for the purpose.

Once installed in Loto'ä, Hihifo, the King witnessed the parade of singing and cheering school-children undismayed by five hours of waiting in stormy conditions.

The royal kava ceremony (taumafakava 'o e tali tü'uta) began in an extra squall at 5.30 p.m. and continued into darkness... (Rogers 1975, p.303-4).

When Falehau opened their oven late that night, the food was so over-cooked ('osi'osi) that a very large pile of yams and kape was put aside for village distribution, being unsightly for the food trays, though delicious. Garth recorded:

Falehau village delivered the contents of their oven, completely overdone, some seven trays in all, at 8.30 p.m., having been charged \$1.20 each way for the government tractor and trailer...The remnants were carried in baskets back to Falehau where, very late at night, Sëmisi Nunu divided them as equally as possible between each household (Rogers 1975, p.304).

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Among the passengers on the "Olovaha" was Tupou Posesi Kaho, from the Palace Office. She and I had received permission from His Majesty to accompany the Royal Tour, recording the speeches made by Tonga's orators as they presented the produce of the people's labours in each island. Tupou came ashore after dark and she too was whisked away in the black night to Hihifo, where the royal kava ceremony was underway.

7. **Presentations of Tribute**

Ko e Fakatü'uta 'o e Ngäue

Events in Hihifo

The royal kava ceremony took place at Matangi Mälie, the traditional residence of Mä'atu beside Niutoua spring, ~~see~~ fig.2. In preparation for the Royal Visit, the allotment had been fenced with tamanu posts, wire and staples, and two houses built for the royal household. In local usage this enclosure was spoken of as Loto'ä. I heard the expressions Matangi Mälie and Pangai only in the formal speeches addressed to the voyagers. The houses were constructed in traditional style, with oval ends and walls woven of bamboo canes. During the taumafakava ceremony, Tupou 1V sat in the doorway of his house.

25 August Day of the royal welcome (tali tü'uta). None of our researchers was at Hihifo on Wednesday evening in time to record the presentation (hä'unga) by the Church of Tonga to H R H Prince 'Aho'eitu, head of their church. Garth and I had remained in Falehau and Tupou Posesi was still waiting her turn to be brought ashore from the "Olovaha".

Garth's information was that 'Aho'eitu arrived at Loto'ä at 4 p.m.; the Church of Tonga immediately presented him with a hä'unga comprising a dried kava root with a long stem (kava teletele) and a tray of cooked food, predominantly yams and pork (Rogers 1975, p.304-5). The speech of presentation (malanga) was made by Puli Leka (Fuataimi Vivili).

The language of Tongan Christianity is in part the language of the old Tongan cosmology: 'otua 'ancestral shade / Christian God'; taula 'eiki 'shaman / church minister'; feilaulau 'sacrifice / offering'; lotu 'prayer'; monü / good fortune / blessing'; täpuaki 'sacred force / blessing'; höifua 'divine favour', etc. Puli Leka's speech handled the confounding conventions of sacred chiefness and Old Testament Christianity. The 'eiki is the bridge between the people and the gods: *'o ke tu'u 'i he niuvakai he vaha'a e tangata mo e 'otua*. The intercession of the 'eiki secures the land's fruitfulness: *fua ho fonua, 'a ho kelekele*. The Niua people have nothing fit to present: *'ikai kei 'i ai ha me'a 'e ma'u*. The responsibilities owed to the chiefs are still willingly fulfilled: *kei loto vela ke fua e kavenga kia hou'eiki*. The covenant between God and Noah bestows peace on Tonga: *ko e lou 'olive ë 'oku kei tu'u ko e fakamo'oni e talite na'e fai 'a e 'otua mo Noa*. God is the redeemer on the Day of Judgement: *e ongo mai e talupite ke tu'u e tangata kotoa pë*.

Garth asked Puli Leka to re-enact the occasion. In the tape-recording Puli Leka first introduced himself :

"Ko au Puli Leka, koe ki'i motu'a au 'oku fai 'a e fakahoko e pola taumafa, mo e kava teletele ki ha masi'i ko 'Aho'eitü, 'a e Siasi 'o Tonga. I am Puli Leka, a man of no consequence who is responsible for conveying a repast and a stem of kava teletele to the noble youth 'Aho'eitu, on behalf of the Church of Tonga."

HÄ'UNGA 'A E SIASI 'O TONGA HOU'EIKI

KO E MALANGA FAKAHÄ NA'E FAI 'E PULI LEKA. Tapu mo 'Aho'eitu - ko e kaha'u 'o Tonga - pea tapu mo Lelenoa - mo ha'a matäpule - pea tapu mo e ngaahi ha'a kotoa pë - 'oku fa'a takua 'i he pangai ko 'eni - kae talangata 'iate au - 'o fai ki tu'a mama'o - ka u fakahoko atu - 'a e 'ofa mo e fiefia 'a e käinga lotu 'o Tongá - mälö e fai tapuaki lelei 'a e 'Otua mei he langi - 'ene fakatü'uta lelei 'a e hä'ele kuo fai

- neongo na'e taka tahi 'a 'Alaimoana - pea me'a mai ai 'a Heilalafu'itahi - pea kuo tū'uta ia 'i Niuatoputapu he 'ahó ni. - Te u hūfanga he faka'ofa'ofa e 'ahó - kae'uma'ā e lupe kuo ne tu'ula 'i Matangi Mālie - ko e lou 'olive ē 'oku kei tu'u ko e fakamo'oni e talite na'e fai - 'a e 'otua mo Noa, hangē ko ia kuo ke me'a ki ai. - Masi'i 'Aho'eitu - ko ho'o siasi eni - mo ho'o kau misinale fakalaumālie - kuo tufaki mai -'o a'u mai ki tokelaú ni - 'oku 'ikai ke 'i ai ha me'a 'e ma'u - kuo nau toe fotu mai pē ki he feitu'ú na - mo e fua ho fonua - 'a ho kelekele - ke fakahāhā ki he feitu'ú na - 'a 'enau kei loto māfana - mo 'enau kei loto vela - ke fua e kavenga kia hou'eiki - 'o hangē ko ia na'e tuku he'e [= 'e he] 'uluaki fai 'i ono 'aho - pea 'oku fakatalutalu 'aki 'o a'u ki he pa'angangalu - ko e fiefia kuo fai 'e he siasi ni - he kuo nau laupisi 'eiki - 'o nau nanivi kiate koe, tapu mo koe ko e kaha'u 'o Tonga - kuo nau pehē pē he'enau fakananivi - ko e palesiteni koe 'o e Siasi 'o Tongá - ko koe te ke mu'āovaka - 'o ke tu'u 'i he niuvakai he vaha'a e tangata mo e 'Otua - ke taukapo'i ha ngaahi laumālie 'oku kei hē - mo fusiaki atu ha ngaahi mo'ui 'oku kei vaivai - ko ia he'ilo 'e nofo ai e melino 'a e 'Otua ke pule 'i honau loto - pea lava ai 'e he tangata - ke teu'i mo'oni ia ke na fehā'aki mo e 'Otua - pea ka hoko mai 'ene pule - pea mālölö he maama ko eni - kaekehe - e ongo mai e talupite - ke tu'u e tangata kotoa pē - 'o tali hono ui pea fakakalauni e Siasi 'o Tonga - 'aki e mo'ui ta'engata - leveleva e malanga kae tau atu.

PULI LEKA: Deference to 'Aho'eitu - the future of Tonga. - Deference also to Lelenoa [The officiating matāpule; he was in fact Ula Matatoa] - and to others of matāpule rank. - Deference also to all lines of chiefs - customarily deferred to at this reception ground. - Let my words end with me - no matter how remote the company. - But let me convey to you - the love and happiness of the brethren of [the church of] Tonga. - Thanks be to God for his blessing bestowed from on high - and his having brought the royal party without mishap to these shores. - Even though Alaimoana [Tu'i Kanokupolu] has roamed the wide ocean - accompanied by Heilalafu'itahi [Princess Pilolevu] - he has reached the shores of Niuatoputapu today. - I only dare to come forward because the day is exceptional - and of course because of the dove which has alighted - at Matangi Mālie. - The olive leaf is

still there [on the Tongan Coat of Arms] to bear witness to the treaty which was made - between God and Noah, as you yourself know, 'Aho'eitu. - This is your church - and your missionaries of the spirit - which have been sent out - as far afield as these northern parts. - There is nothing fit to meet the occasion - they have only shown themselves again at that seat - with the fruits of your land - of your soil - to demonstrate to that seat - the continuing warmth of their hearts - the continuing fervour of their hearts - [with which they] undertake the responsibilities [owed] to the chiefs - such as those that were set down by the first [formation of the Government] in days of yore - to which we always shall refer back, until the end of time. - This is the [expression of] happiness made by this church - they have taken a pride in chiefliness - out of fondness for you, with apologies to you who are the future of Tonga. - This is their way of cherishing - you are the president of the Church of Tonga - you are the head of the fleet - and you stand on the topmost vantage point between man and God - to save those souls which have strayed - to pull up with you those lives which are still weak. - Who knows, the peace of God may thereby rule in their hearts - and so thereby man can - truly prepare himself to appear in the sight of God - and if [God's] will is done - and this light goes out - notwithstanding - the trumpet shall sound - for every man to stand up - and answer his call and the Church of Tonga will be crowned - with everlasting life. - My speech has been long-winded, but may it strike a chord.

(Recorded by Garth Rogers. Transcribed by Tupou Poesi. Translated by T.P.K. & W.P. Victoria University of Wellington, Archive of Asia and Pacific Music, Tonga 90.015.)

The prince's spokesmen thanked the donors. The duty-matäpule ordered them to deliver the repast to the cook-house; here food was transferred from the woven coconut leaf trays and served to the Prince on china plates (Rogers 1975, p.304).

The hou 'eiki and kau matäpule of Niuatoputapu had meanwhile taken their positions in the kava circle at Matangi Mälle, with the presentations of cooked food (ngäue) laid out in the centre. On the arrival of His

Majesty the Taumafakava 'o e tali tū'uta began immediately, at 5.45 pm, in squally weather and gathering darkness, see fig.7.

Taumafakava

TAUMAFAKAVA 'O E TALI TŪ'UTA AT LOTO'A, HIHIFO, NIUATOPUTAPU.

Fig. 7. Kava circle for the reception of the voyaging hau (taumafakava 'o e tali tū'uta) at Matangi Mālie, Hihifo, Niuatoputapu. The ceremony began at 5.45 p.m. on 25 August 1971 in squalls of rain and gathering darkness. The plan is based on Tupou Pōsesi's record of the order in which the kava was served. This is not always the order of seating (cf. Rogers 1975, fig.15). Tupou was present but hindered by being unable to recognise Niuatoputapu title-holders on sight. Garth depended on people's recollections. X Hau & his retinue. ● Niua title-holder.

The produce (ngäue) for the kava had been brought by the Ha'a Ngata (Motu'ahala, Lapuka, Tangipä, and others). It comprised seven pigs and five roots of kava, thus: 1 *puaka toho*, 2 *puaka hula*, 2 *puaka ha'amo*, 1 *fei'umu hula*, 1 *fei'umu fakahunga*; 1 *kava toho*, 1 *kava hula*, 1 *kava ha'amo*, 2 *kava fuataha*. One *puaka hula* was divided up for the kava relish (fono). Seven portions were laid out for Tupou and the Niuatoputapu chiefs: Vivili, Vivī, Manuefata, Telai, Tupö, and Sika. The portion of Tupou was taken away by a foreigner (Rogers 1975, p.304).

The speech of welcome to Tupou IV was given by Sika. He is a spokesman of the King, resident in Vaipoa. Tupou Posesi reached Hihifo in time to record Sika's speech, delivered in customary sequence, immediately after the straining of the kava.

KO E MALANGA TALI TŪ'UTA NA'E FAI 'E SIKA.

Tapu mo Ha'a Moheofo. - Tapu mo Tu'i Faleua. - Tapu mo Ha'a Ma'afu - Tapu mo-- Ha'a Lätühifo - Tapu mo-- Ha'a Vaea - Tapu mo-- Ha'a Havea Lahi mo Ha'a Havea Si'i - Tapu mo-- Ha'a Ngata Motu'a mo Ha'a Ngata Tupu - Tapu mo Fale Fisi - Tapu mo Maliepö mo Molofaha - Tapu mo Fasitapu - Tapu mo Fokololo-e-hau - Tapu mo Kanoloto-'ae-hau - Tapu mo Tangata 'o Tu'i Tonga 'oku fio he 'alofi 'o e Hau - Tapu mo e 'alofi ni mo e 'alofi na, pea tapu mo e tou'a 'eiki - kae 'ata kiate au - ke u fai ha fakafetu'utaki - 'o e fonuá - mo e hä'ele 'oku tū'uta -

'I he 'ahó ni - 'oku sopusopu 'a natula - pea 'oku pöpö'uli 'a e funga 'o e fonua - ka neongo ia - kuo 'ikai te u fie fakaloloa - ka 'oku 'ikai ke fakangatangata 'emau fiefia - 'i he 'ahó ni - 'oku hakailangitau 'a e Tonga kotoa - koe'uhi - ko e hä'ele kuo tū'uta lelei ki he fonua - 'Oku mau 'ofa atu - ki he ngaahi ha'a mo e kau folau kotoa - kuo muimui he hä'ele - 'i he 'ahó ni pea 'oku mau hakailangitau - koe'uhi ko 'emau lave koloa - 'i he 'ahó ni. - 'Oku mau pipiki 'i he ngaahi 'ahó ni ki he maa'imoa 'a tamá - koe'uhi ko 'emau lave'i - ko e langa'anga ia 'o e fonua pea mo e lotu - mo e Pule'anga 'o Tupou. - Tu'a 'ofa atu..

SIKA: Deference to Ha'a Mohefo - Deference to Tu'i Faleua - Deference to Ha'a Ma'afu - Deference to Ha'a Lätühifo - Deference to Ha'a Vaea - Deference to Ha'a Havea Lahi and Ha'a Havea Si'i - Deference to Ha'a Ngata Motu'a and Ha'a Ngata Tupu - Deference to Fale Fisi - Deference to Maliepö and Molofaha - Deference to the sacred lower circle - Deference to the royal navigators - Deference to the royal advisers - Deference to the Tu'i Tonga King's man who mingles with the sovereign's chiefs - Deference to this side of the kava circle and to that side - Deference to the chiefs who sit amongst the kava-makers. - May I ask your leave - to present - [the people of] the land - to the royal company which has landed on these shores.

Today - nature is unkind - and darkness is gathering over the land - but we can disregard that - I do not wish to speak at length - and it does not diminish our happiness. - Today - all Tonga is at the zenith of happiness - because - the royal progress has reached these shores safely. - We extend our respects - to the descendants of chiefs and all the voyagers - who have followed in the wake of the royal progress - today, and we rejoice - because we have received a bounteous share - today. - We are holding fast at the present time to His Majesty's royal venture - because we know - this is the basis for building up the land and the church - and the Government of Tupou. - My humble respects.

(Recorded and transcribed by Tupou Posesi. Trans. T.P.K. & W.P. Victoria University of Wellington, Archive of Asian and Pacific Music, Tonga 90.042. See also Tonga 90.009 where Sika re-enacted his speech for G.A.R.)

Then the kava was served. The cup of Tupou was taken to him by Fatai, grand-daughter of Lapuka Loketi, a motu'a tauhi fonua of the Ha'a Ngata, from Hihifo. Ula Matatoa was the duty-spokesman. He distributed the kava in this order: The first cup was given to Tupou and the second to his right-hand matäpule, Motu'apuaka. The third cup to Vivi, a Niuatoputapu motu'a tauhi fonua from Vaipoa. The fourth to Vivili, a Niuatoputapu motu'a tauhi fonua from Hihifo. The fifth to Manuefata, a Niuatoputapu motu'a tauhi fonua from Hihifo. The sixth recipient was

unknown to T.P.K., and was possibly a matāpule accompanying 'Aho'eitu. The seventh cup to Tupō, a Niuatoputapu motu'a tauhi fonua from Vaipoa. The eighth to Telai, a Niuatoputapu motu'a tauhi fonua from Hihifo. The ninth to Motu'ahala, a Niuatoputapu motu'a tauhi fonua from Hihifo, a member of the Ha'a Ngata and a major organiser of the taumafakava. He was seated in the tou'a. The tenth cup was brought to Ula himself. The eleventh cup went to Sika, matāpule of the King, resident in Vaipoa, Niuatoputapu. The twelveth cup to Fatakiehau, a matāpule accompanying the royal party.

The recording ends here. Lapuka Loketi, a Niuatoputapu motu'a tauhi fonua from Hihifo and a member of the Ha'a Ngata, was, according to our record, seated in the tou'a. He should have received a cup of kava. Fuimaono was at Pasivūlangi wharf, receiving the voyagers.

At the close of the taumafakava ceremony at 6.30 p.m., Motu'apuaka called for a lakalaka. The people of Hihifo village came onto the mala'e to perform in the fading light. The lakalaka was followed by a kailao, performed by the Wesleyan Middle School of Hihifo. There was no call for further faiva. The delays of the day, the inclement weather, the onset of night, and the struggle to meet the burdens of the Royal Visit had dampened spirits.

Night fell. Torches were lighted around Loto'ā for the ceremony of tūpakapakanava, honouring the presence of a great 'eiki.

At 7.30 p.m. people from Vaipoa village arrived with nine large food trays which the planning committee had ordered for the mid-day meal. At 8.30 p.m. people from Falehau village arrived with their allocation of trays for the evening meal. After waiting half an hour, Falehau was given back

the remnants of six of the trays (Rogers 1975, p.304-5). Tonga Radio recorded the singing competition through the squalls of the black night.

26 August. Day of the Agricultural Show. At 7.30 a.m. the people of Falehau loaded their estate tribute (hala 'o Fuimaono) onto the Government tractor-and-trailer and took it, again at a charge of \$1.20 each way, to Hihifo (Rogers 1975, p.305).

In the early morning dancers came from all three villages to perform their faiva at Loto'ä for the awakening of the royal household (fakatakatöfä). Falehau performed outside the house of Prince 'Aho'eitu, and then danced their famous lakalaka, the "Feke."

After the fakatakatöfä, the people of the King's estate at Falehau came forward with the presentation of the hala of their 'eiki, Fuimaono. It included one large pig (puaka toho), one entire plant of kava (kava fakatäfunä), 50 baskets of sweet yams, and kava koloa: a presentation of fine pandanus mats comprising 1 *fala paongo pule'i*, 1 *lä loukeha*, possibly 10 *ta'ovala kie tonga*, and other items not recalled. The pig had been purchased with village funds from Fuimaono's own matäpule for \$36. Half (about 25 baskets) of the sweet yams had been donated by the Church of Tonga (Rogers 1975, p.305). The speech of presentation was made by Fuimaono's spokesman, Faikimu'a (Sēmisi Nunu).

None of our researchers was present. After Tupou and I had sailed for Vava'u, Garth remained in Niuatoputapu and supported our work by making further records. He asked Sēmisi Nunu to recount the events of the day. There is a glimpse here of the affection which old Tongan people retained for the inherited traditions of the sacred society.

This is Sēmisi Nunu's account. He is describing events as they occurred following the performance of dances to waken the royal party

(fakatakatöfä) on Thursday morning, 26 August. Here, in the context of presentation before an 'eiki, Falehau's ta'anga became a faiva.

KO E FAKAMATALA KI HE HALA 'O FUIMAONO

FAIKIMU'A (SEMISI NUNU): "Na u 'i Loto'ä au, nau ta'utu ai 'i Loto'a moe ongo matäpulé' o fakamälie, fai fatongia, 'a e ngaahi faivá, (peau lave'i 'oku 'ikai ke fai 'ae-), hangehangë kiate au 'e faifai pea 'e 'efihia 'ae ngäue 'a Fuimäono moe mätu'a, peau pehë leva keu tu'u 'o 'alu mei he fatongia koé, keu 'alu kia Fuimäono moe käinga. 'Ou lele atu kiaí, ki he ngäue, ki he puaká moe 'ufileí moe kava koloa, 'oku 'iai 'a Fuimäono moe 'Ofisa Kolo mo Fine moe kau tangata 'oku nau tu'u ai, peau fehu'i ange kia Fuimäono:

"Fuimäono koehä e me'a 'oku tatali ai 'ae 'ave 'etau me'a na'a faifai pea tau 'efihia 'i ha me'a ?"

Pea tali 'e Fuimäono, pehë e ia: "'Oku te'eki ai keu vakai pë he taimi."

Pau [= Pea u] talaange, "Taimi ko hotau taimi eni."

Pea fekau leva 'a Sikaleti ke lele, 'alu 'o ui 'ae tamaiki, 'ae kau lakalaka tangata mo fefine ke nau ö ange pë koë. Pau taange [= peau talaange]:

"Taimi ke tau 'alu, 'oku tau tuai, koe me'a eni 'e fai, to'o e kavá, mu'omu'a pe kavá, pea fokotu'u pë mo 'alu, 'oua 'e fokotu'u mo tu'u ma'u, koe'uhi ke hokohoko atu pë ko 'ene 'alu atu pë e hoko 'atu ai, taki pë 'ufilei ha'amo moe puaka, 'alu atu mu'omu'a pea hokohoko atu ai pë, koe'uhi ke 'alu pë kae 'alu'alu mälie." Ko 'eku lea pë ia: "'Alu 'alu mälie, 'oua pë te tau fokotu'u pea tau toki 'alu, 'alu pë 'o tau fokotu'u pë mo 'alu."

Pea mau pehë pë ko 'ene maau pë 'o 'osi e me'á, kuo laini taha e faiva ia, 'a ë 'oku 'alu atu leva fononga, moe tuë, a'u atu pë koia 'o tuku e ngäué, ko 'ene tuku pë koë 'ae ngäué 'i Pangai, 'i Loto'ä. Me'a ai 'ae tamasi'i ko 'Aho'eitu, pea moe ongo matäpulé, peau 'alu atu leva au 'o nofo he me'á, pea fakafeta'i e ongo matäpulé, hili pë 'ena fakafeta'i, kuo lea mai e matäpule 'e taha:

"Takatu'u mai ! Ko e ngäue ke fakatü'uta !"

Pea tali atu: "Maau, kuo lava !"

Pea lea mai ke lau e ngäue, pea lau, pea hili hono lau, pea kuo na foki eni 'o fakamatala mai e ngäué, fakamatala mai e kavá, fakamatala mai e puaka tohó, fakamatala mai moe lälanga, fakamatala mai ai moe 'ufilei - ['Ufilei 'e fiha ? Mahalo pë e nimangofulu na'a na talamai] - pea hili koia 'a e hono fakahä mai koia 'ae lau ngäué, 'oku tu'u hake ki'i, 'oku vave mai ke tö e 'uha, ku [=kuo] 'osi, kou [= kuo u] lea atu ki he ongo matäpulé:

"Tulou! Tulou!", 'uhinga 'aki koe'uhi kuou hanga 'o motuhi, kou [= kuou] motuhi 'a e fatongia e matäpulé, koe'uhi 'oku vave e 'uha, ka 'e 'iai e fakatu'utämaki 'e hoko ki he kava koloa, 'e 'uheina 'a e falá moe me'á, kie tonga moe ngähi me'a koia pea maumau, ta'e 'aonga. Ko 'eku lea pë ia, 'oku 'ikai ke lava keu hanga 'o fakasi'isi'i'eiki, pea 'oku 'ikai keu lava keu hanga 'o maumau'i e fatongiá, ka 'oku ou ongo'i na'a faifai pea ta'e'aonga 'a e motu'i papa 'oku avé, na'a 'e 'aonga ki he peito 'o 'Alaivahamama'ó.

Pea fiemälie kiai e matäpulé, lea mai e matäpulé:

"Mälö 'aupito Faikimu'a, kou [= kuou] fiefia 'aupito ho'o tokanga'i e me'a koia na'a maumau, 'ou."

Pea koau pë na'e lea atu: "Tulou! Te u toe lea pë ki he -, te u toe angi pë ki he kau tangatá moe kau fefine."

Pea fakahä mai 'e he matäpulé: "Faka'ofa'ofa!"

Ko 'eku lea atu, na'u sinaki lea he lea atu: "Kau tangata moe kau fefine, mou takatu'u mai, fakamä'opo'opo e 'ü me'a ko 'ení 'o fei mo ave na'a faifai pea maumau !"

Pea tu'u mai tangata moe fefine 'onau hanga 'o tänaki e me'a 'o leleaki'i ki he kau fefine koé na'a nau ha'u 'i he folau, leleaki'i koia kiai 'o hao, pea hili ange koia pau [= peau] malanga leva he taimi kolá. Ko 'eku malanga eni:

Tapu mo Täufa'ähau Tupou Fä - Tapu mo e tama ko 'Alaivahamama'o - Tapu mo e ongo fakafeangai - kae matafi e tonga hono finangalo - kau tala e fua 'o e fonua - fua ho kelekele. - Ko Fuimaono eni mo e tu'unga mätu'a mo e tu'unga finemätu'a - kuo nau fekalei mai - ke 'omi e fua ho kelekele - ke fai 'aki ha laukau koe'uhi ko ho kelekele 'oku nau fetängutu'i ai - 'Oku 'ikai ma'u he me'a ia ke täau mo ho'o

h°ele holo - koe'uhi ko e vahefonuá ni - pea mo ho kelekélé 'oku fai ai e fetāngutu'i. - Ko e ki'i motu'i papa ko 'ení - 'e faifai pea 'aonga ki he peito, ke faliki 'aki e peito - 'o 'Alaivahamama'o. - Ko e ki'i fo'i fua tau ko eni - [Si'i kae'oua ke u ki'i fakamanatu e puaka hono ui - 'io] - Ko e ki'i monumanu ko eni mo e fo'i fua tau - 'oku fekalei mai mo e tu'unga mätu'á ni - 'oku [i]kai ke ma'u ha me'a - ko e kätöa eni honau ivi - kuo tä ki liku, tä ki fanga - mei lalo ki 'olunga - ko honau ngata'anga 'eni - neongo iá - [i]kai ke ma'u he me'a - si'i kae hä - pea 'oku ke 'afio'i e me'a kotoa pē - leva e malanga kae tau atu.

Peau lea leva ki he matāpule ke fakahoko atu mu'a ki he tamá, ko hono käingá 'eni, kai [= pea 'oku 'ikai] ke fäingamälie ke a'u atu ai leva e käingá, pea fiemälie kiai, pea u lea leva ki he käingá:

"Temou, teu tu'u ki 'olunga, temou muimui mai kia au, kau mu'omu'a." Pau [= peau] mälanga hake leva mei hoku nofo'anga 'o lele atu 'o lulululu moe tamá, peau 'uma hono to'ukupú, peau holomui mai leva au, 'ou totolo mai peau lea mai ki he kainga:

"Hokohoko mai !" Pea nau hokohoko mai e käingá, ha'u e punou atu 'o 'uma he to'ukupu 'o e tama, pea pehē pē koē 'a e fakahokohoko mai koia 'a e käingá ni, faifai koia, 'osi, kou [= kuou] lea atu:

"Ko 'ene 'osi pē, ko ho'omou foki pē heni, laini e faiva 'e tä e faiva !"

Hili pē koia, ko'ene maaui pē ko 'ene faka'osi pē, ku [= kuo] 'osi tu'u lelei faiva, fai leva e faiva he taimi ko ia, tä leva e "Feke" he taimi ko ia, mau fai ai pē moe ongo matāpulē he fakamälö, mälie e faiva.

Ko e vāhenga ko Po'uli 'i Tangata, ko Sulieti 'i fefine. Pea ta'ofi-vāhenga 'a Kiola 'i fefine, pea Haniteli 'i tangata, ta'ofi-vāhenga kakai tangata, pea kimui kai (= 'ikai) keu ma'u 'ae 'otu mui pe kohai. Ka koe 'otu mu'á ko Sulieti 'i fefine. Ko Uini foki na'e vāhenga pea na'e 'ikai ke 'alu ange 'a Uini, 'a Uini koé mali 'o Kasa, na'e 'ikai ke 'alu ange 'a Uini, mahalo na'e ki'i mo'ua 'a Uini, kae ha'u leva 'a Sulieti, he na'e vāhenga 'a Uini he faiva koē 'a Fuimäono.

FAIKIMU'A: I was at Loto'ä, sitting there in Loto'ä with the two [duty-] spokesmen, praising the dances, fulfilling my responsibilities, when I realised that the [presentation of] produce of Fuimaono and

the householders would be squeezed out, so I thought I better stand up and leave the present job, and go to Fuimaono and his people. I hastened there, to the produce, to the pigs and sweet yams and the women's tribute. Fuimaono was there with the Town Officer, Fine [the dance leader], and a group of men standing by, so I asked Fuimaono directly:

"Fuimaono, what is making you delay taking our things, when we might be squeezed out?"

Fuimaono said: "I'm waiting for the right time."

I said to him: "Now's our time!"

Then Sikaleti was told to run and call the young people, the lakalaka dancers, men and women, to come at once. Then I said:

"It's time we went, we're late. This is what we have to do: Bring the kava. The kava has to go first. Get it organised as you go along, don't stop to arrange it, keep things moving along, pick up the sweet yams and the pig and carry them, start off and keep following on, so you keep moving along nicely." That's what I said: "Keep moving along nicely. Don't put things in order before you move off; start moving and put things in order as you go along."

Then we saw that everything was all in order, the dancers were walking along in single file, cheering "Tuë!" as they went and carrying the produce to the reception ground, to Loto'ä. 'Aho'eitu was there, with the two duty-spokesmen, and I went immediately and sat down with the things. Then the two duty-spokesmen called out "Thanks!" and when they had finished doing that one of them called out to me:

"Stand up ! The produce needs to be arranged in order !"

I replied: "The ordering has been done !"

Then they told me that the produce should be counted aloud, so it was counted, and when that had been done I came back again to announce the produce, announce the kava, announce the sledged pig, announce the weaving, announce the sweet yams - (How many yams ? I think they said there were 500) - and when that had been done, announcing the count of the produce, I stood up for a moment, the rain would begin at any minute, that done, I called out to the two spokesmen:

"Excuse me!" The reason I presumed to cut in on the duties of the matäpule being, that it was about to rain and the women's handicraft would be ruined, the mats and suchlike would get wet, the fine pandanus mats and other things spoilt, useless. That was what I said, I wasn't intending to be disrespectful, or to interfere with their work, but I was afraid the scraps of matting we had brought would be useless for 'Alaivahamama'o's kitchen.

The duty-spokesmen were agreeable. One of them said:

"Many thanks, Faikimu'a. I am very grateful for your concern that these things shouldn't get spoilt, myself."

I then said: "Excuse me! I'll again speak again - I'll have another word with the men and women."

Then the spokesman addressed me: "Excellent!"

I said, by way of warning: "Ladies and gentlemen, stand up! Pack up these things and carry them away so they don't get damaged !"

Then the men and women stood up and set about gathering the things together and hastening with them to the women who had come in the ship, hastening with them to rescue them, and when that was accomplished, then I gave my speech. This is my speech:

"Deference to Täufa'ähau Tupou the Fourth - Deference to His Highness 'Alaivahamama'o. [Most people in Falehau had never seen the royal children. Faikimu'a mistook 'Aho'eitu for his older brother, 'Alaivahamama'o.] - Deference to the two duty-spokesmen - may his mind be clear as the southern skies - while I present the fruits of the land - fruits of your soil. - Here is Fuimaono with the common men and women. - who have dragged themselves here - to bring the fruits of your soil - with pride, because it is your soil they dwell on. - They couldn't find anything befitting your visit - this is only a district - of your soil on which we dwell. - This is just a scrap of matting - it might do for the kitchen, for the floor - of 'Alaivahamama'o's kitchen. - These [the yams] are just cormlets. - Wait a minute while I recollect what the pig is called - Ah! - This is just a snorter with a few cormlets - these people have dragged themselves here - they haven't anything fitting - this is the full extent of their labours - from the lagoon shore to the weather shore - from high to

low - this is the full extent of it - but nevertheless - nothing to be had - a small tribute - you are apprised of all things - that's the end of my speech but may it strike a chord."

Then I asked the duty-spokesman if we may please advance to His Highness, as we are his kin, whether it would be convenient for his kin to see him now, and he was agreeable, so I immediately said to the people:

"All of you, get ready to stand up, all of you follow me, and I'll go first." Then I rose from my seat and went to shake hands with His Highness; I kissed his hand (to'ukupu) and then I backed away, crawling on my haunches. Then I said to the people:

"Follow on !" Then the people followed me, came and paid homage and kissed the hand of His Highness, and it progressed like that with each one of the kin taking their turn, and when it was finished I said:

"That's all ! Come back here and line up for the faiva; we'll perform the faiva !"

Then when everything was in order, when the dancers were nicely arranged, the faiva was performed then and there, the "Feke" was performed then and there, and I and the two duty-spokesmen called out thanks and praise of the faiva.

Po'uili was the leading male dancer (vähenga 'i tangata), Sulieti the female lead. The second female lead (ta'ofi vähenga 'i fefine) was Kiola, with Haniteli the second male lead. I don't know who it was in the second row, but it was Sulieti in the front row of women. Wendy was supposed to be the female lead, but she didn't turn up, perhaps she had things to do, so Sulieti stood in, but Wendy was supposed to be the female lead in Fuimaono's faiva.

(Recorded by G.A. Rogers. Transcribed by Paulina 'Otuhouma. Trans. W.P. Victoria University of Wellington, Archive of Asian and Pacific Music, Tonga 90.009).

Later in the morning His Majesty opened the Third Niuatoputapu Agricultural Show. Falehau people participated in the competitive faiva:

throwing fishing nets (sili kupenga, kupenga pūlou); making fire by rubbing sticks (tolo afi); and plaiting baskets (langa kato). The audience roared with delight to see who amongst their kith could accomplish each feat with the greatest dexterity or greatest speed.*²⁰

The afternoon lay ahead. The empty reception ground at Matangi Mālie invited a public spectacle. At Niuatoputapu in 1971 both sides stepped onto the green to entertain His Majesty with a new faiva: a soccer match.

* * * *

Tupou Posesi and I had spent the day in Falehau, preparing for the voyage ahead. In the afternoon the lakalaka dancers straggled back to Falehau. Sēmisi Nunu's daughters came and sat in the tent, dejected, saying over and over, "Tōmui 'a Falehau, Falehau's reputation was lost...."*²¹

I

What was signified in the reluctance of Falehau people to prepare a faiva in 1971 ? When Captains Cook and Furneaux came ashore at 'Eua in 1773, people threw bales of bark cloth and fine mats into the ship's boat (Forster 1777 v.1, p.426; Wales v.2, p.808). During the visit of Sālote Tupou III to Niuafo'ou in 1927 people danced for two weeks (Ramsay & Plumb 1938, pp. 225, 226). Her visit to Niuatoputapu in 1959 lasted eight days,

see fig. 8.

The magnificence of a lakalaka is achieved through the balance and elaboration of its choreography, the accomplishment of its poetry, the emotional inspiration of its music, and the force of numbers of its performers. The Falehau people who failed to turn up for dance practices were letting down their own community; they would not have done so unless there was implicit support for their stance.

In 1971 the hou 'eiki of Tonga[tapu] still regarded the Niua islands as a resource for the support of their chiefly lifestyles, sending telegrammes for pigs and produce to be shipped to them in Tongatapu. Niua composers complained about the misgovernment of the Niua islands (Rogers 1986, p.105-22; Pond 1990, p.205-18). In 1971 a fair share of education and health spending, and safe and regular shipping were immediate priorities (see *Faikava* No.9 1983, p.iv). The allocations of produce and fine mats called for on account of the royal visit did not accommodate economic realities.

Until the death of Mā'atu Ma'afu 'o Tu'i Tonga in 1935, the paramount title of Niuatoputapu was accorded great status, on the basis of the sacred

origins of the title and the historical independence of Niuatoputapu. In 1971 a committee composed of petty chiefs and civil servants did not have a mandate to call for presentations of the land's wealth. A hau whose government had ignored the welfare of the Niua people did not inspire more than a token gesture.

In 1862 Tupou I abolished the yam festivals (kātoanga 'o e 'inasi) and put in their place an annual festival (kātoanga 'o e tau'atāina) celebrating the freedom of the people from tributary presentations (Cummins n.d., p.153; Lätükefu 1974, pp.248, 252; Lätükefu 1975, p.34). Nonetheless in 1971 food presentations from Niuatoputapu to the voyaging Tu'i Kanokupolu included 136 pigs; 235 long yams; 2370 sweet yams (237 baskets); 335 kape; 102 fowls, together with uncounted fine mats, bales of bark cloth, roots of kava, fish, shellfish, breadfruit, bananas and plantains (Rogers 1975, pp.146, 305-6). The Niuatoputapu working chiefs (mātu'a tauhi fonua) fulfilled their customary role of service to the estate-'eiki (fai fatongia) by exhorting the land's people to assemble the tribute, see Faikimu'a's speeches, and in conceding that the people owed their prosperity to the intercession of the 'eiki with the cosmic realm, see Puli Leka's speech. In receiving these presentations the hau had taken the Agricultural Show into the domain of tributary relationships between an 'eiki and the land's people. The Tupou dynasty was no longer respecting its own laws.

The Government Representative and the District Officer had made their own positions clear: they did not have charter to participate in the transaction between an 'eiki and the land's people. The reluctance of the Falehau people to prepare a faiva was its own political statement.

II

Tupou IV's voyaging entourage arrived at Niuatoputapu with multiple

agendas. There were agricultural officers to conduct the Show and judge produce; Tonga Radio technicians to record songs for the station to play; additional personnel for the soccer team; matäpule to conduct the kava and ensure presentations were made with ceremonial grace;*²² the hau and his family to make a royal tour. On the landward side there were multiple choices. The opportunity of being broadcast offered national renown. A faiva of surpassing fairness would win reputation for the village. A winning yam could single out a gardener who had no social status. Participating in all these enterprises, the people of Falehau had invested the greater part of their labour in preparing their faiva. In the event, Tupou's choice of entertainment was a soccer match. Both sides had withdrawn their support of the lakalaka.

III

Kaeppler [1976] 1993, pp.49-58), Shumway (1977, p.25-6), and Linkels (1992, p.74) have described the lakalaka as an affirmation of loyalty to the socio-political system. Shumway called it a eulogy to the governing chiefs : the lakalaka songs re-cast the lines of chiefly descent to legitimate their privileges. By 1971 the lakalaka dancers of Niuatoputapu had no reason to celebrate a political configuration which had deprived them of the genealogical succession of their paramount 'eiki, and of their independence and well-being.

The reluctance of the Niuatoputapu people to rehearse their faiva in 1971 was expressed covertly, but it was an intimation of a groundswell. The 1875 Constitution had suppressed contestable leadership and secured the lands of selected estate-'eiki (nöpele ma'u tofi'a). As it became clear that they no longer needed the support of common people, many 'eiki ceased to work for their benefit (Linkels 1992, p.106). The disparity

between the prosperity of the estate owners and the declining wellbeing of the common people was resented. Some have the feeling that those sung and danced homages to the king and the nobles, such as the *lakalaka*, are not really deserved anymore. They have only become an unavoidable duty for which the people get little in return. ... Now and then they only express something of their dissatisfaction and powerlessness by taking on a less motivated and sometimes even indifferent attitude... (Linkels 1992, p.106). Thus Linkels linked the decline of the *lakalaka* during the 1980s with resistance to the government of Tupou IV.

With the decline in enthusiasm for the *lakalaka* in contemporary social life, the young generation had not absorbed the knowledge of dancers of Sälote's era. While school curricula advocated rehearsal and performance of *lakalaka*, neither teachers, nor performers, nor audience had an understanding of *lakalaka* poetry (Linkels 1992, p.107). Feke Kamitoni commented, They are just looking at the movements. Without any knowledge of the text this soon gets boring, even for Tongans. The next generation will only be interested in popmusic, breakdancing and video. Linkels noted tartly that the school *lakalaka* had found a new use: fund-raising (Linkels 1992, p.108-9).

Floor shows for the tourist trade compensated for the lack of pleasure in the words with crowding of gestures, shortened versions, accelerated pace, and dramatised macho style. The flashiness of floorshow dancing was integrated into the *lakalaka*, displacing its elegance and nuance and distinctly Tongan style (Linkels 1992, p.111-12).

The estate 'eiki had reneged on their responsibilities of community leadership. In the popular culture of tourism and fund-raising the *lakalaka* had found a new audience and a new use, and was taking on a new guise.

Careful of heritage, the best of Tonga's poets, choreographers, and composers formed a circle at 'Atenisi University.

IV

Tupou IV's coronation was a dual ceremony. On 4 July 1967 he was declared king as the crown was placed on his head. On 6 July he was installed as hau, seated at the head of a kava circle. During the Royal Visit to Niuatoputapu in 1971, there was again a bicultural programme. In programme one, the hau was received with a kava ceremony at which he was the presiding 'eiki (taumafakava 'o e tali tü'uta), and with tributary presentations of the land's produce (hä'unga, hala). In programme two the King opened the Agricultural Show, presented prizes, and was entertained with a soccer match. Both programmes borrowed from each other's protocols. The hau's progress was marked by decorated archways; there is no description of archways in eighteenth century Tongan records, though they are well recorded at New Zealand jubilees. The Agricultural Show included competitive faiva which were traditional Tongan skills: basket making, net throwing, making fire.

Amongst the events of the Royal Visit to Niuatoputapu there were numerous glimpses of a heritage which appears in eighteenth century records. The deft speed with which competitors at the Show created fire and wove baskets, the deft speed with which the Tafahi dancers executed each verse of their vaka eke dance, replicated the style for carving roasted pigs. The occasion is the wedding of a daughter of Finau Fangupö to Tu'i Tonga Fuanunuiava ca 1807 (Martin 1981, p.97): **Twenty baked hogs were now brought into the circle of the *malái*, and a number of expert cooks came with knives procured from European ships - (formerly they**

used bamboo) to try their skill in carving with speed and dexterity, which is considered a great recommendation.

The processional elegance of the lakalaka's sipa section, evokes the procession of high-ranking women at the marriage of Halaevalu Mata'aho to Tu'i Tonga Laufilitonga in 1829 (Bays 1831, p.114): The dancers were all females, dressed up according to the costumes of the country or the island to which they belonged, each striving to excel the other in appearance... the chiefs in the centre first sang a verse, then the dancing women, which was followed again by a chorus or shout of approbation from all.

The hau's arrival ashore to lakalaka dancers performing on the end of Pasivülangi wharf, evokes the assembly of 'Eua people cheering Cook's party ashore at Nafanua in 1773 (Wales 1773-4, p.808): The chief went with [Cook] and they were met on the rocks by many hundreds of the Inhabitants who seemed to welcome them on shore with Huzzas.

The exhibition of a kailao by school children which followed the taumafakava at Niuatoputapu in 1971, recalls the reception for Spanish explorers at 'Onetale bay, Vava'u on 25 May 1793. The last item of the programme was a dance by children of rank (Herda 1983, p.75): This view was no less entertaining for us; such was the agility and stamina which they obviously extended. Clowning during the competitive presentations of faiva at the choir competition on dress-rehearsal day, retained an old tradition. The occasion is again 'Onetale bay (Herda 1983, p.74): a fairly elderly woman who was in the ranks and with a thousand gestures, imitated the clown, see fig.21. The Spanish explorers participated in bestowing tokens of admiration (fakapale) on the women dancing the me'elaufola (Herda 1983, p.74-5): The uninterrupted continuation of this entertainment had already occupied almost all of the afternoon, and yet,

the general satisfaction was such that, even if tired, the men did not cease jumping up in turns.

The lighted torches (*tüpakapakanava*) encircling the residence of the hau at *loto'ä* appear in other contexts. One was the funeral of the Tu'i Tonga Fuanunuiava at Vava'u in 1810. The moment described is the crash which possibly dispatched the spirit to Pulotu (Martin 1981, p.351): In the afternoon of the day of burial, the body being already in the *fytoa*, almost every man, woman, and child, provided with a *tómē* [torch] and a piece of *boläta* [for an ash tray], sit down at about eighty yards from the grave...Two men behind the grave now begin to blow conch shells and six others, with large lighted torches, about six feet high, and six inches thick...[walk round the burial mound] waving their flaming torches in the air; they then begin to ascend the mount, at which moment all the people rise up together and suddenly snap their *bolätas*, nearly at the same time, producing a considerable crash.

It is however Fuimaono's hala, the tributary presentation to the voyaging hau, that most significantly retains an eighteenth century configuration: the presentation of produce accompanied by faiva. Why do faiva complete presentations of the land's produce? Why is so much effort invested in a faiva ? Why can a faiva be performed only for an 'eiki ? Part Two will explore these questions. In the eighteenth century each faiva had its appropriate occasion (*lakanga*) for presentation. Religious and political agendas added force to exhibitions of faiva.

Visit of H.M. Queen Sālote

Fig. 8.

Niutoputapu, 15 - 22 October, 1959.

Presentations of Tribute

Recorded by Ula Matatoa

In 1959 the hau, Sālote Tupou III, visited Niutoputapu to discuss plans for the Lo'au to be held at Tongatapu in September. The visit lasted 8 days. During this visit premier performances were given of the lakalaka "Feke" composed by Peni Lätü Langi, and the lakalaka "Matafi 'a e Tonga" composed by Sioeli Filianga; Sālote named the Falehau wharf "Pasivülangi" after the war club of Finau 'Ulukälala; installed Tangipä in his title; and was petitioned to appoint a successor to the Mä'atu title.

The faiva lakalaka, taufakaniua, and vaka eke (sökë) were exhibited; tau'olunga dances were performed. 14 hä'unga were presented, as well as Tangipä's pongipongi, provisions for the return voyage, and uncounted pola and pola taumafa. 8 presentations included women's manufactures (koloa). Kava, pigs, yams, kape, green coconuts, plantains, and watermelon are listed amongst the produce. Niutoputapu has skilful fishermen; fish must have been included only in the trays of cooked food (pola). The koloa comprised entirely weaving: kie, fala, ta'ovala, and kato; no bark cloth was listed. The last pola taumafa, prepared by Fakatoufifita, included cakes, and girdles (sisi) of aromatic flowers for the voyagers.

Tafahi fulfilled its mandatory contribution of raw provisions for the return voyage (oho), and then made a presentation of its specialties: kava, and tapestries of pueki shells on knotted net (ha'ingato, sisi pueki). It accompanied its presentation with its unique version of the vaka eke, "Tavake Oma" composed by Tëvita Tavake ca 1930.

From Hihifo the title-holders Telai, Motu'ahala, Lapuka, Tafea, and Vivili sat in the kava; Tupa and Vivili presented a hä'unga.

From Vaipoa the title-holders Tangipä, Sika, Ma'ukakala, and Kaufanga sat in the kava; Sika was the officiating matäpule at Tangipä's installation; Tangipä made presentations for his pongipongi, and presented three hä'unga.

From Falehau the title-holders Fuimaono, Tauvaka, and Leleimoepö, sat in the kava; Fuimaono, Tauvaka, and Leleimoepö presented hä'unga.

From Tafahi the title-holder Vaka sat in the kava; Vaka and Liukaina made hä'unga presentations; Ngalu and Tafi presented Tafahi's provisioning (oho). [The title-holders Taulepa, Faka'iloatonga, and Uhiua have not been identified.]. Hä'unga were presented from Langafonua, Siasi Tonga Tau'atäina, and Siasi Uesiliana. The Government Representative sat in one of the kavas.

SOURCE: Record made by Ula Matatoa for the Tonga Traditions' Committee. Copied in 1971, edited and notated. Tangipä's installation ceremony (pongipongi) was notated with references to film script 77; the film was taken to England and lost. Known Niutoputapu titleholders are underlined. Presentations of koloa (weaving) are marked *.

Thursday 15/10/59

10 a.m.

Taumafakava

Queen
0

Motu'apuaka x	x Tamanika Tu'uheava
Luani x	x Havea Tu'iha'angana
Sika x	x Ma'umatäpule
Vivili x	x Ma'afualu
Fuimaono x	x Taimifolau
Fauolo x	x Ma'ukakala
Kaufanga x	x Telai
Lelenoa x	x Tauvaka
	x Faiva
	x Leleimoepö
	x Ula malanga
	i he Taumafakava
	x Ve'ehala
	x Vaka [Tafahi]

oOo
Ngaohi Kava
Ngäue not recorded.

2 p.m.

HA'UNGA.

Hä'unga from the Siasi Tonga Tau'atäina.
1 kava toho, 1 puaka toho.

HA'UNGA.

1 toka kava, 1 kau 'ufi mata, 1 puaka toho (live)

A matäpule named Liukaina from Tafahi brought these
as 'Alaivahamama'o's hä'unga.

Faiva

Lakalaka & taufakaniua & tau'olunga

Friday 16/10/95

Pola taumafa were continually coming in. One could see the back of a puaka toho in it, and puaka tunu, etc. It was covered over with a fala fihu*, and the pola was placed on top of a fala paongo* (that was for the taumafa) and a kava mao was also brought in with it. And so with the pola for the kitchen, for the people (kau folau people) who came with the Queen.

Saturday 17/10/95

a.m. Dances were performed early to wake Her Majesty. After that they brought in the pola taumafa they had prepared.

Morning prayers were held by the Siasi Tonga. After that the church ministers brought in their ma'u kava with a fono: a kau hopa momoho for the wetting (fakaviku) of the matäpule's fau. Followed by the pola taumafa, placed on top of a fala paongo*. Water melons and bunches of green coconuts were brought in with it.

p.m.

HA'UNGA. A feihä'unga for the Queen was brought in by the matäpule Leleimoepö. 1 puaka toho and 1 kava toho.

Taumafakava

Queen
o

Motu'apuaka x	x Ula Leka
Luani x	x Havea Tu'iha'angana
<u>Sika</u> x	x Ma'umatäpule
<u>Vivili</u> x	x <u>Tafea</u>
<u>Kaufanga</u> x	x <u>Ma'ukakala</u>
<u>Fuimaono</u> x	x Uhiua
Lelenoa x	x <u>Tauvaka</u>
	x Ma'afualu
	x Taimifolau
	ooo
Faka'iloatonga	<u>Lapuka</u>
	<u>Tangipä</u>
	<u>Motu'ahala</u>

Ngäue: 1 puaka hula, 1 puaka ha'amo, 1 kava hula, 1 kava ha'amo, 1 kava fua, 'umu x 13. Kava lukuluku: 1 kie Tonga hanga 120*, 4 kie ta'ovala*, 1 lökeha*.

HA'UNGA. Tauvaka's feihä'unga for Her Majesty's kau matäpule 1 puaka toho, 1 kava toho.

HA'UNGA. The kau Langafonua's hä'unga was brought in, presented by the District Officer, Motu'ahala. 1 puaka toho, 1 kava toho.

Monday 19/10/95

p.m.

HA'UNGA. The Wesleyan church of Niuatoputapu brought in their hä'unga.

1 puaka toho, 'ufi e uangakau (200), 5 ngakau kape (500)
Kava koloa: 7 ta'ovala kie Tonga*, 1 fala paongo*,
2 table covers, 2 kato teuteu*, 1 ta'ovala Tofua*.

HA'UNGA. Fuimaono. 1 puaka hula, 1 kava mao, 1 fala paongo.

Tokonaki were brought in by Tafahi as provisions for the trip back home to Vava'u. They were detailed to provide that.

1 kava fua, 1 puaka toho (live), tolungakau 'ufi (300), 1 fala paongo hanga e 130, 42 kape, 10 kau hopa, 50 kava mao (kava teletele).

It was Ngalu and Tafi who came and brought the tokonaki. It was Motu'apuaka who gave thanks this way: "Kava mo e ngäue - Tauhi ia ko e kava mo e ngäue 'a Ma'afualu."

This was Tafahi also. 1 kava mao, 1 fala fihu*, 1 fala paongo*, 10 hoingato [ha'ingato] (haoloa), 20 sisi pueki ha'ingato.

Tafahi's sökë name is "Tavake Oma" as Alaivahamama'o's faiva.

3 p.m.

HA'UNGA. Tangipä. 1 kava toho, 1 puaka toho, 10 kau kape.
Alaivahama'ao's hä'unga presented by Tangipä.

HA'UNGA. Tangipä. 1 kava toho, 1 puaka toho, 10 kau kape
A hä'unga for Luani & Ve'ehala & Havea Tu'iha'angana, etc.

HA'UNGA. Tangipä. A hä'unga for Mauö and Ma'umatäpule
1 kava toho, 1 puaka toho, 10 kau kape.

Monday 19/10/95, cont.

Tangipä's Pongipongi

4 p.m.

Taumafakava

Queen
O

officiating matäpule Sika x
Luani x
Lelenoa x
Motua'apuaka x
Kaufanga x
Taumoepeau x
Government Magistrate

x Ma'afualu

x Havea Tu'iha'angana
x 'Uhiua

x Ula Leka

x Telai

x Taimifolau

x Ma'umatäpule

x Ve'ehala

ooo

Tangipä

Motu'ahala

Lapuka

Fakailoatonga

Tangipä's pongipongi. 2 kava hula, 2 kava ha'amo, 8 kava fuataha, 2 puaka hula, 1 puaka ha'amo, fuiniu [fo'i niu], 1 fei'umu hula, 5 'umu fakahunga, 1 'umu kaveitau.

5 p.m.

[HALA 'O FUIMAONO]. Fuimaono and his käinga.
1 toka kava, 1 fala paongo (hanga e 200)*.

HA'UNGA. Row of homes with Tupa and Vivili [Kauhala Tahi, Hihifo village].
1 toka kava, 1 fala paongo (hanga e 100)*.

Thursday 22/10/95

a.m.

Pola taumafa prepared by Fakatoufifita.
1 kava toho, 1 puaka toho, 1 pola taumafa
9 cakes, 2 baskets of sisi kakala.

HA'UNGA. Taulepa. 1 kava toho, 1 puaka toho, 1 puaka ha'amo.

HA'UNGA. Alaivahamama'o's hä'unga presented by [Uhiua].
1 kava, 1 'umu hula.

KO E HA'ELE 'A'AHÍ KI TOKELAU.

'I he taimi 4 efiafi 'o e 'aho Tusite ko e 13 'o 'Okatopa, 1959; na'e tuku folau ai 'a e hā'elē mei Nuku'alofa 'i he "AONIÚ" ki he 'otu motu faka tokelaú. Na'e hā'ele 'a 'Ene 'Afio mó Pilinisi 'Alai-vahamama'o, pea kau ai mo S. Ngalumoetutulu, ko e fakafe'ao Le'ole'o, mo e Sekelitali 'o e folau ko Ve'ehala. Na'e folau ai mo 'Eiki Nōpele Luani, mo Nōpele Havea Tu'i Ha'angana. Ko e kau Matāpulé, ko Motu'apuaka mo Lelenoa ko e ongo Ha'akili, mo Ma'umatāpule mo Ma'ufualu meia Lauaki, mo Ula Matatoa, mo Tamānika Tu'uheava ko e ongo toutai, pea mo Taimifolau mo Havealeta mo e matāpule ko 'Uhiua mei Ha'apai. Ko Mosese Liongitau na'e folau ko e faifekau 'o e hā'elē, pea mo e kau Ka'ate 'e toko ono, mo e kau fefine mo e kau tangata tauhi.

Na'e tomu'a afe 'a e hā'elē ki Ha'apai, pea fai 'a e anga 'o Ha'apai ko e fiefia mo e māfana, ka na'e 'ikai fuoloa kuo toe fusi taula 'a e "AONIÚ" 'o fakahā'ele 'a e Haú ki Niuatoputapu. Na'e tau 'a e vaka ki Falehau 'i hono 15 'o 'Okatopa, pea 'i he pongipongi na'e liokó, na'e toki tuku-aula 'i he ava ko 'Umuteve 'i Hihifo. 'Isa, na'e ngalo ke fakamatala 'anenai, ko e 'Eikivaka 'o e "Aoniú" kuo fakahingoa ko e toutai ko Leka, pea ko ia na'e anga 'a e fakahēká mo e fakahifó.

Ko'e me'a faka'ofa'ofa mo'oni 'a e tali 'o e hā'elē 'e he kainga 'o Ma'atú, he na'e tō pē 'a e niú mo e fusi momohó mei tahi 'o a'u ki 'uta. Na'e faliki fala mo e fihu mei he 'one'oné 'a a'u ki he matafale na'e fai ai 'a e 'Afifio 'i he lotoā 'o Ma'atú.

Na'e pehē 'a e māfana mo e fiefia 'a e tali 'o e kainga 'o Ma'atú, na'e 'ikai ma'u ha kau ngāue ke fakahifo 'a e uta 'a e "Aoniú". Ko e tali 'a e kakai na'e pehē, "E toe ha'u pē 'a e "Aoniú" ha 'aho, ka 'e fuoloa 'aupito pea toki liuaki mai ha hā'ele". Talu mei he 1927 ko e toki hā'ele eni ki Niua Toputapu.

Loiotonga 'a e hā'elē, na'e fokotu'u 'a e ngaahi kautaha Langa-Fonua, mo e ngaahi Faka'ali'ali Ngoue, mo e ngaahi ngāue fakalotu kchekehe. 'Io, ne liuaki mai 'a e hā'elē, pea muimuifolau mai ai pē 'a e loto mo e 'ofa 'o si'ono kakai 'i he potu kotoa pē. Na'e toe tu'uta 'a e hā'elē ki Palasi 'i hono 4 'o Novema, 1959.

(Hon. Ve'ehala)

Report on the 1959 Royal Tour, 13 October - 4 November, by Ve'ehala Leilua. (SOURCE: *Ko e Makasini ko e Lo'au*, v.1, no.2, October 1959, p.4-5, published by the Tonga Traditions Committee.)

PART II

This ceremony which is call'd Natche has so much mystery running through the whole that it is hard to tell whether it is most of the religious or political kind. (Anderson 1777, p.916).

PART II

Eighteenth Century Backbearings

In the eighteenth century each trial of skill (faiva) had a proper occasion (lakanga) for its performance. Martial arts and me'etu'upaki dances were exhibited following presentations of produce at festivals for the reception of Kauhala Lalo chiefs. At festivals celebrating the marriages of Kauhala 'Uta chiefs, women of rank performed processional dances, displaying their elegance. Retinues arrived by canoe from as far afield as Sāmoa. At night concerts, fakaniua orchestras and me'elaufola, ula, and hea dances were exhibited at dance grounds lit by torchlight. At sacred festivals mock battles (toutakao) followed allocations of produce to the gods. At funeral festivals women's dances dispatched the forces of the afterworld.

"Kātoanga" describes the festivals, political rivalries, and religious cosmology, which enforced eighteenth century exhibitions of faiva.

The account was compiled from the journals of three exploring expeditions, of beachcombers, and missionaries who participated briefly in Tongan realpolitik of the day; from historical chronicles, song texts, and records of the Tonga Traditions Committee, interpreted alongside contemporary ethnographic research.

CHAPTER 9

The Illustrious Era 1773-1834

Fig. 9. Tonga's maritime domain in the late eighteenth century. In 1777 Anderson recorded, 'Feejee is the only place they know that does not bend to their authority' and Clerke confirmed, 'These Fidji Men are the masters of this part of the World...our good Friends [at Tongatapu] are in perfect dread of them, but they are now upon very good Terms'. However, Niuatoputapu had a reputation for refusing Tongan voyaging canoes the right to land, hence its nickname "Niua-teke-vaka, Niua ejector of boats". Futuna was known to destroy any Tongan canoe that landed there. 'Uvea was known to comb the hair of Tongan castaways with the tail of a stingray. (Gifford 1929, p.54-5; Wood 1943, p.9-10; Bott 1982, p.95; Beaglehole 1967 1777, pp.958, 1312.)

Into this domain came the foreign exploring expeditions. Cook ['Eua 2-3 October 1773; Hihifo, Tongatapu 3-7 October 1773; Nomuka 26-29 June 1774; Nomuka 2-14 May 1777; Ha'apai 17-29 May 1777; Nomuka 5-8 June 1777; Popua, Tongatapu 10 June-10 July 1777; 'Eua 12-17 July 1777], D'Entrecasteaux [Pangai Motu, Tongatapu 25 March-10 April 1793], and Malaspina ['Onetale bay, Vava'u, 20 May-1 June 1793].

(SOURCE: 'Eua March/April 1992; Crane 1992, p.38.)

9. **The Illustrious Era 1773-1834**
 Alaisia alaimoana

I

In 1797 Captain Wilson, while provisioning the first missionaries of the London Missionary Society, remarked that intrepidity and dexterity were striking features of Tongan character (Wilson 1799, p.liv). In games, sports, and dances, eighteenth century records reveal an appreciation of arts that were deft, quick-witted, agile, well coördinated, graceful, and subtle. Musicality in dancing and trueness of pitch in singing produced performances which surpassed everything the exploring expeditions 'had the least idea of' (Cook 1777, p.109; Clerke 1777, p.1302).

Moengangongo*¹ exemplified the skills of the era. He was the son of the hau (Finau Fangupö, Ulukälala 'i Feletoa), and in 1810 a young 'eiki of Vava'u aged about 25 (Martin 1981, p.269):

...he excelled in all athletic sports, racing, wrestling, boxing, and club-fighting...He was fond of mirth and good humour - was a most graceful dancer, and passionately delighted with romantic scenery, poetry, and vocal concerts. These last had been set aside, in a great measure, during his father's warlike reign; but when the son came into power, he revived them, and had bands of professed singers at his house almost every night.

Dancing and singing were essential skills of 'eiki society. The missionary Vason observed during 1797-1800, They seem in their element when dancing; such is the ease, pleasure, grace and activity, which they exhibit, in every intricate part of this favourite amusement (Orange 1840, p.126-7). Cook's surgeon, Anderson, observed in 1777 that dance steps and gestures were perform'd with an ease and grace which is not

to be describ'd, nor conceiv'd but by those who have seen them. It appears indeed to be one of the principal articles of their education, for the boys when very young are constantly practising them and at no great age perform them as dexterously as those that are grown up (Anderson 1777, p.944). Cook's company experienced the aesthetic pleasure: It was universally allowed that their Dancing was very beautiful & striking...their voices are...extreemly musical and their actions gracefull (Samwell 1777, p.1020). English musical sound by comparison was not particularly subtle. Cook wrote, Not one of our musical instruments, except the Drum did they hold in the least esteem, and even the Drum they did not think superior to their own; as to the French horns they very seldom would attend to them attall (Cook 1777, p.109).

The Ha'apai chiefs were the first to receive Cook's expedition with festivals (kātoanga). On 20 May 1777 Cook was challenged to a day of reciprocal feats (fe'auhi faiva). A parade of the ships' marines was matched by 105 men and youths of rank wielding pallets, dancing the me'etu'upaki. The dance was led by the highest-ranked warrior-'eiki of the day, Omai's Finau. Cook described the me'etu'upaki as unlike anything he knew in any other part of the world (Cook 1777, p.109). Clerke recorded, The amazing exactitude of their various Motions, both with this implement and every joint of their Body, and the perfect Time in their musick surpass'd every thing I had the least Idea of; their motions were infinitely more uniform than any company of Soldiers I ever saw exercise in my life (Clerke 1777, p.109). Cook confirmed, it was musical and harmonious and all their motions were performed with such justness that the whole party moved and acted as one man (Cook 1777,

p.109). In the protocol of festivals, all participants in faiva had equal rank: every one seemed to perform the same Duty without any Advantage over his fellow warriors but what was to be derived from bodily Strength or superior skill. The skills of the old warriors were well-honed: it was a matter of peculiar Delight and admiration to behold the Vigour & activity of the old Men, who in performing their military exercise were not to be distinguished from the young ones (Samwell 1777, p.1017).

Cook conceded, It was the opinion of every one of us that such a performance whould have met with universal applause on a European Theatre, and so far exceeded any thing we had done to amuse them that they seemed to pique themselves in the superiority they had over us (Cook 1777, p.109). Anderson conceded, they far outdid our people in exactness and dexterity (Anderson 1777, p.874).

In 1773 Cook took immediate steps to ensure that there would not be a fair comparison. Elliott, a seaman, recorded in his journal,

I shall add one Anecdote which occurred while we stopped [at Hihifo]. And that was, that upon some occasion, one of our Men gave one of the Natives a blow, which he returned immediately, and a battle ensued, in which the Islander had the advantage of the Britton, which surprized us very much, and Capt. forbad such tryals of skill in future. For it be highly impolitic to let them suppose that they were equal to us in anything (Holmes 1984, p.21).

II

The trials of skill (faiva) practised in the illustrious era were exhibited at land-based festivals, sea-based festivals, at religious festivals, and at burial festivals, in the courts of the sacred chiefs, and

in the torch-lit setting of night concerts. Exhibited on the proper occasion (*lakanga*), *faiva* were shown to best advantage, and enforced by the religious and political agendas to which they contributed.

Festivals for the reception of exploring expeditions, and festivals concluding funeral rites were occasions for martial contests (*fuhu*, *fangatua*, *fetä'aki*) and for dances of the warrior-'*eiki* (*me'etu'upaki*, *meke fakafisi*). Festivals for the gods incorporated mock battles (*toutakao*), at which chiefs were undistinguished from the public. Night concerts by torch light were occasions for orchestras of musician-singers with bamboo stamping tubes (*fakaniua*), accompanying circular dances (*me'elaufola*). Ula dances could occupy an entire night of dancing (Orange 1840, p.128; Chevron 1887, p.326; Martin 1981, p.414). Champion surfers (*tangata tao e ngalu*) also exhibited their prowess at night festivals, holding a torch above the waves (McKern MS, p.683). Each festival had its own format and its own repertoire of *faiva*.

Audiences differed. The festivals of Kauhala Lalo were open to everyone. The day of reciprocal feats at Ha'apai in 1777 attracted a crowd estimated at between two and six thousand (King 1777, pp.110n, 1361). Maealiuaki's complete day-and-night festival at Tongatapu in 1777 attracted an estimated ten or twelve thousand people to the vicinity (Cook 1777, p.131). The sacred yam festivals (*kätoanga 'o e 'inasi*) were prohibited to everyone except those serving the gods (Cook 1777, p.148). Rites de passage for the '*eiki* and *ta'ahine* of Kauhala 'Uta were attended by high-ranking chiefs from a wide maritime domain. At the wedding between Tu'i Tonga Laufilitonga and Halaevalu Mata'aho in 1829, Peter Bays reported voyaging canoes arriving from Sāmoa, Vava'u, and Ha'apai (Bays 1831, p.111); the cumulative record of foreign chiefs at

Tongan courts extends to Sāmoa, Lau, Fiji, 'Uvea, Futuna, and Rotuma (Anderson 1777,p.958-9; Labillardière 1800 v.2,p.174-5; Martin 1981, p.182-96; Gifford 1929, p.65-6), see fig.9.

Settings differed. Receptions for voyaging expeditions were held on the beach before mass audiences. Canoe regattas divided spectators into shore and marine parties. Night concerts took place within a circle of torchlight, in a clearing amongst tall trees. Agendas impinged. Festivals for the reception of foreign mariners were occasions of political intrigue amongst chiefs; yam festivals required stillness for the sacred forces at work.*2

Eighteenth century faiva encoded the aesthetics of their appropriate occasion, they propitiated the gods, they challenged the political configuration. Faiva sparred.

By the twentieth century bonito trolling festivals, pigeon-snaring festivals, funeral festivals, and yam festivals had disappeared, together with their faiva. What came through into the twentieth century were not so much the forms of faiva (fānifo, hī'atu, fuhu, fangatua, fetä'aki, sika, toutakao, mekefakafisi, fakaniua, me'elaufola, hea have disappeared from the repertoire of twentieth century festivals), but their social dynamics. Clowning, competitive challenge, interaction between audience and performers, relationship between 'eiki and faiva, relationship between presentations of produce and faiva, all have precursors in the festivals of the eighteenth century.

Festivals then were the context in which the performing arts (faiva) were presented at their best, where interaction between performers and spectators intensified effort to excel, where renown was won and reputations lost, where traditional prerogatives were exercised

by chiefs and protocols breached by clowns, where poets and orators were protected from persecution, where political configurations competed and power was at stake.

Part Two describes a succession of festivals which were the proper occasions for each faiva. It correlates multiple records, reconstructs programmes of events, and investigates the agendas of participating parties. This perspective illuminates the force (mafai) of faiva.

CHAPTER 10.

Kauhala Lalo Rules

Fig. 10. Kätoanga at Faka'amumei bay, Lifuka, Ha'apai on 18 May 1777. The crowd gathered was estimated at three thousand (Cook 1777, p.108). The presiding 'eiki (not identified) sat in the reception house. In the journal accounts the presentations of produce, pigs, and turtles were arranged in two piles on each side (Cook 1777, p.108), and presented to Cook and Omai. 'There was as much as loaded four boats and far exceeded any present I had ever before received from an Indian Prince' (Cook 1777, p.107). The faiva included sham club fighting, wrestling, men's boxing, and women's boxing. In the journal accounts, different faiva did not take place simultaneously, as depicted by Webber.

Engraving after Webber, Cook /King 1784. (SOURCE: Conner and Miller 1979, pl.8.)

Receptions for Exploring Expeditions, 1777

During the illustrious era displays of the land's productions were followed by faiva. This was the occasion (lakanga) for the exhibition of martial arts and implement dances: fangatua, fuhu, fetä'aki, me'etu'upaki. The leading exponents were the warrior-'eiki of Kauhala Lalo.

I

Receptions for eighteenth century explorers often took place at makeshift camps, in whatever bay the ships anchored. As Cook's expedition tacked into Faka'amumei bay at Lifuka in 1777, they saw a house being carried down to the beach for use by the presiding 'eiki (Cook 1777, p.105), *see fig.10*. At Popua, Tongatapu the Tu'i Tonga Pau gave Cook the use of a reception house near the shore (Cook 1777, p.123) while the presiding chiefs and a great number of Tongan people camped close by (Cook 1777, pp.125, 135). In 1793 the Tu'i Tonga Fefine moved to Pangai Motu for the duration of D'Entrecasteaux's stay (Labillardière 1800 v.2, p.132), while at Vava'u Malaspina's party was entertained with dancing on the beach. The account describes Vuna's temporary camp at 'Onetale bay as a village (Herda 1983, p.39).

Though the political figures changed with each decade, a protocol was innovated for the reception of exploring parties. The initiating genius came from Omai's Finau, at Ha'apai on 18 May 1777. Here he superintended a grand presentation of provisions (hä'unga) followed by faiva which were martial arts: club-fighting, wrestling, boxing (fetä'aki, fangatua, fuhu). Finau then requested of Cook a complementary display

from the marines. On 20 May 1777 the outcome was a day of contending entertainments (fe'auhi faiva), where the British me'e (King 1777, p.1361) was military drill. Finau reciprocated by leading a me'etu'upaki dance. At nightfall Cook ordered a display of fireworks; Lifuka reciprocated with a programme of night dances.

This scenario was replicated when Cook's expedition visited Tongatapu in 1777 and it was replicated when Malaspina's expedition visited Vava'u in 1793. The Spanish did not have fireworks, but with their brass shining in the sun their military drill was in the class of faiva.

The splendid ordering, the grace and awe of chiefly presence, victory in the martial arts, and excelling artistry in the dancing, all contributed to the sheer pleasure of these occasions. At Ha'apai and at Tongatapu in 1777 people congregated in thousands to see the performances of faiva. The foreign explorers were fully satisfied by the feats of agility and by the musicality of the dances they witnessed; for the next two centuries these grand festivals signified the deference owed to explorers of the British empire (see Smith 1960, pp.33, 52-4 & pl.52). But did they? The circumstances were makeshift, the protocols innovated, and the agendas of both sides under negotiation.

II

During Cook's visits frequent maritime passage was maintained amongst the islands (Cook 1773-4 p.449), with some chiefs voyaging confidently to Sāmoa, Futuna, Rotuma, and Fiji (Martin 1981, pp.72, 183-196). The Tu'i Tonga Fefine of the day was Sinaetakala 'i Fanakavakilangi. Cook did not meet her. She was living in Vava'u or Sāmoa (Cook 1777, 178-9), and would have been very old (King 1777,

p.116n; Bott 1982, p.33), or dead (Kaeppeler 1971, p.210). The Tu'i Tonga was Pau. He was living at Mu'a (Ellis 1783, p.74) and was about 55 (Munford 1963, p.28). All male chiefs Cook met, acknowledged Pau's paramount 'eikiness. In 1777 Kauhala 'Uta retained sacred authority.

When Cook anchored at Tongatapu in 1777 it was the Tu'i Tonga Pau who gave him land for his shore base at Popua. However the festival for his reception was presided over by two old chiefs, Maealiuaki and his brother "Old Tupou".

Maealiuaki was in retirement (Anderson 1777, p.890), living at Mu'a (Ellis 1783, p.72-3; Bott 1982, p.145); the 'api was possibly Fangale'ongo (Thomas MS1865, p.127). Maealiuaki was the "Motu'a Tonga" (Anderson 1777, p.892). Tuku'aho had this designation during his reign as Tu'i Kanokupolu and hau 1797-1799 (Thomas MS1865, p.84). If Motu'a Tonga was a political role of appointing chiefs to their titles it would have been exercised by the hau, who since ca 1650 had been the Tu'i Kanokupolu (Hafoka MS[1959, p.53-4]). If the Motu'a Tonga was the ceremonial head of Kauhala Lalo (as a configuration of titles, as a ha'a) the designation was possibly ascribed to Maealiuaki as Tu'i Ha'atakalaua. Both Wilson and Mariner, who were contemporary witnesses, recorded that once installed a chief must be addressed by his title and not by his personal name (Wilson 1799, p.249-50; Martin 1981, pp.213n, 226). Maealiuaki was not addressed as Tupou, indicating he was possibly not the current Tu'i Kanokupolu. In 1777 he must then have held the title of Tu'i Ha'atakalaua.*¹

Old Tupou was about 50 and almost blind (Anderson 1777, p.892-3). When the two brothers were seated together, it was Old Tupou who presided (Anderson 1777, p.893). Old Tupou was 'over the tapu'. By

Omai's account this meant he retained control of the land's resources, ordering when festivals should take place and when resources should be conserved (Cook 1777, p.176-7); this is the prerogative of the hau, the chief of paramount executive power (see Martin 1981, pp.90, 94-6; Herda 1988, p.95). It is possible that Old Tupou held the title of Tu'i Kanokupolu. Bott could not determine whether he was Tupou Lahi or Mumui (Bott 1982, p.27-9).

Sometime around 1680 the Tu'i Kanokupolu Mataele Ha'amea had wrested paramount control of the land's resources (hau) from the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Vaea and the title of hau had thereafter been retained by the Tu'i Kanokupolu through lack of challenge (Hafoka MS[1959, p.53-4]). Around 1765 Maealiuaki had claimed the title of Tu'i Ha'atakalaua on the basis of descent from Vaea's daughter (Bott 1982, p.115) or from Fotofili's daughter (Herda 1988, p.97). No one from the old Tu'i Ha'atakalaua line of direct descent from Vaea, *see fig.36*, can be identified in the journals of Cook's visits. It is as if an alliance between the three great 'eiki, Tu'i Tonga Pau, Old Tupou, and Maealiuaki, precluded the participation of other chiefs in the reception of Cook at Tongatapu. In 1777 the old Tu'i Ha'atakalaua line was 'as if dead'.

The active agent of the three older chiefs was a young 'eiki aged 25 to 35 (Burney 1777, p.100n; King 1777, p.100n) who exchanged names with Omai (King 1777, p.121n); I have called him "Omai's Fīnau". Fīnau exercised paramount civil authority (hau); the Tu'i Tonga Pau acknowledged his own subjection to this authority (Cook 1777, p.177; Ellis 1783, p.76). Omai's Fīnau has been given various identifications.*² All sources agree however that Old Tupou, Maealiuaki, and Omai's Fīnau were 'eiki of Kauhala Lalo. This chapter proceeds on the premise that

the great katoanga ordered for Cook's receptions at Ha'apai (18 & 20 May 1777) and at Tongatapu (17 June 1777) were Kauhala Lalo affairs.

III

During Cook's second voyage to the Pacific ("Resolution" and "Adventure") the expedition visited three islands: 'Eua (1773), Tongatapu (1773), and Nomuka (1774). Here they encountered dexterous sea-traders, landscapes gardened with great beauty, and peacefully governed estates. At 'Eua they were welcomed ashore with shouts of glee and gifts of wealth (koloa: bark cloth and mats). At Tongatapu they were introduced to the ancestor-gods of the Tu'i Kanokupolu. At Nomuka they loaded water and shot ducks in the sacred lakes. They were informally entertained by women singing, collected items of dance costume,^{*3} and were guided to dance grounds. But the great political figures of the time did not appear; and there were no festivals.

Georg Forster simply commented on, particularly their refinement in music...the beauties of their own exquisite forms (Forster 1777 v.2, p.190) and Wales added, I cannot again forbear expressing My Admiration of the sweetness, softness & Melody of their singing and playing on their flutes & ten reed pipe (Wales 1773-4 p.846).

Cook departed remarking, We are in manner wholly unacquainted with their diversions (Cook 1773-4 p.273), and Georg Forster recorded, I never saw the natives of these islands dance (Forster 1777 v.1, p.473).

Scholars have not documented why Cook was not received with festivals in 1773. When he returned in 1777 the reception was entirely different. The leading political figures took command. Splendid festivals were held. Cook scarcely reflected on what the landward agenda might

have been. However the works of editors (Martin 1981; Skelton 1955; Munford 1963; Beaglehole 1967; Joppien & Smith 1987; David n.d.) have subsequently made available a multi-dimensional record of these receptions. The hou 'eiki were not amassing their resources simply to entertain foreigners. Festivals are held by chiefs for chiefs in accord with agendas of Tongan realpolitik (Martin 1981, p.279-80).

At 'Eua in 1773, Cook's first landfall, the shouts of glee and gifts of mats and barkcloth (koloa: wealth) that were thrown into the ship's boat, were protocols of welcome for a high-ranking 'eiki. At Tongatapu in 1773 both captains, Cook and Furneaux, were conducted by a party of Ha'a Ngata chiefs to the burial grounds of the ancestral Tu'i Kanokupolu at Havelu Lahi and Pangai Lahi. In my reading, Cook and Furneaux were received in 1773 as chiefs with sacred force. In 1777, by contrast, they were received with formal festivals where the presentations from the Tongan chiefs ranked them, not with the sacred chiefs of Kauhala 'Uta, but with the lower-ranked fighting chiefs of Kauhala Lalo; where the foreign mariners were challenged in trials of skill. What had occasioned the difference ?

In 1993 the walls of the Nuku'alofa palace, residence of the hau Tupou IV, were fortified with high fences and patrolled by guards carrying firearms. However as late as the reign of Sälote (1918-1965) the low, whitewashed wall had been simply a demarcation of the boundaries of loto'ä, the residence of an 'eiki whose sacred force was respected by the community. In eighteenth century Tonga the leading political figures of the day governed with resort to their sacred rank and their prowess in the martial arts, supported by their retinue of warriors and working chiefs.

Firstly then, Cook's resort to force. Theft was an activity which did not offend the gods (Martin 1981, pp.299, 323), and which Tongan chiefs controlled through their personal sanctity (Cook 1777, p.143). Amongst the public, theft was conducted with as much dexterity and audacious sleight of hand as a faiva: some of their thefts are executed with a degree of genius (Burney 1777, p.132n) ...their skill in Pilfering is almost past Conception (Martin 1777, p.111-112n; also Clerke 1777, p.1310; Wales 1773-4, p.812). Instead of admitting the onus on his own party to be equally dexterous in protecting property, Cook responded with corporal punishment and murder, to a degree out of all proportion in Tongan codes: percolating through the journals of the officers and mariners who accompanied Cook, is a record of Cook's resort to anger, lashing, whipping, gashing, beating, and gunshot to maintain his authority (Bayly MS1777, p.98; Hoare 1982 v.3, p.387; Beaglehole 1967 v.3, p.132n; Cook 1777, pp.101, 134; Munford 1963, pp.38, 39). He was a hau-'eiki, a commander with resort to force. Amongst the Tongans who were siezed and humiliated at his command were working chiefs and 'eiki of sacred descent (Anderson 1777, p.865-6; Beaglehole 1967 v.3, p.108n; Munford 1963, p.39).

Ledyard ruminated on the impact of Cook's resort to violence: it must be remembered that the ability of performing the important errand before us depended very much if not entirely upon the precarious supplies we might procure...but perhaps no considerations will excuse the severity which [Cook] sometimes used...[and] their subsequent resentments; for before we quit Tongotaboo we could not go any where into the country...without danger (Munford 1963, p.38).

The fleetness and agility of Tongan eighteenth century political leaders was remarked on by many journalists (Munford 1963, p.28; Clerke 1777, p.1302; Samwell 1777, p.1017; Martin 1981, pp.269, 276-7); the red uniforms and gold braid of the British marines on parade could not hide the fact they were out of time with the music (Anderson 1777, p.874; Bligh 1777, p.133n). Tongans engaging in trials of skill maintained a code of equanimity in defeat (Burney 1777, p.108n; King 1777, p.1366); the foreigners responded to defeat with bad grace (King 1777, p.1362). Tongan scorn of foreign ineptness was so openly displayed that the explorers themselves became aware: A very untoward spirit had posses'd our working parties & soldiers on shore, they had indulg'd the Natives with great liberties, & had made trials of skill in boxing and wrestling with them, although in general unsuccessfull which they did not take so patiently as they ought; this had rais'd a freedom & contempt of our People... (King 1777, p.1362).

Women of rank did not keep company with the officers and gentlemen of the ships. Samwell recorded in 1777, These Agee ['eiki] Girls, as we called them, never came on board the Ships, nor were their favours to be purchased for Hatchets or any thing else that we had, they are kept inviolate for the Chiefs who marry them (Samwell 1777, p.1042). After Cook's visits night concerts were not again ordered for the foreign expeditions which arrived in 1793: D'Entrecasteaux at Tongatapu, Malaspina at Vava'u. At Vuna's first reception for Malaspina the Spanish officers called for the women to dance; the women refused (Herda 1983, p.52). At Vuna's second reception the dances of the night were presented in the late afternoon and brought to an end at sunset. This may throw further light on the landward experience of Cook's

visits: his company had prostituted Tongan women, buying their sexual services with trade goods (Bayly MS1777, p.98; King 1777, p.99n; Samwell 1777, pp.1030, 1032), a practice unknown in Tongan society. We can infer that from Tongan perspectives Cook's party were men without sacred rank, self-important, ignoble in spirit, possessed of a lethal technology and a hold of goods (Martin 1981, p.323).

Awareness of Tongan perspectives accumulated towards the end of 1777, but there is some indication that Tongan assessment had already crystallised during the visits of 1773 & 1774. The first *kätoanga* ordered for Cook's reception was held at Faka'amumei bay in Ha'apai on 18 May 1777. The provisions presented to Cook were prodigious: **There was as much as loaded four boats** (Cook 1777, p.107). And yet the provisions were arranged for presentation simply in pyramid-shaped heaps (Cook 1777, p.107), see fig.10. This practice continued at receptions for foreign expeditions thereafter (Herda 1983, p.51; Labillardière 1800 v.2, pp.136, 161-2; Benguigui 1991, p.43). Produce presented in six-foot pyramids reflected back at the foreign captains their rank in the Tongan hierarchy: they were excluded from the sacred rank of *Kauhala 'Uta* chiefs, for whom produce was displayed in 20-foot pyramids and 60-foot towers, see *Kauhala 'Uta's Elegance*, and ranked somewhere with the warrior chiefs in the *Kauhala Lalo* hierarchy.

III

The political figures who took charge in 1777 were high-ranking *'eiki* of *Kauhala Lalo*. It was their job to maintain social order. These chiefs met the exigencies of foreign arrivals by ordering festivals. Festivals, then, were the medium through which both sides had to achieve their agendas.

Cook's agenda was to establish diplomatic relations with the Tongan chiefs (Cook 1773-4 p.253n), in order to load water and provision the ships for the next leg of exploration (Cook 1773-4 p.248; Munford 1963, p.38). Cook saw his presents as securing the friendship of the leading chiefs (Cook 1773, p.153 & n; Anderson 1777, p.865), and as ample restitution for the produce he received from the chiefs: I was not unprepared and made him a present that far exceeded his expectation (Cook 1777, p.106). In 1793 Malaspina's expedition saw the presentations from the chiefs simply as a disguise for trade (Herda 1983, p.65). The journals record therefore that the foreign explorers found their agenda reflected back at them. They did not enquire beyond the reflecting surface.

Tongan chiefs of Kauhala Lalo were warrior-'eiki. They were participants in maritime war and maritime trade; they were astute and sophisticated in their relations with foreign mariners. The 1777 journals confirm that Omai's Fīnau instigated Cook's move to Ha'apai (Cook 1777, p.102), designated the anchorage (Cook 1777, p.105), dictated the speeches of the matāpules officiating at the reception (Cook 1777, p.105, 106), and introduced the idea of a parade ashore by the marines (Cook 1777, pp.109). Overtly, Fīnau's promise of provisioning (Cook 1777, p.102) explained the magnificence of the festival at Faka'amumei bay on 18 May. It lured Cook to Ha'apai.

The Tonga chiefs placated Cook's use of military strength (Munford 1963, p.40; Pearson 1970, p.153), retained control over their own people (Cook 1777, p.99; Samwell 1777, p.1013), preserved their food supplies (Cook 1773-4 p.248), and protected the sanctity of the land and chiefs (Munford 1963, p.39). During Cook's long stays at Ha'apai and again at

Tongatapu in 1777, trade dwindled or stopped (Cook 1777, p.113; Anderson 1777, pp.894, 901). Cook became apprised that his presence was not desired (Anderson 1777, p.903). Overtly, the strategy of the Tonga chiefs was to comply with Cook's priority of provisioning the ships (Samwell 1777, p.1013; Munford 1963, p.43; Pearson 1970, p.148), and urge his departure (Anderson 1777, p.903).

Thirty years after Cook's departure, Mariner heard from a number of sources that chiefs at Ha'apai had planned to scuttle the ships (Martin 1981, p.279-80). Further ruses are suggested. Finau gave Cook the information that he was sailing to Vava'u, but advised Cook to remain at Ha'apai as there were no anchorage at Vava'u (Cook 1777, p.112); Cook doubted Finau had correctly accounted for his empty-handed return (Cook 1777, p.120), and later at Tongatapu Clerke learned of Vava'u's excellent harbour (Clerke 1777, p.1311). Cook established that the rumour of a European vessel at Nomuka was a story artfully invented (Cook 1777, p.112). Munford while editing Ledyard's journal, perceived that Cook had almost lost his life at Tongatapu in 1777 (Munford 1963, p.39n). Pearson suspected a plan to delay Cook at 'Eua in 1777 (Pearson 1970, p.141). The Tongan chiefs plotted. But there was one political agenda which Tongan society would have openly acknowledged.

At Niuatoptapu in 1971, at the end of the Show, the lakalaka dancers returned to Falehau disconsolate at losing their reputation as champions of the dance (malohi he ta'anga). Falehau had been outdone (tömui 'a Falehau). At Ha'apai and at Tongatapu in 1777 martial arts and dances were exhibited before crowds of thousands. King sensed the air of competitiveness: it appear'd evident by the care they took of

selecting their principal people as well as putting on their handsomest cloaths and other ornaments, that they meant to rival or surpass us (King 1777, p.1361). In the mood of critical appraisal both sides had of each other, we can infer that the abundance of provisions and excelling dexterity of the faiva were designed by the Tonga chiefs to demonstrate Tongan superiority. If the Tonga chiefs could succeed, they would have the advantage in allocating what deferences, provisioning, and entertainment were owed to the foreign party.

In 1777 challenge between parties added force to the exhibitions of faiva. On the evidence of 1773 and 1774, Tongan dexterity in trials of skill was assured. In the event, Cook had an ace up his sleeve.

NOMUKA 1-14 MAY 1777. When Cook's ships returned to Nomuka waters on 28 April 1777 there was no resident 'eiki. However the political figures responded quickly. Tapä, a leading Ha'apai matäpule, transferred to Nomuka and superintended operations. Word was sent to Tongatapu (Cook 1777, p.100) and seven days later Omai's Finau appeared. He persuaded Cook to transfer to Ha'apai.

The night before departure, with Finau present on Nomuka, the expedition could hear from aboard their ships the sounds of singing and dancing, as if a great number had been collected together (Anderson 1777, p.866). During the thirteen nights at anchor there had not been a kätöanga for Cook's reception; there is the suggestion therefore that a kätöanga could be instigated only by an 'eiki of rank. Finau however had been at Nomuka for the last eight days, which suggests it had not served his purposes to do so.

LIFUKA, HA'APAI 18 MAY 1777. As the "Resolution" came into anchor on 17 May 1777, in the passage between Foa and Lifuka islands, Cook observed a reception house being transported to Faka'amumei bay (Cook 1777, p.106). The next day great numbers of people assembled at the bay and later that morning Finau escorted Cook and Omai ashore for a katoanga.

Webber's illustration of the katoanga at Faka'amumei, see fig.10, shows that the reception house was placed at the top of the beach, facing out to sea. The gathering, estimated by Cook at three thousand people (Cook 1777, pp.106-7, 108), formed a great circle on the sand. The provisions for presentation to Cook and Omai were arranged in two pyramids. No journal records speeches presenting the produce. Cook remarked, *There was as much as loaded four boats and far exceeded any present I had ever before received from an Indian Prince* (Cook 1777, p.107). When the produce had been set in order, faiva followed: the martial arts of sham club fighting by men (fetä'aki), wrestling by men (fangatua), boxing matches (fuhu) by men, and boxing matches by women. This festival could be designated a hä'unga, or katoanga 'o e tali folau, a reception for seafarers, see fig.11.

The two officiating matäpule were Tapä (Tapah, Taipa, Kaipa, Kepa, etc.) and Tealupe (Earoupa), a matäpule who served Malupö, the great 'eiki of 'Uiha island (Beaglehole 1967 v.3, p.106n; Pond MS1994, pp.160, 189). In 1777 Ha'apai was an archipelago of many chiefs (Martin 1981, p.279) and the presiding 'eiki has not been identified; he could have been Malupö from 'Uiha, or Tu'i Ha'angana from Ha'ano, or the Tu'i Ha'apai, who was possibly Po'oi (Thomas MS1865, p.85; Bott 1982, p.158).^{*4}

Kātoanga

at Faka'amumei Bay, Ha'apai 18 May 1777,
for the reception of the seafarers Cook and Omai and their company

Presentation of hā'unga to Cook

Presentation of hā'unga to Omai

followed by faiva

Fetā'aki

sham club-fighting *with intervals of:*

Fangatua

wrestling

Fuhu (tangata)

men's boxing

Fuhu (fāfine)

women's boxing

At Ha'apai Omai's Fīnau had high status and strong support; to the explorers he appeared to be the executive authority for the Ha'apai festivals. It struck Cook as remarkable that although Omai slept ashore with Fīnau on 17 May, Omai did not have any inkling of plans for the festival (Cook 1777, p.106).

This first festival can be assessed by examining records of receptions for Tongan chiefs arriving by sea. At Ha'apai ca 1808, the

hau, Finau Fangupö, an 'eiki of Kauhala Lalo, ordered a festival on the return of his son Moengangongo and the great Vava'u 'eiki Vuna Tu'akalau from a voyage to Sāmoa. They were received with feasting and rejoicing lasting many days. The faiva were not described (Martin 1981, p.108-9).

Finau Fangupö again presided at Vava'u ca 1808 when the great navigator, the matäpule Kaumoala, and a company of 50 landed after a voyage to Sāmoa, Futuna, Rotuma, and Fiji. Immediately the hau ordered the estate holders to come to his mala'e at Neiafu with presentations for the returned seafarers. Kava and faiva followed: martial arts: wrestling and club-fighting. During the festival the seafarers were challenged to contests by any Vava'u person who so wished, and got a thorough beating, which was accepted with good grace (Martin 1981, p.182-96). Thus, between Tongan chiefs of Kauhala Lalo, the reception of seafaring chiefs involved a presentation of produce, kava, faiva, and festivities lasting some days.

The reception ordered for Cook at Ha'apai on 18 May 1777 has the hallmarks of Kauhala Lalo protocols, in the sequence of events (produce assembled, faiva followed) and selection of faiva (martial arts). However it was not a complete katoanga; it ended early in the day. Samwell observed that throughout their receptions at Tonga, **no Chiefs of any great consequence entered the lists as boxers or Wrestlers** (Samwell 1777, pp.1027, 1028). Chiefs did however perform in me'etu'upaki dances; but at Ha'apai on 18 May the only faiva were martial arts. From a landward perspective therefore, the foreign mariners were received with protocols which demonstrated the strength of Tongan resources and the indifferent rank of the seafarers: the produce was abundant but

presented in pyramids; no chiefs of consequence participated in the faiva; the festival was perfunctory.

LIFUKA, HA'APAI, 20 May 1777. On 20 May 1777, two days after the festival for Cook's arrival, the Ha'apai chiefs presided at a second festival, also held on the beach at Faka'amumei bay. In the reception house were seated leading chiefs of Ha'apai, Omai's Finau, Cook, and some officers of each ship (Samwell 1777, p.1016; Clerke 1777, p.1302). The size of the gathering was prodigious, possibly two to six thousand (King 1777, pp.110n, 1361). There was no presentation of produce.*⁵ It was to be a day of trials of skill (fe'auhi faiva) followed by a night of dancing. This was the occasion which would determine the reputation (ongoongo) of one party and the downfall (tömui) of the other, ~~see~~

fig.12.

At Nomuka the preceding week Finau had closely inspected the great guns and small arms and asked for a demonstration (Samwell 1777, p.1015). Now, in response to a request from Finau to show them the method of using our firearms (Anderson 1777, p.874), the marines from the "Resolution" and "Discovery" presented an exhibition of military drill; this was the "me'e" of the foreign mariners (King 1777, pp.110n, 1361): Capt'n cook ordered the Marines of both ships on Shore under the command of their Liut. & a midshipman dressed in his Uniform to carry an English jack before them on a long staff...The Marines were drawn up facing [the presiding chiefs] & went through their Evolutions to the great admiration of the Natives, who were astonished at seeing the Balls light at a considerable distance in the Sea (Samwell 1777, p.1016).

Finau and his retinue reciprocated with a me'etu'upaki dance. King sensed the air of rivalry: it appear'd evident by the care they took of selecting their principal people as well as putting on their handsomest cloathes and other ornaments, that they meant to rival or surpass us (King 1777, p.1361). And indeed the performance was infinitely more uniform than any company of Soldiers I ever saw exercise in my life (Clerke 1777, p.1302). The Ha'apai faiva was completed with clowning: while [the me'etu'upaki] was performing, one of them came and danced a harlequin dance before me with which the whole ended (Cook 1777, p.109).

The foreigners conceded defeat: We all I believe had the feeling of people that were fairly surpass'd when we little expectd it; & the natives seemed to have the consciousness of being superior to us in their amusements (King 1777, p.1361).

Fig. 12. _____

Fe'auhi Faiva
 Reciprocal trials of skill
 at Faka'amumei Bay, Ha'apai
 20 May 1777.

Me'e
 Military exercises by the combined Marines of the "Resolution" and "Discovery" under the command of First Lieutenant Burney (Discovery) and Second Lieutenant King (Resolution).

Me'etu'upaki
 Dance of 105 men and youths of rank led by Omai's Finau

Harlequin

= NIGHTFALL =

'One

Fireworks exhibited by the ship's gunner,
by order of Captain of the "Resolution".

Pö Me'e*⁶

Night Dances by Torchlight
at Faka'amumei Beach, Lifuka Island
20 May 1777.

Fakaniua

Overture: Singing in the Niua mode

Me'elaufola + Ula

Women's me'elaufola dance

Me'elaufola

Men's me'elaufola dance

= INTERVAL =

Hea (hou'eiki)

Men's hea dance

Fa'ahi ula

Women's [trance] dances

Malanga Faka'oli

Comic narrative

Me'elaufola (tangata)

Me'elaufola dance by Finau's men

Hea (hou'eiki)

Noble men's dance

Malanga faka'osi

Closing speech

Now the foreign mariners produced their ace. At nightfall they regained their reputation with a display of fireworks ((one); some of the

POPUA, TONGATAPU 17 JUNE 1777. On 9 June 1777 Finau escorted

Cook's ships to an anchorage off Pangai Motu at Tongatapu. Here they remained until 10 July, ignoring requests to depart (Anderson 1777, p.903). The expedition was now in the company of the greatest political figures of the day. The Tu'i Tonga Pau received Cook on shore and allocated an area for the encampment at Popua ("Observatory Point"), see figs.16 & 25. Trees enclosed a ceremonial ground with a large house; the observatory tents were set up here. Pau and Finau and other chiefs took up temporary residence close by. Samwell recorded, Our tents were situated at the upper end of a fine Area surrounded by Trees, it seems to be a place appropriated for the Exhibition of public Games, such as wrestling, boxing, etc. Close to the Tents was one of the Chiefs Houses, behind them lay a thick wood...Powlohow [Tu'i Tonga Pau] took up his residence in a House a little way without the Area, that next to the Tents was occupied by his Consent by some of the Gentlemen who were ordered a shore on duty (Samwell 1777, p.1024).

On 17 June the two great chiefs of Kauhala Lalo, Maealiuaki and Old Tupou, received Captains Cook and Clerke with a katoanga, see fig.13. Maealiuaki presided (Cook 1777, p.131; Anderson 1777, pp.894, 897, 899, 902). The presentation comprised yams, bark cloth, and faiva (Anderson 1777, p.899). In the morning yams were assembled in front of Maealiuaki's temporary hut, arranged in two "Ha'pae" (pyramids, pae or ha'apai), and augmented with a variety of fish stuck on twigs. The yams were carried in, suspended two at a time fore and aft on a shoulder pole, and displayed still attached to the poles (Anderson 1777, p.894; Cook 1777, p.131). There is no record in any journal of speeches of presentation and thanks.

Kātoanga

Popua, Tongatapu, 17 June 1777

Venue: Maealiuaki's mala'e

Presentation of hä'unga from Tupou Lahi

Presentation of hä'unga from Maealiuaki

Faiva

11 a.m.- 3 p.m.

Prelude : fa'ahi hiva

Me'etu'upaki

chorus of 3 nafa - 96 male dancers

Prelude : fa'ahi hiva

Me'etu'upaki

chorus of 40 male musician-singers & 2 nafa - 32 men led by Fīnau

Prelude : fa'ahi hiva

Me'etu'upaki

chorus of 70 male musician-singers -

Drummers: Fatafehi & Fīnau & Maealiuaki

Dancers led by Tupou in red feathers

Solo by spear-weilding warrior

Prelude : fa'ahi hiva

Me'etu'upaki

chorus of 40 male musician-singers & 2 nafa - 60 male dancers

Solos by 4 club-weilding warriors

Pöme'e*9

Night Concert

Venue: Fīnau's mala'e

A programme of 12 circular dances.

including a dance by hou'eiki of Ha'apai, led by Fīnau.

From 11 o'clock the assembly was entertained with faiva: four companies of dancers each presented a showcase. In three (and possibly four) of the showcases the main item was a me'etu'upaki dance led by an 'eiki (Anderson 1777, pp.894-8, 899, 902). The performances of faiva lasted from 11 a.m. to 3 p.m. The circle of spectators was estimated at four thousand people; the total crowd at eight to twelve thousand (Cook 1777, p.131; Anderson 1777, p.897).

At night there was a concert. It was a pö me'e (Anderson 1777, p.898). It was possibly presided over by Omai's Fīnau, as it was held on the space before Feenous temporary habitation. The dancing continued for three hours. Twelve dances were performed, but were not described in the journals (Anderson 1777, p.898). Maealiuaki's reception was a complete, twenty-four hour kätöanga. Comparison with Mariner's records of festivals ordered by the hau Fīnau Fangupö at Ha'apai and Vava'u during 1806-09 (Martin 1981) suggest that it was the very model of a Kauhala Lalo kätöanga.

POPUA, TONGATAPU 18 JUNE 1777. The next day, 18 June, was a day of reciprocal feats, see fig.14. The Papālangi marines presented a display of military drill. Cook reported simply, exercised the Marines before [Maealiuaki] (Cook 1777, p.133). Portlock reported, Captain Cook has order'd the marines from both ships, on shore with their Arms and dress'd in their Regimentals--on their landing they were marched up some distance from the beach with Drums beating french horns playing and coulours flying... (Portlock 1777, p.133n). Bligh reported, [A m]ost ludicrous perfor[man]ce for the Marine Officer [was as] incapable of making [his] Men go through their [Exerci]se as C. Cook's Mus[ician]s or

Musick was [ill] adapted (Bligh 1777, p.133n). Nonetheless the Tongans provided the marines with a sumptuous feast (Portlock 1777, p.133n).

Fig. 14.

Fe'auhi Faiva

Reciprocal trials of skill

Popua, 18 June 1777

Me'e

Display of military drill by the Marines

Fangatua

Wrestling

Fuhu

Boxing

A sumptuous feast for the marines

'One

An evening of Fireworks

During the afternoon there were martial arts: wrestling (fangatua) and boxing (fuhu) (Anderson 1777, p.899; Samwell 1777, p.1026-7); and in the evening a display of fireworks (Cook 1777, p.133).

At Tongatapu in 1777, Cook's ships were encamped at Popua at the invitation of Pau, the Tu'i Tonga. Nonetheless, it was the hau, Maealiuaki, who hosted the katoanga for the reception of the captains. This would seem to conform with Tongan practice. During 1806-09, when both the Tu'i Tonga Fuanunuiava and the hau Finau Fangupö resided at

Vava'u (Martin 1981, p.212), it was the hau who directed the various katoanga, whether for the annual yam festivals (katoanga 'o e tautau (Martin 1981, pp.254, 346-8), for matters pertaining to the Tu'i Tonga family (Martin 1981, pp.90, 94-6), or for the reception of voyagers (Martin 1981, p.108-9, 182-196).

Why Cook was received at Popua with a katoanga, is not accounted for. There are no clues in the journals to the Tongan agenda. Possibly the ruling chiefs at Tongatapu felt it was prudent to demonstrate their mightiness vis a vis the Ha'apai chiefs. Certainly, chiefs of the Hahake and Hihifo districts of Tongatapu demonstrated their mightiness vis a vis each other during the visit of D'Entrecasteaux in 1793 when two katoanga were ordered by the Tu'i Tonga Fefine and one by the Tu'i Kanokupolu, Tupou Mumui, see Chapter 16.

POPUA, TONGATAPU 21 JUNE 1777. In my reading of the journals, no further katoanga were intended. However on 20 June Cook ordered the marines to arrest the Tu'i Tonga Pau; he was to be held until stolen property was returned. He was released at 4 p.m. (Cook 1777, p.134).

In the following hours Finau organised a katoanga of exceptional abundance, see fig.15. The festival was held in front of the house which Pau had allocated for the camp headquarters at Popua (Munford 1963, p.42), and illustrated by Webber (Joppien & Smith 1987 v.3, pl.3.56), see fig. 16. Ledyard's intelligence was that sailing canoes were dispatched to bring produce from adjacent islands and messages sent to estates of Tongatapu (Munford 1963, p.41).

On 21 June, from 11 a.m. to 2 p.m., provisions were carried onto the reception ground by formal processions of people walking in pairs with provisions suspended from shoulder poles. The presentations included agricultural produce, pigs, and fish (ngäue), and mats, bark cloth, and red feathers (koloa) (Munford 1963, p.42). In Ledyard's account some of the leading figures from Finau's side wore feather capes (Munford 1963, p.42); this could signify they were persons of 'eiki rank or sacred function, or foreign chiefs. Or Ledyard could have borrowed the feather capes and aprons from his recollections of Hawai'i (see Kaeppler 1978, figs 61-74).

Cook and Pau were seated, possibly in the presiding positions. The great ta'ahine, Mo'unga'olakepa, was also present (Cook 1777, p.136). At 2 p.m. the company of chiefs and ship's officers was feasted (Munford 1963, p.42) while two thirty-foot towers were constructed and filled with yams (Munford 1963, p.42), see fig. 16. Faiva followed: three me'etu'upaki dances, a harlequin, wrestling, boxing, and a challenge to sham club fighting (Cook 1777, p.135-6; Anderson 1777, p.902). In the evening Cook ordered an unsuccessful display of fireworks (Cook 1777, p.136), which was followed by night dances (Anderson 1777, p.902). In the experience of eighteenth century visitors, it was a complete kätöanga of unprecedented magnificence.

Ledyard recorded, we had a vast concourse of people as well as an accumulation of provisions, such as we had never before seen, nor could have conceived...Our decks were full of hogs notwithstanding we had been killing and salting night and day, and we had got full yams enough to last us two or three months (Munford 1963, p.43).

Kätoanga at Popua

21 June 1777

Presiding 'eiki: Tu'i Tonga Pau.

Display of two 30-foot towers of yams
*subscribed by Omai's Finau and Tu'i Tonga Pau, and
presented to Captain Cook*

Me'etu'upaki

A replication of the first me'etu'upaki performed on 17 June

Me'etu'upaki

Company including 4 or 5 women. Conducted by Tupou
Solos by 2 club-wielding warriors

Me'etu'upaki

Solos by 2 club-wielding warriors

Harlequin

Fangatua

wrestling

Fuhu

boxing

Fetä'aki

sham club fighting

'One

Fireworks

Pöme'e*9

Night Concert

at which Tu'i Tonga Pau danced

Fig. 16. Kātoanga at Popua, Tongatapu on 21 June 1777, Tu'i Tonga Pau presiding. Cook described the location as 'situated a little within the skirts of the woods with a fine large area before it' (Cook 1777, p.123). Samwell recorded, 'Our tents were situated at the upper end of a fine Area surrounded by Trees, it seems to be a place appropriated for the Exhibition of public Games, such as wrestling, boxing, etc. Close to the Tents was one of the Chiefs Houses, behind them lay a thick wood' (Samwell 1777, p.1024). The presentations of produce comprised two towers 30-feet high, each filled with yams and two baked pigs, and on each side additional pyramids of produce, decorated with small fish stuck on branches. '...we had a vast concourse of people as well as an accumulation of provisions, such as we had never before seen, nor could have conceived' (Ledyard in Munford 1963, p.42). At an earlier kātoanga the crowd in the vicinity was estimated at 10 to 12 thousand (Cook 1777, p.131). The faiva comprised three me'etu'upaki dances, wrestling, boxing, and a challenge to sham club fighting. The dance depicted is a me'etu'upaki. 'About one o'clock they began the Mai or dances, the first of which was almost a copy of the first we saw at Mareewagees house. The second was conducted by the Toobou, who also danc'd there, and had four or five women in it who went through the several parts with as much exactness as the men. Towards the end they divided to leave room for two men who exercis'd their clubs ... and in the third which was the last two more did the same. The dances were succeeded by wrestling and boxing' (Anderson 1777, p.902).

Original in National Maritime Museum, London. (SOURCE: Beaglehole 1967 v.3, pl. 17).

Everywhere else in eighteenth century records, towers were built only for Kauhala 'Uta (see Martin 1981, p.94), so we can state that the presentation of produce was Pau's. The workers erecting the towers ascribed one to Pau and one to Finau (Munford 1963, p.42), so we can state the provisions were presented on account of these two chiefs. People carrying provisions onto the reception ground saluted Pau (Munford 1963, p.42), so we can confirm he was the presiding 'eiki. Cook and his officers were seated with Pau and his chiefs (Munford 1963, p.42); Cook was the recipient of the produce and credited the presentation to Pau: **All this was the King's present to me** (Cook 1777, p.136). The faiva which followed, me'etu'upaki dances and martial arts (wrestling, boxing, sham club fighting), were faiva appropriate to festivals for Kauhala Lalo chiefs, amongst whom Cook was ranked. By comparison, at the reception for the Tu'i Tonga Laufileitonga on his return to Mu'a in 1830, the faiva was sika, spear throwing (Waldegrave 1833, p.188), not martial arts.

It can be inferred that the festival was a presentation on behalf of Pau to Cook: possibly a presentation of provisions (oho) for Cook's departure. From Cook's perspective the festival fulfilled the objective of provisioning the ships. From the landward perspective it had accomplished the objective of encouraging the foreign party to leave: **We had now been at Tongatapu 26 days and possibly should have remained there longer, but for the supply of provisions we received by this last present from Polahow and Phenow, which enabled us to sail immediately** (Munford 1963, p.43).

Clerke had noted that Pau did not involve himself in matters of state (Clerke 1777, p.1306), and from this perspective the festival is

anomalous. An order had been given for an exceptional supply of provisions and had been complied with over-night. How had the order been stated ? How had the festival been designated ?

The two towers of yams were presentations from the two chiefs who had been taken hostage by Cook. Finau, as agent of the hau, was responsible for organising the land's production: the land had become impoverished during the reception of Cook by the chiefs at Popua (Cook 1777, p.134). Pau, as Tu'i Tonga, was the source of the land's fertility: the life of the Tu'i Tonga had been put at risk and the sacredness of his person (sino'i'eiki) infringed when he was taken hostage (Munford 1963, p.39-40). Gunson has proposed that Cook's arrest of Pau so seriously violated Finau's credibility, as hau responsible for social order, that his political career was lost (Gunson 1979, p.39-40). From the landward perspective therefore, there was possibly another immediate agenda: the prosperity of the land depended on the sacred 'eiki (Smith 1813, p.155); Pau's wellbeing had to be restored.

At festivals which marked the restoration of the land to abundance (kätoanga 'o e fakalahi) after a period of scarcity, towers of yams were erected; at Ha'apai ca 1806 Mariner described four sixty-foot columns for a festival ending Kauhala 'Uta funeral prohibitions; on that occasion the yams and pigs were presented to the gods and distributed amongst the priests, chiefs, and people. Mariner noted that the fakalahi festival was of a religious nature (Martin 1981, pp.90, 94). At Popua in 1777 therefore, an order for produce for a festival of restoration would have been met without hesitation, as a religious duty; the yams were presented to Cook to fulfill a political agenda: promoting his departure.

That night, Pau danced at the pöme'e (Anderson 1777, p.902). Cook however, did not depart.

The power of festivals to harness the realm of the sacred and bring about wellbeing is explored below, *see Sacred Festivals*. There was shortly to be another festival at which political and sacred agendas could not be distinguished.

KÄTOANGA 'O E 'INASI, 8 & 9 JULY 1777. Ignoring requests that he depart, Cook remained anchored at Tongatapu. On 8 & 9 July there was a sacred yam festival (kătoanga 'o e 'inasi) at Mu'a, *see fig.20*. Cook's party was invited by the Tu'i Tonga Pau to attend (Cook 1777, p.145), but was given no part in the festival. Pau's fear of Cook's anger may have contributed to the leniency with which he allowed Cook to observe, as all other persons who were not serving some role in the festival were not permitted to witness the ceremonies (Cook 1777, p.148; *see also* Martin 1981, p.353).

On the morning of 8 July Cook was surprised to find the Tu'i Tonga Pau drinking kava in a small, dirty enclosure at Olotele (Cook 1777, p.145), *see fig.18*. Possibly it was a gesture of humility in the presence of the deity. Later in the morning processions of hou 'eiki walked in pairs carrying yams suspended from shoulder poles, to Olotele, presenting them at the house of the deity Hikule'o, and at a burial ground of the Tu'i Tonga (Thomas MS1854, p.264). Webber recorded the burial mound (Joppien & Smith 1987 v.3, pl.3.61) and the procession (Joppien & Smith 1987 v.3, pl.3.61A), *see fig.20*.

Herda (1987, p.202) has noted that the two-day kătoanga was a combination of ceremonies, day one being the yam festival, and day two

an inauguration for Fuanunuiava, son of Tu'i Tonga Pau. Anderson, Cook, and Clerke all recorded some intelligence of an agenda concerning Fuanunuiava (Clerke 1777, pp.1306, 1307; Anderson 1777, p.913; Cook 1777, p.153). The ceremonial is consistent with a rite de passage for his coming of age, see Kauhala 'Uta's Elegance, but an opportunistic political agenda of securing his succession to the title may well have been incorporated. A kätöanga is incomplete until faiva have been performed. At the yam festival in 1777 faiva were not performed until the second day. Fuanunuiava's rite de passage seems therefore to have been bound to the 'inasi. The connection is unexplained in current scholarship. Anderson noted, this ceremony which is call'd Natche has so much mystery running through the whole that it is hard to tell whether it is most of the religious or political kind (Anderson 1777, p.916).

'Eua 12-17 July 1777. In 1777 'Eua was represented as a country estate for the Tongan 'eiki: the few people of consequence here seem to be little better than factors for the principal men of Tonga[tapu] who have large possessions in this island (Anderson 1777, p.966).

At 'Eua in 1773 and again in 1777 Cook's party was received by a Ha'atakalaua 'eiki, Luani Täufa Toutai (Pond MS1994, p.35-6); he was known to Cook as Taioonee and Tayo in 1773, and as Täufa in 1777 (Cook 1773-4 p.245; 1777, p.156). Täufa was appointed by Finau 'Ulukälala 'i Ma'ofanga, an 'eiki of Kauhala Lalo (Bott 1982, p.114) who must have been the Tu'i 'Eua at this time (Orange 1840, p.102), though Bott places him later (Bott 1982, p.159). Thomas records that 'Ulukälala remained stationed at Hihifo in the service of the Tu'i Kanokupolu and appointed local 'Eua governors in his place (Thomas MS1865, p.85); Täufa had the

style of homage and leadership which indeed suggests an appointed governor or a local 'eiki.

Cook anchored at 'Eua on the 12 July. He somewhat expected that the Tongatapu chiefs would follow him to 'Eua (Cook 1777, pp.154, 158) and he therefore complied with Täufa's suggestion that he delay to receive a presentation of yams. Täufa had planned a complete kätöanga, see fig.17. At 'Eua on 16 July he made a hä'unga presentation to Cook of two large piles of yams. Faiva followed: boxing by women, boxing by men, wrestling, and sham club fighting (Anderson 1777, p.963-4).

Fig. 17.

Kätöanga

'Ähau or 'Ohonua, 'Eua
16 July 1777.

Presentation of hä'unga from Luani Täufatoutai

Fuhu

Women's boxing

Fuhu

Men's boxing

Fangatua

Men's wrestling

Fetä'aki

Sham club fighting

Night Concert

cancelled

Täufa had planned a night concert. During the afternoon Cook's servant was stripped of his clothes; Cook siezed two canoes and retired aboard the Resolution with a hostage, where he remained until morning (Anderson 1777, p.964-5). There is no account of a night concert.

Täufa had the status to preside at a festival of martial arts and at a night concert. However me'etu'upaki were not exhibited, and the club-fighters did not wield real clubs. Cumulatively, the eighteenth century records suggest that club-fighting and me'etu'upaki dances were the choice faiva of the high-ranking warrior-'eiki and their retinues. Here then is an indication that the kätoanga reflected the rank of a lesser 'eiki.

As Cook left 'Eua on 17 July 1777, he was brought a message promising him a supply of pigs and asking him to wait two days at 'Eua for the Tu'i Tonga (Cook 1777, p.159-60). Pearson has suggested a plot (Pearson 1970, p.141).

Perspectives

I

The great festival presided over by Maealiuaki at Tongatapu on 17 June 1777 was a complete 24-hour kätoanga with rigorous order (maau), shining excellence (mälie), and contest (fe'auhi). Maealiuaki presided as Motu'a Tonga, the paramount 'eiki of Kauahala Lalo. During the day, produce was amassed and displayed. Formal faiva followed, the faiva of the warrior-'eiki: implement dances (me'etu'upaki) and martial arts. At night there was a concert, the proper occasion for women's dancing (Orange 1840, p.127), see Appendix of Faiva.

In 1971, during the royal tour of the kingdom by the hau, Tupou IV, hä'unga presentations were made to him at Niuafo'ou, Niuatopotapu, Va'vau, Ha'apai, and 'Eua by the estate-'eiki. Typically the presentations comprised kava, a baked pig, and several piles of yams or other root crops, hauled onto the reception ground on a sledge, or carried on by hand and arranged in piles. A matäpule representing the estate-'eiki made a speech of presentation; a matäpule representing the hau made a speech of reply. When the "Olovaha" anchored at Niuafo'ou, Fotofili (Kalaniuvalu) went aboard to present his hä'unga. Otherwise hä'unga presentations were made immediately on the hau's arrival ashore, or whenever they could be fitted into the programme of events.

The hä'unga presentations of 1971 did not compare in grandness with eighteenth century displays in six-foot pyramids, and they were not followed by faiva and night concerts, but they did match the assembling of provisions at the order of an 'eiki, their display in piles, and their presentation to welcome an 'eiki ashore. Twentieth century hä'unga, it can be inferred, are truncated, having lost their faiva during the nineteenth century legislation against martial arts and dances, see fig.34. When this happened, the me'etu'upaki lost its proper occasion (lakanga).

II

In 1971 there was one format which had retained the configuration of a presentation of produce followed by faiva. This was the tributary presentation of produce from the people of Falehau estate to the king, Fuimaono's hala. Here, the ethnographic record establishes that the people who performed the faiva were the people who had presented the

produce. We can use this observation to ask further questions of eighteenth century records.

At Maealiuaki's katoanga there were two piles of provisions; they were intended for the two captains (Cook and Clerke) (Cook 1777, p.131). Yams and lengths of bark cloth were presented by Maealiuaki and his brother "Old Tupou", so the hosting of the katoanga by both 'eiki is documented (Anderson 1777, p. 899). There were four suites of faiva; the participation of not two but four 'eiki in the hosting of the katoanga can be inferred from twentieth century convention, where the lineages who present the produce, dance. Omai's Finau led one of the faiva; he was undoubtedly the active agent of the hau (see Gunson 1979, p.39-40). Another suite of faiva was led by "Tupou in red feathers". Who were these two young chiefs ? Were they Tu'ihalafatai, son of Tupou Lahi; Muliki ha'amea, son of Maealiuaki; Tupouto'a, son of Mumui, who had appeared at Ha'apai some weeks earlier (Cook 1777, p.118) ? Mataele Ha'amea had secured the status of hau for the Tu'i Kanokupolu title ca 1680 (Hafoka [1959, p.53-4]). What were the expectations for Muli-ki-Ha'amea in 1777 ? And who was "Old Tupou" ? (see fig.36).

III

The chief of paramount status (hau) controlled the resources of the land (Hafoka [1959, p.53]), so we can infer that the 'eiki who presided at the succession of katoanga for the exploring expeditions were the leading political figures of the day.

Further, at an assembly of chiefs for kava, the 'eiki of highest rank by title must preside (Martin 1981, p.332). Chiefs seated in a kava circle are ranked by title; there will however be some 'eiki of greater rank by descent (sino'i'eiki). They either accept the lower status of

their title, as Tu'i Ha'ateiho did at the lo'au of Tupou III in 1918, or they sit outside the tou'a, as 'Ulukälala and Tungī did, to where the presiding matäpule will send them a cup of kava (Gifford 1929, p.96).

At the kätöanga for Cook's first reception by Tongatapu chiefs on 17 June 1777, several statements by Anderson indicate that Maealiuaki was the presiding 'eiki: both the assembling of provisions and the presentation of faiva took place in front of Maealiuaki's temporary house (1777, p.894); during the kätöanga Maealiuaki sat at the entrance of his house (p.897), as Tupou IV did in 1971 when he presided at Niuatoputapu; several days later Anderson referred to the reception as Maealiuaki's (p.902).

From Maealiuaki's position of presiding 'eiki, we can infer that Maealiuaki held paramount political rank within Kauhala Lalo, and as he was not addressed as Tupou we can infer he was not the Tu'i Kanokupolu. He may have presided at the kätöanga as Tu'i Ha'atakalaua (see Bott 1982, figs 2 & 3). Who was "Old Tupou" and who was Tu'i Kanokupolu in 1777 (see discussions by Bott 1982, p.27-9; Gunson 1979, p.42; Herda 1988, p.95-6; Campbell 1992, p.234) ? The questions are unresolved. The performing arts are at the core of Tonga's political process and demand a rigorous discipline.

IV

Blanc stated in 1910, 'The finest of the Tongan dances is a war dance, the *meetuupaki*' (Blanc 1910, p.77). Labillardière was informed in 1793, The subject of this dance excited our curiosity; but we soon found, that its object was to celebrate the great deeds of some of their warriors (Labillardière 1800 v.2, p.161). Eighteenth century records are unequivocal. The lakanga of the me'etu'upaki is the lakanga of the

martial arts, with the difference that the me'etu'upaki was performed only when led by a high-ranking 'eiki, whereas martial arts were contested by one and all. Moyle has demonstrated that the shape of the dance pallet does not replicate Tongan fighting clubs (pövai) of the eighteenth century. But it does replicate paddle clubs (pakipaki) of Tonga, Sāmoa, and Fiji (Moyle 1987, p.113-14, fig.6). Vason saw pakipaki in use in 1799 and stated, The boggebogge was an instrument of war somewhat like a sword, but round at the top, made of very hard wood, with two edges, but very thick in the middle to give it weight and strength (Orange 1840, p.169). The light, elegant palettes used in the Tongan me'etu'upaki thus appear to be metaphors for paddle-clubs. They are possibly most like the Sāmoan paddle-clubs in outline; both have a thickening as a cross-brace at right angles to the shaft.

Helu has decoded the metaphors of a me'etu'upaki text as seafaring imagery (Helu 1979, p.29-31). Possibly the me'etu'upaki was a dance of sea-faring warriors (Kaepler 1991, p.350).

Neither martial arts nor me'etu'upaki were exhibited at Tongatapu in 1793 at Mumui's reception for D'Entrecasteaux (Labillardière 1800 v.2, p.137-47); Mumui was at that time Tu'i Kanokupolu and hau. Kaepler has noted that a chief had recently died (Kaepler [1967] 1993, p.85; Labillardière 1800 v.2, p.138); but the innovations of Fīnau 'Ulukālala at Vava'u and Ha'apai (Martin 1981, pp.109, 209) demonstrate that the hau had the clout to conduct festivals as he chose.

A me'etu'upaki was exhibited when the Tu'i Tonga Fefine presided at a festival for D'Entrecasteaux in 1793. There were however no martial arts. The ta'ahine explained it was not seemly for wrestling to be performed in her presence (Labillardière 1800 v.2, p.162). Eye witnesses

at the death of the hau Fīnau 'Ulukālala 'i Feletoa in 1809, and at the death of the hau Tupou Mumui in 1797, recorded the crashing as subordinate chiefs mutilated themselves with clubs (foa 'ulu) (Martin 1981, p.219-20; Wilson 1799, p.241-4). However this practice was never carried out at the funeral of the Tu'i Tonga (Martin 1981, p.350); at a certain moment the assembly produced a crash by simultaneously snapping the stems of banana palms (polata) (Martin 1981, p.351).

A woman of Kauhala 'Uta, the great ta'ahine Mo'unga 'o Lakepa, was present at the kätōanga on 21 June 1777 where there was wrestling, boxing, and a challenge to club fighting (Cook 1777, p.135-6; Anderson 1777, p.902); on this occasion it was the Tu'i Tonga Pau and not Mo'unga 'o Lakepa who presided.

There were no martial arts at Vava'u in 1793 during Vuna's receptions for the Spanish explorers. During 1806-10 however at kätōanga ordered by the hau, Fīnau Fangupö (Fīnau 'Ulukālala 'i Feletoa), the warrior-'eiki of Vava'u demonstrated martial arts in full style (Martin 1981, p.196). Their absence from the kätōanga directed by Mumui and Vuna invites queries about the identity of Vuna, about who had the clout to order martial arts to be performed, and about the status accorded exploring expeditions by the end of the century.

V

Me'etu'upaki dances followed presentations of produce where an 'eiki of great rank presided. At Ha'apai in 1777, the presiding 'eiki has not been identified. At Tongatapu on 17 June 1777 it was Maealiuaki, the Motu'a Tonga of Kauhala Lalo; at Tongatapu on 21 June 1777 it was the Tu'i Tonga Pau. At Tongatapu in 1793 for the reception of

D'Entrecasteaux, it was the Tu'i Tonga Fefine (Labillardière 1800 v.2, p.161). At Vava'u in 1793 Vuna received the Spanish explorers with an unnamed implement dance (Herda 1983, p.71-2), possibly a meke fakafisi. No me'etu'upaki were exhibited at 'Eua in 1777, where the presiding 'eiki was a modest local governor. Me'etu'upaki were performed in 1797 at the funeral of the Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupou Mumui, and in 1809 at the funeral of the Kauhala Lalo hau, Finau 'Ulukalala 'i Feletoa, see Chapter 17.

Thus, in the late eighteenth century the me'etu'upaki was a faiva performed by high-ranking 'eiki and their retinues; it was often exhibited in conjunction with martial arts; its proper lakanga was following displays of produce at public, daytime festivals for the receptions and funerals of chiefs.

Kaeppler has identified the me'etu'upaki as a Futunan dance and proposed that the initial occasion (lakanga) for its performance was the yam festivals at Tongatapu (katoanga 'o e 'inasi) (Kaeppler 1991, p.355). Looking back from the twentieth century there appears to be a continuous association between the me'etu'upaki and the court of the Tu'i Tonga: From originally a ritual dance brought by Futunans to the sacred Tu'i Tonga to insure fertility of nature and man, it has now become a memorized performance that acknowledges the high social status and prestige of the sacred line of Kings now turned Catholic but no longer in power (Kaeppler 1991, p.356). The records of the late eighteenth century however are unequivocal: the great exponents of the me'etu'upaki were warrior-'eiki of Kauhala Lalo. Anderson, comparing Tu'i Tonga Pau's katoanga on 21 June with Maealiuaki's katoanga on 17 June 1777, noted, At night we had the Bo'mai repeated, in which Poulaho himself danc'd, but neither these nor the dances in the day were so considerable or carried on with such spirit as those at Mareewagees, which proves that in this as well as other countrys there are private men able sometimes to give entertainments superior to their Kings (Anderson 1777, p.902).

With the truncation of hä'unga in the twentieth century, where presentations of produce were not followed by faiva, the me'etu'upaki lost its lakanga. With the establishment of a unified kingdom under Tupou I from 1852 on, and with succession to title fixed by the Constitution from 1875 on, the descendants of many of the great 'eiki and ta'ahine of the eighteenth century were no longer recognised, and the arts of the warrior-'eiki were no longer practiced. Here we can again take up Kaeppler's reconstruction: during the 1880s the me'etu'upaki was retrieved by the Catholic church from the Tu'i Tonga's court at Lapaha (Kaeppler [1967] 1993,p.92; Blanc 1910, p.82) and given a new lakanga as a faiva of entertainment at Catholic festivals. Thereafter the me'etu'upaki took on a new political cloak: it represented the annulled line of the Tu'i Tonga, opposing the house of Tupou; it represented the Catholic church opposing the Wesleyan churches.

VII

In 1971 the lakalaka songs payed deference to Tonga's three royal lineages, in their order of seniority of sacred descent: Tu'i Tonga, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, Tu'i Kanokupolu. Thus the opening verse (fakatapu) of Sete Selui's "New" lakalaka deferred to the three lines of sacred descent which are fondly imagined to have combined in Tupou IV:

Ne melitiane 'ia Tangaloa
Ko e sötiaka 'o Tatakamotonga
Sone 'i Pangai mo e fu'u koka

Meridianed in Tangaloa [= Tu'i Tonga]
The zodiac of Tatakamotonga [= Tu'i Ha'atakalaua]
Zone at Pangai and the koka tree [= Tu'i Kanokupolu].
(Sete Selui, *Lakalaka "Fo'ou"*, 1971.)

These names claim that the lineage representing the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua is descended from the chief Maealiuaki, who received Cook

in 1777, and not from the chief Vaea in the founding Tu'i Ha'atakalaua line, see fig. 36. Descendants of Vaea's line are nowhere to be found in the 1777 journals.*¹⁰

In the "New" lakalaka, the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua line is represented by the place Tatakamotonga in Mu'a, while the Tu'i Kanokupolu is represented by the reception ground Pangai at Hihifo, where the Kanokupolu kings were installed, see fig. 25. However McKern's historical map of Mu'a designates Moalunga at Fonuamotu as the seat of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, and Tatakamotonga as the seat of the Tu'i Kanokupolu (McKern 1929, fig. 46), see fig. 18.

Genealogically Tu'i Ha'atakalaua descent comes to Tupou IV through his father, Tungī Mailefihi, who is descended from Maealiuaki. Maealiuaki was a younger brother in the Tu'i Kanokupolu lineage, see fig. 36; he seized the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua title, and was the presiding 'eiki at the reception of Cook in 1777.

Through the metaphors of place names, the "New" lakalaka identified the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua line not with Fonuamotu and Moalunga, but with Tatakamotonga. This historical shift must have occurred with Maealiuaki's change of residence from Hihifo to Mu'a (Bott 1982, p. 145) and his capturing of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua title (Bott 1982, pp. 115, 146), sometime around 1765. We thus have a backbearing for the lakalaka songs of the late twentieth century.

The eighteenth century faiva became a resource for the metaphors of the lakalaka poetry: bonito trolling (hī'atu), pigeon snaring (heu lupe), disc throwing (lafo), and dart throwing (sika) are frequently evoked and provide further dates. The pigeon snaring mounds at Popua were already abandoned in 1777 (Anderson 1777, p. 893-4; Tonga National

Centre 1988, p.52-3). However in 1793 D'Entrecasteaux's party recorded twenty-four pigeon-snaring huts erected around the summit of Sia ko Veiongo at Nuku'alofa (Labillardière 1800 v.2, p.143-4 & pl.26; Ferdon 1987, p.183), see fig.27. Pigeon snaring was rarely practised at Vava'u in 1806-10 (Martin 1981, p.380). Lafo and other faiva were legislated against from 1839 onwards (Urbanowicz 1972, p.38-9). Thus it is precisely in the illustrious era, after Maealiuaki captured the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua title and before the shining skills faded (1765-1834), that the lakalaka poetry is sourced. Here there is an enigma. The lakalaka poetry pays deference to an ancient sacred order: the Tangaloa of the "New" lakalaka is a god of the multilayered skies and the founding ancestor of the Tu'i Tonga lineage. Yet the political configuration eulogised in the "New" lakalaka came into existence more recently, ca 1765. Why is this so ?

Segmentation of lineages and capture of titles is a legitimate process in the realpolitic of hau. It is not however the ethos of hau which the lakalaka poets protect, but the transmission of lines of sacred descent from the gods (mei langi). The political configuration encountered briefly by Cook in 1777 gives us insight into the process by which the lakalaka poets retained the paradigm of sacred descent, transferring the inheritance of 'eiki blood to the upwardly mobile lineages of Kauhala Lalo and to the current hau. Through the metaphors of the lakalaka songs the founding configuration of sacred descent was carried intact into the late twentieth century. The poets retained the sacred lakanga, the founding configuration, while political paradigms changed.*¹¹ Genealogies are a beguiling framework for the reconstruction of political history.

Kauhala 'Uta

LAPAHA /Tu'i Tonga

- ▲ TT Pau (met Cook 1777)
- ▲ TT Fuanunuiava (d.1810)
- ▲ TT Laufilitonga (d.1865)
- ▲ Kalaniuvalu
- ▲ Sioli Pangia (d.1935)
Governor of Ha'apai.

Kauhala Lalo

TATAKAMOTONGA/Ha'atakalaua

- ▲ Maealiuaki (met Cook 1777)
- ▲ Mulikiha'amea (d.1799)
- ▲ Fatukimotulalo (d.1842)
- ▲ Tungī Halatuituia (d.1900)
- ▲ Tuku'aho (d.1897) *Premier & Governor of Vava'u.*
- ▲ Tungī Mailefihi

Fig. 18. Plan of old Mu'a, Tongatapu, showing two shorelines. Landward at Lapaha (Kauhala 'Uta) was the residence of the Tu'i Tonga; the mala'e Ololele; the house of Hikule'o, deity of the Afterworld; and the terraced tombs (langi). Seaward (Kauhala Lalo) on reclaimed land along the lagoon shore, the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua (Vaea's line) was at Fonuamotu, at the residence named Moalunga; the Tu'i Kanokupolu was at Tatakamotonga.

Tatakamotonga became the Tu'i Kanokupolu sector possibly during the eighteenth century, when Tupou Lahi and Maealiuaki shifted from Neiafu (Kanokupolu) in Hihifo to Mu'a; they were here in 1777. Their younger brother Mumui established a ceremonial centre at Nuku'alofa, where he received D'Entrecasteaux in 1793, see fig.27.

Ca 1765 Maealiuaki claimed the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua title. During the twentieth century the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua prerogatives were accorded to Tungī, a descendant of Maealiuaki; Tatakamotonga was his estate. The old Tu'i Ha'atakalaua line (from Vaea) which had occupied Fonuamotu was unknown. The Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupou II-IV occupied the palace at Nuku'alofa. This line was descended from Mumui. Through the shift of old titles to new lines, the twentieth century hau claimed the prerogatives of all three kingly lineages. (SOURCE: McKern 1929, fig.46.)

CHAPTER 11.

Kauhala 'Uta's Elegance

Fig. 19. Kātoanga at Pangai Motu, 5 April 1793. Queen Tiné [the ta'ahine, Tu'i Tonga Fefine] is presiding. She is identified by the screen (tatau) surrounding her. The figure at the left is Fatafehi [later Tu'i Tonga Fuanunuiava]. Kaeppler has noted that he is holding a nose flute. The standing dancers are performing a fa'ahi ula, possibly 'the new Sāmoan ula'. The woman on the ta'ahine's right is performing a flat clap with hands parallel (pasi) or a hollow clap with cupped hands crossed (fū). A woman on the ta'ahine's left is performing filllips (fisipā) (Kaeppler 1993, p.26). The standing women are aligned in a formation which is replicated in the twentieth century fa'ahi ula when performed by six or eight women. 'When we arrived at Pangaïmotoo, Queen Tiné, sitting under a shed covered with cocoa-leaves, and erected under the shade of several fine breadfruit trees, was giving an entertainment to General Dentrecaesteaux. She first ordered some young persons of her attendants to dance, which they did with infinite gracefulness, singing at the same time, while Futtafaihe [Fatafehi Fuanunuiava], who was standing, directed their movements, and animated them by his voice and gestures. (See Plate XXVII)' (Labillardière 1800 v.2, p.160).

Engraving from a drawing by Piron. (SOURCE: Labillardière 1800 v.1, pl. 27.)

From the 1780s on the Tu'i Tonga was challenged by chiefs of Kauhala Lalo and on the death of the Laufilitonga in 1865, the hau (Tupou I) refused to appoint a successor to the title.*¹ Glimpses of the court of Kauhala 'Uta are fragmentary. Many faiva were unique to the rites de passage of the Tu'i Tonga and have no correspondence with the repertoire known in the twentieth century.

rites de passage for tu'i tonga fuanunuiava, 9 July 1777.

During the sacred yam festival at Mu'a in 1777 Cook's party was advised that the second day, 9 July, would be an initiation ceremony for Fatafehi Fuanunuiava, the son of Tu'i Tonga Pau, on his arriving at a certain age (Anderson 1777, p.913). The lad was possibly 12 or 14 (Cook 1777, p.128, Anderson 1777, p.894). In Tonga 'eiki youths began to marry at the age of 12 (Herda 1983, p.148); in Fiji youths entered manhood at 14 (Martin 1981, p.193). It can be inferred that this festival marked Fuanunuiava's initiation into manhood.*²

In Olotele, at Mu'a, ~~see fig. 18~~, the day began with kava in the morning and a feast at noon (Cook 1777, p.150). There was no visible sign of ceremony until early afternoon, when Cook found people gathering at a burial ground (mala'e), where a number were already seated facing the mound, in readiness for the arrival of Tu'i Tonga Pau, Fuanunuiava, and accompanying women. Pau and Fuanunuiava took up their positions at separate stations. Pau presided at the first assembly; the assembly then got up and moved to sit with Fuanunuiava. Three processions arrived with presentations which were received by

Fuanunuiava's orator. The company then turned its back while Pau and Fuanunuiava each ate a piece of yam (Cook 1777, p.151-3). Unlike the previous day, no one was armed (Anderson 1777, p.916).

The kätōanga included feats and contests which are not named in any records and which appear not to have been retained into the twentieth century. Among the items carried in the procession were a number of small fish stuck on the end of a forked stick. Three men contended for the fish, which got torn to pieces in the contest. At length...the man behind got a whole fish without either of the other two so much as touching it, at this the word *Ma rēē ao [mālie]*...was uttered in a low voice throughout the whole crowd (Cook 1777, p.152). "Mālie !" expresses admiration of a faiva.

After the ritual eating, the company formed a circle with Fuanunuiava presiding. Within the circle there was a contest which has some marks of the faiva toutakao (gang warfare), performed without bloodshed as required for the Tu'i Tonga. The challenge usual in wrestling was a hollow clap on the elbow joint, repeated until answered (Anderson 1777, p.899), or a flat clap while the arm was held against the chest (Samwell 1777, p.1027); this unnamed contest is now completely unknown (Cook 1777, p.153):

Presently there appeared some men coming towards us, two and two bearing large sticks or poles on their Shoulders making a noise like singing and waving their hands as they came. As soon as they got close up to us they made shew of walking very fast without advancing a singel step; presently three or four men started up from the crowd with large sticks in their hands and ran to those new comers who instantly threw down the poles from their shoulders and beat them most unmercifully and then returned to their places. As the men ran off they gave the challenge usual in

wristling, and not long after a number of stout fellows came from the same quarter, giving the Challenge as they advanced, these were opposed by a party from the opposite side almost at the same instant; these two parties paraded the Area for a few minutes and then retired each to his own side.

The festival was concluded with half an hour of familiar martial arts: wrestling and boxing matches (Cook 1777, p.153). However, Anderson noted that these too had exceptional features (Anderson 1777, p.916):

The last part was twenty wrestlers who entered the field challenging, which was succeeded by several wrestling and some boxing matches, with this difference that one person directed it, which is not done in the common way nor did they proclaim the victory when any one was defeated.

KATOANGA FOR D'ENTRECASTEAUX AT PANGAI MOTU, 1793. During March and April 1793 a French expedition led by General D'Entrecasteaux established a trading post ashore at Pangai Motu. Here, the Tu'i Tonga Fefine*³ set up a temporary camp where she presided at two katoanga. The journalist Labillardière arrived late on both occasions.

At the wedding of the Tu'i Tonga Laufilitonga in 1829, provisions were piled 20 feet high (Bays 1831, p.115). For D'Entrecasteaux provisions were displayed in six-foot pyramids; the faiva presented to him were the faiva of public festivals (me'etu'upaki) and public night dances (ula). Martial arts were excluded because the presiding chief was a Kauhala 'Uta ta'ahine (Labillardière 1800 v.2, p.162).^{*4} Instead, she entertained the French with singing (possibly fa'ahi hiva) and with an elegant dance, possibly a Sāmoan ula, performed with 'infinite gracefulness' (Labillardière 1800 v.2, p.160), see fig.19. The French party appreciated the liveliness of the occasions (Labillardière 1800 v.2, pp.136-7; 160), see figs 28 & 29.

These records make a point: the faiva presented were appropriate to the current agenda of the katoanga. In being received by the Tu'i Tonga Fefine, D'Entrecasteaux had not been privy to the protocols which

exalted the rank of the ta'ahine. Instead, the kätöanga reflected back at D'Entrecasteaux his place in the Tongan heirarchy: a presentation arranged in a six-foot pyramid. Appendix: Fa'aniula.

MARRIAGE OF THE TU'I TONGA FUANUNUIAVA, ca 1807.

The powerful chiefs of Kauhala Lalo acquired rank by intermarriage with kau sina'e of Kauhala 'Uta. Cook's visit to Tongatapu in 1777 gave a glimpse of a peaceful alliance between Tu'i Tonga Pau and Maealiuaki. At Vava'u and Ha'apai strong lineages of Kauhala Lalo were also following the same strategy, intermarrying with kau sina'e or Ha'a Fale Fisi. By 1806 the Tu'i Tonga Fuanuniava was living under the protection of the hau, Finau Fangupö, 'Ulukälala 'i Feletoa, and at Ha'apai in ca 1807 Finau ordered a kätöanga for the wedding of the eldest daughter of his current household to Fuanunuiava (aged ca 40). The daughter was possibly Finau Ha'akili, b. ca 1790, aged ca 18.*⁵ Mariner was an eye-witness (Martin 1981, p.96-8).

The marriage and funeral ceremonies of the Tu'i Tonga included unique protocols (Martin 1981, pp.96, 351). Tu'i Tonga presided at his mala'e, with two officiating matäpule and other chiefs. Here he received the bride's party. Finau's daughter was dressed in forty yards of Sāmoan mats of very fine, soft weave. She had five companions (possibly fanga fa'ë, maternal aunts, or fokonofo, secondary wives): a girl (aged ca 5) was dressed in equally fine mats; four young women (aged ca 16) were dressed in fewer mats. Tu'i Tonga seated Finau's daughter on his left hand.

Twenty baked pigs were brought onto the reception ground and carved with speed and dexterity. The knives were European. Each chief was given a portion. At a signal, the remainder of the pork was distributed in a free-for-all, which in other contexts signified the portion allocated to the gods (Martin 1981, p.347). This completed the daytime protocols, and the company dispersed.

At dusk, Tu'i Tonga presided while a feast of cooked food (pigs, yams, fowls, etc.) was divided up and distributed on the mala'e; kava was drunk. An orchestra performed; dances continued for a considerable time. An old matäpule delivered a discourse on the sanctity of married and unmarried women. The company dispersed to their homes.

Tu'i Tonga summoned Finau's daughter to his house; the lights were extinguished; the consummation of the marriage was announced

with three 'hideous' yells, followed by the loud and repeated sound of the conch. There was a night concert; but no martial arts.

FUNERAL OF TU'I TONGA FUANUNUIAVA, 1810.

VAE 'O E LANGI. At Mu'a the Tu'i Tonga was attended by chiefs of the Fale Fä. Many of these titles had been filled by foreigners from Sāmoa, Rotuma, Fiji, and possibly Lau. The most important of their duties concerned the Tu'i Tonga's kava, festivals, burial, and funeral rites. The chiefs of the Fale 'o Tu'i Matahau were in charge of dances. The main title-holders had come originally from Rotuma and Fiji (Bott 1982, p.97-8; Rutherford 1977, p.33; Gifford 1929, p.66-7). During the reign of Tupou II (1893-1918), Tungī Halatuituia recorded this account (Gifford 1929, p.67):

Ka koe fatongia oe Tui Matahau, ae mee fakamotu Liki; moe tofi oe tee lupe; oku fai ae mee, oka fai ae fakamalele o ha Langi, pe ha mea fakaeiki, pea fai ae tofi oe tee lupe, oka fai ae vae oe Langi. The duties of Tu'i Matahau are the dance in the style of Liki island and the chopping of pigeon droppings. The dance is performed when the multi-layered skies are toppled (= at the lifting of funeral restrictions), and the chopping of pigeon droppings when the terraced tomb has been divided (= at a burial).

The Falefä had further faiva and fatongia to perform for the Tu'i Tonga. Tu'i Loloko blew the conch shell (ifi tolutolu), and sang at funerals (hiva 'o ka fai 'a e vae 'o ha langi) (Gifford 1929, p.66).

Mariner was at Vava'u in 1810 during the funeral (langi) of the Tu'i Tonga Fuanunuiava. For fifteen nights following the burial, certain people defecated on the grave; each morning before sunrise high-ranking women gathered up the droppings. The task was performed under restriction (tapu) because it was a matter concerning the realm of the sacred: the gods of Pulotu were present (Martin 1981, p.223).

Soon after dark, certain persons stationed at the grave begin again to sound the conchs, while others chant partly in an unknown language,

and partly in Hamoa [Sāmoan], a sort of song, or rather a piece of recitative...It begins thus: *too fia o chi toccalów chi eio toccalów ca me fáfango eio manáve táwtq*, &c. [possibly, Tufa ia 'o si'i Tokelau e-i-o / si'i tokelau ka me'i fafangu e-i-o / manavahe tautou,we are all in fear; tufakanga is one's destiny.]

The end of the duty was celebrated on the sixteenth day with women's festivities (Martin 1981, p.350-3). As at the sacred yam festivals, where sacred forces were at work, the public was excluded:

No persons but the agents are allowed to be witnesses of these extraordinary ceremonies...On the sixteenth day, early in the morning the same females again assemble; but now they are dressed up in the finest *gnatoo*, and most beautiful Hamoa [Sāmoan] mats, decorated with ribands and with wreaths of flowers round their necks: they also bring new baskets, ornamented with flowers, and little brooms very tastefully made. Thus equipped they approach, and act as if they had the same task to do as before, pretending to clear away the dirt, though no dirt is now there, and take it away in their baskets. They then return to the *moa*, and resume their mourning mats and leaves of the *ifi* tree.

Thus the festival which removed the restrictions imposed by the gods of Pulotu, was a matter concerning women of rank.

Mariner, typically, did not specify the faiva of the festival. Gifford's translator suggested that *tofi 'o e te'e lupe* was a digging dance (Gifford 1929, p.67), but the phrase may designate metaphorically the depositing of human faeces (*te'e lupe*) on the grave. If so, *tofi 'o e te'e lupe* would have been performed at this festival.

FUNERAL OF TU'I TONGA ca 1806.

FAKAMALELE 'O E LANGI. About eight months after the burial of a

Kauhala 'Uta 'eiki or ta'ahine, restrictions on livestock and produce were lifted:

For one month, from the day of burial, greater or less quantities of provisions are brought every day, and shared out to the people. On the first day a prodigious quantity is supplied; but on every succeeding day a less quantity...The expenditure...is however, so great, as to require a *táboo* to be laid on certain kinds of provisions, which lasts about eight or ten months; and at the end of that time the ceremony of *fuccalahi* is performed to remove it.

At the festival (kātoanga 'o e fakalahi) great quantities of pigs and yams were assembled. Mariner was present at a fakalahi at Lifuka, Ha'apai in 1806; it was held for the Tu'i Tonga who had preceded Fuanunuiava; this would have been either Tu'i Tonga Ma'ulupekotofa or possibly the Tu'i Tonga Fefine Nanasipau'u.*6

In 1806 four columns, each ca sixty feet high, were erected at the Kauhala 'Uta mala'e. 300-400 baked pigs and ca one thousand yams were brought to the mala'e of the hau, Finau Fangupö. Informal wrestling bouts took place while the mala'e was being set in order. The ceremonial began with competitive trials of strength at the mala'e of the hau. The feat is unnamed; in this context it would have been a faiva:

The company being at length all arrived and seated, the king [the hau] gave notice that the ceremony was to begin. The young chiefs and warriors, and those who prided themselves in their strength, then got up singly, and endeavoured in turns to carry off the largest hog. When one failed, another tried...till every one that chose had made a trial of his strength...As the hog was found too heavy for one man's strength, it was carried away by two, whilst a third followed with its liver (Martin 1981, p.94-5).

The pigs and yams were carried to the mala'e where possibly, Tu'i Tonga Fuanunuiava presided, then counted and distributed (Martin 1981,

p.94-6). The kätöanga was concluded with faiva: Mariner records dancing and wrestling (Martin 1981, p.94-6).

Kaeppler states that the fakamalele is the lifting of the final mourning restrictions (Kaeppler 1987, p.193); the Liki island dance (me'e fakamotu Liki) may have been performed at this festival (Gifford 1929, p.67). Kaeppler further states that at the fakamalele, the Falefä matäpule Fakahafua imitated a veka (banded rail, *Gallirallus philippensis ecaudata*), while Tu'iloloko presented his bare arse to the individual chiefs (Kaeppler 1987, p.193).

These faiva of the langi are totally unknown in the modern repertoire. When Laufilitonga renounced his role in the Tongan cosmology in 1844 and became a Christian in 1848 (Campbell 1992, p.94), there would have been no further occasion appropriate to the performance of dances and songs accompanying the Tu'i Tonga to Pulotu.

LIKU TO ENHANCE TU'I TONGA LAUFILITONGA, ca 1820. Knowledge of a ceremony called liku remained with members of the Tonga Traditions Committee. In Tākapu's account (pers. comm. 1993), the last ta'ahine of Tonga to liku was Lupepau'u, the first wife (moheofo) of the Tu'i Tonga Laufilitonga (d.1865). Lupepau'u was a daughter of the highest ranking 'eiki of the day, Makamālohi. Her mother was Halaevalu Moheofo, daughter of Finau Fangupö 'Ulukālala 'i Feletoa, Mariner's Finau (Bott 1982, figs 1, 28). The ceremony possibly took place in the early 1820s.

Tupou Posesi described the liku as a Tongan beauty contest (sivi faka'ofa) which was held for a young woman of rank (ta'ahine) whose beauty was exceptional. She would have been cherished and raised with

the labour of her mother's relatives to ensure her beauty was enhanced and unmarred (ko e ta'ahine na'e ngaahi). She was presented at the height of her beauty, after menstruation, and remained a virgin until marriage. She appeared naked before the 'eiki of her lineage and related chiefs, who would commend her beauty and afterwards form an opinion as to whether she had passed (kuo lava 'i he liku). Success enhanced her chances of high marriage; the mother's kin particularly benefited through elevation of their lineage (Tupou Poesi, pers.comm., 1970).

The choreography and song texts of the liku were not known to the matäpule Tākāpu. He suggested the accompaniment was possibly a beaten mat (tä fala). Only a ta'ahine of the highest rank would liku, and she danced alone. It is imagined the young ta'ahine processed round the assembled circle, revolving while dancing, naked except for a short waist girdle covering only the sides of her hips.*7 Lupepau'u's liku complemented (fakalangilangi) the Tu'i Tonga Laufilitonga (Tākāpu, pers.com., 1993). As Tupou and Tākāpu described the liku I understood the beauty and awe (mälie) of the occasion; its seclusion from the public; its purpose to elevate the accomplishment of 'eiki quality in Tongan society with what was most exquisite in the land.

David George writes of Bali (George n.d., pp. 39, 41):

Redjang is a ceremonial processional dance performed for the gods: its whole function is to offer food, oil, fire or simply one's own body in all its beauty to the visiting gods...the elegance of the Redjang dancers...could scarcely be surpassed.

Martial faiva at the festivals of Kauhala Lalo demonstrated strength and agility. Faiva for the sacred 'eiki of Kauhala 'Uta demonstrated an elegance fit for the gods.

In 1829 Peter Bays, sailing master of the whaling vessel "Minerva", witnessed the marriage of Tu'i Tonga Laufilitonga to his third wife (Bays 1831, p.111). She would have been Halaevalu Mata'aho, daughter of Tupou To'a who had reigned as Tu'i Kanokupolu with half-hearted support, from 1813-1820 (Campbell 1992,p.235). Halaevalu was a great ta'ahine; her mother was Tupou 'Ahome'e, daughter of the Tamahä Lätüfuipeka (Bott 1982, fig.31). The kätöanga took place after the couple had been living together for three years. This would place the original union in 1826, the year Laufilitonga was defeated by Tupou I at Vëlata, Ha'apai and exiled to Malila in Mu'a (Hafoka [1959, p.61]).

On 3 November Bays reported double-hulled canoes arriving from Sāmoa, Vava'u, and Ha'apai (Bays 1831, p.111). Following chiefly protocol, guest houses would have been assigned to the visiting 'eiki and their retinues. The land's produce was displayed in three pyramids, each twenty feet high and each topped with several large roasted pigs. Large bales of bark cloth [Vast rolls of tapper] were presented to the Tu'i Tonga's party (Bays 1831, p.115). The kätöanga lasted three days.

After 1826, by Hafoka's record, the Tu'i Tonga should have been in exile at Mu'a, Tongatapu. However in 1829 Bays reported, His local residence, is either at the Habai or Vauvau islands, but most of his time is spent in going from island to island (Bays 1831, p.111).

The wedding kätöanga took place at Tongatapu. Who ordered it ? The Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupou To'a had died in 1820. He was succeeded by 'Aleamotu'a (d.1845), whose residence was at Nuku'alofa. Possibly the kätöanga was ordered by 'Aleamotu'a; in 1829 he was hau. The Tu'i Tonga was an 'ilamutu of 'Aleamotu'a and Halaevalu was his grand

daughter (see Bott 1982, figs. 1, 3, 31). Bays heard people saying there would be a great scarcity at Nuku'alofa till the new yams came into season (Bays 1831, p.115), which is consistent with 'Aleamotu'a fulfilling the responsibilities of the mother's side.

The predominant activities appeared to Bays to be song and dance: The three preceeding days have been all noise and mirth, celebrating the royal nuptials: there was a great sameness in the proceedings, which were made up principally in dancing and singing (Bays 1831, p.113). On the first and second days the bride and a female companion processed before the assembled hou 'eiki. At a Kauhala 'Uta marriage festival in ca 1807, possible of Laufilitonga's father, Fuanunuiava, the bride's companion was aged five; Mariner identified her as a personal handmaid (Martin 1981, p.97), but she may have been betrothed. Halaevalu's companion may have been a high-ranking sinifu (secondary wife).

On the third day all women of rank processed.

On all three nights, concerts took place in a large, open-sided reception house and lasted throughout the night. Bays thought the faiva of the night concerts were similar to the performances on the third day: Something similar was carried on the whole of each night under a very large shed appropriated for the purpose (Bays 1831, p.114). Bays' assessment may not be accurate because, as far as we know, the circular dances of the night concerts (pöme'e) were me'elaufola; the association was so close that Mariner remarked the me'elaufola was also called pöme'e (Martin 1981, p.374). The day processions described by Bays were however not me'elaufola. Bays' account follows. A reading is: During the first and second days, the wedding guests assembled first

outside one residence, then another, progressively through the day. Here the highest ranking male 'eiki formed an inner circle, while an outer circle comprised their retinues. The bride and her companion processed slowly round the inside edge of the inner circle, as Tākapa described the liku of Lupepau'u:

On the preceding days, rings merely were formed in front of the abbé ['api] of each chief, in the centre of which the principal chiefs of all the islands formed a body, surrounded by inferior chiefs: these all sang occasionally, while the bride and bridesmaid, or some such character, walked round the ring in state, making a fresh move only at the word *tau*, when they proceeded but two or three paces. The dresses of these two chief women, consisted of a vast quantity of plaited tapper [pleated tapa] wrapped round the waist, making a very bulky appearance; they wore long black hair, with their bodies literally dripping with scented cocoa-nut oil (Bays 1831, p.114).

On the third day all the women of rank processed. The highest ranking of the chiefs seated themselves in a ring (the configuration of a kava circle), outside which sat the rest. The women of rank were dressed in national or lineage costume. The women of each retinue stood up in turn, spaced a fathom (ofa) apart, and processed in single file slowly round the inside edge of the ring. Bays was no judge of choreography; it was the dress of the Sāmoan ta'ahine that appealed:

[The dancing] is signified rather by gestures of the hands and body than the feet, and are of a slow movement, as the performers which are five or six feet apart very gradually pass round the ring where their principal chiefs are sitting, surrounded by their respective tribes. The dancers were all females, dressed up according to the costumes of the country or the island to which they belonged, each striving to excel the other in appearance by more or less decorating themselves with beads, ribbands, flowers

and feathers; but those from the Navigator islands [Sāmoa] principally attracted my notice. The songs I did not comprehend; but from what I saw, or could learn the chiefs in the centre [i.e., at the head of the ring] first sang a verse, then the dancing women, which was followed again by a chorus or shout of approbation from all; the women then all sang out *tau*, and made a fresh move, about six feet, passing round the ring; at every halt the same kind of singing went on, till the song and dance were finished, and so of all the different tribes alternately (Bays 1831, p.114).

Responsorial exchanges between standing dancers and seated singers also occurred in *me'elaufola*; and Anderson described a section of *me'elaufola* choreography where dancers stepped out of the body to cross singly (Anderson 1777, p.875). Otherwise the *me'elaufola* dancers moved in ranks several abreast, around a small centre cluster of musician-singers, see figs 21 & 26, while the high-ranking *ta'ahine* described by Bays apparently processed around the inner edge of a large circle, so that the singers were outside them. The slow, widely-spaced processions in single file are not consistent with accounts of *me'elaufola* choreography (cf Moyle 1987, p.112).^{*8}

Women's processional dances are totally unreported in the twentieth century repertoire. The *sipa* of the *lakalaka* however is often performed in a slow, curving procession; each line may end with acclaim: "he i--o--!", and the *sipa* may be concluded with a long, drawn-out shout: "he---- ! " Eighteenth century *me'elaufola* were finished off with a rapid rotation or vibration of the hips (Anderson 1777, p.875).

FESTIVAL TO WELCOME TU'I TONGA LAUFILITONGA, MUA, 1830. During

1830 Waldegrave made a cruise to Pacific islands in the steamship

"Seringapatam". At Tongatapu he was invited to attend a festival (kātoanga 'o e tali tū'uta) to welcome home the Tu'i Tonga Laufilitonga, who had been visiting Ha'apai. The traditional residence of the Tu'i Tonga was at Olotele in Lapaha, in the Kauhala 'Uta sector of Mu'a, ~~see~~ fig.18. After defeat by Tāufa'āhau (Tupou I) at Ha'apai in 1826, Laufilitonga was exiled to Mu'a, to the 'api Malila (Hafoka [1959, p.61]). He was received at Mu'a by Kaunanga, wife of Fatukimotulalo (Wood 1943, p.44).

The festival welcoming Laufilitonga on 27 May 1830 was ordered by an 'eiki whom Waldegrave calls "Parton, chief of Moree" [possibly "Fatukimotulalo, patron of the Wesleyan missionary Lawry in 1822, and son of the chief Mulikiha'amea"]. Fatukimotulalo (d.1842) was a grandson of Maealiuaki. His residence was the 'api Fangaleongo (Thomas MS1865; Campbell 1992, pp. 52, 107). In 1830 Fatu was the 'eiki of Tatakamotonga, the Kauhala Lalo sector of Mu'a, ~~see~~ fig.18. Fatu's circumstances are consistent with a great 'eiki of Kauhala Lalo ordering a kātoanga for the reception of the Tu'i Tonga.

After the Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupouto'a died in 1820, the title remained vacant until 'Aleamotu'a was installed in 1827. 'Aleamotu'a's residence was at Nuku'alofa; he converted to Christianity and took little part in political affairs (Campbell 1992, p.235). The festival for the reception of the Tu'i Tonga at Mu'a gives a glimpse of the political configuration in the eastern district of Tongatapu: Fatukimotulalo, high-ranking descendant of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Maealiuaki, is acting as hau for the Tu'i Tonga.

Which mala'e was the festival held at ? Waldegrave gives no clue, but Tongan experts may be able to infer from knowledge of protocol and

of Laufilitonga's circumstances in 1830. The order of proceedings was: taumafa kava*⁹ - faiva - counting of pigs (lau e ngäue) - distribution of pigs - feast. This ended the daylight proceedings.

The faiva of the kätoanga was possibly tolo, a technique of spear throwing (Martin 1981, p.381). There is no eyewitness record of tolo at eighteenth century kätoanga, suggesting possibly that it was a faiva exclusive to Kauhala 'Uta, in contrast with the martial arts of boxing, wrestling, and club fighting which were exhibited at public festivals. Waldegrave's record is (Waldegrave 1833, p.187-9):

After the kava was finished, a game was played by two parties of chiefs, twenty chiefs on each side, Touetonga being one: the game was to pitch spears perpendicularly into an upright post of screw-pine, of a foot diameter. The first player threw his spear horizontally, the second and the others threw theirs to fall point downwards. It requires considerable skill; out of twenty, only five succeeded: the other side succeeded in fixing about an equal number. The game was thirty; but neither side obtained the number, although they had repeated innings. Touetonga fixed one spear, and Parton two. The thrower stands about five yards from the mark, and the art is to cause the spear to fall perpendicularly on the mark.

At the end of the daylight proceedings the dancers practised. After dark there was a night dance by torchlight (pöula or pöme'e) which lasted five hours. Following Waldegrave's description, the women's dances are most likely to have been me'elaufola, see Night Concerts, and since there was no choreographic difference in the men's dances they also were possibly me'elaufola. The leading figures of four dances can be identified. One dance was led by the daughter of Fatukimotulalo (aged ca 15); one by the wife of Fatukimotulalo (also aged ca 15); one

by Tu'i Tonga Laufilitonga (aged ca 30); one by the Tu'i Tonga's son (aged ca 11). On this occasion the Tu'i Tonga himself danced. As in 1777, when Tu'i Tonga Pau danced (Anderson 1777, p.902; Ellis 1783 v.1, p.100), it was a dance of the night. Kaeppler notes (pers.com.) that the formal dances of day festivals ('aho me'e) must be presented to someone of higher rank.

Perspectives

As women of rank processed round the rings of chiefs gathered from as far afield as Sāmoa for the marriage of the Tu'i Tonga in 1829, dancing while singing, the occasion would, like the liku, have been for the display and admiration (mālie) of an elegance 'which could scarcely be surpassed': the chiefs in the centre first sang a verse, then the dancing women, which was followed again by a chorus or shout of approbation from all (Bays 1831, p.114).

The Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Tonga Fefine, as descendants of Tangaroa, represented a realm of the sacred, the multilayered skies (*langi*). In the metaphor of oratory they were the *Tu'i 'o e Langi*. In 1777 Samwell recorded, in speaking of those of the highest Rank they always told us that they were 'Agee la langee agee lalo fonooa' ['eiki 'o e Langi, 'eiki 'o e Lalofonua], which signifies Kings of the Skies above & of the Earth below, at the same time pointing with Fingers to the sky & the Earth (Samwell 1777, p.1043). The Lolofonua is the Underworld, not the earth.

This metaphor was represented visually in their terraced burial mounds ('*otu langi*). It was represented verbally in the language of deference (*langi* 'head of the Tu'i Tonga'; *vae 'o e langi* 'opening of the

Tu'i Tonga's tomb'; *fakamalele 'o e langi* 'separation of the Tu'i Tonga from earthly affairs'). In the performing arts the multipart song lines (*langi*) impacted emotionally and aesthetically (*kuo tau e langi*). In dances, songs were the vehicle which transported the spirit of both audience and dancers (*hakai langi kuo tau*). Faiva for the gods and faiva for the sacred chiefs were performed by 'eiki and ta'ahine whose own rank enhanced the sacredness (*fakalängilangi*) of the occasion.

The duality of sacred and civil power (Kauhala 'Uta/ Kauhala Lalo), was echoed in the dual repertoire of faiva. Kauhala Lalo maintained a public repertoire of martial arts and martial dances, demonstrations of agility and fighting strength. Kauhala 'Uta maintained an exclusive repertoire, demonstrating its rank and elegance.

The dual repertoire did not separate Kauhala 'Uta and Kauhala Lalo socially. Kauhala Lalo chiefs like Maealiuaki (d.ca 1777) and Finau 'Ulukälala 'i Feletoa (d. 1809) had 'eiki rank, civil authority, and command of the land's resources; they had both sacred and political power. Mariner observed Finau ordering festivals that required different protocols and different repertoires of faiva for the reception of voyaging chiefs, for the weddings and funerals of Kauhala 'Uta 'eiki and ta'ahine, for the annual yam festivals. Tu'i Tonga Pau presided alike at sacred yam festivals and exhibitions of martial arts. The Tu'i Tonga and the hau were both precluded from organising rituals vested in other lineages: the priests appointed the day for the commencement of the yam festival (Martin 1981, p.346); the Ha'a Tufunga opened and closed the burial vault (Wilson 1799, p.241); the Fale Fä held the knowledge of the Tu'i Tonga's rites de passage (Gifford 1929, p.66-7). The dual repertoire

repertoire was a means of elevating the sacred above the secular and therewith of elevating sacred descent and sacred title.

Wesleyan and Catholic ministers discredited the Tongan cosmology.*¹⁰ When the Tu'i Tonga became a Christian in 1848 he was no longer a representative of the gods of Puluotu (Thomas MS1854, p.263) and no longer a recipient of esoteric knowledge, the talaefonua (Mähina 1993). Kauhala 'Uta nevertheless remained honoured in Tongan society as a source of sacred descent: The queen [Tu'i Tonga Fefine Nanasipau'u] informed us with an air of satisfaction that King Toobou [Tupou Mumui] himself was bound to pay her these marks of respect, because it was from her he derived his dignity (Labillardière 1800 v.2, p.131-2).

These circumstances combined, it would have been unthinkable after 1848 for the rites de passage of Kauhala 'Uta to be enacted in any form. It would have violated the sacredness of 'eiki rank and it would have angered the jealous Christian god. The faiva that made it through to the twentieth century were the faiva of public festivals and public night dances: me'etu'upaki, me'elaufola (as lakalaka), fakaniua (as 'otuhaka) and ula (as fa'ahi ula). Kauhala 'Uta's elegance was not lost however; it was assumed by dancers of the stately lakalaka.

CHAPTER 12.

Sacred Festivals

Fig. 20. Kātoanga at Olotele, Mua, Tongatapu on 8 July 1777. Hou 'eiki carrying yams and fish for presentation at the sacred yam festival (kātoanga 'o e 'inasi 'ufi mui, festival of immature yams). The presiding 'eiki was Tu'i Tonga Pau.

Webber, Middiman, Hall. Cook /King 1784. (SOURCE: Conner and Miller 1979, pl.15.)

In eighteenth century Tonga the well-being of the community and the productivity of harvested resources was secured through festivals: their natches ['inasi, yam festivals] and other annual exhibitions are not mere public amusements but religious observances, whereon they think the lives and health of their chiefs, for whom they have great affection, entirely depend; as likewise the prosperity of the country in general (Smith 1813, p.155).^{*1}

Eighteenth century society had inherited the ways of two social strata: of sacred chiefs ('eiki, ta'ahine) descended from the sky gods ('eitu), and the land's people (kai fonua, kau tu'a). Reverend Thomas noted that the 'eiki governed according to the wisdom of the gods and in strict accordance to their ruling (Thomas MS1854, pp.247, 259). Mariner confirms that respect was paid to the ancestor-gods, to the sacred chiefs, and to elders (Martin 1981, p.299), and that attention to religious ceremonies was a pronounced feature of social life (Martin 1981, p.331).

Eighteenth century cosmology retained some aspects of a shamanic heritage (Gifford 1929, p.316; Eliade 1972, 1978; Gunson 1990, 1993).^{*2} All realms of the eighteenth century cosmology were inhabited by gods. Gods of the Mäui lineage resided in the Under-world (Lolofonua), having finished their work. The very old founding gods such as Tuputupulefonua (Kaho PP1991) also existed here and it is possible that relegation to the Lolofonua was a metaphor for the displacement of certain lineages and their gods by a new political

configuration. The Tangaloa lineage, who had forged land, resided in the multi-layered skies (Langi) (Thomas MS1853, pp.4, 12). Tangaloa adopted the vehicle of a golden plover (kiu) (Collocott 1919, p.153) and Aloalo the vehicle of a white tern (tala) (Gifford 1929, p.304) for astral flights between the sky and earth. Ancestral spirits resided in the Afterworld (Pulotu), and humans and their troublesome spirits in the material world of light (Maama ni). The kava ceremonial was organised by a shamanistic mythology in which the founding ancestor of the Tu'i Tonga lineage was chewed up his sky brothers and reconstituted in a kava bowl.

Vocabulary from the shamanistic paradigm was adopted into Tongan Christianity ('otua, taula 'eiki, langi, feilaulau, lotu, täpuaki, höifua, tapuhä, monu'ia, etc.). Some Christian festivals in Tonga do not have precursors in English protestantism, which suggests they are carrying forward a Tongan heritage. The chapter begins with a description of the annual church collection in the Free Church of Tonga, at Niuatoputapu in 1971. The opening and closing speeches connected the festival to the realm of the sacred. Then three religious festivals are described from historical records: the sacred yam festivals at which the Tu'i Tonga presided (kätoanga 'o e 'inasi); the annual yam festivals at Vava'u (kätoanga 'o e tö ta'u); and a sacred canoe regatta celebrating marine fertility (kätoanga 'o e siu tapu).

KÄTOANGA 'O E MISINALE, 1971. Amongst Free Church of Tonga congregations in Niuatoputapu the most important religious festival was

the annual church collection (Kätoanga 'o e misinale).^{*3} In 1971 the day-long event was held in Hihifo on 2 October, approximating the time of the old yam festivals of Fiji and Tonga (Capell 1973, p.170). The Hihifo congregation was supported by all villages; strength of worship brought well-being to the community.

Early in the morning the Hihifo church was decorated with coconut fronds, flowers (pua, kaute), banners, and fine mats (fala fihu, kie tonga). Men from the Falehau congregation, dressed in their best and most solemn clothes, most in black trousers, set out walking at 8 a.m. At Hihifo, they joined the kava circle in the club house adjacent to the church. The women however began dancing rowdily in the house of the minister, shaking the building and emitting shouts of glee (tuë).

Towards noon the lali was beaten continuously and urgently, but quietly, and then a lull fell. Children, dressed in their best clothes and wearing girdles of flowers (sisi kāhoa), ran around chanting, " 'E fai 'a e misinale he taha-ua, taha-ua, taha-ua, hala 'a e uasi, the misinale will commence at twelve, at twelve, at twelve, the clock is wrong." (The church clock was accurate.) At noon there was complete stillness. The chanted warning that the ceremony was imminent, and the lull before it began, are reminiscent of the sacred yam festivals (kātoanga 'o e 'inasi) where chanting proclaimed the cessation of all work (Martin 1981, p.343).

At 12.10 the church bell was rung, long and loud, and women began filling the church. Meanwhile there was laughter from the minister's house, where the men were still drinking kava, and then they rose and filed into the church.

The five ministers assembled behind the altar railing. Empty canvas money-bags were brought in by the Post Master and laid on the table. A hymn was sung, followed by a prayer.

During the collection the contribution of each person and the total sum of each plate was publically announced. It was a day of competitive feats (Marcus 1978, p.254), where the giving of money (*lī pa'anga*) was a *faiva*, and reputation was at stake.

Throughout the collection married women (*finemotu'a*), dressed as male tramps, clowned inside the church, dancing the *riské go-go*, playing the piano, reversing roles, courting, fighting, displacing the minister at the altar, wedding him to a married woman, ringing the church bell to celebrate donations, dancing erotically at the altar, causing the ministers to dance, bestowing necklaces and scarves (actions appropriate to inspiring performances of *faiva*), and all in all, innovating uproarious acts and behaving beyond the pale of social convention. These antics increased the abandon with which the congregation gave their last cent. At the same time the sanctity of the church was maintained: no-one smoked, everyone (except the clowns) was dressed in their best; and waistmats were worn (even by the clowns; however in accordance with convention men in trousers did not wear *ta'ovala*; children wore girdles of aromatic plants).

Paulo Hiko was elected Chair of the *misinale* and opened the festival with a speech. The *faiva* of the festival was the collection (*lī pa'anga*):

...*'Oku ou tuku ha kolōlia ki he Pule 'a e Mafimafi, 'Ene tukuange 'a e fakakoloa ma'a kitautolu...ke ta kătoanga fiefia ai...pea tau 'ausia 'a e 'aho ni 'oku hangē ko e lea 'oku tau fa'a puna 'oku kakato 'a 'etau fiefia...kuo me'ite 'etau mo'ui...pea tau fakalaulotoa e 'ofa 'a e 'Otua, 'a 'Ene 'omi koloa ke tau fiefia 'i he kătoanga mahuinga [o e]*

'aho 'oku tau 'i ai...ko e fakalaumälie 'a hou 'eiki...kae'uma'ä e ha'a taula'eiki...pea ta faiva fiefia...

I hand on (tuku) praise to the Almighty for the blessings (koloa = wealth) he has handed on to us ('ene tuku ange 'a e fakakoloa)...we celebrate gladly (kätoanga fiefia)...we are swept along today, as the saying goes: we jump (puna = fly) for joy because our happiness is complete...we live in peace (me'ite = equanimity)...we contemplate the love of God ('Otua = ancestral shade), for giving us wealth ('omi koloa) so that we can enjoy this major festival of today...the sacred chiefs (hou 'eiki) are imbued with the Spirit...and the church ministers (ha'a taula 'eiki = shamans, see Gifford 1929, p.316) ...we sport (faiva) with glad hearts...

A second orator said:

Ko e 'uhinga e 'aho ko e feilaulau misinale...ko e 'uhinga ia 'oku tau me'e mo e fiefia he 'aho ko eni siasi...pea ka hili eni tau fakatauange ki he 'Otua, ke hifo mai ha ngaahi täpuaki mo he ngaahi monu'ia...

Today's agenda is the mission offering (feilaulau = propitiatory sacrifice)...this is the reason we dance (me'e) with happiness on this day of the church...and when it is over, we entreat God to send down blessings (täpuaki) and good fortune (monu'ia)...

The head minister gave the closing oration, with three canvas bags in front of him on the altar railing. The total sum had surpassed expectation:

Tau fakamälö kotoa pë ki he tu'i 'o e langi, ko e 'uhi ko e toka mai e hōifua ka tau ikuna e kätoanga ko eni... We all of us give thanks to the King of Heaven (Tu'i 'o e Langi). Divine favour (hōifua) came to rest on us so that we were able to bring our festival to a successful conclusion.

The church emptied rapidly during his speech, leaving behind only the minister and the elected Chairman of the festival.

The format of the misinale festival was as follows: In the precinct of the festival everything was pleasing (mälie) and set in order (maau). People dressed in their best and assembled. Activity ceased. Persons of sacredness presided. A portion was offered to the gods. Anyone who wished, participated in the feat of giving money; they competed; some plates won renown, some lost reputation. The competitors sported with glad hearts (faiva mo e fiefia) and danced with happiness (me'e mo e fiefia), in expectation of receiving blessings and good fortune (ngaahi täpuaki mo ha ngaahi monu'ia) from the realm of the divine (langi). When the closing speech finished, the congregation had already vanished.

A similar pattern can be pieced together from the fragmentary records of eighteenth century festivals: resources were assembled and displayed (at sacred festivals a portion was allocated to the gods); distinctions of rank were nullified by election or by dress; equanimity of humour was maintained; faiva were exhibited competitively; harlequins and clowns appeared; fervour reached a height; a concluding speech announced the end of the festival; the festival ground was abandoned.

KATOANGA 'O E 'INASI. At the sacred yam festivals at Tongatapu the Tu'i Tonga presided as representative of Hikule'o, god/dess of Pulotu, source of the land's fertility (Thomas MS1854, p.263). In Mariner's account a portion ('inasi) of the land's produce was offered to the gods...to ensure the protection of the gods [for] the welfare of the nation generally, and in particular [for] the productions of the earth (Martin 1981, p.342). In Thomas' account, the yams were presented as an acknowledgement by the chiefs and priests of their dependence on the gods as the owners of the earth and sea, and as supplication for

beneficial weather for the yam seths about to be planted (Thomas MS1854, p.262).

There are few eye-witness accounts of the yam festivals. In 1777 Cook (1777, p.146-152), Anderson (1777, p.917), and Clerke (1777, p.1306-8) attended an 'inasi celebrated by Tongatapu only (Anderson 1777, p.917), and made journal entries. Ellis' account of 1777 is based on recollection (Ellis 1783, p.81-2). Mariner's account is based on 'inasi at Vava'u during the residence there of Tu'i Tonga Fuanunuiava during 1806-9 (Martin 1981, p.342-6). Thomas' account is heresay (Thomas MS1854, p.262-7; MS1865, pp.29-30, 213-14). Lawry witnessed an 'inasi at Olotele in 1822, but the Tu'i Tonga was not present (Urbanowicz 1973, p.81-2). Soakai recounted an incident concerning the 'inasi during the battle at Velata in 1826 (Soakai 1959, p.6). At Tungua in 1826 Täufa'ähau declared to the Tamahä 'Amelia that he would cease bringing her 'inasi (Soakai 1959, p.12). The Tu'i Tonga Lauffilitonga renounced the traditions of his title in 1844 (Campbell 1992, p.94). The 'inasi can be reconstructed as follows:

Throughout the preceding night the land was brought to a state of rest: At the Mooa [Mu'a], and all the plantations, the voices of men and women are heard, singing [*Nofo! 'Oua te ke ngäue! 'oua ngäue!*], Rest thou, doing no work; though shalt not work. This increases till midnight, men generally singing the first part of the sentence, and the women the last, to produce a more pleasing effect; it then subsides for three or four hours, and again increases as the sun rises (Martin 1981, p.343). At Tongatapu in 1777 all movement ceased as the realm of the sacred manifested: [the King] desired me to order the boats crew not to stir from the boat, for as every thing would very soon be *Tabu*, who ever

was found walking about would be *Mated*, that is killed or beat (Cook 1777, p.146). Mariner noted the same restriction during the processional carrying of sand (fala) for covering the grave of an 'eiki, the gods of Bolotoo [Pulotu] being supposed to be present at the time (Martin 1981, p.223).

In Mariner's account the yams were carried to the reception ground, displayed, and allotted to the gods (claimed by the priests), to the hau, and to the Tu'i Tonga; then there was a kava ceremony; the kava repast (fono) was eaten; martial faiva were contested. Mariner names wrestling and boxing. The katoanga concluded with a concert of night dances. When these are ended, the people retire home, perfectly assured of the protection of the gods (Martin 1981, p.345).

Because the gods were present, everyone, including the hou 'eiki, uncovered the upper body: to be present it was necessary we should be naked as low as the breast with our hats off and hair untied (Cook 1777, pp.146, 154). Webber's depiction of the yam festival at Tongatapu on 8 July 1777 records the hou 'eiki with bare torsos, but wearing the typical long, bark cloth wrapping of festival attire (vala ngatu), bearing the yams stooped in a stance of obeisance (tulolo, punou) (Joppien & Smith 1987 v.3, p..3.61A) to demonstrate (fakalangilangi) the greater rank of the gods, see fig.20.

In July 1777 the yam festival began with presentations of the land's produce to the gods. There were no contests, and no blood was spilt; however arms were carried: every one had either a club or spear in his hand (Anderson 1777, p.914). Anderson recorded that sacrificed humans would be brought to the next yam festival (Katoanga 'o e 'inasi motu'a) (Anderson 1777, p.917).

On the second day the festival was completed with faiva (the martial arts of wrestling and boxing), and closed with an oration (faiva lea) (Cook 1777, p.145-154; Anderson 1777, p.913-7). The accounts of Cook and Anderson demonstrate that the martial faiva were performed within the strict prohibitions of the festival and completed the sacred daytime proceedings. The participants then dispersed: **With this the ceremony ended and the whole assembly broke up** (Cook 1777, p.153).

KATOANGA 'O E TÖ TA'U. By Mariner's account at Vava'u during 1806-9, the annual yam festivals (kätöanga 'o e tö ta'u) were ordered by the hau, Finau Fangupö, acting on advice from the priests. The presiding figure was a young ta'ahine representing the consort of the god/dess of weather, Aloalo (Martin 1981, p.346-8). Produce was assembled on one of the mala'e at Neiafu; 9 or 10 priests of Aloalo sat down in a line behind a drum; they petitioned Aloalo and other gods to **continue their bounty and make the land fruitful**; the produce was apportioned; and the portion allotted to the gods was distributed in a free-for-all; the start was signalled by beating the drum.

The men then divided into two sides for a mock-battle, the faiva of toutakao. Here again are marks of sacredness: equanimity and removal of distinctions of rank: **At these general battles, the highest chiefs engage as well as the lowest tooas [tu'a] , and any one of the latter may, if he pleases, attack the king [the hau], and knock him down if he can...The most perfect good humour constantly prevails on these occasions. If a man is knocked down, he rises with a smile** (Martin 1981, p.347). In Mariner's understanding, **It is an honour to attempt these things** (Martin 1981, p.95), and in the faiva toutakao the Tu'i Tonga himself lost his

rank: when there is a general combat...even Tooitonga sometimes gets miserably handled by one of the lowest fellows in the island; but nevertheless he retires from the games without the least inimical spirit, although perhaps with his eyes black (Martin 1981, p.372n).

Rev Watkin's journal provides a commentary on this faiva, in a memo dated 30 August 1834:

This people used to have sacred pugilistic encounters [toutakao] not of two individuals but the inhabitants of 1 place wld be pitched against those of another...used to fight like furies, that the god might be propitious and send them a plentiful crop of breadfruit and cause a particular fish to come in shoals to their shores.

In eastern Indonesia, Sumba island holds an annual festival (Pasola) at which opposing parties of horsemen contest, until blood is spilt or a life is taken. Muller, describing a ritual boxing match, noted the objective to draw blood, the best offering one can make to the spirits (Muller 1991, p.214). Fe'iloakitau Kaho suggested a similar purpose in the Tongan practice of finger sacrifice (tutu'u nima) (Martin 1981, p.349). As the blood drained out of the finger it was consecrated to the mission: Ko e toto ẽ kuo tafea atu, 'ofa ke monü monitonu 'a fononga 'oku tau fai, This blood which is draining out, may it bring total success to our mission (Kaho MS1960, p.[2]).

The theology of the Pasola festival is known: the contest restores harmony between the upper and lower realms of the cosmos. Maintaining the harmony is a human responsibility (Blair 1987). Muller writes (Muller 1991, p.214):

The Pasola is the culmination of a series of fertility rituals called *nyale*. Hundreds of warriors riding bareback on their agile ponies whirl, and charge, and hurl spears at each other, It is dangerous mayhem...In the past the event was deadly...The spear fight allows accounts to be squared with the ancestral spirits, as anyone who dies during the Pasola does so because they have offended the supernatural guardians of the village...the Pasola allows the new

year to begin without any lingering offenses against the ancestors that might compromise the coming crop and the health of the village.

Toutakao was performed at final funeral festivals, which marked the return of the land to abundance (kātoanga 'o e fakalahi); and at the Vava'u yam festivals (kātoanga 'o e tö ta'u) which began in November (Martin 1981, p.346) when late arrival of rains could jeopardise the new crop. It can be inferred that the spilling of blood during the faiva propitiated the spirits and brought about fertility. Possibly, as in the Pasola festival, the battle squared accounts with the ancestral spirits and created harmony in the universe, ensuring the well-being of the new yam crop.

KATOANGA 'O E SIU TAPU. Canoe regattas celebrating mahu, the time of marine fruitfulness, incorporated features which characterised sacred festivals: removal of distinctions of rank, and choice of the presiding 'eiki by election. At the sacred canoe regattas (kātoanga 'o e siu tapu) all participants were dressed alike in the garments of seafarers: 'No one wears bark cloth (vala ngatu) or fine pandanus mats (vala ngafingafi), the only garments are hibiscus mats (kie fau)' (Chevron 1887, p.324). As in the Free Church of Tonga misinale, the presiding 'eiki was selected by vote. Here he was nicknamed "Tu'i Tefisi, Fiji King". All crew members lost their rank and were seated in the tou'a, behind the kava bowl (Chevron 1887, p.323). The faiva of the festival were tau fa'ao (unidentified), and siu'a'alo (canoe racing) (Chevron 1887, pp.325, 326). The festival has been described by Tongavalevale, see Sacred Canoe

Regatta.

Protocols of equality were also recognised in the faiva of pigeon snaring (heu lupe). In Sāmoa Williamson recorded, The sport was conducted under very strict regulations. All the chiefs engaged in it were for the time being sacred, and all of equal importance, and speculated, The temporary sanctity seems to point to inherent sanctity in the pigeons, or to the sacred nature of the competition in which the chiefs were engaged (Herdrich 1991, p.396, citing Williamson 1965 v.2, p.236-7). It can be inferred that equality at canoe regattas, yam festivals, and pigeon snaring festivals signified that the actors were in the presence of the gods, before whom the rank of chiefs was so lowly that distinctions of status were no longer of account.

In 1967 the Niuafo'ou people brought their vaka eke (sökē) dance to the Coronation of H M Tupou IV. They performed it at Pangai mala'e before state guests and an immense crowd. The dance leader began with an evocation: "Kasaleka ! Tütäkē ! Vaimuli !" Dwarfed in the centre of the great mala'e, he bellowed the names of ancestral places and gods, until his voice went hoarse and the last name died on a whisper, at which the crowd roared back with cheers and commendation.*4 The dancers then engaged in feats of agility and dexterity as they clashed sticks. At Niuatoputapu in 1832 rev. Williams was informed that the people performing a vaka eke were calling on their gods to bring back their paramount 'eiki (Mā'atu Ikamafana) who was lost at sea (Moyle 1984, p.178), see fig.3. The vaka eke, like the toutakao, was a feat for the gods. Possibly the need to propitiate the gods inspired agility. Possibly the greater the clashing, the greater the beneficence from the langi. By all account, eighteenth century festivals and performances of faiva were charged with sacred force.

Perspectives

I

At festivals, the 'eiki of highest rank presided and commanded sacred power. In Tonga rank is relative; an 'eiki is served by lesser 'eiki. At religious festivals the hou 'eiki carried out lowly tasks, elevating the gods with their rank.

The religious agenda of eighteenth century festivals can be stated as follows. In the context of a kätöanga, the presiding 'eiki was a conduit to the realm of the ancestor-gods (langi). The presence of a sacred chief, together with the immaculate ordering (maau) and magnificence (molumalu) of the occasion, created a state of sacredness (tapuaki). The display and presentation of produce (fua e fonua) demonstrated the fruitfulness of the land. The accompanying performances of faiva generated energy (mafai) and exhilaration (mäfana), which harnessed the realm of the sacred (langi), so that the fonua (land and community) received (tuku) well-being (monuia). Cook lists health, long life, and abundance as bestowed by the gods when pleased (Cook 1777, p.179). Thus faiva complemented presentations of produce, and brought festivals to a conclusion.

At festivals the land's people (kai fonua) assembled the products of their labour at the order of the presiding 'eiki. In an economic accounting the land's people received in the distribution little of what they gave (Martin 1981, p.96):

As to the cars of yams, they were never inquired after. Tooitonga generally takes care of them, and appropriates them to his own use, and that of his numerous household; not that he has any legal right to them beyond custom and silent consent. The hogs were disposed of in like manner; the greatest quantity to the greatest

chiefs, who share them out to the chiefs immediately below them in rank, and these again to their dependents, till every man in the island gets at least a mouthful of pork and yam.

At the Vava'u yam festivals the public regained only what they could grab in the free-for-all from the allocation to the gods (Martin 1981, p.347). In a theological accounting however, faiva propitiated the gods, ensuring well-being for the fonua (land and people). The spiritual transaction was a bouquet of the economic transaction.

II

Cook was continually thwarted in his attempts to control Tongan actions. People were however obedient in the presence of their sacred chiefs. When Cook and Furneaux came ashore at Hihifo on 4 October 1773, a grandson of Maealiuaki, Finau Tauako (Wilson 1799, p.245), took charge: we two Hatago seated on the grass and ordered the People to set down in a circle round us which they did, never once attempting to push themselves upon us (Cook v.2, p.250). At Maealiuaki's night concert on 17 June 1777 Cook recorded, The whole of this entertainment was conducted with far better order than could be expected in so large assembly, for at this time there were not less than ten or twelve thousand people in our neighbourhood (Cook 1777, p.131). The great sacred rank (sino'i 'eiki, 'eiki lahi) of the leading political figures up until the death of Mumui in 1797, would in itself have placed the katoanga at which they presided in the realm of the sacred.

Thereafter however, the Tupou dynasty was descended from Tuku'aho, whose mother was the daughter of a working chief (Bott 1982, p.146). Tupou I was a "hau-ki-nima", a self-made hau without sacred rank (Hafoka MS[1959, p.61]). Meanwhile the lineages of most sacred

descent had lost political power. In 1830 Tupou 'Aleamotu'a converted to Christianity, followed by Tupou I in 1831 (Campbell 1992, pp.55, 57). Nevertheless, when Tupou IV arrived at Niuatoputapu to open the Agricultural Show in 1971, he was addressed by the "New" lakalaka as the Tu'i 'o e Langi and credited with increasing the land's productivity:

Tau fakafeta'i ki he Tu'i 'o e langi...
Ke ne fakaava 'etau Faka'ali'ali
We thank the King of the multilayered skies...
For opening our Agricultural Show
(Sete Selui, Lakalaka Fo'u, 1971.)

Niuatoputapu from 1935 to 1979 did not have an 'eiki to create a society of supporting chiefs and performing artists, nor to order splendid ktoanga. In 1969 and 1971 the Government Representatives, deriving their rank from their government post and not from their person, signalled they could not preside at presentations of faiva. And in 1971 Falehau people understood that the Tu'i Kanokupolu had arrived exactly as Cook had arrived in 1777: not with the sacredness to generate prosperity, but with the might to loot the storehouse.

CHAPTER 13

Harlequins & Clowns

Fig. 21. Late afternoon at 'Onetale bay, 25 May 1793. Me'elaufola dance performed by women during an afternoon of reciprocal entertainments between Vuna, 'eiki lahi of Vava'u, and a Spanish expedition led by Malaspina. The programme comprised Spanish military drill, and possibly a meke fakafisi (men), a me'elaufola (women), a heá (men), and a dance by children. In the foreground an old woman is clowning: 'a fairly elderly woman who was in the ranks and with a thousand gestures, imitated the clown' (Herda 1983, p.74).

Original in the Mitchell Library, Sydney. Borrador del Baile de las Muger en la Isla de Vavao, Rough sketch of the Dance of the Women on the Island of Vava'u, wash drawing by an unknown artist, 395 x 585 mm. Located by Herda 1983, fig. 21.

13. Male Harlequins & Women Clowns

In the eighteenth century, different faiva had different kinds of clowns. At day festivals martial dances (me'etu'upaki, meke fakafisi) were accompanied by male harlequins of chiefly rank who performed with prodigious skill. Possibly, the display of agility increased the competitive challenge of the performing group. At night concerts women's dances (me'elaufola) were accompanied by the clowning of old women who manifested disorderly behaviour, thereby enhancing the elegance and composure of the performing group.

Tongavalevale's text, "Ko e Vaka na'e 'Alu ki Pulotu, The Boat that Went to Pulotu" (Dubignon 1906), is an account of a heroic but illegitimate journey by the gods of the earth to Pulotu, the Afterworld. Here they are challenged to trials of skill. The gods of Pulotu have a surreal notion of faiva. Hapo, a women's faiva of throwing up a wooden ball and catching it in a small aperture, is contested at Pulotu as a feat of catching the entire crop of a tree without dropping a single fruit. Inversion of social rules is a feature of the realm of the sacred; the gods disobey the codes of sportsmanship and equanimity conventional to festivals, with impunity. In Tongavalevale's account, each time the gods of Pulotu expect to win, they brag. Each time they loose they demand another contest. When they are beaten they display bad humour. In the faiva of wave spearing (fänifö) a worldly god wins by biting his opponent. In the faiva of duck-diving (uku) a worldly god wins by suffocating his opponent. The gods of Pulotu propose trials of skill beyond the bounds of convention; the gods of the world win the contests by strategies beyond the bounds of convention.

During the Church of Tonga's annual collection at Niuatoputapu in 1971, women clowns disrupted the sacred orderliness of the church interior with behaviour which was beyond the bounds of convention. A consortium of scholars has described the cultural inversions, the cross-dressing, the travesties of rank, authority, and respect, which comprise the repertoire of clowns in Oceania (Mitchell 1992). These analyses of clowning are socio-political: a legitimate repository for the heretical (Mitchell, p.146); by ostensibly subverting the important Rotuman values of behaving appropriately, containing one's sexuality, and maintaining social harmony...reinforces them at the same time (Hereniko, p.175); the only public arena in Samoan society that traditionally allows for popular criticism of figures and institutions of authority (Sinavaiana, p.193); Their antics create a particular awareness of antagonistic processes...the joking and clowning are an effective means for individuals to triumph over the dilemmas that these contradictions produce (Barlow, p.81). There is however another dimension to clowning: in Oceania socio-political agendas encompass the ancestor-gods. A possible reading is that the male "harlequins" and female "clowns" who accompanied exhibitions of faiva, were shamans whose inversions of the social order made manifest the success of faiva in generating a sacred force.

Certain faiva in the eighteenth century repertoire had their own style of antic. Martial dances were accompanied by club handlers of 'eiki rank whom the journals described as harlequins. Night dances were accompanied by old women described as clowns.

At the day of reciprocal feats (fe'auhi faiva) at Ha'apai on 20 May 1777, see fig.12, the me'etu'upaki was embellished with an extra display of exhilaration: while this last [stanza] was performing, one of them came

and danced a harlequin dance before me with which the whole [day's entertainment] ended (Cook 1777, p.109). Again at Tongatapu on 21 June 1777, where the Tu'i Tonga Pau presided, *see fig.15*, the programme of three me'etu'upaki was completed with a display of surpassing skill. Cook recorded, a man with a Club in his hand danced a harlequin dance with prodigious agility (Cook 1777, p.136).

At 'Onetale bay on 25 May 1793, during a day of reciprocal feats, *see fig.32*, Vuna's side presented a vigorous war dance, possibly a meke fakafisi, sipitau, or kailao tokotoko. During the performance one of the dance leaders, an 'eiki, clowned. If the visiting party had been Tongan chiefs he would have been wielding a club (Herda 1983, p.71-2):

So as not to alarm us in any way, they had substituted short paddles and other small sticks for their wooden clubs...In all these clashes, one of the chiefs was, particularly, worthy of attention, who, in a moment, converted all the more vivid signs of rage into as many other gestures, rather typical of a harlequin or a clown, frequently causing, in this way, the laughter of the bystanders with repeated grimaces which he directed to everyone.

In 1840 Wilkes, commander of the United States exploring expedition, witnessed a club dance at Levuka, on Lakeba island in the Lau islands of Fiji. Wilkes' party was seated in front of the reception house. The dance was performed by 100 chiefs. The dancers were preceded by a male "clown" who continued throughout the dance to mimic the gestures of the dancers (Wilkes 1852 v.2, p.102-3).

Fig. 22. "Clown" appearing before the commencement of a club dance presented before the Tu'i Levuka and the United States Exploring Expedition. Lakeba, Lau, 24 June 1840 (Wilkes 1852 v.2, p.102-3).

'On the 24th [June], Tui Levuka had prepared an exhibition of the native club-dance for our entertainment, in which all the chiefs and people of the neighbouring towns were to assist; the preparations required three or four days to complete. ...on the eve of expectation, we heard shouts of laughter, caused by the entrance of a clown, who was most fantastically dressed with green and dried leaves, bound on with vines.

After he had gone through many antics, the club-dancers sallied forth, and their movements were accompanied by a monotonous note from a band of musicians...The chiefs made a fine appearance in their gala dresses, and used their clubs in a variety of attitudes...The clown...kept the audience...in a constant state of laughter, by his mimicry of all the chiefs and their movements.'

(SOURCE: Wilkes 1852, v.2, title page.)

The figure is illustrated dressed in greenery, wearing a mask, and carrying a club in each hand (Wilkes 1852, v.2, title page), see fig.22. Masks often represent incarnations of ancestor-spirits (Mitchell 1992, p.92; Lee 1993, p.35; Mihály 1993, p.268). Possibly, the figure demonstrated that the dancers had harnessed sacred forces, presenting a formidable challenge to any other dance company that entered the festival ground; Cook noted that "harlequins" manifested 'prodigious agility' (Cook 1777, p.136). When Tupou IV became hau on 4 July 1967 a Fijian warrior 'eiki appeared at his installation kava; he was Tu'i Soso, emulated by the 'eiki-nöpele Tu'i Vakanö of Nukunuku, Tongatapu. Tu'i Vakanö is an 'eiki of the Ha'a Havea; his title however originates from Vakanö and Nukunuku villages on Lakeba in the Lau islands of Fiji (see Bott 1982, p.125). I see in Tu'i Soso a possible replication of the Lau "clown" of 1840, the Tongan "harlequins" of 1777 and 1793. In 1967 Tu'i Soso appeared dressed in a skirt of streamers made of dried pandanus leaves dyed in different colours, and bearing a spear. He performed antics as he approached to take the king's kava repast (fono) (Pond, pers. obsv.). In this context we know that, being a foreigner, he was outside the restrictions (tapu) surrounding the king. At the investiture of the Tu'i Kanokupolu there is always a certain Fijian present, dressed for war, who prances about, breaking every *tapu* of the *kava* ritual. It is said he is there to protect the king (Bott 1982, p.125).

Gifford described Tu'i Soso at the coronation of Sälote Tupou III in 1918. The kava ceremonial was scheduled to begin at Pangai mala'e at 10 a.m. on 9 October (Gifford 1929, p.94-5):

As the hour of ten struck there emerged from the Palace a dark-faced but most picturesque personage, bearing aloft two long

spears to which were attached several streamers of colored material. He moved forward in a light prancing manner from side to side of the avenue of Norfolk pines which fronts the Palace, and at times he would halt a moment and cautiously glance from right to left; he would then make a sudden lunge forward with the spears as if seeking out a foe hidden by the wayside...His pace was rapid but quiet. A pleasing accompaniment to his progress along the avenue was the soft rustle of the spear-streamers as they fluttered gaily in the breeze, and the musical tinkle of many small nut-shells attached to his waist and ankles...he gave one some idea of the warrior of the old days...Preceded by the herald, the Royal Party made its way up the centre of the ground.

As at Levuka in 1840 the "clown" had appeared as a presager, so too Tu'i Soso cleared the way, protecting the Queen from danger.

Motu'apuaka reflected on Tu'i Soso's charter while recording a history of the Tu'i Kanokupolu for the Tonga Traditions Committee ca 1959: 'the way he rushes about with his spear as a combatant was...as if he is saying - if there is anyone who doubts that this person is not the rightful king, come forward and fight' (Motu'apuaka MS[1959, p.12]).

Thus Motu'apuaka was suggesting Tu'i Soso's fatongia was to guard the Tu'i Kanokupolu during the politically dangerous time of his installation, when chiefs contesting his selection as hau might ambush and challenge him to combat, see *Festivals of Death*.

Motu'apuaka was one of the great orators of Sälote's era, and dearly respected for his knowledge, but with a Christian queen the past was in some measure unthinkable. A solitary "Fijian warrior" with rustling streamers would be no match for a party of warriors lying in ambush along the route, as Mariner described at the death of the hau Fīnau 'Ulukälala 'i Feletoa in 1809 (Martin 1981, p.215).

Possibly Tu'i Soso manifested the mana of the new hau, a formidable challenge combining both personal physical prowess (many of the great hau of the eighteenth century were at the same time champions on the festival ground) and the force of the god which enters at the installation kava (Martin 1981, p.215).

Night dances had a different kind of clown. At Vava'u on 25 May 1793, Vuna's entertainment for the Spanish party included a me'elaufola danced by women, *see* fig.32. Ravenet's sketch (Herda 1983, fig.21) depicts an old woman clowning alongside the dancers, *see* fig.21. The me'elaufola was a faiva of the night concerts, which were occasions of informality (Kaepler [1967] 1993, p.91); the clowns of the me'elaufola were women.

When the me'elaufola reappeared after the nineteenth century repression, it was transformed into the lakalaka (Kaepler [1967] 1993, p.87-9), a day-faiva of state festivals where male and female performers danced en bloc. The clowns accompanying the faiva became both male and female; their style of clowning however remained that of the eighteenth century women clowns. At lakalaka performances the clowns transgressed the space between the presiding 'eiki and the performers, they danced out of time, introduced unchoreographed gestures, misused items of costume, rolled on the ground, and altogether exhibited a contrary notion of the order, coordination, composure, and stateliness which were hallmarks of the lakalaka. These clowns manifested disorderly behaviour (fai kehe), inverting the social order as in Tongavalevale's account of the Afterworld, Pulotu, *see* above. The disorder offset and enhanced (fakalāngilangi) the aesthetic beauty (mālie) of the performance. Excitement (māfana) mounted, reciprocally

reinforced, so that audience and performers were transported to a state of bliss (*hakailangikuotau*).

Women clowns are a manifestation of *hakailangikuotau*, the moment when the poetry, melody, and choreography have combined to make an emotional impact which transports audience and performers alike. Thus, in 1793 the old woman clowning alongside the *me'elaufola* appeared in the course of the dance. The male "clown" of Lau in 1840 and Tu'i Soso in 1918 and 1967, however, appeared ahead of the warrior-'eiki, as the radius of their mana. In 1971 a pair of motor-bike outriders, in dark glasses and black leather jackets and gloves, escorted Tupou IV to the head of the kava circle where he was to preside, on his arrival to open the Vava'u Agricultural Show (Pond & Kaho, papers).

The male "harlequins" of the Tongan martial dances, described by Cook in 1777 and by Malaspina in 1793, appeared at the end of the performance, as if their prodigious agility was a final exhibition of the force of the *faiva*. Tonga was a melting pot; her clowns and her *faiva* were not quite like any one else's.

Noting the appearance of clowns in the course of a *lakalaka* performance, we can wonder whether the antics are intended to arouse the fervour of the audience, or whether they are a manifestation of the sacred force channelling through the performer. Tongans discussing this in the late twentieth century say, that the greater the agility of the clown and thereby the greater the hilarity of the spectators, the greater the force of the *faiva* and thereby the greater the reputation of the performing group. With an acknowledgement of eighteenth century cosmology we can add, the greater the force of the *faiva*, the greater the community's well-being (*monū'ia*).

Perspectives

I

Faiva continued through the twentieth century to be performed for renown, and continued to evoke states of ecstatic transportation (mäfana), manifested through clowning (faka'oli), melodic improvisation (fakahähä), poetic elaboration (heliaki), embellishment of dance gestures with head flicks (fakateke), and bestowing of prizes (fakapale) (Kaeppler [1971] 1993, pp.37, 38). Some choreographers retained a sense that mäfana was a spiritual experience (Shumway 1981, p.478n). For others ecstasy (mäfana) was interpreted as an aesthetic response to the combined beauty of metaphor, melody, and choreography: **Successive waves of sensations of beauty have a cumulative effect that may lift one to the state of *mäfana*** (Shumway 1981, p.479n). Eighteenth century descriptions of faiva must be read however with an appreciation of the greater rigour and tension accruing to performances that were attempting to bring divine favour and well-being to the land and people.

II

By 1971 all of Tonga was Christian, predominantly Catholic, Methodist (Wesleyan), and Mormon. Some small villages accommodated up to five churches. The Wesleyan church had splintered into several denominations, Siasi Uēsiliaana Tau'atäina, Siasi Tonga Tau'atäina, Siasi Tonga Hou'eiki, and Siasi Konisitütone 'o Tonga. The Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupou IV was head of the Siasi 'Uesiliaana Tau'atäina. His son, 'Aho'eitu (now 'Ulukälala Lavaka Ata), was head of the Siasi Tonga Hou'eiki. Festivals continued throughout the twentieth century. With their heritage of Welsh singing however, the methodist missionaries directed religious ecstasy not into festivals but into church services. The passionate resonance of Tongan hymn singing has become renown in cities of the Pacific rim.

CHAPTER 14

Dance Grounds

Fig. 23. Pouono mala'e at Neiafu, Vava'u in 1793. The complex comprised a clearing surrounded by trees rising to a formidable height; a building, superior to all others in size and magnificence, in which drums were kept; the sanctuary of a deity (fale 'otua) enclosed by a fence of woven bamboo, 12 feet high; and the grave (fa'itoka) of Tu'i Tonga Fatafehi Pau. Nearby were the residences of Tupou Moheofo and Vuna, and a spring. The description of Pau's grave is: 'Outside Dubou's house there was a flat piece of rectangular-shaped land, at whose farthest end the sepulchre of Paulajo could be seen...A terrace rose up more than three feet from the land, forming a perfect square with an area of 4000 feet. The top edge of this square was enclosed with great slabs of black rocks, placed side-by-side, and firmly joined together. In the middle of this area was a house [grave shed]...Either side and back of the square were surrounded at 30 feet by two species of trees [toa, longolongo] planted in an orderly, symmetrical fashion in the form of a semi-circle.' The area was used for public meetings and festivities (Herda 1983, p.89). Brambila sketched the clearing, Pau's grave, and the fale 'otua. The perspective of this drawing is possibly from the house of Tupou Moheofo, with the fale 'otua in the foreground.*1

Original in National Library of Australia, Canberra, Rex Nan Kivell collection, 370 x 510 mm. "Sepulcro de Paulajo, soberano de Islas de los Amigos". Attributed by Herda (1983, fig.3) to Fernando Brambila.

Dance Grounds

Clearings where dances took place were described by Hodges and the Forsters at Pangai on 'Eua in 1773; by Cook and Anderson at Popua, Tongatapu in 1777; by Samwell on his rambles through the Hahake district of Tongatapu in 1777; by Bustamante's party on their visit to Neiafu, Vava'u in 1793, and by Vason during his residence in Tongatapu 1797-1800. Common features were a clearing enclosed by very tall trees, a lawn of fine grass, a large building housing drums, sometimes the house of a deity (fale 'otua), in the vicinity of a chiefly burial mound. The location was often at crossroads. These clearings were possibly mala'e and lala.

I

In Tonga, as in many Polynesian societies, faiva are the skills of hunting and fishing. The pursuit of each life-form has its own technique and its own technical vocabulary. Each pursuit is a faiva: snaring pigeons (heu lupe), shooting swamp hens (fana kalae), driving fish (hokohoka), trolling for bonito (hĩ 'atu), noosing sharks (no'o 'anga), harpooning whales (hoka tofua'a). In Tonga the practice of faiva was brought onto the reception ground (mala'e). Martial arts and choreographed dances exhibited at festivals (kätoanga) are faiva.

In eighteenth century records kätoanga were typically day-and-night festivals. Land-based festivals were held on a flat, open, grass-covered clearing enclosed by tall trees. At one end of the ground was a large reception house (fale lahi) from where the presiding 'eiki ordered proceedings (McKern MS p.797), see figs 10 & 27. Here, highly-ranked products (kava, pigs, yams, turtles, certain species of fish, fine mats, bark cloth, etc.) were brought at the command of the presiding 'eiki, displayed, and distributed, and then the occasion was celebrated with

exhibitions of faiva. The day's formalities were followed by an informal night concert (pö me'e, pö ula).

During the day, dress for the hou 'eiki and spectators alike was pleated bark cloth (vala ngatu) (Martin 1981, p.94). The manner of pleating was illustrated by Webber in 1777, *see* fig. 26; by Piron in 1793 in his drawing of Fatafehi Fuanunuiava, *see* fig.19; and in "Mr Mariner in the costume of the Tonga Islands" (Martin 1981, frontespiece).

Descriptions suggest that a standard costume was worn for a wide range of faiva. At canoe regattas crews wore loin mats (kie fau), with girdles of colourful sī leaves (ta'o vala ae si lau lelei) (Chevron 1887, p.324), as did participants in the martial arts and in me'etu'upaki. The champion club-handlers who appeared at intervals between stanzas of the me'etu'upaki simply wore loin mats (kie fau) and turbans (Anderson 1777, p.896). Wrestlers wore a special plaited girdle (Samwell 1777, p.1027). Canoe crews wore garlands of aromatic plants (nau kahoa ae kakala 'oku higoa koe tuitui, moe nusi, mo e lavalava, moe tui ve'eve'e moe falahola, moe kakala fulipe) (Chevron 1887, p.324-5), but there is no record of garlands being worn in the martial arts and me'etu'upaki. Webber's illustration of men boxing at the katoanga on 18 May 1777, *see* fig. 11, records that they wore their hair loose (Joppien & Smith 1987 v.3, fig.3.47).

Distinctions of rank were not emphasized (Chevron 1887, p.324). The two leading figures (vāhenga) in Webber's illustrations of the night dances (Joppien & Smith 1987 v.3, figs 3.48-51) are distinguished only by the greater length of their girdles, *see* fig.26. These were competitive exhibitions of skill, performed in the presence of a higher-ranking presiding 'eiki, and of the gods. In Tonga rank is relative; as

at the sacred yam festivals contestants in *kātoanga* underplayed their social rank, see fig.20. The martial arts were open to participation by any person. *Kātoanga* were occasions for champions.

Everyone put on clean clothing and looked their best. Benign and equitable temper was maintained and orders were carried out deftly. In Mariner's description of festivals ordered by the hau *Fīnau Fangupō* during 1806-9, the chiefs on duty ordered the display of produce while the people assembled from all quarters, and those who were already arrived sat down round [*Fīnau's*] *malái*. Occasionally some of them got up to amuse themselves and the rest of the company, by wrestling with each other, while the king [*Fīnau*] and his chiefs, dressed in plaited *gnatoo* [pleated bark cloth], already seated in the house, viewed what was going forward (Martin 1981, p.94).

A well-coordinated *faiva* is *maau* (Shumway 1981, p.479n). A well-ordered *kātoanga* is *fatu* (Chevron 1887, p.325). During preparations for a festival at Tongatapu in 1777 Cook noted, After breakfast I attended [the Tu'i Tonga Pau] a shore and found his people very busy...fixing in an upright and square position four very long posts, near two feet from each other. The space between the post[s] were afterwards filled up with yams...It was extraordinary to see with what facility and despatch they raised these two piles, had our seamen been ordered to do such a thing, they would have sworn it could not be done without Carpenters...and after all it would have imployed them as many days as it did these people hours (Cook 1777, p.135-6).

II

McKern describes a *mala'e* as a grassed enclosure used by chiefs for public festivals, dances, and ceremonies (McKern MS, p.797). The

analogy with forehead (la'e) suggests an essential characteristic was a flat, open clearing. On one end or side of the mala'e, in the centre, was a magnificently constructed meeting house, often exceeding 100 feet by 50 feet (McKern MS, p.88-9). These buildings were called fale lahi (Colombe 1890, p.87; McKern MS, p.88-9; Martin 1981, p.212 'large house'). Some housed wooden slit drums. The presiding 'eiki and his retinue viewed festivals from this building.*2

Sometimes associated with the mala'e was a smaller building enclosed by high lattice fencing and assigned to a deity (fale 'otua). One fale 'otua was described storing dance pallets (Herda 1983, p.85), and McKern confirms that fale 'otua were sometimes called fale me'e (dance houses) (McKern MS, pp.94, 95).

Also in the mala'e complex was a chiefly burial mound (fo'i fa'itoka); the eighteenth century records do not state whether the meeting house or the burial mound marked the head of the mala'e. With the proximity of dance grounds to burial mounds and god houses, dances would have been performed in the presence of ancestral spirits ('otua). Exploring the western district in 1773, Wales and Bayly noted that burial grounds were often located at crossroads (Wales 1773-4, p.812; Bayly MS, p.96).

During the seventeenth century the Tu'i Kanokupolu Ngata had a large meeting house (fale olo) constructed at Pangai Lahi mala'e, near 'Ahau in Hihifo, see fig.25. It was named "Tangi'atulanga" and was at the same time the house of Taliai Tupou, the deity of the Tu'i Kanokupolu (Motu'apuaka MS[1959, p.8]; Thomas MS1854, p.251). Thus, matters of state were an affair of the gods of the presiding 'eiki, and because festivals were held at the mala'e, it can be inferred that faiva also were an affair of the gods of the presiding 'eiki.

In modern usage a lala is spoken of as a place more remote from society, more sacred and spiritual than the public reception grounds (mala'e). During 1797-1800 Vason noted that night dances were often performed in particular spots where there were large trees; To these places the young people resort for this purpose (Orange 1840, p.128). Anderson described a night concert at the anchorage at Ha'apai in 1777: The place where the dances were perform'd was in an open space amongst the trees just by the sea, with lights at small intervals in the

inside of the diplo (Anderson 1777, p. 128)

trees, amongst which was *Entada phaseoloides*, a tree which produces seeds (pa'anga) for dance anklets. A large, well-maintained building was empty. Nearby was a chiefly burial mound (Forster 1777 v.1, p.440-3; Hoare 1982 v.3, p.379-80). Georg Forster remarked, **This secluded spot, where we sat solitary...struck us with the idea of enchanted ground** (Forster 1777, v.1, p.442). Hodges illustrated the close with its tall trees, fine lawn, and large reception house (Museum Für Völkerkunde, 1976, fig. 271).

POPUA, TONGATAPU

Cook's arrival at Tongatapu in 1777 was anticipated. His ships were escorted to an anchorage off Pangai Motu; the Tu'i Tonga Pau allocated an area for the encampment at Popua ("Observatory Point"). Wilson's map of 1797, *see* fig.33, shows no pathways in this area, indicating an area left uninhabited and uncultivated. There were pigeon snaring mounds (sia heu lupe) (Anderson 1777, p.893-4; Tonga National Centre 1988, p.52-3), and it can be inferred that the area was a rainforest reserve (vao lahi).

Tall trees surrounded a large clearing with a building; Anderson called it a mala'e (Anderson 1777, p.893). Kätoanga were held here on 17, 18, & 21 June 1777, *see* fig. 16, and the observatory tents were erected here. Thus, if the site of the observatory can be pinpointed, the location of the dance ground will be known. Cook recorded, **a small neat house, situated a little within the skirts of the woods with a fine large area before it** (Cook 1777, p.123). Samwell recorded, **Our tents were situated at the upper end of a fine Area surrounded by Trees, it seems to be a place appropriated for the Exhibition of public Games, such as**

wrestling, boxing, etc. Close to the Tents was one of the Chiefs Houses, behind them lay a thick wood (Samwell 1777, p.1024).

HAHAKE, TONGATAPU

In 1777 Samwell explored the eastern district of Tongatapu and reported on the geography of dance grounds in more densely settled areas. He noted the association of a burial ground with a large building housing drums (Samwell 1777, p.1039-40):

...you travel along delightful lanes between the Wicker Partition of the different inclusures, & here & there is a burying place and a large building much larger than the dwelling Houses, which seems appropriated as a public Hall for the use of a district to meet in to transact public Business or to perform their Dances, or as they were situated near the burying places they perhaps perform some Ceremonies in them at their Funerals. There were generally two or three Seats hewn in the Pillars that supported the Building which seemed to be for the reception of the Priests or Cheifs; in these Houses they kept their Drums.

POUONO, NEIAFU, VAVA'U

Neiafu in the late eighteenth century was a centre (Mu'a) of 'eiki society; all burial grounds here were Kauhala 'Uta (Martin 1981, p.217). While Malaspina's expedition was anchored at Onetale bay in 1793, Vuna conducted a party up-harbour to Neiafu, and took them ashore to a location which the Fonuas have identified as Pouono mala'e (Fonua & Fonua 1981, p.12), see fig.23.

Bustamante and Bauzá made a careful reconnoitre while Brambila sketched the complex. The party described a flat clearing, covered in fine, green grass*³ amongst trees rising to a formidable height; the burial mound of Tu'i Tonga Pau; a large building housing drums; and a fenced enclosure surrounding the house of a deity (fale 'otua); this was

a smaller building with dance pallets in the rafters. Adjacent to the clearing were the residences of Tupou Moehofo and Vuna; nearby was a spring (Herda 1983, pp.84, 93):

Having climbed a small incline formed by the shoreline where we had disembarked, and walked a hundred steps, we came out on to a flat piece of land encircled by and covered with luxuriant, intertwining trees, in the shade of which there stood a most delightful house, protecting against the strong sun of these parts. On the right, was to be seen the sepulchre of Paulajo [Tu'i Tonga Pau], and on the left, two houses, one much larger than the other ... Either side and the back of the square were surrounded at 30 feet by two species of trees [toa, longolongo] planted in an orderly, symmetrical fashion in the form of a semi-circle.

Bustamante's party understood that the large building in the clearing was used for public meetings and festivities. No record was made of its name; it was possibly the fale lahi named "Pouono, House of Six Posts":

In the middle of this square, and occupying one of its sides, there is a building that is superior to all the others in size and magnificence. This, combined with the fact that it contained some drums, made us think that it was probably a place for public meetings and festivities. This was confirmed later. We sat here with Vuna and the whole village and conversed for about two hours (Herda 1983, p.95).

At Pouono in 1793, Bustamante's party was told specifically that the smaller building housing dance pallets was a fale 'otua. The fale 'otua appears in the foreground of Brambila's drawing, see fig.23 :

Fourteen wooden columns, raised in the shape of a perfect oval, supported all of the building; the roof sloped down like a tent up to a yard from the ground, and this open part was covered up everywhere (except the front which served as the entrance way) by a mat [tatau] made of fine palm leaves that was easy to move in all directions, depending on the amount of light or ventilation

required. The height of the middle of the house reached more than five yards, and the length or greater diameter was recorded at 30 feet and whose width at 15 feet. The inside of the roof was made of strong pieces of wood carefully joined together; these pieces of wood, curved or worked into the desired shape, gave the inside of the house a concave, symmetrical, and regular appearance. The flooring, carefully levelled out, rose to about a foot and a half and was covered with two mats, one on the floor, itself, and another more elegant one placed on top of it.

Between the several beams that ran from column to column supporting the building, four perpendicular ones crossed over one another in the centre forming a square. This was held together at its four corners by the same number of pillars, and its purpose was to hold five lances, three maces, and other similar types of objects like those used in their dances, and almost of the same shape and size as their paddles... (Herda 1983, p.84).^{*4} This house was built in the middle of a small enclosure formed by cane, deftly intertwined, and rising to more than twelve feet. A rectangular wooden door closed the opening...The whole closed space was flat, covered with fine green bermuda grass; trees surrounded it outside, rising to a formidable height (Herda 1983, p.85).

OLOTELE, MU'A, TONGATAPU

In 1777 the headquarters of the Tu'i Tonga Pau were at Mu'a, Tongatapu. Cook went here, for the yam festival (*kātoanga 'o e 'inasi*), see fig.20, and noted that the allotments abounded with kava and ornamental [aromatic] plants (Cook 1777, p.127). Wilson's plan of Tongatapu drawn in 1797 suggests Mu'a was surrounded by a forest reserve (*vao lahi*), see fig.33. During the 1920s McKern made a reconnoitre of the layout. Along the northwest boundary the great mala'e was bordered by the old shoreline; the remaining sides were fortified with a ditch, an earth wall, and pallisades. The mala'e was about 100 yards long and surrounded by large ovava trees (banyan,

Ficus obliqua). One ovava was named Manau; here the Tu'i Tonga sat when presiding at the mala'e. At the north end of the mala'e were the terraced burial tombs(langi) of the lineage ancestors, and a small mala'e named Fanakava. At the south end of the mala'e was the house of the priest Kautai, and the residence of the Tu'i Tonga, named Olotele, with the stone named Tokomatupa (Levulevukefu). Olotele was enclosed by a fence taller than head height. Adjacent to Olotele was a mound for the umbilical cord of the Tu'i Tonga (McKern 1929, p.92-101). Thus when positioned as presiding 'eiki, the Tu'i Tonga would have faced north, looking across the mala'e to the tombs of his ancestors, see fig.18.

The configuration of Olotele replicates features of Pouono, in its open mala'e surrounded by trees, burial ground at one end, and two buildings (fale lahi, fale 'otua) at the other end.*5

Perspectives

I

While visiting Pouono mala'e in 1793, Bustamante's party learned the area was used for public meetings and festivities (Herda 1983, p.89). Two hundred years later, Mala'e ZCO in Falehau village had the same uses: public meetings (fono) and cricket matches (faiva), see fig.4. In 1971 there was no building; town officers and household heads attending fono sat in the open.

Eighteenth century mala'e however had magnificent meeting houses; Motu'apuaka recounted how Ngata met with chiefs of the Ha'a Ngata in the meeting house (fale olo) named Tangi'atulanga at Pangai Lahi

(Motu'apuaka [1959, p.8]). Thus the venue of political discussion was the great building abutting the open mala'e.

Cricket matches when first introduced to Tonga, were a faiva performed in festival style, *see* fig.34f. Legislation against distributing pigs, beating dance drums (nafa), beating signalling drums(lali), blowing brass instruments, firing guns, and flying flags strongly indicates these things were done. The mala'e was the site of festivals and the exhibition of faiva.

As Samwell noted in 1777, the faiva most highly prized amongst chiefs was club-fighting (Samwell 1777, p.1028). Kaho described a festival of martial arts (Kätoanga 'o e Feinga Kotone) where an unbeatable Sāmoan champion was challenged by Täufa'ähau (Tupou I); Täufa'ähau struck him a stunning blow on the head. 'After delivering it Täufa'ähau swung his palalafa challenging Tonga's entire domain for someone to fight with, but both sides (ongo mātanga) of the festival conceded defeat (fo'i kätoa) and not a one answered the challenge' (Kaho MS1960; Soakai 1959, p.15). This incident established the low-ranking Täufa'ähau as a formidable champion and legitimated his challenge for the title of hau; in 1826 he defeated the Tu'i Tonga Laufilitonga at Velata, and by 1831 he was known as King George the First of Tonga (Campbell 1992, p.235).

It was on the festival ground, therefore, that chiefs demonstrated their championship in the martial arts and legitimated their challenge for the political status of hau. From the fale lahi the presiding 'eiki ordered proceedings on the festival ground, *see* fig.27, and met with his supporting chiefs to discuss matters of state. Dance grounds were the centres of political power.

II

In 1809 the body of Finau Fangupö, Ulukälala 'i Feletoa, was laid out in the great house named Pouono. Pouono mala'e was then at the centre of Finau Fangupö's fortress (Martin 1981, p.212). The fortress extended down to the shore and was named Vaha'akeli 'space between trenches' after the deep ditches surrounding it (Fonua 1981, p.12-13). Täufa'ähau (Tupou I) announced the Vava'u code here in 1839 (Fonua 1981, p.12), and in 1859 he held the first parliament, Fakataha Fakapule'anga, here (Tupou Posesi, pers.comm.). In the late twentieth century Pouono is a complex comprising a mala'e and a cemetery, hemmed in by administrative buildings and markets. It is known that a large house with six posts once occupied the centre of the mala'e. Shading the mala'e and the cemetery is a large mohemohe tree (*Serianthes myriadenia*, a native of Fiji and rare in Tonga). An 'ovava (banyan, *Ficus obliqua*) has strangled a remnant of the toa trees (ironwood, *Casuarina equisetifolia*) that once covered the area; pua (frangipani, *Fagraea berteriana*) shade the cemetery boundaries (Fonua 1981, pp.12, 13, 14).

In the centre of the modern cemetery at Pouono is an old langi, a rectangular, slab-faced mound named Pangai; it is known as the langi of Ta'emoemimi, elder half-sister of Pau and daughter of Tu'i Tonga Tu'ipulotu 'i Langi Tu'oteau (Fonua 1981, p.13). There is no common knowledge of Paulaho's grave, nor of where Tupou Mohefo was buried; Gunson notes that she remarried in Fiji (Gunson 1987, p.162).

As residences, schools, gardens, shops, markets, and public roads have encroached onto the dance grounds during the twentieth century, the sanctity of the burial mounds has secured their corner of the

ground; but clearings closed round by tall trees have gone, taking with them the enchantment.

Fakahifo he fanga ko Faleola
Fakama'u ai e fononga
He katoanga ne fai he lala
He kuo pililolo hono vala
Neongo ko hono mamana e fakalala.*6

Disembarking at Faleola bay
There the party attire themselves
For a festival held in the sacred close (lala)
Perfumed oil coats his tapa kilt
His favourite is still the Lapaha costume.
Fe'iloakitau kaho, 1943, "Talaefonua", 1.35-39.

Fig. 25. Locations of festival and funeral grounds at Tongatapu. The reception grounds of the Tu'i Tonga were named Mu'a; those of the Tu'i Kanokupolu, Pangai. In the late 18th century there were three centres of power in Tongatapu. The Ha'a Ngata were at Kolovai and Neiafu in the west; Mumui was at Nuku'alofa; the Tu'i Tonga and the Tu'i Kanokupolu were at Mu'a. The centres of political power were at the same time the festival and funeral grounds.

In 1773 Cook and Furneaux were conducted to the Tu'i Kanokupolu burial ground at Havelu Lahi at Neiafu (Kanokupolu), and then to the great ceremonial ground at Pangai Lahi, 'Ahau (near Kolovai) in the Hihifo district of Tongatapu; this was the ceremonial centre of Ngata, the founding Tu'i Kanokupolu. In 1797 Mumui was buried at Pangai Lahi, although his own reception ground was at Nuku'alofa. In 1793 Mumui held a katoanga for D'Entrecasteaux at Nuku'alofa; this area remained the Pangai of Tupou II, III & IV.

In 1777 Cook's expedition anchored at Pangai Motu, Tongatapu; festivals were held at Popua ("Observatory point"). However, the Tu'i Tonga's ceremonial centre was at Olotele, Lapaha (Mu'a). In 1793 D'Entrecasteaux's expedition anchored at Pangai Motu. The Tu'i Tonga Fefine held her festivals here, but her own ceremonial ground was possibly at Mu'a. (SOURCE: Beaglehole 1967 v.3, fig.6, adapted.)

Dance Grounds 'Eua

Fig. 25b. At 'Eua in 1773 Hodges and the Forsters were conducted to a road junction, where a large building and flat lawn suggest a mala'e or lala. A short path through the trees led to a chiefly burial mound. The location is possibly Pangai, estate of Ve'ehala. The governing 'eiki of 'Eua during 1773-77 was Luani Täufa Toutai, appointed by 'Ulukälala 'i Ma'ofanga. Later Luani was driven out by Hafoka, who governed on behalf of Ve'ehala, a Ha'a Ngata title serving the Tu'i Kanokupolu (Bott 1982, p.114). (SOURCES: Admiralty chart 1888; Museum für Völkerkunde, 1976, fig.271, Hodges, Landschaftsszene auf Eua.)

'...we came through a fine cultivated valley to a place where the footways were crossing & then we saw a fine green lawn, covered with the finest Turf, & surrounded by large trees; on one side of it was a house but then

empty; the pigeons were cooing' (Hoare 1982 v.3, p.379-80). 'Mr Hodges sat down to draw this delightful spot. We breathed the most delicious air in the world ... and many amorous doves cooed harmoniously in the deepest shade of the tree under which we were seated' (Forster 1777 v.1, p.442).

CHAPTER 15

Night Concerts by Torchlight

Fig. 26. Night dance by torchlight, 1777, drawn by Webber. Night concerts were held at Faka'amumei bay, Ha'apai on 20 May, and at Popua, Tongatapu on 17 & 21 June 1777. The concerts were possibly pö me'e, and the dance a women's me'elaufola (Kaeppler [1967] 1993, p.87-9). The two leading dancers are distinguished by their girdles which have long streamers in the style of sisi fakavainiaku.

Webber, Sharp. Cook /King 1784. (SOURCE: Conner and Miller 1979, pl. 11.)

15. Night Concerts by Torchlight

Pöula & Pöme'e

...Fanongo! kua ongo mai he langi: kua nau ako he pöula ke fai 'a pö ki he mala'e ki Tanea ? ... Tau vala he sī kula pea tau no'aki he tapa 'i ngatu, tau 'ai he fau he 'etau tui siale, pea tau kahoa he huni ke fakahā ange tau nganongano. Fanongo angē he mavava he tu'unga kai fonua. Kua hili he ula; pea kua tufa he kina'anga he 'etau katoanga ... 'Tkai holi mai he tu'unga tangata kau lea angē tau tuinga kakala, pea pehē angē he 'enau lapu mai. "He me'a ko ia ta'e hoihoifua he 'etau tu'unga fāfine mei Liku, 'ikai he lelei he 'enau nganongano kua tatau he 'enau nanamu mo e hifo'anga ki Mataloko mo Vaipua...

Listen! The refrain (langi) can be heard: they are practising a night dance (pöula) to perform tonight at Tanea mala'e ... Let us put on red cordyline leaves to bind our pieces of barkcloth, let us don head-dresses ('ai he fau) of threaded siale flowers, and garlands of huni flowers to enhance our ruddy skins. Listen to the applause of the locals. The ula is over; they are distributing the relishes for our feast ... The youths are not eager by half, begging for our fragrant garlands, with flattering words. "Our young women from the weather coast are not half elegant, there is nothing exceptional in their rosy skins, their fragrance is not to be compared with the precipice at Mataoko and Vai Pua..."

(Part of a fakaniua song sung at Vava'u and recalled by Mariner, describing preparations for a pöula at Tanea mala'e ca 1808 (Martin 1981, p.414-15, edited. Siale tonga, *Gardenia taitensis*; siale matalateau, *Gardenia jasminoides*; siale tafa, *Bikkia tetrandra*; huni, *Phaleria disperma*.)

15. Night Concerts by Torchlight

Pö me'e & Pö ula

Night concerts in the eighteenth century were the occasions (lakanga) of women's dancing: The dances of the women are generally if not always in the evening, and by torch-light (Ellis 1783, p.98). Vason noted the appreciation of beauty in this setting: These dances are very beautiful. Young women of the most graceful figure and comely features assemble on these occasions, their dark ringlets bespangled with aromatic flowers of a peculiar whiteness [siale tafa, huni], their necks and shoulders encircled with wreaths of verigated flowers, tastefully strung together like beads, their graceful limbs covered only with a thin drapery, and in some cases, only shaded with an entwined garland of gee-leaves [sī, *Cordyline terminalis*] (Orange 1840, p.127].

Vason described evenings of dancing in the context of society life during 1797-1800. The chief will send round the district, and collect together thirty, forty, or fifty young people of both sexes, to dance with his attendants by the light of tomals [toume], or torches (Orange 1840, p.126). The night concerts continued till midnight, or daybreak. These dances...are frequently kept up till midnight, when performed in a chief's house, and sometimes till morning, by an interchange of performers, who alternately retire to rest, and rise again to dance (Orange 1840, p.128).

Night concerts were held for relaxation and pleasure at the end of the day, as Vason described, and as informal entertainment after the formalities of a festival. Tongavalevale described the finish of a canoe regatta: 'As soon as it is dark everyone assembles for the grand night dances. They continue until daybreak, for the entire night up to the morning of the next day. Then they disperse and everyone goes home to their part of the country, to their own home, and talks about the winning boat' (Chevron 1887, p.327).

Participants respected a code of excellence. Vason attended the night's festivities at the wedding of a ta'ahine and reported, The utmost order and decorum prevailed throughout this festive exhibition of agility and joy: which terminated only with the dawn (Orange 1840, p.151). Clerke remarked, the seeing us laugh'd and pleased contributed much to their festivity and everything was conducted with the utmost good humour and Cordiality (Clerke 1777, p.1302-3).

As with the day festivals, participants dispersed immediately the concert was declared at an end. Mariner attended the festivities at the marriage of Tu'i Tonga Fuanunuiava (aged 40) to the eldest daughter of Finau Fangupö (aged 18), at Vava'u ca 1807. The night dancing ended when a matäpule delivered a discourse on the sanctity of married women; the company then retired (Martin 1981, p.96-8). Anderson recorded that the last two dances of the night concert at Ha'apai in 1777 met with universal approbation from the spirit and exactness with which they were perform'd (Anderson 1777, p.878). At the end of the evening a matäpule delivered a discourse instructing people to return to their homes. The people immediately dispersed. Finau scoured the woods, beating stragglers severely (Samwell 1777, p.1021).

Voices Singing

The night programmes were opened with a fakaniua, an orchestra of musician-singers with bamboo instruments performing a seated dance (a recitatif with gestures) in the Niua style. This orchestra continued to accompany the me'elaufola and dances of the pöme'e; it was entirely male.

The fakaniua orchestra had bamboo stamping tubes (kofe) of three different lengths, producing three different tones as they were tamped (tuki) against the ground, and a wooden or bamboo rattle (name unknown) producing a contrasting pitch. The [singers] as well as those that beat with the Bamboos sung a slow and soft air, which so temper'd the harsher music [of the rattle] that a bye stander who had been accustomed to hear the most perfect and various modulation of sounds could nevertheless not avoid confessing the vast power and pleasing effect of this simple harmony, which appear'd not to be produc'd from the variety but the sorts of tones made use of (Anderson 1777, p.875). It was a distinctive aesthetic of sound, peculiar to the fakaniua; the close of tall trees and the stillness of the night air would have had a particular acoustic property. This orchestra continued throughout the entire concert.

Samwell described the participation of spectators in the singing (Samwell 1777, p.1019): A large Ring was formed...those in the inner circle sitting all round it; at proper distances sat five or six Men holding Lights in their Hands...A Band of Music consisting of four or five Performers was placed at one part... accompanying [the bamboo instruments] with their Voices in which they were joined by many

others in the ring. At Vava'u in 1793 during a late afternoon's entertainment, the entire assembly participated in the singing (Herda 1983, p.39-40): the harmonious circle which accompanied Vuna...were deliberately divided into three parts: that of the men, that of the women, and that of the children...now on one, now on the other side, the different sexes and ages came together with a very ordered harmony.

Repertoire of Faiva

The great daytime katoanga of the eighteenth century were the occasion (lakanga) for faiva displaying athletic agility and strength. Night dances were the occasion for artistry and nuance in sound, gesture, and narrative. By Mariner's account the torch-lit circles of the night concerts were the appropriate occasion for the faiva: fakaniuā, me'elaufola, hea, and ula (Martin 1981, pp.372-5), see Appendix of Faiva.

The dancers performed around the central group of musician-singers. Observers noted their exceptional grace and fluidity; it is the quality Shennan calls lasya (Shennan PP1992): These dances were performed with admirable skill. Every possible motion and inflexion of the body was made with a uniformity and rapidity, which the torpid limbs of Europeans could not, except after a very long course of exercise from earliest youth, imitate (Orange 1840, p.151). At a pōme'e for the Tu'i Tonga Laufilitonga in 1830 Waldegrave wrote, The hands and head were in perpetual motion, of the most graceful attitude (Waldegrave 1833, p.188). A feature much remarked on was the great variety of gesture: neither pen nor pencil can describe the numerous actions and motions they observe, which as I have before observed are easy and

gracefull and many of them extreemly so (Cook 1777, p.131). ...The musicians sit together forming a small circle, and the women dance round them, and their attitudes and motions are beyond description (Ellis 1783, v.1, p.98-100).

The dances of the pö me'e became distilled by Cook's party as the circular dances; Mariner identified them as me'elaufola (Martin 1981, p.372; Kaeppler [1967] 1993, p.95).^{*1} At Tongatapu on 17 June 1777 Cook recorded, The evening was ushered in with singing and dancing the Circular dance in which both men and women performed. The musicians formed a closed circle in the centre of the dance ground and round them the dancers form a nother, but this is done so insencibly that it is some time before it is compleat and very often not till the end of the dance (Cook 1777, p.131). Anderson recorded, They made a circle round the the chorus turning their faces towards it (Anderson 1777, p.875).

Night dances were performed by companies of men, companies of women, and occasionally by mixed companies. At Popua on 17 June 1777 Anderson recorded, in two [dances] that were perform'd by women a number of men came and form'd a circle within theirs (Anderson 1777, p.898). Waldegrave however considered there was a characteristic difference between the two: the only difference was, the men frequently danced with their feet, the women scarcely moved their feet off the ground (Waldegrave 1833, p.188). Waldegrave has a point. In modern lakalaka choreography the women take tiny steps back and forth while the men stamp, lunge, and leap (see Kaeppler 1993, fig.7.5).

Night concerts were occasions of levity (Kaeppler [1967] 1993, p.91). At Popua in 1777, Omai's Finau appeared in one dance well dress'd with

linnen, a large piece of gauze and some pictures hung round his neck (Anderson 1777, p.898).

Women of Rank

What was the rank of the women who danced at the eighteenth century night concerts? Vason's account suggests they were common women of the locality: The chief will send round the district, and collect together thirty, forty, or fifty young people of both sexes, to dance with his attendants by the light of...torches (Orange 1840, p.126). The fakaniua song sung at Vava'u during 1806-10, *see above*, describes the women preparing their costumes for a night concert (pö ula): girdle of red cordyline leaves (ta'ovala he sī kula); to bind our pieces of bark cloth (tau no'o'aki he tapa'ingatu); head wreaths of threaded gardenia flowers (tau ai he fau he tau tui siale); garlands of glistening white huni flowers to highlight the tan of the skin (pea tau kahoa he huni ke fakahā ange tau nganongano): Tow vala he chi-coola bea tow nawagi he tapa he gnato, tow y he fow he tow tooi jiale, bea tow cahooa he hooni ger fucca-häänge tow gnano-gnano (Martin 1981, p.414-15). Helu comments that siale tafa, *Bikkia tetrandra*, is classed with the aromatic flowers worn by common people (Helu 1986, p.23). In the fakaniua song is the banter of common women (Martin 1981, p.414-15), *see above*.

Mariner's fakaniua described preparations for a pö ula. What of the pö me'e, the occasion for the circular me'elaufola dances ?

Records of the three night concerts held in 1777 during Cook's visits also suggest that on those occasions the women dancing were not women of rank. At the Lifuka concert a company of women dancers was

recalled and struck severe blows (Samwell 1777, p.1020-1); on this occasion, this set of women could not possibly have been women of rank. Further, Webber's illustrations depict the women dancers without the fine mats (vala ngafingafi) worn by women of rank, *see* fig.26. Williamson commented, their dancing Women...are early trained to it, for the entertainment of the great.--The principal Women who have at all times an Air of consequence & dignity in whatever they do, never perform among them (Williamson 1777, p.111n).

It appears possible to confirm that on each occasion the woman of highest rank did not dance. At the end of the night's programme at Ha'apai on 20 May 1777, Finau's wife was noted to be in the company of the ships' party, not amongst the dancers (Samwell 1777, p.1021). At the afternoon programme of faiva at Vava'u on 25 May 1793, Vuna presided and his highest ranking wife, Fatafehi, did not dance (Herda 1983, pp.72, 73). She was a young ta'ahine, the daughter of Tu'i Tonga Pau.

At the afternoon reception for Dentrecaesteaux's party given by the Tu'i Tonga Fefine at Pangaimotu on 5 April 1793, women of her court danced but the ta'ahine herself was depicted seated in her reception house, with a screen (tatau) around her. She neither danced nor directed the dancing; it was Fuanunuiava, son of Tu'i Tonga Pau, who took the role of punake (Labillardière 1800 v.2, p.160-2 & pl.27), *see* fig.19.

In striking contrast, on occasions when martial contests and dances followed presentations of produce, able-bodied male 'eiki led their own retinue in performances of me'etu'upaki (Anderson 1777, p.877; Cook 1777, p.109; Herda 1983, p.50). At Maealiuaki's katoanga on 17 June 1777 one me'etu'upaki was led by the 'eiki Tupou costumed in a garment of

red feathers, while Omai's Finau, Fatafehi, and Maealiuaki played the drums (Anderson 1777, pp.895, 896). Omai's Finau himself led another me'etu'upaki. Maealiuaki himself did not dance; he was very old. In 1830 Tu'i Tonga Laufilitonga, aged ca 30, led one of the dances at a pöme'e given to welcome him home (Waldegrave 1833, p.189). Mariner noted that the Tu'i Tonga Fuanunuiava and the hau, Finau Fangupö, would themselves join the toutakao (Martin 1981, pp.211, 347).

However the eighteenth century scene was complex. There were no night concerts at receptions for Spanish and French exploring expeditions in 1793, who were received by the Tu'i Tonga Fefine at Pangaimotu, by Tupou Mumui at Nuku'alofa, and by Vuna at Vava'u. These receptions were held during the day; on each occasion the programme included faiva from the night concerts, and on these occasions, while the highest ranking woman did not dance, other women of rank did.

On 25 May 1793 at 'Onetale bay, there was a day of reciprocal feats (fe'auhi faiva) which began with a display of military drill by the Spanish. Before sunset there was possibly a he'a danced by men and then a me'elaufola danced by women, ~~see~~ fig.32. Only Fatafehi (daughter of Tu'i Tonga Pau and Vuna's highest ranking wife) did not dance, but her sister, also Fatafehi, danced and so did Vuna's sister Tupou; these women were high ranking:

Fifty women, the greater part of them Equis, almost all young, entered the area...Only the daughter of Paulajo and wife of Vuna refrained, on this occasion, from appearing to the audience. Her sisters, and the other notables who had visited us on board were all contained in the circle. The Dubou [Tupou Filoimanuma'a], sister of Vuna, seemed to be the maestra. The more adult women did not

disdain in mixing with the younger and the dance had not even begun when it was already necessary to form a second circle outside in order that all would be able to dance with some comfort (Herda 1983, pp.72, 73):

At the reception for D'Entrecasteaux at Pangai Motu on 5 April 1793, where the Tu'i Tonga Fefine presided, another faiva of the night concerts, possibly the new Sāmoan ula or fa'ahi ula, was performed at the ta'ahine's order. The dancers were her attendants and would thereby have been women of rank: She first ordered some young persons of her attendants to dance (Labillardière 1800 v.2, p.160).

In 1830 Fatukimotulalo, a great 'eiki of Kauhala Lalo, ordered a katoanga for the return home of Tu'i Tonga Laufilitonga. The dances of the night concert were possibly me'elaufola. On this occasion one dance was lead by the wife of Fatukimotulalo and one dance by his daughter. Both women would have been women of rank, but we can infer that also present would have been Laufilitonga's wives; they would have been ta'ahine of even greater rank and there is no record that they danced. We can conclude that on this occasion the woman of greatest rank did not dance. On the other hand, Laufilitonga and his son each lead a dance (Waldegrave 1833, p.189).

Here is further insight into the landward agenda of the Ha'apai chiefs at the reception of Cook on 20 May 1777. Cook's party was strongly impressed by the asethetic beauty of the occasion; but women of rank did not dance for them, as Fatu's wife and daughter did for Laufilitonga in 1830.

Direction of Women's Dances

'Eiki of rank were attended by old women: Lätünipulu at Hihifo in 1773 (Cook 1773-4, p.258; Hoare 1982 v.3, p.388); Fuanunuiava at Mu'a in 1777 (Cook 1777, p.150); Tu'i Tonga Laufilitonga in 1830 (Waldegrave 1833, p.187-8).

At the Ha'apai night concert on 20 May 1777 the young female dancers were possibly under the care of two old women. Cook's account begins from the opening fakaniua and covers the entire night's programme. In a short time a number of Women, dressed better than Common, came and encircled the [musicians] in a kind of dance and joined in the Song; thus they continued for a full half hour, when two elderly women (one on each side, and who seemed to have the management of the whole) brough[t] the others up, dancing, two by two and ranged them before the chief, which ended the dance and the assembly broke up (Cook 1777, p.110). At Vava'u in 1793 Malaspina's party reported that the young women of rank who entertained them with 'üpë on 24 May were under the direction of Vuna's elderly sister, Tupou: It was Dubou who directed the chorus (Herda 1983, p.66). The significance of the management of women's dancing by old women remains undisclosed.

Also problematical is the relationship of the 'eiki of Kauhala 'Uta to women's dancing. Pau was very corpulent but he sometimes danced with the women (Ellis 1783, v.1, p.100), in the informal context of night concerts (Anderson 1777, p.902): The men very rarely intermix in the women's dances, though we once saw Polahow [Pau] in the midst of them, and, notwithstanding his corpulency, he kept as good time as the

best of them...sometimes Powlahow lays his dignity aside for a time, and dances with his women (Ellis 1783 v.1, pp.100, 105). A night concert was also the occasion when Laufilitonga danced (Waldegrave 1833, p.189).

When the women of Nanasi's court danced the new Sāmoan ula, the Tu'i Tonga Fefine (Nanasi) presided while Fatafehi Fuanunuiava (later Tu'i Tonga) took the role of punake: **Futtafaihe, who was standing, directed their movements, and animated them by his voice and gestures** (Labillardière 1800 v.2, p.160 & pl.27).^{*2}

Within a lineage, spiritual power and genealogical knowledge was held by the father's senior sister (mehekitanga). Possibly 'eiki of Kauhala 'Uta were accommodated in women's dancing because they too represented the realm of the sacred and a non-militant exercise of power through sacred force. The problem invites ethnographic research.

Costume

Vason recalled that at some night concerts during 1797-1800 women wore only a girdle of sī leaves (Orange 1840, p.127); it is possible that these occasions were pō ula. The night concerts witnessed by exploring expeditions were possibly concerts of me'elaufola, and therefore pō me'e.

Williamson described the women costumed for the night concert at Ha'apai on 20 May 1777 (Williamson 1777, p.111n):

...the dancers were upon this occasion particularly well dress'd after their manner, which consists of a large piece of their cloth of a brown colour, first doubled, & then with great exactness folded on the upper part into about thirty plaits, & tied with a kind of ribband made of the leaves of the plantin tree dyed of different colours, round their waist, their hair is adorned wth a variety of

flowers, & the upper part of the body rub'd over with a perfumed Oil: from the stiffness of the cloth, its being plaited, & the manner it is put on, they look like persons just springing out of a cask.

The description is confirmed by Waldegrave, who attended a night concert for the Tu'i Tonga Laufilitonga in 1830 (Waldegrave 1833, p.189):

The women were clothed from the waist downwards...the lower dress was tasty and beautiful, consisting of folds of tapa, ornamented with beads and flowers...to complete the dress, quantities of coconut oil, perfumed with sandal-wood, were lavished over the head, arms, neck, and part of the body...The men were clothed except the arms, and each appeared in uniform except the leaders...The quantity of tapa round the waist was so great as to entirely destroy the figure in both sexes, projecting in part at least six inches beyond the body.

The wrapping of bark cloth was tied in place with a girdle (sisi). Ellis (Ellis 1783 v.1, p.98-100), Williamson, and Vason described girdles of plantain = si leaves. The costume of the night concerts has sometimes reappeared in twentieth century lakalaka dances. In Kanokupolu's lakalaka (lakalaka 'a e Fola'osi) at the Coronation of Tupou IV in 1967, the women dancers wore bark cloth (vala ngatu) with a girdle of aromatic leaves (sisi lau maile) (Kaeppler 1993, figs 5.6, 5.7).

Waldegrave commented in 1830 that The men...each appeared in uniform except the leaders (Waldegrave 1833, p.189). In Webber's records of night dances the waist girdles (sisi) of the two leading figures of the women's dance and of the men's dance are different from the rest (Joppien & Smith 1987 v.3, pls 3.48 - 3.51A), see fig.26. It is a discrete difference, but enough to confirm that the me'elaufola had two vāhenga.*³

Twentieth century performances of the lakalaka also had two vāhenga, one male and one female. However in 1971 the lakalaka costumes of chiefly female vāhenga were very different from the other women. A vāhenga of simple rank wore her best dress, not the uniform. A vāhenga of chiefly rank wore a best dress, fine mats, and an elaborate waist girdle (sisi) and neck garland (kahoa). Thus in female lakalaka dancers of the late twentieth century, the girdle (sisi) was no longer the outstanding difference, and the disparity of rank had become greatly emphasized. Amongst male dancers however, the vāhenga often was distinguished only by his elaborate sisi kahoa, worn usually over the shoulders (see Kaeppler 1993, figs. 5.3, 5.6, 7.1, 7.6).

Costume addresses the problem of the rank of the women who danced on each occasion. At the night concerts for Cook in 1777 all women wore bark cloth (vala ngatu); the journals suggest they were not women of rank.*⁴ Overall the eighteenth century records appear to indicate that costume for faiva was egalitarian, with the exception of a dancer filling a centre position.

The saying, 'hala 'o lupe kuo 'uhia 'e manu vale' confirms the convention of distinguishing rank by wearing fine mats: Ka 'i ai ha 'eiki 'oku tu'utu'uni ke ta'ovala ngafingafi 'i ha lakalaka pea toe 'ai atu 'e ha taha tu'a ia hono ta'ovala ngafingafi mo ia, pea 'ai leva ki ai e fo'i lea ko ia, *Hala 'o lupe kuo 'uhia 'e manuvale*. 'If an 'eiki gives the order for a lakalaka dance costume to be a ta'ovala ngafingafi (fine mat) and then a commoner goes and puts on a ta'ovala ngafingafi, people will apply that saying, *The common sort have made use of the path of the pigeon.*' (T. P. Kaho MS1983).

Head Dresses

At Ha'apai in 1777 Anderson recorded, twenty women enter'd the circle most of whom had garlands of the crimson flowers of the China rose [hibiscus] or others about their head, and many had cut some other leaves they had about them as ornaments with a great deal of nicety about the edges. Webber depicted the women wearing head wreaths, but not the cut leaves (Joppien & Smith 1987 v.3, pls 3.48, 3.49, 3.49A).

In the repertoire of dances performed during the late twentieth century, there were no head dresses of flowers. At dance rehearsals, neck garlands and waist girdles made of aromatic parts of plants were worn, as described in eighteenth century records. On the public mala'e, on the day of a state festival, some choreographers did chose garlands and girdles of living plant materials (see Kaeppler 1993, figs.5.1, 7.1, 8.3); otherwise garlands and girdles were often made of long-lasting materials (especially dyed hibiscus bark, see Kaeppler 1993, figs.3.1, 7.8). There were no headdresses of real or plastic flowers.

The change in headdress was dramatic. During the twentieth century dancers of mā'ulu'ulu, lakalaka, 'otuhaka, fa'ahi ula, and sometimes dancers of me'etu'upaki (see Kaeppler 1993, fig. 7.7) appeared wearing tekiteki in their hair. Women's tekiteki were made of a coconut rib, ornamented with white hen's feathers and worn correctly, stood upright in the hair (Tupou Posesi, pers.comm.). Men wore their tekiteki flopped over the forehead. Tekiteki do not appear in any of the eighteenth century descriptions of Tongan headdresses.

Head feathers were an insignia of 'eiki rank in many parts of Polynesia. The United States exploring expedition made a record of the "Queen of Rewa", Fiji in 1840, wearing both the upright feathers and flopped feathers which twentieth century tekiteki may be emulating (Wilkes 1852 v.2, frontespiece), see fig.39. A portrait of Sälote Tupou III ca 1953 depicts her with two upright tropic bird feathers in her head (Bott 1982, frontespiece). Waldgrave attended the dressing of women for the night concert to entertain Tu'i Tonga Laufilitonga in 1830, where women of rank danced; he does not describe head feathers (Waldegrave 1833, p.189). There is no record of any person in eighteenth century Tonga wearing one or two upright head feathers.*5 The appearance of head feathers in Tongan dance costume must have occurred during the nineteenth century, and invites further research.

Perspectives

I

The Wesleyan Rules and the Law Codes attempted to ban three kinds of night concerts: pö ula, pö me'e, and pö sipi, see figs 34b, 34c, 34h. Pö sipi were gatherings for the singing of courtship songs; they do not appear in any eighteenth century records.

No eighteenth century records describe the differences between pö ula and pö me'e. We can state that the dances of the pöme'e were performed by companies of men and companies of women, dancing me'elaufola. The ula however was danced only by women; the role of men at pö ula may possibly be conjectured from the modern tau'olunga where

men dance with lower stance, with less grace, at the back, around the edge, offsetting the elegance and composure of the centre figure. The distinction between pö me'e and pö ula requires further research by scholars of early music.

II

At Sāmoa in 1832, reverend John Williams recorded that night concerts (pö ula langi) opened with a song honouring the gods (Moyle 1984, p.246). In the society of Tonga 'Eiki, Chiefly Tonga, the hou 'eiki and kau matāpule had essences ('otua) which continued to exist after death in the realm of Pulotu, the afterworld and homeland (Martin 1981, p.298-9). Spiritual essence was not distinct from the body. It was an etherial emanation of the physical being, as the aroma of a flower (Martin 1981, p.312):

Respecting the human soul, in particular, they imagine it to be the finer or more aëriform part of the body, and which leaves it suddenly at the moment of death; and it may be conceived to stand much in the same relation to the body as the perfume and more essential qualities of a flower do to the more soled substance which constitutes the vegetable fibre.

Here is a suggestive configuration. The spirit world was the domain of women: the father's eldest sisters (mehekitanga) held spiritual power over the lineage, and women's dancing at funerals dispatched the gods of Pulotu, see *Festivals of the Dead*. Night concerts were the occasion of women's dancing; the dance grounds were located at crossroads, adjacent to chiefly burial mounds; burial mounds signified the presence of ancestral spirits; the aromatic headresses were redolent with perfumes. Were the spirits of Pulotu present at the night concerts?

Another configuration is also suggestive: a garland made of aromatic heilala flowers, named tuitu'u, was first brought to earth from Pulotu (Helu 1986, p.28 n.10); Mähina states that most aromatic plants used in the named garlands worn by hou'eiki and ta'ahine, came from Pulotu (Mähina 1993, p.114 n.46). Composers of lakalaka choreography are pulotu (Shumway 1977, p.25 n3); the lakalaka is a transformation of the me'elaufola (Kaeppler [1967] 1993, p.87-9), a dance of the night concerts.

Women clowns accompanied the me'elaufola, *see* fig.21, and at state festivals clowns appear during exhibitions of faiva. Clowns exhibit māfana, transportation to a state of bliss. In Fijian, the saying "I am in Burotu" expresses complete happiness (Geraghty 1993, p.347). Did the redolence of fragrance at night concerts invoke the realm of Pulotu ?

A state of stillness preceded the annual yam festivals and the Christian misinale festivals which harnessed the realm of the sacred (langi), *see* Sacred Festivals. Possibly, the sacred forces of regeneration were harnessed by the faiva of the formal day festivals, where the presiding 'eiki represented the langi and high ranking 'eiki led the me'etu'upaki. Possibly, the faiva of the informal night concerts, the occasion of common women's dancing, accessed the realm of the ancestral spirits.

III

During the night concert at Ha'apai on 20 May 1777 Samwell recorded, As they withdrew each Nymph took the Chaplet of flowers off her head & bestowed it upon her favourite Swain...many of them had the Politeness to offer them to some of our Gentlemen & they were accepted with Pleasure as marks of their particular Favour (Samwell 1777, p.1020). The fakaniua song popular at Vava'u in 1810 describes the perspective

of the ula dancers: 'Ikai holi mai he tu'unga tangata kau lea angē tau tuinga kakala, 'The menfolk are not eager by half, begging for our threaded flowers (tuinga kakala)' (Martin 1981, p.415). The ethos was retained in the lakalaka songs (Faikava No.5 1980, pp.3-5, 10-15):

Ke tuia mai he 'aho ko ē
Luva ki ha taha Polata'ane
Mo he 'apa'apa he laione
Mate'anga ia si'ete lave hē! hē!

To thread [my garland] for that day
To bestow on an Englishman
And on the lion's secretary of state
That is the end of my lay, heigh-ho!
(Peni Lātū Langi, "Lalakala Fēke", 1959.)

Kaeppler ([1967] 1993, p.87-9) has proposed that the lakalaka, the leading dance of state festivals, is a transformation of the me'elaufola, a dance of the night concerts. It can further be proposed that state day festivals of the twentieth century derived their format not from the katoanga of the eighteenth century, but from the night concerts. In both lakanga, eighteenth century night concerts and twentieth century state festivals, dances are presented as a concert, disassociated from presentations of produce; dancers wear garlands of aromatic plant parts, which they bestow on their favourites; members of the audience bestow prizes on the dancers. The prizes are scarves, bank notes, lengths of bark cloth and material; they are called fakapale 'bestowing [head] wreaths', and we can infer that the practice of fakapale originates from the eighteenth century head wreaths of the night concerts.

IV

In 1832 in Sāmoa, Williams recorded that the principal composers of ula songs and tunes were women of chiefly rank (Moyle 1984, p.246).

The dances of the pöula and pöme'e were conducted with exactness, grace and order; they took place within the circle of spectators; an 'eiki presided. Order (maau) was a highly esteemed quality. At Ha'apai in 1777 the dancers were performing before some of the great 'eiki and ta'ahine of the day (it is possible that Malupö and 'Ulukilupetea were present). It is unimaginable that there could have been any action in the dancing that was outside the parameters of excellence. Cook's company in 1777 were witnessing works of consummate art.

In Sāmoa in 1832 Williams recorded that the principal composers of ula songs and tunes were women of chiefly rank (Moyle 1984, p.246). In Tonga the law codes legislated against pö ula, ~~see fig.34e~~, and in so doing suppressed the dances of the pö me'e. We can reflect that with the nineteenth century repression of the night concerts, Tongan society lost its tradition of dance in the management of women, the associated choreographic techniques, the poetry, and mystical knowledge encoded in the song texts. It was the loss of a particular quality of mälie: the blend of voices singing and instruments resonating in the night air; movements choreographed for grace and liveness; garlands of aromatic plants redolent with the aroma of the spirit realm.

CHAPTER 16

Three Lineages of 1793

Fig. 27. Kātoanga at Nuku'alofa, 1 April 1793, the Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupou Mumui presiding. '...we walked on near a quarter of an hour in a narrow path, bounded on each side by palisades, till we reached an extensive esplanade'. The reception house had ten posts. Tupou and d'Entrecasteaux sat inside, facing north. The participants in the kava ceremony formed an inner circle, and the spectators, amongst whom were high-ranking women, the outer circle. The order of ceremony was: presentations by d'Entrecasteaux's party - faiva (fakaniua) - presentation by Mumui - faiva (fakaniua) - kava - assembling of provisions for presentation: 'The people carrying these offerings filed past us two by two'. The fakaniua orchestra, of thirteen musician-singers, was seated under a tree (possibly depicted in the foreground). Two figures depicted standing within the inner circle are carrying cups of kava. Sia ko Velongo, depicted with a circle of pigeon-snaring huts, is the only high ground; the landscape is in fact flat. (Labillardière 1800 v.2, p.138-46; Benguigui 1992, p.43).

(Engraving from a drawing by Piron. SOURCE: Labillardière 1800 pl.26.)

Three Lineages of 1793

In 1793 three chiefs gave receptions for French and Spanish exploring expeditions: Tu'i Tonga Fefine Nanasipau'u at Pangaimotu; Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupou Mumui at Nuku'alofa; Vuna at 'Onetale bay, Vava'u. Each captain was presented with produce arranged in pyramids, six feet high. At each festival however the faiva were quite different.

At Tongatapu in 1777 'eiki society had been concentrated at Mu'a, ~~see~~ fig.18. Cook's visit gave a glimpse of a period of alliance between Kauhala 'Uta (Tu'i Tonga Pau, Fuanunuiava) and Kauhala Lalo (Maealiuaki, Old Tupou, and Omai's Finau). Tupou Mohefo, a lineage daughter of Maealiuaki and old Tupou, was Pau's head wife. The Kauhala Lalo chiefs were of very high rank; Gunson has suggested that Tupou Mohefo outranked the Tu'i Tonga (Gunson 1987, p.162). There is not a word of her in the journals of 1777; however she appears at Vava'u in 1793.

The death of Maealiuaki was followed by warfare as the low-ranking line of his younger brother Mumui challenged for the title of Tu'i Kanokupolu and the status of hau. Tupou Mohefo's allies were defeated by Mumui's son Tuku'aho; Pau's allies were defeated at Ha'ano in a great slaughter; Pau fled to Vava'u (Thomas MS1854, p.255). Ca 1785 Mumui appointed Pau's elder half-brother, Ma'ulupekotofa, to the Tu'i Tonga title and gave him his own daughter Halaevalu for his mohefo; Pau was still alive (Thomas MS1865, p.97). This explains why Pau was buried at

Vava'u in a fa'itoka as an ordinary 'eiki (Thomas MS1865, p.97; Herda 1983, p.90).^{*1}

A French exploring expedition led by D'Entrecasteaux ("Recherche" and "Espérance") was sent in search of La Pérouse, and remained at anchor off Pangaimotu, Tongatapu from 25 March to 10 April 1793. D'Entrecasteaux was received by two parties: by the family of the Tu'i Kanokupolu Mumui ("Tubou"), and by the court of the Tu'i Tonga Fefine ("Queen Tiné"); Queen Tiné was possibly the ta'ahine Nanasipau'u.^{*1}

D'Entrecasteaux's visit gives a glimpse of 1793. There were now two centres of chiefly power. Kauhala 'Uta and the high-ranking lineages of Kauhala Lalo were at Mu'a. The hau Tupou Mumui, a lower-ranking line of Kauhala Lalo, was at Nuku'alofa, see fig.27. Deschamps recorded, 'Queen Tina [Nanasipau'u] was fighting over the regency with her brother Toubo [Tupou Mumui]. The state was divided into two sides and the police suffered a lot from this division' (Benguigui 1991, p.43).

The French were invited to three katoanga, two given by the ta'ahine and one by the hau.

Dances of Nanasi's Court, 1793

In Kauhala 'Uta both Pau and Ma'ulupekotofa are dead. Mumui has not yet appointed Pau's son Fuanunuiava to the title of Tu'i Tonga. The ta'ahine Nanasipau'u, Pau's half-sister, is protecting (tauhi) the title in her role as Tu'i Tonga Fefine, just as Tupou Mohefo had stepped in to protect the Tu'i Kanokupolu title from passing out of the senior lines of Kauhala Lalo a decade earlier (see Herda 1987). The French believed that

Nanasipau'u held all the honours of the sovereignty without exercising the authority (Labillardière 1800 v.2, p.172). They miscalculated: she ordered two katoanga for D'Entrecasteaux, documenting her command of the land's resources and her patronage of the performing arts, ^{see figs 28 & 29.} Further, people recognised her paramount sacredness and the Kauhala Lalo chiefs were likewise obliged to do so (Labillardière 1800 v.2, pp.172-3, 179), though evasive (Labillardière 1800 v.2, p.131-2):

Tiné was extremely tenacious of the honours, which the chiefs could not refuse to pay when they met her; and hence some of them avoided her presence. Feenou, and the brother of King Toubou were on board, and had just promised to stay and dine with us when she arrived. They immediately intreated, with great earnestness, that she might not be permitted to come upon deck; but she came on board at once without ceremony, and the two chiefs hastened into their canoes, because otherwise they would have been obliged, as many of the natives assured us, to come and take her right foot, and carry it very respectfully to their heads, as a token of their inferiority. The queen informed us with an air of satisfaction, that King Toobou [Mumui] himself was bound to pay her these marks of respect, because it was from her he derived his dignity.

Constantly in the company of Nanasipau'u was a young 'eiki addressed as Fatafehi. He was possibly Fuanunuiava, son of Tu'i Tonga Pau, now aged ca 27. One of the women in her company was "Féogo (Veiongo); the French described her as a maid of honour (Labillardière 1800 v.2, p.132); Tupou Veiongo was the daughter of Mumui and head wife (moheofo) of Fuanunuiava.

During the visit of the "Recherche" and "Esperance" in 1793 the male chiefs of the day, "Finau", "Omalaï" (Tupou Mälohi), "Tupou" (Tupou 'Ila), and "Fatafehi" (Fuanunuiava), made themselves known by

coming aboard. The expedition had had its trading station and observatory tents established on Pangai Motu for four or five days before the existence of the Tu'i Tonga Fefine was known. She entertained D'Entrecasteaux's party ashore in a temporary camp at Pangai Motu. On both occasions the programmes of faiva were incompletely recorded because the journalist, Labillardière, spent part of the day collecting specimens and sight seeing. How did the ta'ahine entertain the French General ?

SHIPBOARD VISIT, 30 March 1793 at Tongatapu. The ta'ahine Nanasipau'u went aboard the "Recherche" and made a presentation to D'Entrecasteaux of several fine mats, a pig and yams. The French entertained her with songs accompanied by violin and zither. The young women in Nanasi's company responded with üpë, see Appendix. The French noted the exceptional grace of these women (Labillardière 1800 v.2, p.128-133; Benguigui 1991, p.43).

KATOANGA, 31 March 1793, AT PANGAIMOTU. Late in the day a party from the ships returned to Pangai Motu island where the ta'ahine, Nanasipau'u, had ordered a festival for D'Entrecasteaux, see fig.28. Singing by women of Nanasi's court was led by Fatafehi Fuanunuiava and while it was in progress, people were arriving with yams and fish carried on shoulder poles (ha'amo), which were arranged in a six-foot quadrangular pyramid. We soon reached the place, where the queen kept a regular court. It was under the shade of a very bushy bread-fruit tree, at a small distance from our market. There she was giving a concert of vocal music, in which Futtafaihe sung, he regulating the time, which all the musicians followed with greatest accuracy. Some performed their parts by accompanying the simple melody of the rest with various

modulations. In these we occasionally noticed discords, which seemed to be highly agreeable to the ears of the natives (Labillardière 1800 v.2, p.136-7). We can only say the faiva were fa'ahi hiva, responsorial part songs (see Moyle 1987, p.165-70). There is no account of dancing on the completion of the pyramids.

Fig. 28.

Kätoanga at Pangai Motu

31 March 1793.

Presiding ta'ahine: Tu'i Tonga Fefine Nanasipau'u

Presentation of provisions in a six-foot pyramid

Fa'ahi Hiva
Concert of Vocal Music

Fig. 29.

Kätoanga at Pangai Motu

5 April 1793.

Presiding ta'ahine: Tu'i Tonga Fefine Nanasipau'u

The New Sāmoan Ula
by women of Nanasi's court
Directed by Fatafehi

Me'etu'upaki

Presentation of fruits in a pyramid

KATOANGA, 5 APRIL 1793, AT PANGAIMOTU. On 5 April 1793 Nanasi's

entertainment for D'Entrecasteaux included an ula performed by women of her court, and a me'etu'upaki performed by a few men, *see* Appendix of Faiva. Labillardière's party again arrived late, but in time to remark: we had a grand concert, which differed little from that the King had given us a few days before, only on the present occasion the expression of joy was much more lively (Labillardière 1800 v.2, p.160), *see* fig.29. It did not however compare in grandness with the katoanga ordered by the Ha'apai chiefs on 20 May 1777, where Finau led a me'etu'upaki performed by 105 men (Cook 1777, p.105).

By the end of the day the French had taken hostage Mumui's son Tupou Mälohi, and the chief of Pangai Motu, "Titifa", and had killed an 'eiki. That night, the lagoon shore was lit by torches (tupakapakanava) (Labillardière 1800 v.2, p.164-8). When a chief of high rank died, the grave was lit each night with torches (Martin 1981, pp.225, 351).

Mumui's Red Damask, 1793

Tupou Mumui, the hau, visited the "Recherche" with his circle of chiefs and ordered one katoanga for their reception ashore. The festival was grandly laid out, with Mumui presiding in the reception house, an inner kava circle of titled chiefs, an outer circle of spectators which included women of rank, and an exchange of presentations, *see* fig.27. The presentations of produce were arranged in two triangular pyramids, one six feet high, and one three feet high. The pyramid was built up with yams, breadfruit, and bananas, and topped with baked fish and baked pig. The faiva were perfunctory. There were no martial arts. The

one faiva, a fakaniua orchestra, was appropriated from the night concerts, *see* fig.30. Mumui left early. What were the circumstances ?

When he died in 1797 Mumui was the most powerful chief at Tongatapu (Orange 1840, p.107). Tupou Lahi, Maealiuaki, and Mumui shared the same father but Mumui's mother was of lower 'eiki rank; she was a Fijian chiefess, Popua'uli'uli. Mumui was nevertheless a considerable 'eiki, as the child of a kitetama marriage between the Tu'i Kanokupolu Ma'afu 'o Tu'itonga and the grand-daughter of Tu'i Kanokupolu Mata'ele Tu'apiko (Bott 1982, fig.30; Gunson 1987, p.152). In 1793 he appeared at least 60 years old (Labillardière 1800 v.2, p.121), and it is possible that one of his lower-ranking sons, Finau Tuku'aho, was already the active hau; it was Tuku'aho who ordered Mumui's funeral service in 1797 (Wilson 1799, p.240).

Bott writes that Mumui married 15 women, daughters of mātu'a tauhi fonua and matāpule, building a strong support network (Bott 1982, p.146). Gunson notes Mumui's Fijian connections (Gunson 1987, p.152; Bott 1982, p.145). Mumui moved from Hihifo to live with the kāinga of his first wife Tu'imala. Her people were at Ha'avaka'otua, a district of Kolomotu'a in Nuku'alofa. Thomas names Mumui's homestead Ha'amea (Thomas MS1865, p.186). The site of Mumui's reception for D'Entrecasteaux, *see* fig.27, appears to be the ground occupied in 1970 by the Nuku'alofa palace of Tupou IV.

Prominent in Mumui's circle were three chiefs, "Finau", "Omala'i", and "Tupou". All were chiefs of Kauhala Lalo and possibly all members of Mumui's lineage.*2 If this is so there were only two families who received the French expedition: the hau, and the Tu'i Tonga Fefine.

On 1 April the Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupou Mumui entertained D'Entrecasteaux at his own reception ground at Nuku'alofa, possibly at this time called Napua. The reception was described by Labillardière and Deschamps (Labillardière 1800 v.2, p.137-46 & pl.26; Benguigui 1991, p.43).

D'Entrecasteaux's party was met at the shore by Finau and conducted to a gathering of people seated on mats under the shade of toto, fotulona (puko lea) and other trees. At the head of the circle sat Tupou's son, Omala'i (Tupou Mälohi). The French party had arrived earlier than expected and, possibly as a diversion, Finau conducted them to a great boat hangar (alafolau) housing his eighty-foot long kalia which he had taken as a war-prize at Fiji; then to the reception ground.

Shortly two daughters of Tupou Mumui arrived, then Tupou Mumui himself, all finely dressed. Tupou sat in the reception house facing the lagoon, with the people seated in the open; they formed an inner kava circle and an outer circle of spectators. A wife of Fatafehi, and the wives of other hou'eiki, were later recognised in the outer circle. Tupou thus presided at the head of a double circle formed between the reception house and the lagoon shore, see fig.27. D'Entrecasteaux was placed on Tupou's left hand, inside the reception house.

D'Entrecasteaux immediately made a presentation to Mumui which included livestock (goats, geese, rabbits and a small canary) and iron tools. A length of crimson damask cloth was greeted with cries of "eho! eho!" ['io! 'io!]. The assembly was entertained with a faiva: a fakaniua orchestra with bamboo stamping tubes and bamboo sounding board; the musicians were seated to one side under the shade of a breadfruit tree.

Tupou presented D'Entrecasteaux with four great lengths of bark cloth. A matäpule seated on Tupou's right hand ordered the kava to be prepared. Meanwhile the fakaniua orchestra continued playing and singing, eliciting responses of "mälie!" at every pause, *see Appendix.*

The kava was served. The first cup was given to Fīnau with the order "Mai ma'a-- Fīnau!". This was an honour accorded visiting chiefs in the courts of Kauhala Lalo in the eighteenth century (Martin 1981, p.332-41); Fīnau had escorted D'Entrecasteaux's party to the kätöanga. In 1793 the Tu'i Kanokupolu Mumui received the fourth cup. By the twentieth century this protocol had been abandoned; in 1971 the Tu'i Kanokupolu always received the first cup.*³

Labillardière's party then left the assembly, explored the environs of Sia ko Veiongo (later the fortress Nakele), and returned to the reception ground. On the summit of the sia was a circle of huts for the faiva of pigeon snaring (heu lupe), *see fig.27.*

In Labillardière's account people had been arriving with provisions carried on shoulder sticks since 10.30 a.m. These were arranged in two pyramids comprising agricultural produce and fish. Both Labillardière and Deschamps place the presentation of provisions after the kava ceremony. Deschamps states, *After the Cava ceremony came the gifts which consisted in a pyramid of yams, bananas, bread fruit, topped with fish and roast pork. The people carrying these offerings filed past us two by two and formed this pyramid which was more than six feet high* (Benguigui 1991, p.43). In Labillardière's account the provisions are arranged in two triangular pyramids, one of them two yards high, the other one yard only; the pyramids were formed by laying the bamboo carrying poles across each other. The fish were mostly dressed (baked),

and wrapped in coconut leaves; the raw fish was already sinking
(Labillardière 1800 v.2, p.145).

At 1 p.m. Tupou Mumui departed without ceremony; on his order
the presentation of produce was taken to the boat landing.
D'Entrecasteaux's party returned to the landing, where Finau invited
them to a feast; they decided instead to dine aboard the ships; the feast
and the provisions from the festival were loaded.

Fig. 30.

Kätoanga at Nuku'alofa

1 April 1793

Presiding 'eiki: Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupou Mumui

Visiting Party: led by General D'Entrecasteaux,
escorted by Finau, chief of the warriors

10.30 a.m. People arriving with produce.
Presentation by General D'Entrecasteaux

Faiva : Fakaniua

Presentation by Tupou Mumui

Faiva : Fakaniua

Ilo Kava

Display of two pyramids of provisions

Departure of Tupou Mumui at 1 p.m.

Feast
ordered by Finau, (*declined*)

Departure of visiting party

Some features of the kătoanga seem anomalous. Some of D'Entrecasteaux's party left the reception ground, and Tupou Mumui himself retired, before proceedings were finished. The fakaniua orchestra was positioned aside, not in the centre of the circle and not in line of sight of the presiding 'eiki; the row of story-tellers performing gestures did not face towards him. There were no martial arts. In other accounts (Cook at Ha'apai in 1777, Cook at Tongatapu in 1777, Waldegrave at Mu'a in 1830) the fakaniua was a prelude to a programme of some hours duration and properly a faiva of the informal night concerts. Kaeppler has accounted for the low-key kătoanga by noting that the corpse of a chief recently deceased was laid out in a house near the reception ground (Kaeppler [1967] 1993, p.85; Labillardière 1800 v.2, p.138).^{*4} Nanasi had washed the body of a deceased chief and that did not prevent her from holding a kătoanga for D'Entrecasteaux a few days later, on 5 April (Labillardière 1800 v.2, p.160). A possible interpretation is that Mumui ordered the kătoanga to demonstrate his status as hau. In paying deference to a deceased 'eiki, he ranked D'Entrecasteaux's visit below the leading affairs of Kauhala Lalo.

'Onetale Bay

A month after the departure of the French expedition, a Spanish party led by Malaspina ("Descubierta") and Bustamante ("Atrevida") arrived at Vava'u. The ships remained anchored at 'Onetale bay from 20 May - 1 June 1793. In Tongatapu, Mumui was Tu'i Kanokupolu. The Tu'i

Tonga Fefine was possibly Nanasipau'u. The Tu'i Tonga title was vacant. Pau's widow, Tupou Moheofo, was living at Vava'u, in Nelafu, beside Pau's grave at Pouono mala'e; she was aged about 48 (Herda 1983, p.97).

The Spanish party was received at 'Onetale bay by a chief named Tupou, but on the appearance of the great 'eiki Vuna the company aboard the "Descubierta" was thereafter entertained exclusively by Vuna's household.*5

Towards the end of Cook's visits to Ha'apai and Tongatapu in 1777 Anderson recorded, 'Feejee is the only place they know that does not bend to their authority and they are themselves oblig'd in some measure to acknowledge the superiority of Feejee, a circumstance they always express by bending the body forwards and covering the face with their hands (Anderson 1777, p.958). Clerke confirmed, These Fidji Men are the masters of this part of the World; these People, own they beat and do as they please with them...our good Friends here, are in perfect dread of them, but they are now upon very good Terms (Clerke 1777, p.1312). Gunson has provided a background to the ruling Vava'u families:

...the northern Tongan group of Vava'u had a long-established tradition of close affiliation with Samoa which continued into the era of recorded history. Indeed, as in Manu'a, there seem to be survivals...of female transference of title. One of the leading chiefly families in Vava'u, that of Tu'i'āfitu of Makave, traces its origins to Samoa and Fiji and appears to have been one of the few noble families in Tonga to have had female titleholders. The influential Vuna family at Vava'u probably had links with the ruling Tui Vuna family of Taveuni, Fiji, since they had the same marriage privileges as the Fale Fisi and since the title disappeared in Fiji, just like that of Tui Lakeba which reappeared in Tonga as Tu'i Lakepa. The female chief Fusipala, who had a Fijian grandmother, exercised virtual sovereignty over Vava'u in the mid-18th century. The female

ruler Tupou Mohefo who also had Fale Fisi connexions used Vava'u as a power base, and yet another chiefly woman, Toe'umu, was governor there at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The Finau family which ruled at Vava'u until 1833 had many marriage alliances with Fijian and Samoan chiefly families (Gunson 1987, p.152-3).

When Mariner arrived at Vava'u in 1806 the Vuna of Vava'u was Vuna Lahi, Tu'akalau (Martin 1981, p.213). Gunson identifies Malaspina's Vuna as a chief of the Vuna family, but does not name him, noting that the family probably was linked to the Tui Vuna of Taveuni, Fiji, and identifying his two leading wives as Fatafehi Ha'apai (Tu'i Tonga Fefine) and her sister Fatafehi (Gunson 1987, p.152n). Bott however identifies Malaspina's Vuna as a Kauhala 'Uta 'eiki, the Tu'i Ha'ateiho Fä'otusia Fakahiku 'o 'Uiha; he was the son of the Tu'i Tonga Fefine Nanasipau'u, who had just received D'Entrecasteaux at Tongatapu, and the highest ranking male 'eiki of his generation. In Bott's interpretation Vuna is an 'eiki of the Ha'a Falefisi; his two leading wives are Fatafehi Lapaha (Tu'i Tonga Fefine) and her sister Fatafehi (Bott 1982, p.165-6 & fig.18). Both interpretations have in common an 'eiki of high rank with Fijian connections.

Vuna's residence was at Neiafu; during Malaspina's visit however he set up a temporary camp at 'Onetale bay (Herda 1983, p.39; fig.2), see fig.24.

Among Vuna's four young wives one was known to the Spanish as Fatafehi and another as Fatafehi or Täufa. Both Fatafehis were daughters of the Tu'i Tonga Pau. In 1793 they were very young and without the political independence of two other great women of the day, Nanasipau'u and Tupou Mohefo (see Herda 1978, p.199-208; Gunson 1987,

p.152-3). Whenever the Spanish were entertained these two ta'ahine of Kauhala 'Uta were present.

SHORE VISIT, 21 May 1793 at 'Onetale bay. On 21 May the officers of both ships went ashore at 4 p.m. and were entertained by a seated assembly. They were welcomed with acclamations, followed by singing, and proceeded to Vuna's reception house. There was an orchestra of twenty male musician-singers with bamboo stamping tubes and split canes. The whole assembly was divided into three parts and sang in divisions of male, female, and children's voices. Possibly this faiva was fa'ahi hiva, responsorial part songs amongst which Moyle includes the fakaniua (see Moyle 1987, p.165-70):

[The Spanish party was greeted] by the general acclamation of the harmonious circle which accompanied Vuna. They sang well enough in harmony and were accompanied by the hollow or split canes [of] about twenty men seated in the centre of the circle, and they were deliberately divided into three parts: that of the men, that of the women, and that of the children. Of course the pleasant sound of the acclamations was also naturally divided so that now on one, now on the other side, the different sexes and ages came together with a very ordered harmony to applaud and celebrate our arrival.

The entertainment continued into the evening but was not further described (Herda 1983, p.39).

SHIPBOARD VISIT, 22 May 1793 at 'Onetale bay. At noon on 22 May Vuna came aboard the "Descubierta" with his wives and other women. The company included the two young Fatafehi and Vuna's sister Tupou; some people payed deference (moemoe) to her. The young men sang a song accompanied by gestures; the Spanish believed it was to entertain this high ranking woman. Scholars have not identified the style of song; both üpë and fakaniua songs were accompanied with gestures:

...they also entertained her with an equally lascivious and respectful tune, the entire chorus of the other youths harmonized and conducted the song. This seductive music began as soon as the two Fatafejis, already known as his wives, were seated around...The

song was slow and well enough in harmony and variety...judging by the ease with which all of the chorus articulated the same words, we were able to infer that its composition was not new, as well as being convinced by the different gestures that accompanied it that enjoyment was the only or principle motive of this agreeable melody (Herda 1983, p.46).

KATOANGA, 22 MAY 1793, AT 'ONETALE BAY. At 4.30 p.m. on 22 May 1793,

the Spanish party boarded the ships' boats and rowed ashore, escorted by canoes. We can imagine that Vuna and the high ranking women of his household were seated inside the reception house at the south end of the bay, looking northwards along the bay and westwards out to sea.

Two pyramids of produce had already been set in order. The Spanish party was welcomed with cheering. The description suggests that a fa'ahi hiva chorus was performing as they arrived (Herda 1893, p.49-50):

Once congregated on the beach, we set out to greet Vuna who, as on the preceeding afternoon, was to be found surrounded by many women, followed next, on the inner side of the stage by a large circle of the lower classes, and it was easy to distinguish among them those of the subordinate *Eijis* by their closer proximity to the Sovereign. The music was not different to that which we already knew [see 21 May], although it may have, now, extended in the number of the singers and in the more merry hurrahs of the common people, certainly no less in number than 1,8000 to 2,000 people.

The Spanish party was offered kava and faiva followed immediately. The programme, ~~see~~ fig.31, comprised three men's dances which were possibly me'elaufola: The promised dances immediately followed the...offers of cava...About thirty men performed the greater part being

of the class of the *Eijis*...they sang, accompanied at the same time by the music of the canes (Herda 1983, p.50), see Appendix.

Fig. 31.

Kätoanga
'Onetale Bay, Vava'u
22 May 1793.

Presiding 'eiki: Vuna

Assembling of provisions

Arrival of Malaspina's party at 4.30 p.m.

Fa'ahi Hiva

Kava

Me'elaufola (men)

Me'elaufola (men)

Me'elaufola (men)

Request for a Women's Dance

Departure of visitors at nightfall.

It was now almost nightfall; the programme had concluded. The Spanish officers called for a dance by the women; Malaspina had aboard the official record of Cook's voyage and it is likely that Webber's illustrations of the pöme'e at Lifuka in 1777 were the source of this request. Vuna complied. The women however refused. Vuna attempted to

round them up with physical force. Two subordinate *Eijis* had to make vigorous efforts, on this occasion, to contain the rage of Vuna; the crowd dispersed and though, afterwards, they had gathered as many as a dozen women to dance, this was executed with such coldness and anxiety that we did not desire another thing (Herda 1983, p.52).

The account does not record any speech presenting the assembled provisions: No more than half an hour was remaining in the day and we had still not taken possession of the two piles or pyramids of provisions which we had seen immediately and knew to be destined for our gift. Malaspina interpreted the *kātoanga* as a ratification of friendship (Herda 1983, pp.50, 53), and the presentation of provisions as of the greatest import (Herda 1983, p.51).

SHIPBOARD VISIT, 24 May 1793, at 'Onetale bay. Vuna came aboard the *Descubierta* accompanied by 12 young women of 'eiki rank and three old women, one of whom was his sister Tupou. The young women were groomed with flower garlands and combs, dressed in bark cloth and fine mats; their bodies were oiled. The women sat in public view and under Tupou's direction sang *üpē*. The songs were accompanied by gestures of the arms, head and eyes, and by flute playing. The Spanish gentlemen responded with gifts. The women were conducted over the boat and returned ashore; Vuna and two 'eiki youths dined aboard the ships. The finger fillips (*fisipä*), arm gestures (*haka*) and flutes (*fangufangu*) of the *üpē* and the dress of the women were illustrated by Ravenet (Herda 1983, p.66-7; figs 8, 9, 10, 13, 14), see Appendix.

FE'AUHI FAIVA, 25 MAY 1793, AT 'ONETALE BAY.

On 25 May 1793 Malaspina announced that the Spanish would demonstrate a display of arms. It is likely he was following Cook's

account in initiating this faiva. The Vava'u people made preparations for a reciprocal entertainment (Herda 1983, p.68), ~~see~~ fig.32. Vuna and other hou 'eiki conducted Malaspina's party ashore. Mats had been laid from the water's edge to the reception house. Sketches by Ravenet and an unknown artist record the dancers performing on the beach against a backdrop of the sea (Herda 1983, figs 15-21). Here, in the same manner as on the previous days, the women of Vuna's court were assembled, under the rule of a young Fatafehi. The audience had already formed a circle.

The Spanish presented the first faiva, a me'e*6 (Herda 1983, p.70): The audience was already prepared in the well-known circle; our men began the wielding of the muskets. Applause was common at each uniform movement. Even more outstanding were the right and left turns in the forward marches, and in the different manners of unfurling in battle. The beauty of the afternoon, the brilliance of the sun on the weapons, the pleasant mixture of, at times, a total silence and, at times, general and harmonious clamour, and the very delightful place in which we found ourselves gave a grandness and majesty to the scene.

The Spanish faiva was completed with three volleys of musket fire.

The Vava'u programme of faiva was opened with singing, possibly fa'ahi hiva. Vuna's brother Havea played the hollow stick (possibly a wooden sounding board), leading a chorus of 32 musicians who sang and played a split cane (bamboo sounding board) and drums (wooden slit gongs, nafa).

Dances followed. The first was a vigorous and short war dance, possibly a meke fakafisi, sipi tau, or kailao tokotoko. It was recorded by Ravenet and an unknown artist (Herda 1983, figs 16, 17, 18; Moyle 1987, pl.12). Small branches had been substituted for dance paddles or

weapons so as not to alarm the visitors (Herda 1983, p.71), thus removing a vital clue to the identity of the dance. Clerke had noted at Tongatapu in 1777: The Natives of Fidgi are the only people in this part of the World, who use Bows & Arrows in Battle: it is very amazing, that...these Friends of ours, experience the efficacy of them in their own destruction...but still adhere to their Spears & Clubs (Clerke 1777, p.1312).

Fig. 32.

Fe'auhi Faiva

'Onetale Bay, 25 May 1793

Me'e fakapapālangi

Spanish military drill
Volleys of musket shot

Fakaniua

chorus of 32 musician-singers led by Havea

Meke Fakafisi

Harlequin (male 'eiki)

Hea (hou 'eiki)

dance by men of rank
led by Tu'i Moala

Me'elaufola (ta'ahine)

dance by 50 women of rank
Clown (old woman)

Faiva (tamaiki)

dance of children of rank

Departure of visitors at sunset.

The second dance, possibly a hea, was performed by 'eiki men. Amongst the leading figures was the Sāmoan 'eiki, "Tumoala" (Tu'imoala), described as outstanding in his features and natural gaiety (Herda 1983, p.121).

The third dance, possibly a me'elaufola, was performed by 50 women of rank; it was recorded by Ravenet and an unknown artist (Herda 1983, figs 15, 20, 21), see fig.21.

The fourth dance was performed by children of rank: This view was no less entertaining for us; such was the agility and stamina which they obviously extended (Herda 1983, p.75). It was almost nightfall; the Spanish returned to their ships (Herda 1983, p.72-5), see Appendix of Faiva.

Perspectives

In 1793 the martial arts were nowhere to be seen; in 1806-09 they reappeared at Vava'u and Ha'apai at festivals ordered by the hau, Finau 'Ulukālala 'i Feletoa (Martin 1981). The faiva of the receptions for the French and Spanish were faiva of the informal night concerts: ula at Nanasi's festival; fakaniua at Mumui's festival; me'elaufola at Vuna's festival. Whatever apparant reasons can be found for the absence of the martial arts (mourning at Mumui's festival; the Tu'i Tonga Fefine status of Nanasi, and of Vuna's wife), the absence of martial arts at all festivals suggests that the festivals of 1793 are a glimpse, not of Tonga's internal affairs but of Tonga's foreign policy.

Fig. 33. Chart of the island and harbour of Tongatapu by Captain William Wilson, 1797. Cook (1777) and D'Entrecasteaux (1793) anchored off Pangai Motu. 'The Roads are drawn to give an Idea only of the manner in which they intersect each other; they are in general from about 6 to 12 feet wide. on each side there is a reed Fence about 6 feet high: the inclosures are called Abeys [api] in which are four or five Houses and various Fruit trees — the Afiatookas [fa'itoka, chiefly burial grounds] are in different parts of the Island.' The absence of roads at Mu'a and at Popua ("Observatory point") confirms accounts that these two areas were maintained in uncultivated forest. The absence of coastal roads confirms accounts that the land's edges were maintained in coastal forest. The chart records the two centres of chiefly power in 1793 (circled): Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupou Mumui was at Nuku'alofa. Tu'i Tonga Fatafehi Fuanunuiava was at Mu'a. (SOURCE: Wilson 1799, Frontespiece.)

CHAPTER 17

Festivals of the Dead

Ko homau tu'i ka maliu atu
'O afio 'i Pulotu-tu'u-ma'u
'A e toki pata 'e asihau
'I he'ene taulalo 'a Vava'u
Hö hē ! hö hē !

Our king is returning
To reign in Pulotu-the-steadfast
His attendant chiefs make a clap of sound
As Vava'u sinks out of sight

(Collocott 1928, p.79.)

Festivals of the Dead

Ko e ngaahi Kātoanga 'o e Me'afaka'eiki

In 1797 the hau, Tupou Mumui, was buried at Pangai Lahi. Funeral rites were marked by two festivals of me'e. Fifteen nights after burial, women of rank danced at the burial ground. Thirty nights after burial, chiefs and their retainers performed me'etu'upaki at the burial ground. Kauhala Lalo funerals were occasions of political danger. Chiefs gathered from throughout the kingdom; succession was open to challenge.

I

People's funerals are putu. Funerals of hereditary chiefs and of Catholic priests are spoken of as me'afaka'eiki, 'a matter for the sacred chiefs'. At Niuatoputapu in 1971 the oldtime bushmen fulfilled a social obligation (fatongia) by sending produce, but the expert yam-grower, old Siale Lahi, shook his head and indicated that a me'afaka'eiki was nothing to do with the likes of him. The hou 'eiki and ta'ahine of the eighteenth century had inherited lines of descent from the gods (Martin 1981, p.288).^{*1} Funeral festivals and decorated burial mounds belonged only to them.

An 'eiki was buried by other 'eiki, who wore ragged mats and the leaves of submission (ifi, Tahitian chestnut, *Inocarpus edulis*) (Wilson 1999, p.240). They approached the grave stooped, as a gesture of deference (punou, tulolo) to the ancestor-gods. Mariner recalled that

during the carrying of sand for the grave, 'the gods of Bolotoo [Pulotu] [were] supposed to be present' (Martin 1983, p.223; Wilson 1799, p.243). Eighteenth century records attest that when matters concerned the ancestor-gods, the most menial tasks were performed by the hou 'eiki themselves (Martin 1981, p.352).

In 1808 Pulotu was depicted as an island to the north west, so distant that the journey to reach it was dangerous and at the whim of the gods: This island is supposed to be much larger than all their own islands put together, to be well stocked with all kinds of useful and ornamental plants, always in a state of high perfection, and always bearing the richest fruits and the most beautiful flowers...that when these fruits or flowers are plucked, others immediately occupy their place, and that the whole atmosphere is filled with the most delightful fragrance that the imagination can conceive (Martin 1981, p.300).

The organisation of Pulotu reflected the social heirarchy of eighteenth century Tonga (Martin 1981, p.298-9; Herda 1988, p.17-32), but it was a zone of shades: the crew landed, and proceeded to pluck some breadfruit, but, to their unspeakable astonishment, they could no more lay hold of it than if it were a shadow; they walked through the trunks of the trees, and passed through the substance of the houses, (which were like those of Tonga), without feeling any resistance. They at length saw some of the hotooas ['otua], who passed through their bodies as if there were nothing there (Martin 1981, p,300).

II

Funerals of the sacred chiefs were marked by the sounds of stuck pigs squealing, conch shells blowing, the echo of skulls struck with clubs in acts of self-mutilation, sung lamentations by women, and the

sung dirges of working parties carrying sand for the grave mound or hauling closed the tomb lid.

Funerals were fraught with danger. The presence of the gods of Puluotu imposed rigorous observances, dangerous to infringe. Succession to title was open to challenge. Conspiring chiefs had legitimate reason for assembling. Campbell describes the murder of the hau, Tu'i Kanokupolu Tuku'aho by Finau 'Ulukälala 'i Feletoa and Tupouniua, warrior-'eiki with retinues from Ha'api and Vava'u (Campbell 1992, p.44):

The opportunity for assassination came in April 1799 when all the important chiefs of Tonga were gathered at Tongatapu for the reburial (*hikitanga* or [*faka*]lahilahi) of Toafunaki, the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua who had died in Vava'u two years before. His remains were to be transferred to a vault at Mu'a.

Festivals were held at two stages in the funeral rites of great chiefs ('eiki lahi).

Ca fifteen days after burial a festival annulled the forces of Puluotu, the Afterworld, and cleared the way for the installation of a successor. This was an occasion of women's dancing. At the funeral of the Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupou Mumui in 1797, circular dances were performed at the burial ground by women of rank. At the funeral of the Tu'i Tonga Fuanunuiava in 1810 the festival was celebrated at the burial ground by women of rank, see Kauhala 'Uta's Elegance.

Ca 20 days to eight months after burial another festival ended funeral observances, lifted prohibitions of the consumption of pigs and yams, and marked the restoration of abundance (*kätoanga 'o e fakalahi*). The timing of this festival depended on the sacred rank of the 'eiki and the political exigencies of the era. At Lifuka in 1806 the festival

(kātoanga 'o e fakalahi) for Tu'i Tonga Fefine Nanasipau'u or some other member of the Tu'i Tonga family, was held ca eight months after burial (Martin 1981, pp.90, 94-6). In 1809 the concluding festival for the hau, Finau 'Ulukālala 'i Feletoa (Finau Fangupö) was held twenty days after burial (Martin 1981, p.211-30). In 1797 the concluding festival for the hau, Tu'i Kanokupolu Mumui was held thirty days after burial (Wilson 1799, p.238-51).^{*2} These concluding festivals were likewise held at the burial ground (Martin 1981, pp. 229; Wilson 1799, p.250).

At Mumui's funeral the final festival was designated a tome'e. Here the me'etu'upaki was exhibited in its customary lakanga, following presentations of produce (Wilson 1799, p.250-1). At Finau's funeral the ordering of produce was followed by me'etu'upaki dances with intervals of self-mutilation. The six-hour festival was concluded with wrestling (Martin 1981, p.228-30). At the final festival for the Tu'i Tonga Fefine in 1806 displays of produce in 60-foot towers were accompanied by feats of male strength, open to participation by any person. The festival was concluded with 'dancing and wrestling' (Martin 1981, p.94-6).

Vason observed that festivals terminating mourning were completed with a night concert: However extravagantly they have mourned for the dead, they generally terminate their grief with this ceremony of joy; in which I have seen the women so eager, that they have forgotten all sense of decorum and thrown off all incumbrance of dress for greater freedom and diversion (Orange 1840, p.128). Exhilaration in dancing harnessed the realm of the sacred, see Harelquins & Clowns. And possibly, women annulled the dangerous prohibitions accompanying the gods of Pulotu, and invoked renewed productivity, with their own organs of generation. Eye-witness accounts of naked dancing (Moyle

1984, p.247), note the gestures of sexual derision and mockery, see
Sacred Regatta.

In eighteenth century cosmology a possible interpretation is: the first festival put an end to the presence of the gods of Pulotu, the Afterworld, and was the occasion of women's faiva. A second festival restored the productivity of the land and was the occasion of faiva by the warrior-'eiki. Finally a night concert celebrated the lifting of restrictions.

Funeral of the Hau Tupou Mumui

In April and again in August 1797 the missionary ship "Duff" anchored at Pangai Motu, Tongatapu to land and provision missionaries of the London Missionary Society. On 29 April 1797 the Tu'i Kanokupolu Mumui died (Wilson 1799, p.239).

During his illness Mumui was stationed at Nuku'alofa (Wilson 1799, p.239). It was known however that his funeral would be at Pangai Lahi in 'Ähau, at his family burial ground (Wilson 1799, p.239), see fig.25. On 24 April Tuku'aho ordered his younger lineage brother, "Colelallo", to be strangled; Vason says he was one of Mumui's sons (Orange 1840, p.108). Mumui's attendants made an unsuccessful attempt; three Fijians and Colelallo's sister strangled him by force (Wilson 1799, pp.238, 239-40).

On 27 April a presentation of turtle and yams was sent on behalf of Mumui to the missionaries. From 28 April or earlier great numbers of people arrived at Hihifo bringing bark cloth, pigs, and yams (ngäue and koloa). Temporary huts were erected in the vicinity of Pangai. The

missionaries were stationed about half a mile away (Wilson 1799, p.238-40).

The figure of highest lineage rank was possibly Fēenou Allawallo (Fīnau Aloalo), lineage sister of Tuku'aho (Wilson 1799, p.249). However there is no record of her part in Mumui's funeral. Instead the two figures in charge of operations were Tōogahowe (Fīnau Tuku'aho, son of Mumui), and Fefene Duatonga (Tu'i Tonga Fefine Siumafua'uta). Thus the Tu'i Tonga Fefine was accorded the role of senior woman of the lineage.*³ Tuku'aho was already the effective hau (Orange 1840, p.109).

DAY ONE, 29 APRIL 1797. Events at Pangai Lahi, 'Āhau. People put on mats instead of bark cloth, wore necklaces of ifi leaves, and wounded their faces. Tuku'aho arrived around one o'clock and began organising provisions for the funeral. The funeral procession arrived at 3 p.m. The body was on a litter carried by twenty men; certain relatives preceded the litter and a great body of people followed it. The Tu'i Tonga Fefine was in the procession, on a litter carried by four men. Beside her walked Fatafehi Fuanunuiava, son of Tu'i Tonga Pau, and two of Mumui's wives who were to be strangled at the fa'itoka (Wilson 1799, p.240; Orange 1804, p.108).^{*4}

The body was placed beside the fa'itoka,^{*5} in a temporary house enclosed with black bark cloth. Outside the enclosure round the fa'itoka sat 400 men, engaged in kava. A group of 7 or 8 'eiki were under tapu; one of them ordered the distribution of pigs, yams and kava for the fono of the kava drinkers; another distributed the kava following the directions of the Tu'i Tonga Fefine (Wilson 1799, p.241).

DAY THREE, 1 MAY 1791. Tu'i Tonga Fefine, Tuku'aho, and Fīnau 'Ulukālala 'i Ma'ofanga sent roasted pigs to the missionary camp. Great numbers of people continued to converge on Pangai, bringing pigs, fruit, bark cloth, spears and clubs (Wilson 1799, p.241-2).

DAY FOUR, 2 MAY 1791. From early morning successive parties, each announced by conch trumpets, ran onto the mala'e and performed acts of self-mutilation with clubs and spears, while calling to Mumui (Wilson

1799, p.242-3). Mumui was buried. The crowd at Pangai Lahi was prodigious, estimated at four thousand.

In the early afternoon a file of 140 women arrived, each carrying a basket of coral sand. Following them was a file of 80 men, each carrying two baskets of coral sand. Following them was a company of women carrying bark cloth. The procession announced its approach with songs of call and response (Wilson 1799, p.243):

At two o'clock in the afternoon four of us went to the fiatooka, where the natives of both sexes were still at the dreadful work of cutting and mangling themselves. We had not been long there [at the fa'itoka] before we heard at a distance, low but expressive sounds of the deepest sorrow and lamentation: this was a party of about one hundred and forty women marching in single file, bearing each a basket of sand; eighty men followed in the same manner, with each two baskets of coral sand, and sung, as they marched, words importing, "This is a blessing to the dead;" and were answered in responses by the women. Another company of women brought a large quantity of cloth, and answered in their turn to the above responses. Thus these three bands walked towards the tomb, filling or covering that part of the mount between the house and the place where the corpse lay, and the grave, with fine mats and cloth; after which, seven men blew conch-shells, whilst others sung in a doleful strain expressive of the most heart-felt grief.

The corpse was carried to the tomb on a bale of black bark cloth. The bearers walked stooped in a gesture of obeisance (tulolo, punou), carrying the bale in their hands (Wilson 1799, p.243). Obeisance is made by chiefs in the presence of a chief of higher 'eiki rank, and when undertaking the work of the gods, see fig. 20.

Presentations were placed in the tomb. Tuku'aho presented 35 bales of bark cloth, each bale on a sledge carried by four men (Wilson 1799, p.243).

Another party came onto the mala'e to perform acts of self-mutilation (Wilson 1799, p.244).

The lid of the tomb was lowered slowly accompanied by sung grief (tangilaulau in 1970, see Kaeppler 1993b, p.477-8).

Another party placed presentations in the tomb and performed acts of self-mutilation. The company sat in silence. The rope was pulled away from the lid; those on the burial mound gave a great shout; the assembly pulled off their necklaces of ifi leaves; the company dispersed (Wilson 1799, p.244).

DAY ELEVEN, 9 MAY 1797. The day before, twenty large double canoes had arrived from Ha'apai. Presentations of provisions continued to be received at Pangai ('Ähau), with exhibitions of self-mutilation (Wilson 1799, p.246-7).

DAY THIRTEEN, 11 MAY 1797. The chiefs continued to gather to drink kava. In some circles plans were laid to sieze the missionaries' store of goods (koloa). Intelligence of this was relayed to the missionaries' camp, where plans were made to disband (Wilson 1799, p.247-8). Chiefs arriving from distant parts sent portions of presentations to the missionaries or visited them.

Day Fourteen, 12 May 1797. Transactions at Pangai Lahi in 1797 were as follows: During the morning preparations were begun for a night concert at Pangai, where women's dances would be performed. The wearing of fine mats (vala ngafingafi) over the customary bark cloth garments (vala ngatu) signifies that these were women of rank. The dances have the hallmarks of me'elaufola, in the choreographed evolutions (Cook's 'circular dances'), accompanying orchestra of seated male musician-singers, and evening time slot. However in eighteenth century records, me'elaufola were accompanied by the stamping (tuki) of bamboo tubes (kofe) and the beating of a bamboo sounding board or rattle, not by slit drums (nafa). The faiva marked the end of self-mutilation (Orange 1840, p.109).

Great preparations were made this morning for what they call a mai [me'e], which was intended to be celebrated in the evening by women. Upwards of one hundred and thirty hogs were roasted, and, with three hundred baskets of yams, were distributed by Töogahowe. Seven hogs and as many baskets of yams were sent us by different persons. Our visitors of rank were numerous...A great heiva [hiva]*⁶ or mai [me'e] was performed at the fiatooka [fa'itoka]

of Moomöoe; first by women in their best garments and finest mats : pieces of our cloth or silk were added as ornaments; the perfumed cocoa-nut oil dropping from their hair. Two drums, and a vocal concert of men sitting round, accompanied the women, who also sung and danced, performing different evolutions in a most graceful manner. An old chief at intervals called out, "Fyfogee," [fai foki] or, Encore; and sometimes "Marëa," [mälie] or, Well done (Wilson 1799, p.249).

DAY SIXTEEN, 14 MAY 1797. During the day an assembly of chiefs determined the succession of the Tu'i Kanokupolu title. In Tongan protocol the title should have returned to the senior line, descended from Tupou Lahi. Fuanunuiava (son of the Tu'i Tonga Pau and the great ta'ahine of Kauhala Lalo, Tupou Moeheofo), was in direct line of descent through his mother. He was now aged ca 32 and a claimant to the title (Orange 1840, p.109). Tuku'aho however was already the effective hau (Orange 1840, p.109). Tuku'aho's wife Lepolo was the daughter of Ata, the most powerful chief of the Ha'a Ngata lineage, who held the right of appointing the Tu'i Kanokupolu. The Ha'a Ngata were in charge of the Tu'i Kanokupolu's kava ceremonial (Bott 1982, p.120-1). It can be inferred, therefore, that during the preceding days Tuku'aho would have been well protected from any challenge to his succession, and that the chief who announced his appointment was a Ha'a Ngata chief. Vason recalled (Orange 1840, p.109):

Toogahowe, who, by his superior prowess in the field, has awed the neighbouring islands as well as Tongataboo, and had placed his Father Moomöoe in the post of distinction [as Tu'i Kanokupolu], had, ever since, strengthened his power with the chiefs by making them his companions and friends. No sooner were they met, in public assembly, than one stepped forth from the circle, and proclaimed, "Do bou Toogahowe Dugonagaboola fy talliaba gee ma toolou [Tupou Tuku'aho Tu'i Kanokupolu, fa'iteliha kimautolu]", i.e. Toogahowe shall be the chief, and we shall do as we please; upon which he was unanimously elected, as none dare to oppose him.

Thus Tuku'aho was installed in the title Tupou, a declaration of his status as Tu'i Kanokupolu (Wilson 1799, p.249-50). He was already old (Orange 1840, p.111).

DAY TWENTY-FOUR, 22 May 1797. Rehearsals had begun for the tome'e, the main festival which would close the funeral observances. The practices took place at Pangai Lahi (Wilson 1799, p.250).

The men have begun their diversions at Moomöoe's fiatooka [Mumui's fa'itoka], and practise morning and evening in different parties, under different chiefs. Next Sunday is fixed for the cartonga lahie [kätoanga lahi], or great toomai [tome'e]; after which, we are informed, many of the people will disperse, of which we shall be heartily glad.

DAY THIRTY, 28 MAY 1797. Day of the final festival (possible called kätoanga 'o e tome'e). This was a day of jubilant dancing (tome'e). It was celebrated with performances of implement dances (me'etu'upaki) accompanied by the beating (tä) of slit drums (nafa).

The great toomai [tome'e] was performed by men dressed in their finest robes, and mats ornamented with feathers, beads, shells, &c.; the drums called tarraffe [tä nafa] sounding, accompanied by a chorus of performers singing, and holding in their hands an instrument like a paddle, called doböche [tu'u paki], about two feet and a half long, with a short handle; those around them joining in the chorus. they began in three lines, and shifted by various evolutions, till those in the rear became the front, moving in exact time, and with a graceful step (Wilson 1799, p.250-1).

Fearing for their safety, six of the missionaries sought Tuku'aho's permission to disband; three remained at Hihifo (Orange 1840,p.111).

Funeral of the Hau Finau Fangupö

In 1797 Finau 'Ulukälala 'i Ma'ofanga died at Hihifo, Tongatapu (Wilson 1799, p.255). Finau Fangupö (Mariner's Finau) succeeded to the title Finau 'Ulukälala; he became the most powerful political figure of the day and one of the great hau of Tongan history (Hafoka MS[1959, p.54]; Gunson 1979, pp.41, 43, 44). On his death in 1809 he was residing at Neiafu, Vava'u amongst the great 'eiki and ta'ahine of the decade. He was buried at Feletoa, ^{see fig.24}. The chief widow was Mo'unga Tupou (Martin 1981, p.225n). The Tu'i Kanokupolu title was vacant.

Mariner observed the entire funeral (Martin 1981, p.211-30).

Finau's death was unexpected and sudden; Herda has identified his symptoms as influenza (Herda 1988, p.130). Immediately the male chiefs of Vava'u armed themselves: In the mean while, many chiefs and warriors secretly repaired...and selecting out their clubs, arranged them in order, expecting every moment the shout of war from one quarter or another (Martin 1981, p.212-13). Finau's lineage anticipated challenges for the paramount title of Tu'i Vava'u.

Vuna Lahi (Tu'akalau) had been Tu'i Vava'u in 1799, until defeated by Finau 'Ulukälala 'i Ma'ofanga. He held senior rank within the lineage (Martin 1981, p.218). Tupou To'a, son of Tu'i Kanokupolu Tuku'aho (d.1799), had killed Finau's lineage brother Tupouniua ca 1808 and had great strength in fighting men. However he was in Ha'apai. Vuki was a young warrior 'eiki of very high rank (son of the Tamahä, Lätüfuipeka); he was not in himself a challenger, but known to strongly support Tupou To'a. Finau Fisi was a warrior-'eiki and as Finau's brother, had senior claim to the title over Finau's son, Moengangongo. Moengangongo was higher in rank by female descent, and he had the support of the Vava'u people as adopted son of the much-loved Tupou Niua (Martin 1981, pp.213, 217; Bott 1982, fig.28).

DAY ONE 1809. On the death of Finau his body was carried to the residence of the Tu'i Tonga Fuanunuiava at Niu Lolo, near Feletoa, and there placed on the ground oven, as a last appeal to the gods for his recovery. Along the route the 'eiki Vuki lay in ambush with a party of

warriors; but a suitable chance for attack did not arise (Martin 1981, p.215).

The body was then taken back to Neiafu, annointed with sandalwood oil, and laid on bales of bark cloth (ngatu) in Pouono, the reception house on the mala'e at Neiafu. The house was lit with lamps of coconut oil. The lamentations of women continued through the night. During the night Moengangongo was advised that Vuna was holding a secret conference. Moengangongo ordered his own warriors to prepare for a challenge (Martin 1981, p.214-15).

DAY TWO 1809. At first light the chiefs and people of Vava'u assembled at Pouono mala'e wearing mats, and necklaces of ifi leaves; the female mourners remained around the body, wearing ragged mats. At a kava ceremony in an adjacent house the god Tupou Toutai passed from Finau to his son Moengangongo; Moengangongo and Finau Fisi conferred on securing the government of Vava'u. They decided to banish Vuna and Vuki to Ha'apai; Moengangongo would renounce the title of hau; he would confine his authority to being Tu'i Vava'u; Tupou To'a would Tu'i Ha'apai; Moengangongo would not require the Ha'apai chiefs to send him tribute, and Vava'u would be restored to peace (Martin 1981, p.217).

Moengangongo took his seat at Pouono mala'e. Club-handling for self-mutilation took place within the circle of spectators, lasting three hours. Vuna Lahi (Tu'akalau) ordered that the body of Finau be taken to Feletoa for burial as there were no fytocas at Neafoo but such as belonged to the family of Tooitonga; and it would have been contrary to custom to have buried an individual of the How's family in a grave belonging to that of Tooitonga (Martin 1981, p.217).

Moengangongo ordered Mariner to fire the carronades. Before the burial all arms were deposited in nearby houses. After the burial people walked in single file, women first, men following, without regard to rank, to collect baskets of sand from the weather shore. The file (fala) sang loudly to warn local people to stay out of sight. Mariner commented that there was no fear of attack by any party as the gods of Pulotu were present (Martin 1981, p.223). Every day provisions and torches were sent to the grave attendants.

DAY THREE 1809. At a kava ceremony Moengangongo was installed in the title of Finau and delivered a discourse on the government of Vava'u (Martin 1981, p.225-6).

DAY TWENTY 1809. The grave was decorated with black and white pebbles and the grave shed was walled in. Chiefs of each estate sent cooked provisions and kava roots to the mala'e beside the grave at Feletoa and assembled there. The provisions were shared out and the company retired to prepare for the faiva.

Me'etu'upaki were performed beside the grave. During intervals in the me'etu'upaki dances, demonstrations of self mutilation with clubs and weapons were performed by matäpule and warriors, addressing themselves to Finau. Possibly, as in finger sacrifice (tutu'u nima), the blood was an offering to the ancestor-gods (Kaho MS1960); possibly it annulled lingering offences against the ancestors (Muller 1991, p.214).

The fishermen*⁷ of the hau then come forward and similarly mutilated themselves with canoe paddles and spears, utensils both of fishing and maritime warfare. They had pierced their cheeks with arrows. Clerke had noted at Tongatapu in 1777, *The Natives of Fidgi are the only people in this part of the World, who use Bows & Arrows in Battle* (Clerke 1777, p.1312):

In one respect, however, they were somewhat singular; that is in having three arrows stuck through each cheek, in a slanting direction, so that, while their points came quite through the cheek into the mouth, the other ends went over their shoulders, and were kept in that situation by another arrow, the point of which was tied to the ends of the arrows passing over one shoulder, and the other end to those of the arrows passing over the other shoulder, so as to form a triangle; and with this horrible equipment they walked round the grave, beating their faces and heads, as before stated, with the paddles, or pinching up the skin of the breast, and sticking a spear quite through (Martin 1981, p.229-30).

Finally there was a grand wrestling-match which ended the six hours of ceremony. Thus the funeral rites of the hau were concluded with martial faiva (Martin 1981, p.211-30).

Perspectives

I

The Tu'i Tonga Fuanunuiava died in 1810. For one month quantities of provisions were presented and distributed. A tapu was then placed on certain produce for the following eight or ten months. Mourning mats were worn for another three months [possibly 100 nights]; ifi leaves for four months; the tapu on those who touched his body and clothing continued for ten months; his nearest kin mourned for fifteen months (Martin 1981, pp,249, 350-3).

Sälote Tupou III died on 16 December 1965. Her eldest son, H R H Tupouto'a Tungī, was declared King on 17 December 1965. Kaeppler (1978) has described the funeral (me'a faka'eiki) of the hau. She was buried on 23 December 1965, with Tongan and Christian ceremonial (Kaeppler 1978, p.181-5). Three stages of mourning were recognised: ten days; one hundred days; at the end of six months a brass band played to lift the funeral prohibitions. But Tonga mourned on. The coronation of Tupu IV took place after ca 18 months, on 4 June 1967. Thirty years later, Sälote's peers were still wearing black.

FAKA PŌ HONGOFULU. Ten days of intense mourning. During this period each chiefly lineage (ha'a) made vaste presentations of food to the new king, acknowledging his status as hau. There were four kava ceremonies (pongipongi) which declared the new realpolitik: Ha'a Ngata, Ha'a Havea, Ha'a Vaea (Ha'a Lätühifo) and Kauhala'Uta (Kaeppler 1987, p.186-90). The Tu'i Kanokupolu presided at all four. Kaeppler comments that effectively Kauhala 'Uta and Ha'atakalaua were publically demonstrated to be subdivisions of the ha'a of the Tu'i Kanokupolu.

FAKA PŌ TEAU. One hundred days of mourning, which ended on 2 April 1966. The kingdom's chiefs pledged their allegiance to Tupou IV with presentations of kava root, and removed their mourning mats. The grave was decorated with aromatic substances (Kaeppler 1978, p.190).

HIFO KILIKILI. Six months after burial, on 14/15 June 1966, the grave was decorated with black pebbles and red coral. Oil was carried to the grave by a procession of three hundred women of rank.

A procession of the kingdom's highest ranking 'eiki themselves carried vast quantities of kava, baskets of cooked food, and pigs into the grounds of the Nuku'alofa palace. The King presided; there was a ceremonial changing of officiating matäpule; the produce was counted; two speeches by matäpule (tälanga) were delivered; the King left.

At midnight on 15 June a brass band played at the Nuku'alofa palace; next morning a bark cloth log was beaten (tukipotu). Mourning had ended, but a deathly silence remained (Kaeppler 1978, p.191-3).

The stages of mourning were clearly demarcated, but there were no festivals (kätoanga); funeral festivals had been outlawed in 1883 and Sälote's government did not reinstate them, see fig.34h. Vast quantities of produce were presented to the new hau by the estate-'eiki, but there was no portion for the gods or the people. This was Tonga's Christian-capitalist heritage. The scale of produce presented by the kingdom's chiefs, the span of the morning observances, the wait for the coronation of the new hau, were far more vast than any recorded funeral for an eighteenth century hau. Sälote's funeral pre-empted the protocols of Kauhala 'Uta, preparing the way for her successor to reign as paramount in both sacred and secular domains (see Wood Ellem 1981), as the kava ceremonies during the first ten days had immediately demonstrated (see Kaeppler 1987).

II

During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries Christians believed that after death they would reside with God in Heaven. Tongans located the Christian god ('Otua) in the langi, the multi-layered skies, and not in Pulotu, the realm of the enduring spiritual essence ('otua). Bishop

Blanc noted in 1906 that some people in Tonga did believe that after death they would go ('alu) to Pulotu. Pulotu however was treated by foreign missionaries as a realm of devils (fakatēvolo), Ko Pulotu koe meaoku kau kihe g. kuonga fakatevolo...Ka oku tau mama ihe lotu, pea oku tau iloi ai koe fonuape oe faga tevolo ko Heli, pea koe fonua oe kau agatonu moe afioaga oe Otua ko Selo ia, 'Pulotu is something from the heathen days...whereas we are enlightened by Christianity, and we know thereby that it is the land of devils called Hell, whereas the land of the righteous and the followers of God is Heaven (Selo)' (Koe Fafagu 1906, pp.49, 50, 51n). The Christian strategy therefore was to redefine Pulotu as a lower realm, an underworld, a place of punishment, and the ancestor-gods as negative aspects of mind (devils). Just as the Mäui lineage had been located in the underground (Lolofonua) because their work was finished (Thomas MS1853, pp.4, 11), so the aromatic land of Pulotu was made redundant.

Tonga's poets and composers retained their heritage. On the death of Princess Fusipala in 1933, Sälote Tupou III composed a lament which she titled: "Koe lolo teuteu o Tauki'onetuku ki Pulotu, The Adornment Oils of Tauki'onetuku for Her Trip to Pulotu" (Kaepler 1987, p. 487).

A lyric song (hiva kakala) composed by Sälote for Fusipala includes the line:

Eva 'i Pulotu pea mohe misi
Wander in Pulotu and dream in sleep...
(Sälote Tupou III, "Lauta huni he tahi 'utu", n.d.)

Through the twentieth century the leading 'eiki kept Pulotu in sight, as the source of their dignity, to the north west beyond Vava'u.*8

CHAPTER 18

The Sacred Regatta

Ka ne mau mei mo te pē 'i he vale 'o e heletiko. Kapau 'e fai ki hono potu to'omata'u, ko e angahala; kapau 'e fai ko hono potu to'ohema, ko e angahala; kapau 'e 'alu ki mu'a, ko e angahala; kapau 'e tafoki ki mui, ko e angahala; pea kuo angahala pē, angahala pē. Pea toe angahala foki 'a e kai tapaka; pea 'oku 'ikai ha me'a e taha 'e tonu 'i he heletiko; he kuo hala 'a e me'a kotoa pē 'i he'ene lea kākā mo 'ene loi, mo e pīko'i, mo e fielotu poto; ko e lotu pē 'a Uesele, ko e tangata toki tupu. ... pea hange kuo mau nofo 'i he fale fakapo'uli; he na'e lolomi 'a e katoanga kehekehe ke tuku.

We lived blindly in the madness of protestantism. If we went to the right, it was a sin; if we went to the left, it was a sin...a sin, a sin...nothing we did was right in the protestant ethic; everything was made wrong through their cunning speech and their misrepresentation and perversion and religious pretension. Such was the religion of Wesley, that upstart...It was like living in a blacked-out building, for various festivals were suppressed and abandoned.

(Grggoire Tāufa pulotu, "Le Siu Tapu", 1887, pp.327, 328.)

The Sacred Regatta

At the request of Father Chevron, Grégoire Täufa Pulotu recorded an account of a day and night festival for canoe racing (Chevron 1887, p.321-328). It is a description of a festival as it remained in romantic recollection, without the compromises of entertaining exploring expeditions or accommodating Christian censures, without political challenge, legal prohibitions, and government planning, which are part and parcel of the lived festivals described in this volume. Täufa Pulotu's account evokes the immaculate ordering (maau) and surpassing fairness (mälie), the intrepid skills (faiva 'aki) and the sheer pleasure (fiefia) of festivals in an era when chiefs of great sacredness and political acumen presided.

KO E SIU TAPU

1. Ko e tohi eni 'o e talanoa ki he siu tapu. 'Oku kotofa 'a e siu tapu, pea fai ki hono 'aho ia 'o e mähina, ko e 'aho 'oku hingoa ko e mahu na; ko hono pö ia 'o e mähina, pea 'apongipogi 'a siu tapu.
2. Pea nau felukiaki 'a e kakai 'oku poto 'i he 'a'alo; pea nau 'alu 'o 'a'alo 'atu, koe'uhi ke nau ö ola'aki ki he kätöanga; ko e 'aho ia 'oku hingoa ko e 'aho fakalaka vaka. Pea 'oku fakanofa 'a e moheofa 'o e siu tapu. Pea ko e siu vaka 'oku hingoa ia ko e siu tahi. Pea ko e nofo 'o mamata, 'oku hingoa ia ko e siu 'uta. Ko e kätöanga lelei.
3. Pea ä ake mai 'a e folau mei hakau; pea nau ha'u 'o inu kava fakataha. Pea 'ilonga pë 'a e taumuli, pea 'alofi 'i he fai kava; kae 'alu kotoa pë 'a e kauvaka 'o nofo 'i he tou'a. Pea maha 'a e faikava, pea nau kai 'a e 'ufi, mo e puaka, mo e ika kehekehe, pea nau kai mo e faikakai, mo e po'opo'oi; pea nau inu 'a e niu mo ngau 'a e tö.
4. Pea 'oku 'ikai e taha e vala ngatu, pe vala ngafingafi, ko 'oku nau vala pë 'a e me'a ko e kie fau, pea nau ta'ovala 'a e sï lau lelei. Pea nau kahoa 'a e kakala 'oku hingoa ko e tuitui,

mo e nusi, mo e lavalava, mo e tuive'eve'e mo e falahola, mo e kakala fuli pë.

5. Pea toki fatu 'a e siu, pea fakamata tatau honau taumu'a; pea toki vakai 'e he ngaahi vaka 'o e hou'eiki kuo pule ki ai 'a e 'eiki fulipë ke hingoia ia ko e Tu'itefisi. Pea toki 'ilo 'e he Tu'itefisi kuo lelei 'a e tau 'o e folau, pea fokotu'u 'ene fohe. Pea langa 'a e fakapuepue; pea ko e me'a lelei 'aupito 'etau mamata ki he siu 'enau 'a'alo mai 'o 'a'alo fakavave.

6. Pea ko e nofo 'i 'uta, 'oku nau mamavaloa, pea kihikihi. Tala mai 'e he fa'ahinga e taha: Ko e vaka ni 'e pue; pea tala mai 'e he fa'ahinga e taha: E pue ena. Pea 'ilonga 'a e vaka kuo mu'a ki tau 'i 'uta, pea hingoia ia ko e pue; pea ongoongo ia 'i Tonga kotoa pë, mo Vava'u, mo Ha'apai, pea mo e 'otu motu 'o hangë ko e ta'a 'o e tau.

7. Pea nau tuku atu ki he moheofo; pea na'e taufa'ao 'a e mätu'a e toko ua 'o feteketeke'i. Pea ko ia ne ö ola ki he 'atu, pea ko ia ne ö ola ki he valu, pea ko ia ne ö ola ki he 'ulua, pea ko ia ne ö ola ki he 'anga. Pea 'osi hono tufa 'a e ö ola 'o e folau, pea nau 'alu fakamaau me'e. Pea toki po'uli 'o pöme'e lahi 'o fakataha 'a e me'e kotoa pë. Pea tä 'apë 'o 'aho, 'i hono fuo efiefi, 'o hoko ki he pongipongi 'o e 'aho e taha.

8. Pea toki tutuku 'o takitaha 'alu ki hono potu fonua, mo hono 'api, mo hono fale, 'o talanoa ki he vaka na'e pue.

9. Ko e kätoanga lelei ia. Pea kuo lolomi 'e he heletiko ke tuku, 'o lau ko e fakatëvolo; ka ko e anga 'i fonua pë. Pea ko eni, kuo toki ha'u mo'oni 'a e maama 'i Tongatapu, 'i he hoko mai a e lotu katoliko 'o fakahä totonu 'a e me'a 'oku tapu mo e me'a 'oku ngofua. Pea kuo ma'u toki lelei 'i ai: He na'e talu 'a e ha'u 'a e heletiko ki Tonga, pea hange kuo mau nofo 'i he fale fakapo'uli; he na'e lolomi 'a e kätoanga kehekehe ke tuku.

10. Pea toki tala 'e he katolika, ko e me'e pë 'oku kovi 'a e me'e telefua, mo e me'e kapekape, mo e me'e 'oku iku ki he kovi; ka 'oku 'ikai tapu 'a e me'e lelei, he ko e fakafiemälie 'o e sino pë. Pea mau toki poto ai ki mui, mo mau fiefia.

11. Tä! Ko e lotu totonu eni 'a e 'Otua, ka na'e 'ikai muomua mai. Ka ne mau mei mo te pë 'i he vale 'o e heletiko. Kapau 'e

fai ki hono potu to'omata'u, ko e angahala; kapau 'e fai ko hono potu to'ohema, ko e angahala; kapau 'e 'alu ki mu'a, ko e angahala; kapau 'e tafoki ki mui, ko e angahala; pea kuo angahala pē, angahala pē. Pea toe angahala foki 'a e kai tapaka; pea 'oku 'ikai ha me'a e taha 'e tonu 'i he heletiko; he kuo hala 'a e me'a kotoa pē 'i he'ene lea kākā mo 'ene loi, mo e pīko'i, mo e fielotu poto; ko e lotu pē 'a Uesele, ko e tangata toki tupu. [Text transcribed in modern orthography.]

THE SACRED REGATTA

1. This is a record of an account of the sacred regatta (siu tapu). The sacred regatta is held on a designated day of the month, at mahu 'bountiful'. Mahu is a night of the moon; the sacred regatta takes place the following day.
2. The expert paddlers issue challenges to each other; and then go fishing for bonito, the purpose being to bring back the catch for the katoanga. This day is called the day of the advance of the canoes ('aho fakalaka vaka). The shore guard (mohe ofo) of the sacred regatta is installed (fakanofu). The gathering of canoes is called the marine corps (siu tahi), while the spectators are called the shore party (siu 'uta). It is a splendid festival (katoanga).
3. The canoes return from the reef and the crews come ashore to drink kava together. Only the captains are distinguished; they sit in the upper circle, while all the crew members sit behind the kava bowl. When the kava has run out they eat yams, pigs, various kinds of fish, then they eat faikakai and po'opo'oi puddings, drink coconuts, and gnaw sugarcane.
4. No one wears bark cloth (vala ngatu) or fine pandanus mats (vala ngafingafi), the only garments are hibiscus mats (kie fau) with girdles of colourful cordyline leaves (ta'ovala si lau lelei). As well they wear garlands of fragrant flowers and fruits, named tuitui, nusi, lavalava, tuive'eve'e, falahola, and every sort there is.
5. Finally the regatta (siu) begins and their prows are lined up equally; then the canoes of the chiefs decide who will be

the presiding chief and name him Tu'i Tefisi, the Fiji King. As soon as the Tu'i Tefisi sees that the bows of the canoes are well ordered, he raises his paddle. Then the race takes place; it is a marvellous thing, seeing the gathering rowing towards us, rowing swiftly.

6. Those on shore barrack and chatter. One party says, 'This boat will win'; while another party says, 'That one will win'. As soon as the first boat touches land it is named the winner, and becomes renown throughout Tonga, Vava'u and Ha'apai and the rest of the archipelago, just as if it were a war hero.

7. Then they hand over to the shore guard; then two old men struggle (tau fa'ao) to see who can eject the other. Then some go fishing for bonito ('atu), some go fishing for tuna (valu), some go fishing for trevally ('ulua), some go fishing for shark ('anga). When the distribution of the flotilla's catch has been made, they go and get ready for the dancing (fakamaau me'e). As soon as it is dark everyone assembles for the night dancing by torchlight (pöme'e). They continue until daybreak, for the entire night up to the morning of the next day.

8. Then they disperse and everyone goes home to their part of the country, to their homestead, or their house to converse about the winning boat.

9. It is a splendid kätöanga. But the Protestants have continually pressed for its abandonment, saying it is heathen; but it is just a local custom...since the arrival of the Protestants in Tonga it is as if we have been living in a darkened house; for various festivals were suppressed and abandoned.

10. At last the Catholics said, the only dances that are bad are the naked dances, and the dances with licentious songs and gestures (me'e kapekape), and the dances that lead to a bad end; good dances are not forbidden, for they are simply for the well being of the body. We are at last apprised of that and we are happy.

11...With Protestantism we were always in the wrong. If we went to the right, it was a sin; if we went to the left, it was a

sin; if we went forward, it was a sin; if we turned back, it was a sin, everything was a sin, a sin (*agahala*)... (Chevron 1887, p.321-328, edited & trans.).

Täufapulotu was not exaggerating. Cummins has collected both the Tongan and English texts of the Rules for Wesleyan Catechumens. The Tongan text was published at Tongatapu in 1834 (H.G. Cummins, papers). It states that those wishing to continue as catechumens should cast away all sinful things (*jiaki ae mea agahala*) amongst which it lists funeral and marriage customs, tatooing, faiva, voyaging, dancing, singing, and maintaining peace of mind (*nofo fakafiemalie*), stating that these activities are evil in the sight of God (*he oku kovi kotoabe ki ho tau 'Eiki*). Finally the Wesleyan Rules prohibited *fai e nau motuaaga* which made the ways of the ancestors, the essential Tongan codes, sinful (*agahala*), see fig. 34b.

Suppression of ribald dancing will have deprived Tongan culture of the sardonic and satirical political wit with which competing parties challenged each other and moderated the actions of arrogant 'eiki. Chevron's translation invites examination.

Ko e me'e pē 'oku kovi 'a e me'e telefua, mo e me'e kapekape, mo e me'e 'oku iku ki he kovi. In contemporary prose this text translates: 'the only dances which are bad are naked dances, swearing dances, and dances which lead to a bad end.' Chevron's literal translations are: *Me'e telefua*, 'la danse nu, naked dance'. *Me'e kapekape*, 'la danse avec imprécations, dance with curses'. *Me'e 'oku iku ki he kovi*, 'la danse être finissant à la mal, dance ending in badness'. His free translation of the text is: 'La danse mauvaise est celle où l'on est nu, où l'on tient des propos inconvenants, où l'on chante des chants licencieux et qui aboutit au mal,

'Bad dance is where one is naked, where improper suggestions are made, where the songs are licentious, and which lead to a bad end'. The expression *me'e kapekape* has been coined by Täufa Pulotu; there was no dance of this name. Chevron transposed the expression into dances of sexual indecency and licentiousness. But was this their flavour ? What did they lead to ?

The suppression of Tongan entertainments began ca 1834, with publication of a Tongan translation of the Methodist rules (H.G. Cummins, papers), see fig.34a & b. Even before they saw the dances, protestant missionaries had desecrated Tongan dancing. In August 1797 the crew of the missionary ship "Duff" were permitted one day ashore at Tongatapu, for pleasure. The record reads, *As we refused to have any diversions acted for our entertainment, lest the idea of pleasing might lead them to excesses inexcusable on our part, none of their customs of this nature were witnessed by us* (Wilson 1799, p.283). In 1832 Samoan chiefly women (*tama'ita'i*) offered to dance for the reverend John Williams. He recorded, *they had begged to be allowed to perform one of their best dances in honour of my arrival but not knowing the exact nature of their dances & whether or no they would be allowable on Christian principles I declined the proffered honour* (Moyle 1984, p.152).

In 1832 reverend Williams was invited to a Sāmoan night concert (*pöula lagi*) given to welcome the return of a young 'ali'i. He declined but recorded, *However in the evening when the lights were blazing I sat in the doorway of our own house & saw & heard all that passed, the government or assembly house being within twenty yards of our dwelling. I must confess I did not hear or see any thing immoral or indecent in the whole performance. Williams requested copies of the songs and recorded,*

They gave me seven or eight...but I cannot find an indecent word or phrase (Moyle 1984, p.152). When he was later able to describe a complete pōula lagi, he recorded the imposing appearance of the costumed dancers, the opening of the concert with a song honouring the gods, the grace with which the dancers entered, the gentleness of the women's dance gestures, and the wittiness of the men's dances which followed.

Williams' impression was that the pō ula were occasions for display of elegance and of dancing skill: The appearance and performance of each individual will form a subject of criticism & remark (Moyle 1984, p.246-7). Eyewitness accounts of Tongan night concerts (pō ula and pō me'e) similarly describe the beauty and order of the occasion and instructions to the participants to disband (Anderson 1777, p.874-8; Samwell 1777, p.1019-21; Orange 1840, p.126-8). In the context of the night concerts, dances were performed with elegance, grace, and order.

Williams none the less was adamant. That they have songs & dances of the most disgusting & filthy nature is known so much so that I fear the most modest & chaste description of them could scarcely be read in England, but these I did not see or hear...but speak of them with disgust (Moyle 1984, p.152). Williams finally tracked them down. In Sāmoa they turned out to be dances of the sa'ë, performed at ritualised encounters between two villages (malaga). Schoeffel characterises the sa'ë as an erotic battle of insults and challenges aimed at parties who are potential spouses (Schoeffel 1979, p.219-21). In this context nakedness, sexual display, insult, and slander were gestures of confrontation. As Williams describes, Then come the elderly women all of whom are entirely naked. During their dancing they throw themselves in all imaginable positions in order to make

the most full exposure of their persons to the whole company (Moyle 1984, p.247).

Mock gestures of insult, challenge, and display are recorded throughout the Pacific.*¹ In New Zealand Mihaka's whakapohane (he exposed his arse to the Queen of England in 1953) was an act of political courage, not of licentiousness. Mock battles (sa'ë in Sāmoa, toutakao in Tonga, tākaro in Māori) recognised the need to reconcile the spiritual forces of the two parties.

Williams however was accusatory: low, blackguard dances which exceed in obscenity... most vile, taunting, bantering language... the Samoa ladies not possessing a great degree of the grace that adorns the female sex... (Moyle 1984, pp.247, 248). Täufa Pulotu's *me'e kapekape*, 'slanderous dances' corresponds with William's description, The ladies...commence a furious attack on [the men] in language suitable to the occasion... All the time [the men] are dancing they use the most vile language in order to shame the females out of the house....

It is necessary to add Schoeffel's ethnographic perspective to the historical and comparative records. Tongans and Sāmoans do not view enactments of sexual intercourse lecherously, but as a source of amusement. Sexual taunting of men by women is intended to ridicule, not to stimulate, and in modern life there is a political undercurrent. In Sāmoa sexual satire is the special weapon of middle-aged and elderly women. By this means they counter male control of their lives (Schoeffel 1979, pp.214, 216, 219). Schoeffel writes (1979, p.217):

Women's dancing often parodies sexual intercourse...One elderly and dignified *tama'ita'i* is celebrated...for a particular dance she does...straight faced, using eye movements to express passion, resignation, pain, strain, surprise and release, she parodies a whole

sequence of events in sexual intercourse, enacting both the husband and wife roles... The performance is extremely funny, and even those women who have seen it performed time and time again, laugh until they cry.

Grimble testifies that Kiribati social codes were observed more rigorously in dance than in any other aspect of life (Maude 1989, p.314-33). Williams observed in Sāmoa, The exhibition of [the dances of the sa'ë] is greatly desired by both sexes, & are always attended with much merriment. There is always a person appointed to keep order on these

by Polynesian dance (Kaeppler [1976] 1993, p.72). Dance was a vehicle of bliss, a technique of ecstasy (Shumway 1977, p.28):

Kai 'utungaki ai pē me'avale e fonua
Hakailangitau 'o 'ikai tukua.
Even the lowliest of the land eat freely
They dance in an ecstasy which never ceases.
Nau Saimone, "Ko 'Ene 'Afiu mo e Kaha'u 'o Tonga", 1964.)

In eighteenth century Tonga, faiva were works of artistic integrity performed before hou'eiki and ta'ahine and the ancestor-gods; song texts were crafted from images which passed the critical appraisal of masters of oratory; dances were vehicles of historical knowledge, political comment, social grace, and community well-being. Tongan dance experts remark that the tradition of the composer's social responsibility continues into the twentieth century (Kolo and Mähina 1983).

Vason's eyewitness account of naked dancing in Tonga testifies that the occasion had a religious agenda: the severing of ties with the realm of death (Orange 1840, p.128). William's eyewitness account of slanderous dancing in Sāmoa testifies that the occasion had a political agenda: reconciling opposing parties, annulling potential hostility. Courtship had its place in the choral concerts, pō-sipi; these too were conducted with wit and grace (see Moyle 1987, p.179-80). The ribald clowning of women at the annual church collection in Niuatoputapu testifies that inversions of social decorum were a manifestation of success in harnessing sacred forces. In the most ribald gestures of Sāmoan and Tongan dancing there is no trace of the lecherous and predatory attitudes towards women which had invaded nineteenth century protestant society (see Wilson 1993, p.viii).^{*2}

There were two agendas for which it served the protestant missionaries to suppress the performing arts. Firstly, the missionary journals document the evangelical strategy: to exterminate the indigenous

culture in order to implant English social codes, and thereby create a receptive context for Christian worship (Gunson 1978, p.268-70).^{*3} At Ra'iatea in 1818 John Williams wrote, **the missionary does not go to barbarise himself, but to civilise the heathen.** Williams set an example by building himself a seven-roomed house and encouraging Christian converts to form a village around him (Daws 1980, p.31). In New Zealand, Henry Williams embarked from 1827 on a mission **to prohibit all old customs, their dances, singing and tattooing, their general domestic disorders;** in evangelical strategy wearing European clothes and taking English names were necessary for spiritual welfare. By 1831 in New Zealand William Williams was able to report, **The children in general looked upon their native customs with disgust** (Shennan 1984, p.9, citing Burdon 1941, p.25, and *Missionary Register* of 1831). At Tonga John Thomas recorded, **The Teachers, 10 in number...employed themselves...in prosecution of their object, which was to teach some of the civil arts, preparatory to the preaching of the Gospel** (Thomas MS1865, p.108). In 1833 Watkin recorded in his journal that kava was **pernicious to the body as well as the mind** (Gunson 1978, p.308, citing Watkin, Journal, 22 April 1833). By 1834 Watkin could record in his journal, **the idea that [the art of tatooing] is wrong pretty generally prevails** (Urbanowicz 1972, p.38, citing Watkin, Journal, April 1834). From 1839 on, Tonga culture was legislated against in a succession of law codes, see fig.34c-h. In 1868 Dyson recorded in his journal, **An amusement called the "lafo" has just reappeared in this town...I went immediately to the Governor & he said it was unlawful & would punish the persons who did it** (Urbanowicz 1972, p.38-9, citing Dyson, Journal, July 6, 1868). Tonga's performing artists were living through a black-out.

There was a second motive for the aspersion of Tongan dance. Jonas recounts attempts by the Christian church to ban dancing throughout its history, but notes that mediaeval Europe especially feared the role that the dancing body could play in making contact with the supernatural realm (Jonas 1992, p.50). By the nineteenth century English protestant society had confounded spiritual ecstasy and sexual incitement, and a new justification was found for banning dancing. English puritans particularly opposed dancing associated with feasts and public demonstrations (Goldsmith MS1992, citing Marks 1975, p.7 & Scholes 1934); in Tonga however festivals (kātoanga) were the very context of faiva.

As Wilson & Seaman note, Victorian attitudes towards female sexuality had become pornographic in the early nineteenth century (Wilson & Seaman 1992, p.3; Wilson 1993, p.viii), and there is no doubt that the lasciviousness was on the part of the Papālangi men; the Tu'i Tonga Pau was quickly apprised when he met Cook for the first time in 1777: The old King after a little further Acquaintance with us, observing that we paid the best price for Women & Hogs, concluded that these were the commodities we were in search of (Samwell 1777, p.1032). Samwell, the son of a Welsh minister, tried to buy the sexual services of Tongan women and was rebuffed (Samwell 1777, p.1030). Cook recorded, I do not know that our Stay produced one instance [of a breach of conjugal fidelity by Tongan women]; neither are those of the better sort that are unmarried more free of their favours...and such as came to our people were Whores by profession and brought to us to make the most of the present time (Cook 1777, p.170). Samwell confirmed that the women who consorted with Cook's men in 1777 were the same group of women: Some of them followed us from Island to

Island, many of the Annamooka Girls following us to the Happai Isles and afterwards to Tongataboo (Samwell 1777, p.1044).

In this context we can read Samwell's statement, after dark they...meet together in large Companies of young men & women & dance upon the green plats before their Doors. The young women on these occasions make use of many lascivious gestures & Motions (Samwell 1777, p.1036). Tongan society valued fertility; voyeuristic sexuality is a Papālangi mindset. And because their own mindset was pornographic, women's gestures were interpreted by English mariners and missionaries not as erotic, witty, derisory, taunting, challenging, but as lascivious.

There are thus some very seamy sides to the story. Collectively, protestant missionary minds were lecherous (see their labelling of women's night dancing as indecent), racist ('lost and deplorable state', Wilson 1799, p. 266; see Gunson 1978, p.278-9), mysogenist (see Thomas on Tupou Mohefo and other women with political acumen, MS1865, p.85-97), punitive (see Kavapalu on beating of children, whipping of prisoners, and the introduction of capital punishment, 1993, pp.316-17, 320, n.14, n.16, n.17; see Martin 1981, p.314 on the doctrine of eternal punishment), non-pacifist (see Cummins 1977 on missionary teachings which backed Täufa'āhau's massacres); and lacking in aesthetic wonder ('we refused to have any diversions acted for our entertainment' (Wilson 1799, p.283)). They disparaged Tongan faiva, the culture's most cherished productions, in order for their mission to succeed: by their own English code of sportsmanship their actions were scurrilous.

Defying Christian and Constitutional censure of Tongan society, Tonga's composers, poets and choreographers guarded their illustrious heritage of sacred descent and competitive challenge. The songs of the

lakalaka sourced their romance in the suppressed arts and banned festivals.

Bonito trolling festivals held at Hakau Tapu, a reef off the northern end of Hihifo peninsular, were celebrated in a maaui composed by the poet Mamae'aepoto ca 1850 (Collocott 1928, pp.66-7, 133-4).:

Tu'aliku 'o Hihifo mo e 'otu ngalu
Hē ia, fakatau langi ē
Mo e 'alo 'atu 'i Hakau Tapu
Hē ia fakatau langi ē

Hihifo's weather shore with its ranks of breakers
Hey ho, let the song be accordant
And the bonito chase at Hakau Tapu reef
Hey ho, let the song be accordant.

Mamae'aepoto, "Tala mo kapui e kupu homo", ca 1850.)

and in a lakalaka song composed ca 1943 by Ve'ehala Leilua, a choreographer, composer and poet (punake) of Sälote's court (Kaho & Pond 1987b, 1.3-7):

'Ofa he si'i tanunu 'i Hakautapu
Fanguna 'e he laumanu tala 'atu
'Omi e siu he vaha palavu
Paki mangamanga pea lau
'Tse'isa he kuo alaimoana...

Oh the pang of succession at Hakautapu
On waking to the screech of bonito birds
Bring the catch ashore to the landing
And count the token tail fins
Such shining skill in the sea quest!

(Ve'ehala Leilua, "Matangi mālie angi pea ha'u", 1943.)

The pleasures of wave-spearing are recalled in a popular song composed by Tu'ipelehake Sione Ngü during his term as Premier 1965-90 (Faikava No.4 1979, pp.1, 9):

Vä e fine tou hingano
'Oku 'eva he hala Tuku'aho
Po'ulia he hake mo e hifo
'O tufi he fä 'ene hopo
Mo si'i maile lau mōmō
Ke kahoa ki he hake fānifo.

Young women laugh picking hingano
As they walk the Tuku'aho road
Up and down till twilight

Gathering ripened pandanus
And the fine-leaved maile
To garland the returning surfers.

(Turipelehake Sione Ngū, Hiva kakala, "Fingani he liku
tu'utai", n.d., trans. Helu & Hau'ofa.)

Lafo, a faiva of pitching discs, reappears as metaphors of competition and of outwitting opponents in courtship and politics: Ngata ai e fakatapu - tuku hono kakato - ki Fale Ha'akili he ko hono fatongia - ka u lafo lalo atu he 'aho ni... 'I'll leave paying respects at that - the house of Ha'akili will complete them, that's its duty - while I'll pitch in today....'

(Fulivai, malanga, Vava'u 1971.)

Sioeli Filianga, in a hiva kakala, laments the loss of a love-suit with the imagery of sika, the faiva of dart-throwing (Faikava No.7 1982, pp.2-3, 22-8):

Kuo fāngailupe e la'ā
Fakaunga mei tu'a Hunganga
Ko futu e tali mata Houma...
Hiva pea 'ulu e lautele
'I he sika Tu'atalafefine.

It is late afternoon
The sun has set behind Hunganga
I have waited in vain at the Houma entrance...
Nine then score, the winning dart
In a match with a man of experience.

(Sioeli Filianga, "Vai Makafekita 'o Falefahi", 1967.)

The faiva of pigeon snaring (heu lupe) is a favourite metaphor for the courtship of high ranking women. In a song for the lakalaka dance Ve'ehala Leilua recalls that the hau, Täufa'ähau (Tupou 1), enticed Lupepau'u away from the Tu'i Tonga Laufilitonga (Kaho & Pond 1987b, 1.17-18):

He ko e heu na fakatalutalu
'I ho'o hä'aki ki Fonuatanu

That snaring became legendary
When you made it known at Fonuatanu.

(Ve'ehala Leilua, "Matangi mälie angi pea ha'u", 1943.)

The skills of seafaring reappear as metaphors of dexterous negotiation in politics and courtship in a lakalaka song composed by Sälote Tupou III (Faikava No.5 1980, pp.1, 8):

Tuku ai pē tuku atu ā
Fai'aki ha'o fa'iteliha

Tu'ulāhoko lepa talifaki
Ka ke 'ilo kuo kofe e matangi.

Let it be, I'll leave it for you
To do what you will
The boat is rigged, hove to, on hold
But keep in mind, the wind is up and straining.

(Sālote Tupou III, "Metalapo'uli", n.d., trans. T.P. Kaho, Heleu
& Hau'ofa.)

Two great twentieth century poets, Malukava Fineasi and Fakatava, challenged each other in their lakalaka songs. Here Malukava evokes seafaring skills to boast of the higher rank of his patron, Tungī (Shumway 1977, p.30-2):

Pea kuo mahino hota founa
He ka ta folau 'i he vaka
'E 'o'oku 'a e fakalakepa
'E 'o'ou 'a e tākota fā.

Our places assigned are perfectly clear
Whenever we sail on a [double] canoe
Mine is high on the upper deck
Yours is low on the transom.

(Malukava Fineasi, "Ne u tupu Tonga pea u penē",
ca 1925-1935.)

Part III brings the work full circle. With the nineteenth century repressions of festivals and night concerts, the me'etu'upaki and the me'elaufola lost their lakanga. Through the twentieth century a "new" faiva, the lakalaka, became the leading dance of state festivals and a vehicle of political power for the dynasty of Tupou.

Suppression of Tongan Skills

and Tongan Social Codes (Faiva & Motu'a anga)
by rules and law codes, 1834 - 1948.

Fig.34a. Rules of the Wesleyan church, published in Tongan, ca 1934. *Ko e Gaahi Fekau eni ki he Jiaji o Kalaisi oku ui ko Ueseliana*, Vava'u, Wesleyan Mission Press, n.d., 4p.

(Source: Warren, *Chronicles of Wesleyan Methodism*, v.1, p.261-5 [English text]; H. G. Cummins, papers [Tongan & English texts].)

Ko e Gaahi Fekau eni ki he Jiaji o Kalaisi oku ui ko Ueseleiana. Ko hono Fakamatala eni a Misa Uesisli, ki hono Tubuaga o e Sosaiete Ueseliana:-

1. I hono taimi ki mui, i hono tau e 1739, nae hau kiate au, i *Lonitoni*, a e kakai e toko valu be toko hogofuolu, kuo lave lahi ho nau loto, i he e nau agahala...

4. Bea koia, oku mau amanaki ai, iloga akinautolu kototabe oku nau loto ke fai mau ki he lotu fehui, ke nau fakaha e nau holi ki he moui i he gaahi mea ni...ke nau afe mei he kovi kotoabe...Aia...Ke oua e *hiva* aki a e *hivehiva*, be lau a e gaahi tohi e ikai tubu ai a e ilo mo e ofa ki he Otua...

7. Ko e gaahi Fekau eni a ho mau Sosaiete; bea oku ako mai, e he Otua, i he ene folofola, ke tau fai ki he gaahi mea ni...

Rules of the Society of the People called Methodists.

1. In the latter end of the year 1739, eight or ten persons came to me in London, who appeared to be deeply convinced of sin, and earnestly groaning for redemption...

IV. ...It is therefore expected of all who continue [in the Society of Methodists] that they should continue to evidence their Desire of Salvation...by avoiding evil in every kind...Such as...The singing of those songs or reading those Books, that do not tend to the knowledge or love of God...

VII. These are the General Rules of our Societies; all which we are taught of God to observe...

J. & C. Wesley,
May 1, 1743.

Fig. 34b. Wesleyan rules for catechumens, published in Tongan in 1834. Koe Akonaki ki he Kakai Lotu-Fehui, Tongataboo, Jan 1834. No.10. (Source: Warren, *Chronicles of Wesleyan Methodism*, v.1, p.261-5 [English text]; H. G. Cummins, papers [Tongan & English texts].)

Koe Akonaki ki he Lotu Fehui

Ko e tau moui i mamani, oku fuonounou, mo ahiahii; he oku ahiahi akitautolu, ehe Otua; ke ne ilo be te tau tokaga kiate ia, be ikai...

Bea koe mea lelei kiateki nautolu, oku fie lotu-fehui mau aibe, ke fakaha e nau holi ke moui, ihe e nau jiaki ae mea agahala kotoabe...Ke oua naa nau fai ae tagifetuki, be ae febuhi, be ae tekefua, be n[i]ma tabu, be maumau i ae jino; ke oua naa nau fai butu fakatevolo, be tatatau, be tonofefine, be tonotagata, be feauaki, be jinifu. Bea oua naa nau mavae ae unoho kuo fakamau; bea oua naa nau fakatau ae kaiga, be foaki. Ke oua naa foaki ke fokonofa, be fai ae fakabunuga.

Ke oua naa fai ae jika, be ae faiva aoga kovi, be ae fakatau kuli, be ae fakatau moa. Bea oua naa nau fonoga noabe, be folau noabe, be nofo fakabikobiko...ke oua naa nau ai ae vala fakalaukau. Ke oua naa fai ae mee, moe ula, be ae mea fakamama; he oku kovi kotoabe ki ho tau Eiki, ko Jisu Kalasi.

Ke oua naa nau hiva, aki ae hivehiva launoa, be nofo fakafiemalie, be fai e nau motuaaga...

Ko e akonaki eni, kihe kakai lotu-fehui; bea oku ako mai ia, ehe Otua, aki ene folofola...

The Teaching for Catechumens

Our life in this world is short and full of trials, since we are tested by God in order to find out whether we take notice of him or not...

And it is a good thing for those who wish to continue as catechumens to show their desire to be saved by casting away all sinful things... They should not beat the face with the fist during mourning (tagifetuki), nor burn the cheek bone, draw out the blood, and paint a large patch on the cheek (febuki), nor shave the head (tekefua), nor place prohibitions on the hands of a person who has touched the corpse (nima tabu), nor cut the body (maumau i ae jino); they should not celebrate heathen funerals (fai butu fakatevolo), nor tattoo (tatatau), nor commit adultery (tonofefine, tonotagata), nor fornicate (feauaki), nor practice

polygamy (jinifu). They should not separate from their legal wives; nor sell their relatives, nor give them away. A wife should not bring her younger sisters into marriage (foaki ke fokonofa), nor should a woman be compelled to marry (fakabunuga).

They should not play sika, nor any evil faiva, nor dog fights nor cock fights. They should not go on journeys (fonoga) without reason, nor make a voyage without reason, nor live in idleness...they should not wear showy dress (vala fakalaukau). They should not do the traditional dances [Ke oua naa fai ae mee, moe ula = 'they should not dance nor do the ula'], nor worldly things; for they are evil in the sight of our Lord (Eiki), Jesus Christ.

They should not sing worthless songs [Ke oua naa nau hiva, aki ae hivehiva launoa = 'They should not sing, including singing popular songs'], nor sit about carelessly [nofo fakafiemalie = 'live at ease'], nor practice their traditional customs (motuaaga = the 'fundamental, essential, core social codes')...

This is the teaching for the catechumens; and is taught by God through his word...

In Niuatoputapu in 1971, *me'e fiefia* was the general expression for 'dance joyfully', see *Sacred Festivals*. The prohibition against *me'e* will have suppressed the dances accompanying presentations of produce (the martial dances: me'etu'upaki, meke fakafisi, etc., were *me'e*), dances at the funerals of chiefs (me'etu'upaki), and women's dances at night concerts (me'elaufola). Suppression of *motu'a anga* denigrated the fundamental, core codes of Tongan society; the Wesleyan Rules were attempting cultural genocide.

Dance songs at late nineteenth century festivals, often had Christian texts. The Niuafo'ou vaka eke recounted the martyrdom of Father Peter Chanel at Futuna in 1841 (Pond 1983, pp. 17, 37); some 'otuhaka recounted biblical narratives (Kaeppler PP1972). Possibly, this was a response to the Wesleyan Rules of 1834 permitting only those songs which 'tend to the knowledge or love of God'.

Fig. 34c.

1850 law prohibiting dances (ngaahi me'e) and in effect all faiva and katoanga.

(Sources: *Koe Gaahi Fono oe Buleaga ko Toga, mo Haabai, mo Haafuluhao*, Vava'u:- Nae Buluji e Misa Tevisi, 1851 [Tongan text]. Lätukefu 1974, Appendix, p.231 [English translation].)

XI.- KOE FONO KI HE GAAHI MEE, MOE GAAHI GAUE FAKAHITENI

Ke ilo e he kakai kotoabe, oku matuaki tabu ae gaahi mee, moe fakahiteni kotoabe; bea kabau e ilo ha niihi oku fai ia, e fakamau akinautolu, bea ka ilo oku mooni, e gaue akinautolu i he mahina e taha. Bea ka fai o liuga ua, e gaue ia i he mahina e ua.

ARTICLE XI. *the Law referring to Dances, and other Heathen Customs.* Let all people know that Dancing is strictly forbidden, as well as all Heathen Customs...

Fig. 34d. **Edict of Emancipation, 1862**

Eye-witness sources attest that in pre-constitutional Tonga the sacred chiefs, the hou'eiki and ta'ahine, dispensed with the lives and property of the land's people (Cook 1777, p.174; Clerke 1777, pp.1309, 1310; Wilson 1799, p.253). Lätükefu notes that the 1839 Code of Laws legislated against hunuki, the pre-emption of people's property and crops by sacred chiefs, while the 1850 Code legislated against fahu, the pre-emption of ceremonial goods by senior women of the patrilineage (Lätükefu 1975, p.33). The 1862 Code, known as the Edict of Emancipation, secured for adult males right to land and to the products of their own labours. At the first anniversary of the Edict on 4 June 1863 Tupou I stated, "If I never accomplish anything else, I am grateful I have been able to give to the Tongan people their freedom (tau'atäina) from slavery" (Lätükefu 1975, p.34).

1862 Code. SECTION XXXIV. The Law concerning Tribute.

... All chiefs and people are to all intents and purposes set at liberty from serfdom, and all vassalage ... Every one has the entire control over every thing that is his ... All chiefs and people shall pay tribute (or taxes) to the Government ... it shall not be lawful for the Rulers...to appoint any work to be done by anyone for himself... And the chiefs shall allot portions of land to the people ... it shall not be lawful for any chief to dispossess them... (Lätükefu 1974, pp.247, 248).

In 1875 the Constitution of Tonga opened with a Declaration of Rights confirming the Edict of Emancipation:

Seeing it appears to be the Will of God for man to be free, as He has made of one blood all nations of men, therefore shall the people of Tonga be for ever free, and all people who reside or may reside in this kingdom. And the lives and bodies and time of all people shall be free to possess and acquire property, all doing as they like with the fruit of their hands, and using their own property as they may seem fit... (Lätükefu 1974, p.252).

In conjunction with the Edict of Emancipation Tupou I abolished the annual yam festivals (Cummins n.d., p.153) and therewith the sacred social order centred on Kauhala 'Uta and the Tongan gods. In their place the 1862 Code announced a new annual festival:

1862 Code. ARTICLE XXXV.

The Decree of a Festival. And it was on the fourth of June, in the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, that civil liberty came to Tonga, when that day shall arrive in each year, all and every land in this kingdom of Tonga shall keep it as a festival in memory of the liberty of Tonga, and it shall be so for ever and ever (Lätükefu 1974, p.248).

In 1883 the Premier, Shirley Waldemar Baker, collected the laws of Tonga into one edition. Three annual, national festivals were decreed in perpetuity: Emancipation day (4 June), Constitution Day (4 November), and Coronation day (4 December). Civil servants were permitted to take the day off to participate in festivities in their local villages. In the Tongan text of 1883, Emancipation day 1862 is commemorated as 'tau'ataina fakafonua ki Toga ni' and as 'fakamanatu ki he tau'ataina o Toga ni'. In public perception these phrases will also have expressed national independence from foreign domination:

KO HONO XXXVII OE VAHE. Koe Lao Faka Kolo.

Ko hono 10 oe Kubu. --Koe tuutuuni kihe g. Katoaga faka buleaga.

(1.) Koe mea ihe hoko i hono aho 4 o June ihe ta'u e 1862, ae tauataina fakafonua ki Toga ni, koia e hoko ae aho koia, i he ta'u kotoabe, koe aho ke fai katoaga ai ae fonua kotoabe o Toga ni, koe fakamanatu ki he tauataina o Tonga ni, bea e behe be ihe ta'u kotoabe o taegata, bea kapau e feouga ae aho 4 o June moe aho Sabate, e fai ae katoaga ihe aho oku hoko.

(2.) Koe mea ihe hoko ae Konisitutone koe lau o Toga i hono 4 o Novema 1875, e tauhi ae aho koia, a hono 4 o Novema ihe ta'u kotoabe, koe aho katoaga oe buleaga o taegata [introduction to clause (3.) omitted] ae aho nae fakanofa a Tubou koe Kigi o Toga, i hono 4 o Tisema, bea e ui ia koe aho o Tubou.

(4.) Bea ka fai ha taha oe g. Katoaga ni e ata ae kakai oku gaue moua kihe buleaga, ke alu ki ho nau kolo o katoaga, ika oku ikai kau ae lao ni kihe kau bobula.

(Tonga Government, *Koe Tohi Lao oe Buleaga o Toga 1883*, Tonga, Buleaga o Toga, printed at Auckland, Wilson & Horton, p.[84].)

During the reign of Tupou II (1893-1918), the Premier, Jiosateki T. Veikune, compiled a collected edition of the laws promulgated in 1894, 1897, 1900, and 1903. In 1903 the 4 June was to remain a national, annual festival forever (ihe ta'u kotoabe koe aho ke fai katoaga ai ae fonua kotoabe o Tonga ni...taegata) (Tonga Government, *Toga Koe Lao 1903*, p.77, Section XVII Koe Lao Fakakolo mo Fakafonua, 533 Ko e tuutuuni kihe g. Katoaga faka-Buleaga.)

In 1918 Sälote was crowned Tupou III and in 1919 the national festivals were reduced to public holidays ('aho malolo faka-pule'anga), and regulated as Sundays. Business and trade was suspended; shops were closed. From 1919 there was now a proliferation of public holidays accommodating the western calendar, royal anniversaries of the Tongan and British monarchy, and Christian sacred days. Emancipation Day appears in the 1919 text as simply Aho Tau'ataina -- 4 Sune. This remained the case when a revised edition of the laws was prepared in 1948:

VAHE 32. Ngahi 'Aho Malolo Faka-Pule'anga. Lao Fika 8 'oe 1919.

Koe lao ke tu'utu'uni 'ae ngaahi 'aho malolo fakapuleanga.

2. Koe ngahi 'aho 'oku tu'u 'i he kupu ni, aia 'oku pehe--

(i) 'Uluaki 'Aho 'oe Ta'u Fo'ou

'Aho 'Alo'i 'o 'Ene 'Afio ko e Tu'i 'o Tonga 'oku lolotonga Pule,

'Aho 'Alo'i 'oe 'Ea ki he Kalauni 'o Tonga,

Falaite Lelei,

Monite 'oe Toetu'u,
'Aho Alo'i 'o 'Ene 'Afio koe Tui 'i Pilitania 'oku lolotonga Pule,
Aho Tau'ataina--4 Sune,
Fakamanatu 'oe 'Aho Hilifaki Kalauni 'o 'Ene 'Afio koe Tu'i 'o Tonga
'aia 'oku lolotonga Pule,
'Aho Konisitutone--4 Novema,
'Aho Fakamanatu 'oe Hilifaki Kalauni 'o 'Ene 'Afio ko Siaosi Tupou I--4
Tisema,
Aho 'Alo'i pea moe 'aho 'oku hoko mai ki he 'Aho 'Alo'i; pea
(ii) mo he 'aho 'e finangalo ki ai 'a 'Ene 'Afio 'i he Fakataha tokoni
mei he taimi ki he taimi ke hoko koe 'aho malolo faka-Pule'anga ia...
(Tonga Government, *Pule'anga 'o Tonga. Koe Tohi Fakama'opo'opo 'oe Lao 'o Tonga*,
prepared by James Beveridge Thomson, printed at Auckland, Leightons, 1957, p.274-5.
VAHE 32. NGAHI 'AHO MALOLO FAKA-PULE'ANGA. Lao Fika 8 'oe 1919. Koe lao ke tu'utu'uni
'a e ngahi 'aho malolo fakapuleanga.)

No-one I spoke to in 1993 could recall the celebration of 4 June as an annual festival ('aho katoanga).

Meanwhile, the laws had encoded marks of respect required of the people to the nobility. Offenders were punished by fines or seizure of goods (Tonga Government, *Toga Koe Lao 1903*, p.76):

SECTION XVII Koe Lao Fakakolo mo Fakafonua,
528 Koe Tuutuuni kihe Fakaabaaba.

Koe aga oe fakaabaaba koe hiki ae nima ki oluga...

1. Oku tabu ke heka manu be jaliote ihe tu'a á oe Tu'i.
2. Oku tabu ke heka hosi be jaliote kiha Nobeke.
3. Oku tabu ke fa'u be navu be huluhulu be tae tao vala ka vala fakatoga ihe ao oe Houeiki Nobeke kae ikai kau eni kihe tamaiki oku teeki ai te nau tukuhau.

Respect shall be shown by saluting (raising the hand).

1. It is unlawful to ride on an animal or cart passing behind the King.
2. It is unlawful to ride on a horse or cart in the presence of a noble.
3. It is unlawful to wear a turban (fa'u) or dress the hair with lime (navu) or be unbelted (huluhulu) or without a cincture (waistmat, ta'ovala) in the presence of the nobility. Youths who have not reached the age of poll tax are excepted.

This law remained in force in 1948 (Tonga Government, *Koe Tohi Fakama'opo'opo 'oe Lao 'o Tonga*, 1957, p.269, Vahe 30, Fika 14), and in 1967 was observed by the Niuafo'ou people in respect of their 'eiki-nöpele Fusitu'a.

Laws prohibiting Tongan faiva and festivals (kātoanga)

During the 1880s, in the reign of Tupou I (ca 1831-1893), legislation appeared supressing Tongan performing arts, while regulating and condoning sports introduced from England, Australia, and New Zealand. The laws of 1882 and 1883 were assembled for publication by the Premier, Shirley Waldemar Baker, formerly a Wesleyan missionary, 1860-66, 1869-79. These laws provide the earliest written record of the faiva lakalaka, 'otuhaka, and sipi.

Fig. 34e. 1882 law regulating performing arts and festivals.

(Source: Tohi Fanogonogo Fakabuleaga, Novema 14, 1882, p. 3-4. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau, Printed Documents Series, DOC 390, microfilm.)

OFISI OE BALEMIA, NUKUALOFA, Novema 14. 1882. KOE G. FAIVA MOE G. KATOAGA.

E ikai gofua ke fai ha katoaga fagatua i ha aho be i ha bo. Bea iloga akinautolu oku nau fakatubu mo kau ai e moua ki he Lao. E ikai gofua ke fai ha katoaga sibi be fai he sibi i ha loto kolo, be i ha hala Fakabuleaga, be ko ha botu kehe. E ikai gofua ke fai ae g. meke fakafiji be ko ha boula be kau ai kakai lalahi i ha lakalaka, moe otu haka; (*gata be i he ta fala moe lagi tua.*) Bea e ikai gofua ke tuku fakakai ha faiva o hage koe Bele, moe Veimau, be ha faiva kehe. Bea iloga ha taha oku ne maumau'i ha taha oe g. tuutuuni ni e moua koe Tola e 5. *Ko au Misa Beika Balemia*

PREMIER'S OFFICE, NUKU'ALOFA, November 14, 1882. PERFORMING ARTS AND FESTIVALS

It is unlawful to hold a wrestling match in the daytime or at night. If anyone is known to hold or participate in such, they will be fined according to the Law.

It is unlawful to hold a concert of courting songs (katoaga sibi) or to take part in any such in towns, or in public roads, or in any place.

It is unlawful to perform any of the Fijian dances, or any night concerts of ula dances, or for adults to perform in a lakalaka dance or 'otuhaka dance (except they may beat the accompaniment and stand in the back line and sing).

And it is unlawful to play for stakes in any game such as cards and draughts, or in any other competitive feat.

And if anyone is known to have broken any of these rules they will be fined 5 dollars.

Fig. 34f. 1882 law regulating cricket festivals.
(Source: Tohi Fanogonogo Fakabuleaga, Novema 14, 1882, pp. 2, 3. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau, Printed Documents Series, DOC 390, microfilm.)

OFISI OE BALEMIA, NUKUALOFA, Novema 14. 1882.
KOE LAO KI HE KILIKITI

E ikai gofua ke fai ha Kilikiti ka ko e aho Tusite be, moe Tusite tuo ua i ha vahaa, bea moe g. aho katoaga lahi oe Buleaga.

Ka i ia ha kau Kilikiti i ha kolo e vahe e he bule kolo ha feituu i he malae oe Buleaga ke fai i ai e nau Kilikiti, bea e tauhi ia e he Kilikiti koia.

E ikai gofua ke fai ha tau ka i he malae be oe Buleaga.

Oku tabu ke katoaga be feiumu ha Kilikiti, kae gofua be ae fakaafe.

Bea e tabu ke fakabale be tuku fakakai ha Kilikiti, bea e tabu ke ta ha nafa, be ha lali i ha Kilikiti, be ifi be fana, be to fuka, kae gofua be ke ifi kelea i he fakataha ae kautaha.

Iloga ha taha tene maumau'i ha taha oe g. tuutuuni ni tene moua koe Tola e 5.

It is not permitted to play cricket on any day except Tuesday, and on alternate Tuesdays, and on national holidays.

In any village that has a cricket team the Town Officer will demarcate a section of the public mala'e for the pitch, and the team will be responsible for its upkeep.

Cricket matches are permitted only at public mala'e.

It is forbidden to hold a cricket match in conjunction with a festival or the distribution of pigs. Feasts only are permitted.

It is forbidden to give prizes or lay bets at cricket matches, and it is forbidden to beat dance drums or signalling drums at cricket, or blow [trumpets] or fire [guns] or fly flags. Conch shells only can blown to assemble team members.

If it is known that anyone has broken any one of these rules he will be fined 5 dollars.

Fig. 34g. 1882 Law regulating the participation of school pupils in faiva. (Source: Tohi Fanogonogo Fakabuleaga, Novema 14, 1882, pp. 2, 3. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau, Printed Documents Series, DOC 390, microfilm.)

KO ENI AE G. KUBU OE LAO OKU KAU BE KI HE G. LAUTOHI KE
KAU I HE FONON.

...Koe Kilikiti....lautohi ke bulei...tamaiki lautohi; bea...ae tamaiki
lautohi...kilikiti a ha kakai...ha tamaiki oku maumau'i ae
tuutuuni e moua koe \$1, Ka e gofua [ki he] Failautohi ke
fakagofua ke kau ha tamaiki lautohi i ha tau ka loto lelei ia ki
ai. *Microfilm text obscured.*

....
....
....
....
....

E i he Failautohi be ke bulei ae Lakalaka moe Otuhaka, bea e
tabu ke fai e he tamaiki i ha botu kehe, be ha taimi kehe, ka
koia be kuo tuutuuni e he Failautohi...

It rests with the Primary School Teacher to be in charge of
the lakalaka and 'otuhaka, and it is prohibited for children to
perform in any place, or at any time, not ordered by the
Teacher...

All practice of festivals and faiva - sports, games, dances - was absolutely severed from the realm of the sacred. The Christian sabbath was a day of such severe tapu that all activity ceased.

By 1883 billiards and card-playing had become established faiva. Billiards was permitted where tables were licenced. Gambling on any faiva was illegal. While faiva imported from England were tolerated, Tongan faiva were not. The 1883 legislation intended to outlaw funeral festivals and Tongan dances under all circumstances: the addition of the phrase *heathen dances* to the Tongan text makes this clear.

Fig. 34h. 1883 laws published by the Premier, Shirley Baker, during the reign of Tupou I.

(Source: Tonga Government, *Koe Tohi Lao oe Buleaga o Toga 1883...Toga: kuo buluji mae Buleaga o Toga*, printed at Auckland, Wilson & Horton, pp.42-3, 85, 88, 93.)

KO HONO XXII OE VAHE 22. Koe Lao kihe g. Tohi Fakagofua.
Koe Tohi Fakagofua fai faiva koe Biliate.
Ko hono 32 oe Kubu.--E ikai gofua ki ha taha ke tauhi he
tebile Biliate ihe ene teeki ai mau ha tohi fakagofua...

No one is permitted to have a billiards table without first obtaining a licence...

KO HONO XXXVII OE VAHE 22. Koe Lao Faka Kolo.
Ko hono 11 oe Kubu.

(1.) Oku tabu ke katoaga'i ha butu, ka oku gofua kiate
kinautolu oku kau tonu ki ai ae mea fakaeiki, ihe e nau loto
ki ai, ke fai ha tokoni täu moe fiemalie ae houeiki moe kaiga
oku hau kihe butu.

(2.) Oku tabu ae tukuofa ae houeiki moe kakai; aia oku ui
koe mea ofa; oku tabu foki ke kau ae houeiki moe kakai ihe
nofoaki butu, kae gata ihe kei tokatamaki ae g. mea oe butu:
ae tatafi, moe taoneone.

(1.) It is unlawful to celebrate a funeral with a festival, but those who are legitimate mourners and want to do so, may make appropriate contributions (fai ha tokoni) to the chiefs and kinsfolk who attend the funeral.

(2.) It is unlawful for chiefs and people to make voluntary presentations in excess of the mandatory amount; it is further unlawful for chiefs and people to gather and remain with the bereaved; they may remain only for the rites of sweeping the grave and carrying sand for the mound.

KO HONO XXXVIII OE VAHE 22. Koe Lao kihe g. mea Faka Polisi. Ko hono 2 oe Kubu.--Koe tuutuuni kihe aho Tabu moe veuveuki oe lotu.

(1.) Oku tabu ae aho Sabate ihe Buleaga o Toga...

(2.) Oku ikai gofua ke fai ha gaue ihe aho Sabate; ae laga fale, moe fouvaka, moe goue, moe kumi ika, moe fai fakatau...

(3.) Bea oku ikai gofua ke fai ha fana ihe kolo be ihe vao ihe aho Sabate, be ke fai ha vaiga, bea oku lau koe vaiga koe kilikiti, koe lafo, moe teka moe g. mea pehe...

- (1.) The sabbath is sacred under the Government of Tonga.
- (2.) It is unlawful to carry out any work on the Sabbath; to build houses or boats, or garden, or fish, or trade...
- (3.) It is unlawful to use a firearm in town or in the countryside on the Sabbath, or to play games, including cricket (kilikiti), pitching discs (lafo), darts (teka), and all such like...

Ko hono 7 oe Kubu. Ka ai ha taha e maumau'i ha taha ae g. tututuuni oku tuu ki mui ni; bea fakamau bea ilo oku mooni, e moua ia kihe lao koe (\$5) paaga e nima...

- (2.) Ka ai ha taha e boula, be fai ha katoaga sipi, be sipi (heathen dances).
- (3.) Ka ai ha taha e fai be kau i ha fakakai (gambling), be koe fakakai ha pele (cards), be ko ha faiva behe be ha mea kehe...
- (5.) Ka ai ha taha e aluage hi ha abi o ha taha ke fakalaga fuhu bea oku ikai fuhu ia oku oona ae abi.
- (6.) Ka ai ha taha e tukii be sipi'i ha taha i ha ke, ka oku ikai koe tuki, ke toto be lavea ia kuo tuki'i.

If any person breaks any one of the following orders, he will be tried and if convicted fined five dollars...

- 2.) Any person who takes part in a night concert (poula), or holds a courtship concert (katoaga sipi), or sipi (heathen dances in the Tongan text).
- (3.) Any person who instigates or takes part in gambling (fakakai), whether it be gambling at card-playing (pele), or any such faiva, or any other such...
- (5.) Any person who goes to a residence to engage in boxing (fakalaga fuhu), and also [any person who] has boxing at his residence even though not participating himself.
- (6.) Any person who fights (tukii pe sipi'i) with another, and if it is not a fight, if he wounds or injures the person he has struck.

The legislation of 1883 selected ula and sipi from the Tongan repertoire of dances. Both were faiva of the night concerts (pö ula, pö me'e, pö sipi). It is unlikely that Tongan chiefs would have initiated legislation against funeral festivals, courting concerts, and night concerts; they were in their element when dancing (Orange 1840, p.126-7). The clumsy attempt to encapsulate 'heathen dances' in the word *sipi* indicates that the legislation was drafted by someone not expert in dance: Baker himself.

In 1903 the Premier, Jiosateki Veikune, compiled the laws promulgated to date during the reign of Tupou II (1893-1918). In the laws relating to funerals (sections 529-532), clauses 1 and 2 were omitted. Section 532 simply stated:

Iloga ha koloa kuo tanaki eha kaiga koe me'a ofa ki he fai oe Bekia e ikai gofua ke toe tufa atu ia...

Concerning any valuable goods [fine mats, lengths of bark cloth] assembled by kinsfolk as tributary gifts for the funeral, it is not lawful to redistribute them...

(Tonga Government, *Toga Koe Lao* 1903, p.77, SECTION XVII Koe Lao Fakakolo mo Fakafonua, Ko e tuutuuni kihe Faele moe Bekia.)

During the reigns of Täufa'ähau Tupou II and Sälothe Tupou III, funeral festivals and night concerts were no longer prohibited in law; nonetheless they did not reappear.

By 1948, prohibitions against faiva had been reduced to activities on Sundays and in public places (Tonga Government, *Pule'anga 'o Tonga. Koe Tohi Fakama'opo'opo 'oe Lao 'o Tonga*, 1957, pp.213-19). The popular faiva of the day appear to have been kite flying, fireworks, cricket, football, lawn tennis, golf, bowls, lakalaka, fa'ahiula, billiards, movies, and brass bands:

VAHE 19. Koe tauhi 'oe maau 'i he ngahi feitu'u faka-pule'anga.

3. (xvii) Va'inga pe fakapuna lofa... pe tutu ha fana afi 'i ha hala Pule'anga. In any public way plays any game flies any kite...or sets fire to any firework.

6. Ka 'iai ha taha te ne fai ha ngaue 'i he Sapate...pe fai ha vainga 'o hange koe kilikiti, 'akapulu, lonitenisi, tapulu, tekapulu, pe ha ngahi vainga pehe pe hulohula, lakalaka, fa'ahiula pea moe ngahi ala me'a pehe... Whoever shall do any work on the sabbath day...or engage in any game such as cricket football lawn tennis golf bowls or similar games, or dancing, lakalaka, fa'ahiula and such like pastimes...

Movies, billiard tables (9), dance drums and wind instruments (3, xix), betting and gambling games (3, xxix), and profane songs and ballads (3, xxi) also came under section 19. Brass bands (kau ifi) were permitted to practice between 6 am and 10 pm (3, xix). Cries announcing village meetings, government proclamations, and ships ("Sail-ho!"), were exempt from restriction (3, xix).

Following the Constitution 1875, the Laws of Tonga were published in 1879 (Baker), 1883 (Baker), 1889 (Baker), 1891, 1903 (Book of Statutes). Consolidated laws compiled by European jurists were published in 1929, 1947, 1967 (Marcus 1979, p.81n).

KOE GAHI LEKOTI 'OE FAIVA.

Talu mei he 1923 mo hono fai 'oe fe'auhi fakasiboti 'e he Koliji ko Tubou moe Koliji Bule'aga. Kuo jlo lahi 'ae me'a ni ki he fakalelei 'ae va 'oe ogo Koliji, 'ala na'e 'ikai lelei ki mu'a atu. Bea 'oku ha kuo kamata ke a'ujia 'ae mo'oni kola 'e he gahi to'uako koeni. Koeni 'ae tebile 'oe gahi ta'u kola mo hono gahi ma'u foki :—

Ta'u.	Tenisi.	'Akabulu.	Siboti.	Kilikiti.	Malohi.
1923	Tubou	Taki Taha	Toga	Tubou	Tubou
1924	Tubou	Toga	Tubou	Tubou	Tubou
1925	Tubou	Taki Taha	Toga	Tubou	Tubou
1926	Tubou	Toga	Toga	Tubou	Tubou
1927	Toga	Toga	Toga	Tubou	K. Toga
1928	Toga	Toga	Toga	Tubou	K. Toga
1929	Toga	Taki Taha	Toga	Tubou	K. Toga
1930	Toga	Toga	Tubou	Taki Taha	K. Toga

'Oku lelei ke manatu ko Manoa Havea, Jione Bosesi Fanua mo Semisi Fonua na'a nau kabiteni 'ae Koliji, bea nau kabiteni 'ae gahi va'iga kotoa honau ta'u.

Faiva.	Ta'u.	Higoa.	Taimi.	Koliji.
Iate 440	1937	Tev. Muimui	52' 1/2"	Tubou
Hobo Toko	1940	T. Naufahu	10' 2 3/4"	K. Toga
Iate 100	1937	T. Solononu	10' 2/5"	Tubou
	1940	Halatoa Finau	"	Tubou
Buna Loloa	1931	J. Bakola	20' 3"	K. Toga
Hafe Maile	1935	Uebi Latu	2' 10 1/5"	Tubou
	1937	Tev. Muimui	"	Tubou
Buna Ma'oluga	1931	Kalanuvalu	5' 6"	Tubou
L. M. Mamafa	1936	Tevita Maile	44' 11"	Tubou
Iate 220	1937	T. Solononu	23' 4/5"	Tubou
	1940	Halatoa Finau	"	Tubou
Lele Bunobuna	1930	Kalanuvalu	16' 2/5"	Tubou
L. B. Kilikiti	1939	Uilliami Naulu	112yds. 6"	Tubou
Hobo Sitebu	1931	F. Sitoa Jiale	42' 2"	Tubou
Maile 'e taha	1937	I. Belesikoti	4' 56 1/5"	Tubou
Lele Fuka	1937	T. Solononu (kabit.)	47' 3/5"	Tubou

Fuji Maea Koe fuji 'e 18, bea malohi 'ae Koliji ko Tubou 'i he fuji 'e 13 ki he 5 'ae K. Toga.

Tenisi Na'e tau taha hokohoko 'e Benitani 'i he fe'auhi faka-Koliji he ta'u 'e 5, bea 'ikai toka 'i ha fo'i tau. Maile 'e fai!

Kilikiti Koe kai lahi taha 'oe Koliji ko Tubou 'i he gahi tau kilikiti na'e fai, koe 268 'i he ta'u 1933. Bea na'e ma'u be he ta'u kola 'ae lekoti fakafo'itagata 'i he ta 'e Moeaki Vao (Uiha), koe 92. Koe

Fig. 35. Table of champions in the annual sports contests between Tupou College and Government College (Tonga College) during the years 1923-1940. The leading faiva of the era were tennis, rugby, athletics, and cricket. A champion sportsman is still 'tangata faiva'. However the eighteenth century expression 'fe'auhi faiva' has been displaced by 'fe'auhi fakasiboti, sports championships'. Athletics included running races (iate 440, iate 100, half mile, iate 220, lele punopuna, maile 'e taha), pole vault (hopo toko), long jump (puna loloa), high jump (puna ma'olunga), shot put (li me'a mamafa), throwing a cricket ball (li pulu kilikiti), hop step and jump (hopo sitepu), relay races (lele fuka), and tug of war (fusi maea).

(SOURCE: Koe Havea. Koe Jiubeli koe ta'u e 75, 1966-1941 p.32-4.)

End Notes

Burdens of the Royal Visit.

1. Tonga's Agricultural Shows were initiated in the 1920s by Sälote's husband, Tung'i Mailefihi (Wood Ellem 1981, pp.230, 464). The first Agricultural Show at Niuatoputapu was held in 1969, see fig.6.

2. In 1969 Garth Rogers and I resided in Hihifo village, Niuatopoutapu, for three months. In 1971 we resided in Falehau village for nine months. On arrival in 1971, we paid our respects to the 'eiki of Falehau village, Fuimaono 'Ükakala, and obtained his permission to pitch our tent in a vacant allotment on the lagoon shore. Fuimaono was the household head of highest rank in Falehau village; he was not however a strong leader, owing possibly to ill health.

Our nearest neighbours were Sämiu and Salome Tokolahi. Sämiu and Garth became bonafide companions. Their knowledge of economic relations provided the wider context for research on the song texts. Residing in Falehau, my perspective on the 1971 Royal Visit and Agricultural Show was largely from the back door.

Fuimaono 'Ükakala and his daughter Mele, Sämiu Tokolahi and his daughter 'Ana, Ngatu Hui's children, Lisiate and Soana Mo'unga and their four children, together with many people from other Niuatoputapu villages, drowned on Xmas Eve 1977 when the M V "Tokomea" sank, through government negligence (*Faikava* No.9, 1983, p.iv).

Sete Selui died in Australia ca 1980. His collected works are recorded in the manuscript "Ko e ngaahi Fakamatala 'o Niuatoputapu" MS1971, and in recordings held by the Archive of Asia and Pacific Music at Victoria University of Wellington, nos 90.008, 90.009, 90.011, 90.013, 90.017, 90.030. Garth Rogers died in New Zealand in 1989, see p.367-9 in *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, v.98.

3. Section 25 of the Constitution of Tonga, 1975 states: "Every male Tongan who has arrived at the age of 16 years shall pay taxes whether he holds tax lands or not." Law No. 583 states: "All tax payers shall pay their taxes quarterly and should they not do so the amount shall be recoverable by distress..." The poll tax paid by Falehau men in 1971 was \$3.20 per annum (Rogers 1975, p.414). Rogers 1975, p.407, 414 records an attempt by the Town Officer to raise funds for the poll taxes of 22 persons by holding a kava club (*faikava kalapu*).

4. Rogers 1975, p.130-2 describes Fuimaono's exercise of his powers over land-rights.

5. Rogers 1975, p.29-33 describes local government; pp.3, 8, 34-7 describe anomalies of leadership in Falehau village; p.35 describes the status of Fuimaono; pp.58, 63, 130 describe the history of the Fuimaono title. Marcus 1980, p.100-1 describes the ambiguous role of Town Officers.

6. Falehau people used the Tongan lunar calendar. See Hafoka MS[1959, p.47-52] and Velt 1990, p.95 for different correlations. The correlations

used here were not discussed with Falehau fisherman and gardeners. They are: Liha Mu'a Jan/ Feb., Liha Mui Feb/ March, Vai Mu'a March/ April, etc.

Mandatory planting of crops had been legislated by 1883 or earlier. The 1883 Laws required the planting of 100 coffee plants and 200 kapok trees (Tonga Government, 1883, *Koe Tohi Lao oe Buleaga o Toga 1883*, Auckland, Wilson & Horton, p.[79], Section XXXVII, Koe Lao Faka Kolo). In Niuatoputapu local legislation by the District Officer (23 September 1957, G.S., 7/57) made the following crops mandatory: 400 'ufi lei August & September; 200 manioke October & November; 200 hopa & siaine December & January; 200 kape February & March; 200 kumala April & May; 100 'ufi June & July (G.A. Rogers, papers, 1971).

7. Rogers 1975 describes production in Falehau by weaving coöperatives (p.222-8); carpentry (p.228-9); fishing (p.205-219); agriculture (p.145-9); mandatory planting (p.147); inspections by District, Town, and Medical Officers (pp.30, 37); uiki lotu (p.343-5); fakamä (p.346-7); feihili (p.360-62); construction of the Falehau village fence (p. 1-7, 38); and the series of fund-raising kava socials (faikava kalapu) (p.405-414).

8. In 1971 Niuatoputapu received a ship once every six weeks. Previously the Government cargo-passenger vessels, "Niuvakai" and "Hifofua", had called once every three months and anchored outside the reef, but in June 1971 Tavi Maupiti (Preben Kauffman) blasted the reef passage at Falehau, and Peter Warner's vessels now entered the lagoon by a sinuous route. They anchored off Pasivülangi wharf; cargo still had to be taken out to the ships by barge.

9. 'Oto'ota was a choreographer. I have followed Niuatoputapu usage in calling him a *punake*. Shumway 1977, p.25n comments that in Tongatapu a choreographer is *pulotu haka*; a composer of melodies *pulotu hiva*; a composer of dance-poetry *pulotu fa'u*. Only a composer who combines all three skills is properly a *punake*. Similarly I have followed Niuatoputapu usage in describing the act of composition by Filianga, Sete Selui, Peni Lätü Langi and other Niua composers as *fa'u*. Cf. Mähina 1993 where *fatu* is used.

10. Rogers 1975, p.30 quotes the Fono Act 1924, which requires all residents and visiting Tongans over 16 to attend any meeting announced by the Town Officer. Recordings of Falehau fonos are held in the Archive of Asia and Pacific Music, Victoria University of Wellington, Archive nos 90.001, 90.031, 90.032.

11. Kolo and Mähina 1983, p.16-22 examine mastery of foreign symbols in the works of contemporary composers.

12. See Shumway 1977, p.30. Kaveinga is a star path, an objective.

13. The first Tu'i Kanokupolu to send his daughter to the Tu'i Tonga as *mohefo* was Mata'ele Ha'amea, ca 1650 (Bott 1982, p.137).

14. The songs of Kitione Mamata in Rogers 1986, p.105-122 express the sense of being left out. See also Pond 1990, p.205-18.

15. Lafo is a faiva played by old men. There are details in Martin 1981, p.381, McKern MS, and Churchward 1959, p.513.

16. Left foot steps left, right foot steps left, right foot steps right, left foot steps right. See Kaeppler [1967] 1993, pp.88, 89, 91; Kaeppler [1972] 1993, p.114 (L3). Correspondingly each sung line falls into two phrases, each with two accentuated pulses.

17. Kaeppler [1971] 1993, p.37; [1972] 1993, p.114 discusses the fakateki and its skilful use to convey māfana and to compel attention.

17b. The roles of vāhenga and mālie taha are discussed by Kaeppler [1971] 1993, p.36; [1978] 1993, p.104.

18. Shumway 1981, pp.472, 479 n.7 discusses solo creative flight by singers (fakahēhē).

19. The fakapale are in the Auckland Institute and Museum, Ethnographic collection, 47581, girdle decorated with pueki shells, W. Pond 71/76 47575 - 73/ 76 47591.

20. A photographic record of the 1971 Agricultural Show is held at the Department of Anthropology Photographic Archive, University of Auckland.

21. Rogers 1975, p.38 n.2 comments that he has seen a defeated cricket team in Niuatoputapu walk into their village weeping. He quotes Kavaliku (1966, p.64), **prestige in Tongan society does not only accrue to individuals but also to larger groupings like kāinga and villages.**

9. *The Illustrious Era 1773-1834.*

1. Moengangongo's line of descent is recorded in Bott 1982, fig.28. He became Finau 'Ulukālala in 1810 and died in 1812 (Campbell 1992, p.39). He is well described by Mariner (Martin 1981, p.268-74).

2. In some areas of Fiji, Ratumaibulu, head deity of the Underworld/ Afterworld and spirit of the crops, manifests during October-November, when he comes from Bulu and causes the plants to bear; people keep quiet so as not to frighten or annoy him, causing him to leave before he makes the crops fruitful. It is *tabu*, to sail, fight, or garden in this month. He is dispatched with a great shout (Capell, 1973, p.170). Some rituals of the yam festivals at Tongatapu and Vava'u took place during October-November (Urbanowicz 1973, p.81-2; Martin 1981, p.346).

10. *Kauhala Lalo Rules : Tonga 1777.*

1. "King lists" of Tonga record that Maealiuaki held both the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu titles, not necessarily concurrently (Bott 1982, figs 2 & 3).

2. Omai's Fīnau has been identified as Fīnau 'Ulukālala 'i Ma'ofanga, d.1799, by Vason (Orange 1840, p.102), and in Bott's reading of Mariner (Bott 1982, pp.19-20, 141). Fīnau 'Ulukālala 'i Feletoa, d.1809, by Blanc (1931, p.24), and by Kaeppler (1971, p.208). Tu'ihalafatai, son of Tupou Lahi, by rev. John Thomas (MS1965, p.81), Gunson (1979, p.42), Bott (1982, p.19-20), Herda (1987, p.203), and Campbell (1992, p.40). Beaglehole identified him as Fīnau 'Ulukālala 'i Feletoa, but intended by that Fīnau 'Ulukālala 'i Ma'ofanga (see Beaglehole 1967, v.3, pp.100n, 129n; Beaglehole 1974 v.4, pp.533, 535.)

3. Among the items collected at 'Eua by the Forsters were a dance head dress, and dance bracelets of pearl shell: **They dye the coconut Core black & make a kind of Headdress for their Dances as they told, for which purpose they likewise employ the Brasselets of Mother of pearl** (Hoare 1982 v.3, p.381; Kaeppler 1978, p.209). At Hihifo the Forsters collected some dance aprons, identified by Kaeppler as the prized sisi fale and kie fau worn by hou 'eiki and ta'ahine (Hoare 1982 v.3, p.385; Kaeppler 1971, p.211-13 & pls.2b, 2c; Kaeppler 1978, p.215 item 5).

4. Mariner states that Fīnau Fangupō was already governor of Ha'apai in 1777 (Martin 1981, p.75), but his chronology is possibly misplaced.

5. There is no record of a feast at this festival, but if the foreign party stayed ashore for the night entertainment this must have happened, as it did elsewhere, unreported by Cook (see Portlock v.3, p.133n).

6. Thirty years later Mariner's informants spoke of the occasion as a pōme'e (Martin 1981, p.279).

7. The landward agenda was made known thirty years later, when Mariner learned the Ha'apai chiefs had planned a day-and-night festival as a cover for seizing the ships, but had failed to collaborate. At the head of the conspiracy was Fīnau 'Ulukālala 'i Ma'ofanga (d.1797) (Martin 1981, p.279-80):

The character of the Hapai people is not naturally more treacherous than that of the people of Vavaoo; but as they have more petty chiefs whose interest they have to consult, the opportunity for treachery is perhaps more frequent ...they had deliberately planned a conspiracy against [Cook], and which would infallibly have been put in execution, if the chiefs who planned it had not disputed about the exact mode and time of making the assault. ...The other chiefs proposed to invite the captain and his officers to a grand bo-méë (a night dance by torch light), and at a signal to massacre him, his officers and all the marines. But Finow ['Ulukālala 'i Ma'ofanga], objected to this, as the darkness of the night would be unfavourable to their operations in taking the two vessels, and proposed rather that it should be done by day, and that they should seize the opportunity of making the attack on the occasion of a grand entertainment which was to be given to him in honour of his arrival... It happened, however, a little before the appointed time when the signal was to be given, that most of the chiefs still expressed their opinion that the night-time would have been better than the day, and Finow ['Ulukālala 'i Ma'ofanga], finding that the

majority were of this opinion, was much vexed, and immediately forbade it to be done at all. Thus, no signal being given, the amusements went on without interruption, and Captain Cook and his officers were much pleased with their entertainment ... Mr Mariner had this information at different times from several chiefs who were present and in particular from Finow himself [Finau Fangupö, 'Ulukälala 'i Feletoa].

Which was the intended occasion ? The first reception on 18 May could have been cut short when the chiefs disputed, or possibly the plan was laid for 20 May. The festival on 20 May brought the armed marines ashore, together with a large part of the ships' complement. We can infer that during the exhibitions of competitive feats during the day, some Ha'apai chiefs were waiting for Finau 'Ulukälala 'i Ma'ofanga to give the order to attack, while others were giving notice of their disassociation from the plan; that during the night concert chiefs were on the alert but Finau again did not order the plan to proceed.

There is no doubt that there was some secrecy in Finau's movements; Omai slept ashore with him on 17 May and yet had no intimation of plans for the reception on 18 May (Cook v.3, p.106). Festivals in Tongan polity did not stop, once started; Cook's reception with two festivals, separated by a day, was unusual.

Herda's researches have disclosed that ships sacked at Tonga include "Duke of Portland" in 1802; "Active, Union of America" in 1804, "Port au Prince" in 1806, "Ceres" in 1820, "Supply" in 1822, "Sarah" in 1823, "Rambler" in 1824, "Elizabeth" in 1827, and "Snapper" in 1832 (Herda 1988, p.121-2).

8. Herdrich 1991 has described sacred aspects of pigeon-snaring festivals.

9. Night dances by torchlight were called pöme'e (Bo'mai) at Tongatapu in 1777 (Anderson v.3, p.898), the only record of an eighteenth century night concert being named by an eye-witness.

10. The history of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua line is described in Herda 1988.

11. In this respect the strategy and agenda of the lakalaka poets is quite different from the business of western historians (see Gunson 1993, p.140).

11. *Kauhala 'Uta's Elegance.*

1. When the Tu'i Tonga Pau died ca 1789 (Campbell 1992, p.41), his supporters had been defeated in battle at Ha'ano by the hau, Tupou Mumui (Thomas MS1865, p.86). Some years before he died, Pau lost his title to Ma'ulupekotofa (see Bott 1982, fig.1) and was buried in exile at Vava'u as an ordinary 'eiki (Thomas MS1865, p.97). On the death of Tu'i Tonga Fuanunuiava at Vava'u in 1810 the Tu'i Vava'u, Moengangongo, abolished the sacred yam festivals (kätoanga 'o e 'inasi) (Martin 1981, pp.252, 342). In 1826 Tu'i Tonga Laufilitonga was defeated in battle at Vēlata by the hau, Täufa'ähau (Tupou I). In 1844 he renounced his privileges and in 1848 he became a Christian (Campbell 1992, p.94). In

1862 the hau (Tupou I) forbade any further practice of the yam festivals (Cummins n.d., p.153).

2. Clerke states that the ceremony was performed in honour of his Sons arrival at such a particular Age (Clerke v.3, p.1306). Other suggestions are that this ceremony was to qualify the youth to eat before his father (Clerke v.3, p.1307); an oath of allegiance made to the prince as heir apparent (Cook v.3, p.153); an initiation of the son and heir into some privileges, including eating with his father (Anderson v.3, p.913). Gunson notes that both Fuanunuiava and his socially recognised mother, Tupou Mohefo, may have had higher rank than Pau (Gunson 1987, p.162). Herda suggests that Pau was securing his son's succession to his title (Herda 1987, p.202). Gunson states that Fuanunuiava was created Tu'i Tonga at this ceremony (Gunson 1987, p.162).

3. She is identified as Nanasi-pau'u by Bott (1982, pp.61, 100), and Thomas (MS1865, p.193) states that Nanasi died in 1805. She may have been Siumafua'uta.

4. Club fighting was the most highly ranked of the martial arts: contests were sometimes fought to the death (Kaho MS1960; Martin 1981, p.110). Cook's company noted that Tu'i Tonga Pau had never taken the life of one of his country men. Tu'i Tonga Pau used sacred, not physical force to punish transgressors (Cook v.3, p.143). The realm of the sacred was the domain of high-ranking women. From this configuration of ethnographic observations it can be inferred that blood spilt in martial arts would have violated the sacred pacifism of the Tu'i Tonga Fefine.

5. Mariner confirms the marriage in an account of strangling: The last Tooitonga's wife (the daughter of the late king ['Ulukālala 'i Feletoa], and sister of the present [Moengangongo] was not subjected to this inhuman rite- thanks to the good sense of the late and present king (Martin 1981, p.348). However Bott's genealogies record only a marriage between Finau's eldest daughter Halaevalu Mohefo, and Makamālohi, the highest ranking 'eiki of the day (see Bott 1982, fig.28).

From Cook's journals we can infer that Tu'i Tonga Pau, his brother, and his son (Fuanunuiava) were all spoken of as "Fatefehi" (Cook v.3, pp.117, 129), and it is possible that Mariner would likewise have heard the reference "Fatafehi" when matters concerned Tu'i Tonga Fuanunuiava, Makamālohi, and other 'eiki and ta'ahine of Kauhala 'Uta who had sacred rank but no title. However Makamālohi would not have been called Tu'i Tonga.

Bott omitted some later marriages and later children of both Fuanunuiava and of Finau Fangupō. She records only two wives of Finau (Lapulou and 'Ongo'alupe) and one daughter (Halaevalu Mohefo) (Bott 1982, fig.28).

Martin records that during 1806-09 Finau Fangupō's wives were Mo'unga Tupou and Tupou Ve'ehala; his favourite in 1806-09 was his mistress Funaki, wife of Finau Fisi (Martin 1981, pp.113, 137, 225). At this time, Finau had three daughters. The eldest, b. ca 1790, married Tu'i Tonga Fuanunuiava when he was aged ca 40 (Martin 1981, p.96). The middle daughter was born ca 1794 (Martin 1981, p.214). A younger daughter, b. ca 1802, died in 1809 when aged 6 or 7. She was named "Saw-aw māi Lalāngi", a Sāmoan name meaning 'descended from the sky' (Martin 1981, p.204). Mariner's record would suggest that his "Tu'i

"Tu'i Tonga" was born ca 1768. This corresponds well with estimates that Fuanunuiava was 12 or 14 in 1777 (Cook v.3, p.128; Anderson v.3, p.894).

Gunson records that Fuanunuiava (1765-1810) had issue by Tupoufalemei d.o. Tu'ihalafatai; Pululongoteme d.o. Mulikiha'amea; Tupou Veiongo d.o. Mumui; Popua d.o. Finau 'Ulukälala 'i Ma'ofanga; Finau Ha'akili d.o. Finau Fangupö, 'Ulukälala 'i Feletoa (Gunson 1979, p.38n).

If the Fatafehi who met D'Entrecasteaux was Fuanunuiava, he was aged ca 27 (b.1766) and already had two wives in 1793 (Benguigui 1991, p.44; Labillardière 1800 v.2, p.178).

6. When the Port au Prince was sacked in 1806, the predecessor of Tu'i Tonga Fuanunuiava had just died, and was buried while Mariner was ashore (Martin 1981, p.90); possibly that would be the ta'ahine who received D'Entrecasteaux at Pangaimotu in 1793; Bott identifies her as the Tu'i Tonga Fefine Nanasipau'u (Bott 1982, pp.61, 100). Thomas states that at the sacking of the Port au Prince the funeral of Sinaitakala was being performed; Thomas identifies Sinaitakala as the sister of Pau and mother of the Tamahä 'Amelia; that would be Nanasipau'u (Thomas MS1853, p.34), and in a later manuscript Thomas states that Nanasi was buried at Lifuka on 2 December 1805 (Thomas MS1865, p.193). McKern records that Nanasipau'u was buried in the cemetery at Olovehi, which is near Tongoleleka on Lifuka island. The vault is named Langi Olovehi, or Olovehi Fakasia, or Sia Vakapuna. It is a two-tiered structure, almost square (56 x 51.5 feet), well constructed of yellow coral slabs. A ramp ascends the western side, where the vault is located (Gifford 1923 p.185; McKern 1929, p.48-9). Nanasi would thereby be "Sinaetakala 'i Langi Olovehi". She was not however given the designation Sinaetakala in any genealogy book (tohi hohoko).

7. Fijian liku skirts have been researched by Roth 1988. As described in 1875 they were fringe skirts worn by women to cover the pubic area. They were made of hibiscus bast (fau), all on the same pattern: a plaited band with several rows of fringes (tassels).

8. A search of Tongan records has not revealed a name for these elegant processions. The Sāmoan sa'o was described in 1832 by Williams, performed on the occasion of a malaga (Moyle 1984, p.252-3):

The people of the malaga also always commence the sao when they are short of food. The sao is invariably performed by daylight. It is commenced with a Spirit Song in honour of their Etus [aitu] or gods. The performers are seated all round the house in a kind of large circle. Others are seated inside the circle. The singers are provided with a small stick with which they beat time on the mats of the house. Singing continues some time before the dancing commences. At certain intervals the whole company joins in the singing in a kind of chorus. Singing being ended dancing commences. Females only perform & none but females of great respectability exhibit. On these occasions they wear the fine wrought fala mats trimmed with red feathers, necklaces head dresses etc & as before stated [nautilus head dresses, p.246]. In dancing the sao the females form themselves into circles & interchange situations with each other with a slow graceful motion the hands & head accompanying in time the movement. At intervals

there is a cessation of singing. At a particular sign one female will sing a verse in rather melancholy tone to accord with the motions of the performers. At other signals all the females will unite in singing while the men beat time to the song. This dance lasts generally half an hour during which time food is being brought by the inhabitants of the settlement in all directions.

In Tonga *hako* is a line of descendants.

9. Waldegrave's description of the kava is (Waldegrave 1833, p.187-9):
At 9 a.m., Touetonga was seated under the large kava-house, an oval building, open on all sides, with his officers arranged on either side. An aged female sat a little on his right, to attend on him. The building stood not quite in the centre of an inclosure. In front, about fifty yards from Touetoanga, were placed two large kava-bowls, on each side of which, in a semicircle, sat the chiefs and principal persons; behind them sat the others. A staff-bearer, on the left of Touetonga, ordered each cup of kava, as it was filled, to be carried to some person whose name was announced: the kava-bearers presented the cup squatting. ... When the game was over, the pigs were brought into the inclosure, and counted. Touetonga being seated at first, they were distributed: we received four, with yams in proportion.

The Tu'i Tonga was the presiding 'eiki at the kava. The kava was called by the matāpule on his left hand. The same practice was observed in the kava of Tupou IV at Niuatoputapu in 1971. When the Tu'i has been voyaging at sea, the left-hand matāpule, who is of a seafaring lineage (Ha'a toutai), presides (Gifford 1929, p.161).

The kava of the Tu'i Tonga himself had to be served silently (Gifford 1929, p.159). In 1830 all other recipients of each cup were apparently called by name, as they were at the kava of the Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupou Mumui in 1793 (Labillardière 1800 v.2, p.137-47), and at the kava of the Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupou IV in 1971. In 1971 however the officiating matāpule did not carry a staff (tokotoko), and the kava-bearers presented the kava cups standing.

In 1971 the kava, pigs and baked food assembled as relish (fono) for the kava, were counted (lau e ngäue) before the kava was prepared and served. In eighteenth century accounts however, the fono of the kava was modest, often comprising simply coconuts and bananas or plantains or yams (Cook v.2, p.246; Martin 1981, p.340; Orange 1840, p.124).

At the reception for the Tu'i Tonga in 1830, the kava was served and then there was a presentation of pigs and yams. It is possible that the pigs and yams were a separate presentation, as a häunga from another 'eiki.

In eighteenth century records of kätöanga ordered for Kauhala Lalo agendas, the provisions assembled and displayed were not counted. There are two records of counting at Kauhala 'Uta festivals (Martin 1981, p.95; Waldegrave 1833, p.187-9). The inferences are that during the late nineteenth or twentieth century Kauhala Lalo preëmpted certain Kauhala 'Uta protocols (including counting provisions assembled at a kätöanga), and that the fono (repast) of major kava ceremonies has become more lavish.

10. Père Soane Malia [Bishop Blanc], editor of *Koe Fafagu*, v. 4, 1906, pp.49, 50, 51, commented, *Ko Pulotu koe mea oku kau kihe g. kuoga fakatevolo... Ka oku laupe ae Fafagu ki Pulotu, koeuhi koe talanoa koeni oku kau ki ai oku malie hono fau; pea oku tau fanogo ai kihe lea fakatoga mooni*, 'Pulotu is something from the era of devils... The reason Fafangu treats with Pulotu is, this account of Pulotu [by Tongavalevale] is wonderfully constructed and through it we can hear the true Tongan language.'

12. *Sacred Festivals.*

1. George states of Balinese dance in the context of temple festivals, A good performance is always the best way to lure the gods to come to a village and while they are there, invisible but honoured guests, the Balinese know that the whole village is safe, protected, blessed (George n.d., p.7) and the whole purpose of [temple] festivals is to renew contact with the ancestors (p.24).

2. Eliade recognised a heritage of shamanic mythology in the epic poetry of Polynesia: the earliest Central Asian and Polynesian epic poetry had as its model the adventures of shamans on their ecstatic journeys (Eliade [1976] 1978, p.273) and discussed the evidence for shamanism in Polynesia: We must observe at once that the essentials of shamanic ideology and technique - that is, communication among the three cosmic zones and along an axis situated at the "Centre" and the faculty of ascension, or magical flight - are abundantly attested in Polynesian mythology (Eliade [1951] 1972, p.366-74). Gunson has explored this proposition further, giving specific examples from Tonga. He notes however, that the fertility cult of the master shaman (the Tu'i Tonga) and the war cult of the warrior-'eiki (the hau) developed their own practices and priests (Gunson 1990, 1993, PP1993). Tongan theology is problematic in having both an underworld (Lolofonua) and an afterworld (Pultou). Pulotu, both a homeland and the afterworld of gods and of the shades of the sacred chiefs and their attendants, was possibly intrusive in the shamanistic paradigm but well established in the eighteenth century (Gunson 1993, p.152n; Geraghty 1993, pp. 365, 366).

Howard briefly reviews current scholarship in shamanism in Hoppál & Howard 1993, p.ix-xi.

3. The festival was recorded. Pond /Rogers, Tonga 90.014 and 90.015, Archive of Asia and Pacific Music, Victoria University of Wellington.

4. Pond /Rogers, Tonga 90.019, Archive of Asia and Pacific Music, Victoria University of Wellington.

5. The paradigm proposed by Bott (1982, p.126-9) is of goods being amassed from the people of an estate and presented through a hierarchical succession of chiefs, arriving at the ceremonial ground for display, and then being redistributed, some on to other chiefs and some back down the hierarchy, so that the producers received less than they gave. This paradigm is commonly represented as parallel lines in opposite directions between the land's people and the governing chiefs.

The paradigm proposed by Taegon Kim (PP1993) is followed here. In Kim's paradigm produce is amassed and displayed; the performance of faiva which accompanies the presentation harnesses the realm of the sacred, so that what is returned is beneficent wellbeing to the entire community; the produce given is replaced by greater fertility and abundance; a little of the land's produce is given and a great deal more is received. This paradigm is represented as a circle which moves between the mundane realm (Maama) and sacred / sky realm (Langi).

14. *Dance Grounds.*

1. In the journal account the fale 'otua has fourteen columns, whereas the fale Pouono would have had six posts, so this does appear to be the fale 'otua. However it should have been enclosed by a woven fence, 12 feet high (Herda 1983, p.85). Brambila's drawing has possibly been rearranged.

2. Colombe makes a distinction between fale lahi, the large house at the top of the mala'e, and fale hau, a chief's reception house (Colombe 1890, p.87). McKern identifies fale hau as 'King's guest house' (McKern 1929, p.94). In 1793, at 'Onetale bay, Vava'u, the presiding 'eiki Vuna used a building at the south end of the bay, which the Spanish called a kava house (Herda 1983, p.70).

3. In Colson's account of Pouono mala'e the fine green grass is called Bermuda grass (Herda 1983, p.85).

4. The pallets used in the me'etu'upaki dances were not like paddles, suggesting that the dance performed at 'Onetale bay on 25 May 1793 was not a me'etu'upaki, see fig.32.

5. Similar complexes have been described: (i) The Ha'amonga complex near Kolonga (Spenneman 1986, p.44, fig.V.9); (ii) the complex at Pangai Lahi mala'e in Hihifo, Tongatapu (Motu'apuaka MS[1959]).

6. Tupou Posesi and I are uncertain of the significance of these lines. The poem recounts Täufa'ähau's path to becoming hau. Faleola is on 'Uiha. Fakalala is a style of dance garment worn by 'eiki men and women of Kauhala 'Uta, from Lapaha.

15. *Night Concerts, Pöula & Pöme'e.*

1. Kaeppler argues that Webber's depictions are of me'elaufola [1967] 1993, p.87-9). It is solely on Mariner's account that Webber's illustrations have been identified as me'elaufola and not as ula and he'a. Martin says, In the account given by Cook there is only mention made of two principal dances, viz. *mée low folla*, and *mée too buggi* (Martin 1981, p.372; Joppien & Smith 1987 v.3, pl.3.51A). Martin however did not have the journals of Anderson, Samwell, and Williamson, edited by Beaglehole, which are used here. Ula choreography is known from the fa'ahi ula (Kaeppler [1970] 1993, p.27). He'a were danced by men of rank

(Martin 1981, p.372-3). It is possible that ula and hea were in the programmes of the night concerts ordered for Cook in 1777.

2. At Popua in 1777 Tonga Pau did not dance in the me'etu'upaki; possibly because he would have outranked the presiding 'eiki, Maealiuaki. The matter needs further research.

At the Emancipation Festival in 1970 the mā'ulu'ulu by Queen Sālote Girls' College was directed by Ve'ehala Leilua, a male punake of Kauhala Lalo (and see Kaeppler 1993, fig.5.1). Possibly here again is evidence of the house of Tupou invading the sacred territory vacated by the Tu'i Tonga.

3. Williamson's description of girdles of sī leaves (ta'ovala lau sī) was made at Ha'apai on 20 May. Webber however drew two leading dancers wearing a kind of girdle which would now be called fakavainiaku (Joppien and Smith 1987 v.3, pls 3.48, 3.49, 3.49A, 3.50, 3.50, 3.51, 3.51A), see fig.26. There is therefore a discrepancy in descriptions of the girdles.

Night concerts were held at Lifuka (Ha'apai) on 20 May, and at Popua (Tongatapu) on 17 & 21 June 1777. Cook referred to Webber's drawings during the concert at Popua on 17 June: **The drawings which Mr Webber has made of these performances will give a very good idea of the order in which they range themselves** (Cook v.3, p.131). Only one first draft drawing has been found (Joppien & Smith 1987 v.3, pl.3.48; Kaeppler 1993, fig.2.3).

Webber's illustrations of night dances were ascribed to Ha'apai in the official publication (1784). However the discrepancy suggests that Webber's depiction may not be derived solely from the night concert at Ha'apai on 20 May 1777.

4. There is however an anomalous and problematical drawing by Ravenet made after Vuna's reception for the Spanish at Vava'u on 25 May 1793, see fig.32. It is of women performing possibly a me'elaufola; here all the women dancing are depicted wearing fine mats (vala ngafingafi) over the bark cloth (Herda 1983, fig.20). On this occasion the journal records that women of rank danced: **Only the daughter of Paulajo and wife of vuna refrained, on this occasion, from appearing to the audience. Her sisters, and the other notables who had visited us on board were all contained in the circle** (Herda 1983, p.72-3). However the account also states, the dance had not even begun when it was already necessary to form a second circle outside in order that all would be able to dance with some comfort (Herda 1983, p.72-3). The account suggests that women of all ranks danced on this occasion; unless the entire gathering was restricted to people of rank, they would not all have been wearing fine mats, as Ravenet depicts; the drawing has possibly been reworked with detail from other studies.

The same conclusion can be reached by a second approach: From the same occasion there is also a drawing by an unknown artist, who sketched the women costumed solely in bark cloth (Herda 1983, figs 19, 21); in Ravenet's finished work all the women dancers are wearing fine mats (ngafingafi) over the bark cloth (Herda 1983, fig.20). This was the costume worn by high-ranking women (ta'ahine) of Vuna's household who had entertained the Spanish officers on board the "Descubierta" the day before, 24 May, when Ravenet illustrated them performing üpē (Herda

1983, pls 8, 9, 10, 13, 14). Possibly Ravenet transposed the costumes of the ta'ahine onto all the dancers of the me'elaufola when he produced his finished work.

However at the funeral festival for the Kauhala Lalo 'eiki, Tupou Mumui, at Tongatapu in 1797, the women who danced at the night me'e wore fine mats (Wilson 1799, p.249).

5. The very rare palätavake was a radiating semi-circle of tropic bird and parroquet feathers worn by the Tu'i Tonga Pau (*Ko e Makasini ko e Lo'au* 1959, p.7-8), and possibly certain Kauhala 'Uta 'eiki and ta'ahine.

16. *Three Lineages of 1793.*

1. This era of Tongan history, 1777-1793, is discussed by Gunson (1979, p.39-43), Campbell (1982, p.183-94), and Herda (1987, p.199-208).

2. "Finau" was styled by the French 'chief of the warriors'. He was clearly an 'eiki of rank, with executive authority, possibly acting hau, age estimated at 45. He acknowledged the greater status of Tupou (the Tu'i Kanokupolu Mumui): On Mumui's first visit aboard the "Recherche", he sat in a circle with his accompanying chiefs. On his right hand was Finau, on his left hand Omalai (Labillardière 1800 v.2, p.121). There is a portrait of him in 1793, entitled "Finau, chef des Guerriers de Tongatabou" (Labillardière 1800, pl.8). Possible candidates for D'Entrecasteaux's Finau are Finau Tuku'aho, a son of Mumui who became Tu'i Kanokupolu briefly 1797-99; Omai's Finau 16 years later; Tu'ihalafatai (Finau Lahi); Finau 'Ulukälala 'i Feletoa; and Finau 'Ulukälala 'i Ma'ofanga.

"Omalaï" is possibly Tupou Mälohi ['O Malo[h]i]; according to Thomas he was a birth son of Tu'i Halafatai, adopted by Mumui (Campbell 1992, p.38n). He became Tu'i Kanokupolu briefly ca 1808-1812 (Campbell 1992, p.235). There is a portrait of him in 1793, entitled "Toubau, fils du Roi des iles des amis" (Labillardière 1800, pl. 29). He was taken hostage on 5 April; his disposition was timid and "Mälohi" was possibly an ironical nickname. He exercised fahu over Fatafehi Fuanunuiava (Labillardière 1800 v.2, pp.165-6, 179). Mumui's eldest son, Tangata 'o Lakepa, cannot be recognised in Labillardière's record.

"Tupou" was known to the French as a lineage brother of Mumui (Labillardière 1800 v.2, p.125). He appeared to have rank but no political role and in this he resembles Mumui's elder half-brother Tupou 'Ila (see Bott 1982, figs 3 & 30). Many chiefs of the era declined political office, sometimes because title lowered their status and sometimes because, like Tangipä at Niuatoputapu in 1971, they were not political creatures.

"Tonga" was known to the French as a lineage son of "Tupou"; he was a knowledgeable navigator (Labillardière 1800 v.2, p.147-8). The 'eiki Tokemoana Tongatoutai, Tonga the Seasalt, was a lineage grandson of Mumui by descent from a very much older half-brother (Ngalumoetutulu) (see Bott 1982, fig. 3). Tongatoutai was a half-brother of Tupou To'a, and a half-brother of Finau 'Ulukälala 'i Feletoa (Bott 1982, fig. 29) and would have been alive in 1793.

3. At Niuatoputapu Ula Matatoa, officiating matäpule, ordered the kava served in the order : "Omai ia ki heni ma'a-- Tupou" (Tupou IV); "Ave

ia ma'a-- Motu'apuaka!" (Ula's opposite officiating matäpule); "Ave ia ma'a-- Vīvī" (the 'eiki of highest rank in the circle); "Ave ia ma'a-- Vivili!" (the 'eiki of second highest rank), etc. Other chiefs to receive kava in 1793 were "Nufatoa, Fefé, Mafi, Famouna and Fatoumona".

4. At Niuatoputapu in 1971 dance rehearsals were interrupted until mourning for a chief's wife had been declared ended; the family however cut the mourning short in order to allow rehearsals to proceed.

5. None of the great Vava'u hou'eiki can be identified. Fīnau 'Ulukālala 'i Ma'ofanga may have been at Tongatapu; Fīnau Fangupō may have been at Ha'apai; but what of Kafoa, Vuna Takitakimālohi, Vuna Tu'i'oetau, Tu'i'Āfitu, Luani, Fīnau Fisi, Tupouniua, Lualala, Hala'ai'api, Poponatui, Pupunu, Tu'ipelehake 'Uluvalu; the Ha'a Havea chiefs whose estates were at Vava'u: Ma'afu, Lavaka, Fielakepa, Fohe, Tupouleva, Ma'afutakinima, Mohulamufua'amotu ? Toe'umu ? Lapulou, daughter of Pau's half sister Siumafua'uta and wife of Fīnau Fangupō, became a great 'eiki of Vava'u (Bott 1982, p.143). The Tamahā 'Amelia Fakahiku'o'uiha would have been aged 25 (Herda 1988, p.226). Lolohea Loholoho was the birth son of 'Ulukālala 'i Ma'ofanga and adopted son of Tuita Kahomovailahi; where were these hou'eiki ? From the perspective of events aboard the "Descubierta" it appears that Vuna's family preëmpted the company of the Spanish.

6. King recorded in 1777 that marine parades were classed as me'e (King v.3, pp. 110n, 1361).

17. *Festivals of the Dead.*

1. The ancestor-gods and the sacred chiefs were the one class of being. In the usage of Fe'iloakitau Kaho, recorded by the Tonga Traditions Committee in 1960, the priest of an ancestor-god (singular) was a *taula 'otua 'o hou'eiki*. Hou'eiki (the plural form of 'eiki) was marked as a proper name. *Kuo tali ho'omou hū ka ko eni 'a e tu'utu'uni meia Hou'eiki*, 'your supplication has been received favourably, and this is the instruction from God' (Kaho MS1960). In 1971 a noble ('eiki) was similarly addressed in the plural (hou'eiki), acknowledging that he had both a physical body and a spiritual essence.

2. Both funerals described here were for 'eiki of Kauhala Lalo. There are two descriptions of funerals for the kau sina'e of Kauhala 'Uta, see Kauhala 'Uta's elegance.

3. The Tu'i Tonga Fefine present at Mumui's funeral is not identified in Wilson's account. The eyewitness journals of the LMS missionaries record that Siumafua'uta died in February 1798 and that she was at that time Tu'i Tonga Fefine (Buchanan 1803, p.267). It could be argued that since Siumafua'uta was the full sister of Tu'i Tonga Pau, and Mumui had appointed his son, Fuanunuiava Tu'i Tonga, she is the more likely to have presided at Mumui's funeral. Siumafua'uta was daughter of Mumui's lineage sister, Laumanakilupe.

Nanasipau'u was the daughter of Mumui's half sister, 'Ānaukihesina. Thomas (MS1865, p.193) recorded that Nanasipau'u died in 1805, based on

a reading of Mariner's account, but he was not an eyewitness. Both Siu and Nanasi were daughters of the Tu'i Tonga Tu'ipulotu 'i Langitu'oteau, father of Pau; Nanasi is the elder in Bott's genealogy (Bott 1982, fig.1), but the LMS records would suggest that the Tu'i Tonga Fefine at Mumui's funeral must have been Siu mafua'uta.

4. Mumui's two senior wives were Tu'imala, granddaughter of the priest Vave, and Lepolo, daughter of Ata (Bott 1982, p.146, fig. 30). Tuku'aho, who became hau, was the son of Lepolo.

5. Mumui's burial mound (fo'i fa'itoka) at Pangai Lahi is described as follows: This fiatooka is situated on a spot of ground about four acres. A mount rises with a gentle slope about seven feet, and is about one hundred and twenty yards in circumference at the base; upon the top stands a house neatly made, which is about thirty feet long, and half that in width. The roof is thatched, and the sides and ends left open. In the middle of this house is the grave, the sides, ends, and bottom of which are of coral stone, with a cover of the same: the floor of the house is of small stones. The etoa [toa] and other trees grow round the fiatooka (Wilson 1799, p.240-1). The grave was covered with a hewn stone about eight feet long, four broad, and one thick (Wilson 1799, p.244).

Vason recalled, The Fiatooka was a large inclosed space with a lofty funeral pile in the middle, of a pyramidical form, round which the bodies of chiefs had been laid for ages past (Orange 1840, p.108). The 'funeral pile' appears to be the burial mound.

Gunson 1987, p.152 (citing Collocott, Notebook 1936) states that Mumui was buried in Sia ko Veiongo (Saione, Mount Zion) at Nuku'alofa.

6. Wilson's use of 'hiva' is possibly derived from New Zealand Māori.

7. Deep sea fishermen were the great navigators; all are included in the designation "ha'a toutai".

8. A location for Pulotu in the Lau islands of Fiji has been investigated by Geraghty 1993.

18. *The Sacred Regatta.*

1. Shennan 1984, p.5 cites a mock battle between two Māori parties in 1827. Malinowski 1961, p.479 describes a feigned attack (youlawada) by Kiriwina visiting Kitava people. The Māori whakapohane (Williams 1957) and Futunan sake (Grézel 1878) are gestures of derision.

2. Papālangi social dances of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, where mixed couples publically touched each other's bodies, were unseemly in Tongan morés (Kaepler 1991, p.347).

3. Gunson 1978, p.269, cites the opinions of Ellis: **True civilisation and Christianity are inseparable; the former has never been found but as a fruit of the latter...No man can become a Christian...without becoming a civilized man**, and notes that this strategy was called the doctrine of the cross.

Faiva

Trials of Skill : The Song and Dance of Tongan Politics, 1773-1993

vol.2.

by

Wendy Rona Pond

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PART III

The Chief requested us to stay & witness the "heavenly dance" he was preparing for our entertainment, but not thinking it savoured much of the heaven to which we aspire we declined the proffered honour.

Reverend John Williams at Sāmoa in 1832, invited to a concert of night dancing by torchlight, pōula lagi. (Moyle 1984, p.169.)

PART III

Hulio / Full Circle

During the late eighteenth century a dual repertoire of faiva had recognised sacred ownership of the land by Kauhala 'Uta, and competitive challenge amongst high-ranking warrior-'eiki of Kauhala Lalo.

In 1862 the Edict of Emancipation encoded a new political configuration, which was mirrored by new repertoires of faiva. In the event it was the night concerts, the most pagan, the most heathen, the most legislated against of social activities, which provided the format for state festivals. The repertoire of night dances was apportioned to retain a duality between the old, sacred traditions of Kauhala 'Uta and the new protestant aesthetic of the Tupou dynasty.

The account was compiled from records of the Tonga Traditions' Committee, the researches of members of the Tonga History Association, and from songs of the lakalaka poets.

Abstract

The work embarks on a quest to discover the parameters of faiva, the dances, martial arts, aquatic and land-based sports which are exhibited on Tongan festival grounds as trials of skill.

The work is organised as a succession of festivals (kātoanga), shows, receptions, night concerts, funerals, and regattas spanning 200 years, from the 1770s to the 1970s.

The work employs a strategy of juxtaposing ethnographic and historical evidence. This technique enriches historical records with an ethnographic reading, and allows historical insight into the choreographic and aesthetic conventions of Tongan performances. It indicates which accounts to trust and what sense to impute to fragments.

Contest on the festival ground, contest in twentieth century social status rivalry, and contest in eighteenth century political challenge, all follow the same codes. The work proposes a new paradigm for interpreting Tonga's political history. That paradigm is faiva.

The work proposes a critical theory for reading Tongan records. Tongan accounts are not intended to recount historical origins, but to validate new configurations. In politics, history, and faiva, the eighteenth century objective was to harness the realm of the sacred.

Part I is an ethnographic description of villagers rehearsing a dance in 1971, torn between reluctance to fulfill feudal obligations to the ruling aristocracy, and the appeal of retaining a reputation as the island's leading dancers. Of all tasks, presentation of a faiva was given priority.

Part II is a historical reconstruction of the repertoire of the late eighteenth century. Here each faiva is seen exhibited in its lakanga : appropriate occasion. Martial arts and implement dances accompanied presentations between chiefs contesting for power. Mock battles followed presentations to the gods. Night dances were lit by torchlight. High-ranking women processed at the weddings of sacred chiefs. Appropriate settings enhanced the peculiar aesthetic of each faiva; political and religious agendas added force to performances.

Part III describes the process of a new repertoire emerging, and the social fabrication of its legitimacy.

The Appendix assembles an eighteenth century repertoire of choreographies and song texts, demonstrating that records exist for the scholarship of early Tongan music and dance.

CHAPTER 19

Soakai's Origin for the Lakalaka

Fig. 39. Lakalaka dress rehearsal, 1969. Vaipoa village preparing for the Royal Visit of Tupou IV, to open the first Agricultural Show at Niuatoputapu. The ta'anga lakalaka "Te u Fakatapu ki he 'Olovaha Tupu'a" was composed by Sete Selui in 1969. Women are wearing upright head feathers (tekiteki). The male dancers and the punake, Peau Fonua (standing out front), are wearing flopped head feathers. The dancers' arms are upraised on the final shout "hē !". The dancers are performing 'in the road' as rev. Williams described during his visit to Niuatoputapu in 1832 (Moyle 1984, p.178). Behind them is the club house (fale kautaha) and in the background, the Catholic convent school. Photo Wendy Pond.

(SOURCE: University of Auckland, Pond /Rogers collection, Reel 7, no.12.)

19. Soakai's Origin for the Lakalaka

In 1862 the people and the aristocratic chiefs had begun to establish equitable relationships between them, and Tupou directed that a festival be held... (M.S. Soakai, matäpule of Felemea, Ha'apai.)

In 1834 the Wesleyan Church began circulating published documents which made a Tongan way of life sinful, listing particularly the practices of 'eiki society: funeral customs, marriage customs, voyaging, and faiva. All practices of the ancestors were to be abandoned: *Ke oua naa nau...fai e nau motuaaga* (H.G. Cummins, papers), fig.34b. God's word had been recomposed to achieve the mission agenda in Tonga: *bea oku ako mai, e he Otua, i he ene folofola, ke tau fai ki he gaahi mea ni*, 'these things are taught by God, through his word, for us to follow', fig.34b. It was an attempt at cultural genocide; Gunson's expression is 'using the axe to fell the old culture' (Gunson 1978, p.86).

Singing was restricted to songs which inspired love and knowledge of the Christian god: *Ke oua e hiva aki a e hivehiva...e ikai tubu ai a e ilo mo e ofa ki he Otua*, 'not singing those songs which do not lead to the knowledge or love of God' (H.G. Cummins, papers), fig.34a. In Tongan, *hiva* are songs without dance accompaniment. The permitted songs were hymns (*hiva usu*).

The rules against dance were intended to suppress all traditional dances; the phrase *Ke oua naa fai ae mee, moe ula*, 'It is forbidden to perform me'e and ula' would have achieved this, fig.34b. In eighteenth century usage the exhibitions of competitive faiva at festivals were me'e

(King 1777, pp.110n, 1361); the dances of the night concerts were me'e and ula.

The hau Tupou I reinforced the Wesleyan suppression of dance with an article of the 1850 law code (Lätükefu 1974, p.231), fig.34c :

1850 CODE OF LAWS. ARTICLE XI. *The Law referring to Dances, and other Heathen Customs.* Let all people know that Dancing is strictly forbidden, as well as all Heathen Customs...

In 1862 the hau abolished the yam festivals (kātoanga 'o e 'inasi) which had recognised the Tu'i Tonga as the source of the land's productivity (Thomas MS1854, p.263; Cummins n.d., p.153). The sacred order centred on Kauhala 'Uta and the Tongan gods had lost the contest, challenged by a civil order ruled by the upwardly mobile chiefs of Kauhala Lalo, with their Christian theology based on lower middle class English manners, their monetary economy based on taxation and cash cropping, their legalistic polity based on police and courts.

Meanwhile the hau had been developing another agenda. The 1839 Code of Laws legislated against hunuki, the pre-emption of people's property and crops by sacred chiefs. The 1850 code legislated against fahu, the pre-emption of ceremonial goods by senior women of the patrilineage (Lätükefu 1975, p.33). In 1862 the Edict of Emancipation secured for adult males right to land and to the products of their own labours. At the first anniversary of the Edict on 4 June 1863 Tupou I stated, "If I never accomplish anything else, I am grateful I have been able to give to the Tongan people their freedom (tauätäina) from slavery" (Lätükefu 1975, p.34). The hau celebrated the new order with a new annual festival (Lätükefu 1974, p.248), fig.34d:

1862 Code. ARTICLE XXXV. The Decree of a Festival. And it was on the fourth of June, in the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, that civil liberty came to Tonga, when that day shall arrive in each year, all and every land in this kingdom of Tonga

shall keep it as a festival in memory of the liberty of Tonga, and it shall be so for ever and ever.

With dancing banned, how did the people of Tonga celebrate the inaugural Emancipation Festival (Kätoanga 'o e Tau'atäina) of 1862 ? The question was addressed in a letter written in 1959 to Nua Kolofau (Elizabeth Bott) by M.S. Soakai, a matäpule of Kalaniuvalu, from Felemea.

[1.] 'I he ta'u 1859, na'e folofola ai 'a Tupou 'o fanongonongo ki he hou'eiki 'o Tongatapu, Ha'apai, Vava'u, Niuatoputapu mo Niuafou'ou 'e fai 'a e fakataha alea'i 'o e pule'anga, pea 'e fai ia ki Ha'apai 'i Lifuka.*¹ Pea ko e Kōvana 'o Ha'apai ko Sioeli Pangia*² ko e ta'u na'e alea'i 'a e founa 'e fai'aki 'e he kau kōvana 'a e angī 'o e fonua mo e anga 'o e kau Fakamau na'e tauhi pe 'a e fakataha 'e he kakai 'o Ha'apai, na'e te'eki ke 'i ai ha Pa'anga 'a e Pule'anga, pea alea'i 'e 'osi 'a e ta'u 'e 2, pea fai 'a e fakataha 'o hoko ki Vava'u.

[2.] 1862 kuo kamata ke vālelei 'a e kakai 'a hou'eiki*³ pea ne folofola 'a Tupou ke fai 'a e ngaahi kätoanga, 'o tali 'a Vava'u, ko e o li pa'anga 'a Ha'apai mo Tonga, 'o ma'u 'a e pa'anga 'o fakatau 'a e vaka fanāua 'o Vava'u, ko e "Hala Ngutungutu", ne ui ki mui ko e "Pamu". Pea tali 'a Ha'apai kae li pa'anga 'a Tonga mo Vava'u, 'o ma'u 'a e pa'anga 'o fakatau 'a e vaka fanāua 'o Ha'apai, 'o ui ko e "Malo Kula". Pea tali 'a Tonga kae li pa'anga 'a Ha'apai mo Vava'u, 'o fakatau 'a e vaka fanāua 'o Tonga, na'e ui ia ko "Toafa 'o Ha'amoā".

[3.] Ko e kamata 'i he fekätoanga'aki ko 'eni 'a e ako 'o e lakalaka. Na'e taki taha pē 'a e fonua mo 'ene anga lakakala, na'e 'otu taha pē 'a e ni'ihi, pea tu'u fakafuopotopoto 'a e ni'ihi, pea ko e ni'ihi ne fakafetuiaki 'a fefine mo tangata. Na'e lahi 'a e ngaahi lakalaka ne kapusi 'e he Tu'i ne 'ikai finangalo ke fai. Ka ko e lakalaka ne finangalo lelei ki ai ko Vava'u, 'a Fuapau Neiafu. Na'e 'otu taha 'a mu'a, pea konga 'a fefine mo e konga 'a tangata, pea pehē 'a hono ua 'o e 'otu, 'o fokotu'u 'a e tu'unga vāhenga.

[1.] In the year 1859 Tupou issued a public announcement, informing the aristocratic chiefs of Tongatapu, Ha'apai, Vava'u, Niuatoputapu and Niuafou'ou that there would be an assembly to

discuss government, and it would be held in Ha'apai, at Lifuka.*¹ Now the Governor of Ha'apai was Sioeli Pangia*² and it was the year in which there were discussions about how the governors were to exercise leadership of the country, and the conduct of the magistrates. The assembly was hosted by the people of Ha'apai, [as] the Government did not yet have an income. It was agreed that after two years the assembly would reconvene in Vava'u.

[2.] By 1862 the people and the aristocratic chiefs had begun to establish equitable relationships between them,*³ and Tupou directed that a festival be held, Vava'u to be host, Ha'apai and Tonga[tapu] to donate money. With that money Vava'u bought a schooner named "Hala Ngutungutu" ["Clifftop Track"], later renamed the "Pamu" ["The Pump"]. Then Ha'apai played host, while Tonga[tapu] and Vava'u donated money and the money bought a schooner for Ha'apai named "Malo Kula" ["Red Banner"]. Then Tonga[tapu] played host while Ha'apai and Vava'u donated money which bought a schooner for Tonga[tapu], which was called "Toafa 'o Ha'amoā" ["Sāmoan Mudflats"].

[3.] It was at these reciprocal festivals that the practice of the lakalaka began. Each island had its own style of lakalaka, some had only a single line, some stood in a circle, while in some men and women were intermingled. Many were the lakalaka dismissed by the King, he couldn't be bothered with them. The lakalaka he took a fancy to was Vava'u's [composed] by Fuapau Neiafu. There was a single row in front, one section women and one section men, and likewise the second row, and the position of vāhenga was instituted.

Elizabeth Bott SPILLIUS, MSS & Archives A-265, University of Auckland. Box 12, Folder 2. Tohi 'a Soakai, 31 'o Siulai, 1959, p 20-23. The text has been partly edited. Orthography and punctuation have been changed, long vowels added, paragraph divisions made. No words have been changed or deleted.

However the lakalaka was possibly not immediately formalised.

During the revival of Tongan dance, 1860s to 1880s, the great 'eiki of Kauhala 'Uta were the Tu'i Tonga Laufilitonga (d.1865), his son Kalaniuvalu, and his grandson Sioeli Pangia (d.1935). Sioeli Pangia

became Governor of Ha'apai. This lineage held the estate of Lapaha at Mu'a and was allied with the Catholic church.

The great 'eiki of Kauhala Lalo were Tungī Halatuituia and his son Siaosi Tuku'aho (d.1897); they held the estate of Tatakamotonga at Mu'a and were allied with the Wesleyan church, see figs 18 & 36. Tuku'aho became Governor of Vava'u and then Premier of Tonga (1890-93).

These were leading figures of the nineteenth century. Tuku'aho*⁴ took the lead in patronising the lakalaka. He was descended from the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Maealiuaki in a direct line of descent and was respected in his lifetime as an 'eiki of high rank. His great grandfather, Mulikiha'amea (d.1799), had been a patron of the Wesleyan missionary Vason in 1797-99 (Orange 1840, pp.111, 116). His grandfather Fatukimotulalo (d.1842) had been the patron of the Wesleyan missionary Lawry in 1822 (Campbell 1992, pp.52, 107), and in 1830 he had been acting hau for the Tu'i Tonga Laufilitonga, see Kauhala 'Uta's Elegance. From 1842 to 1900 Tuku'aho's father, Tungī Halatuituia, was the 'eiki lahi of Tatakamotonga at Mu'a (Campbell 1992, pp.62, 107). This was the era of the law codes suppressing Tonga culture. Tungī Halatuituia joined the Tu'i Tonga Laufilitonga and the catholics in their support of the performing arts (Laracy 1977, p.142).

Tuku'aho married Mele Siu'ilikutapu. She was the daughter of Fane Tupou Vava'u and grand-daughter of the great Vava'u 'eiki, Tu'apasi (Fīnau 'Ulukālala 'i Pouono, d.1833). Vava'u had been the scene of evangelical fervour in 1834 and 1846 (Gunson 1978, pp.228, 232-3, 234), but it was also the seat of some of the great 'eiki families. Thus while Tuku'aho was Governor he was married to one of Vava'u's high-ranking

women and he was himself a patron of the arts, as Collocott recorded (1928, p.64):

Kava parties were sometimes entertained by rival poets. Such competition evidently reached a high degree of development. It is said that competitions in reciting (*po sipi* 'night of reciting') were stopped by the Government in these latter days because of the feeling engendered. Sometimes poets recited prepared compositions, but at other times they improvised. The chief Tuku'aho, a distinguished patron of the arts who died in the latter part of the nineteenth century, is reported to have organised a contest in poetry between a man from Vava'u, a man from Nomuka, a man named Siliva, and woman from Hihifo. Each recited what had been prepared and then went on to improvise. The bards of Nomuka and Vavau came to a stop without finishing properly; Siliva and the woman both finished well, but Siliva was adjudged to have finished best and to have won.

In some sources, the creation of the lakalaka took place at Vava'u:

Lakalaka. Created by a man called Fuapau from Vava'u for a dancing competition organised by His Majesty Tupou's paternal grandfather, Tuku'aho, when he was governor of Vava'u. This dance won the competition (MS Programme note prepared by the Premier's Office, 1970).

Fuapau's identity has been established by Mähina. He was the elder brother of Sika Kanongota'a. Kanongota'a was the father of Sika Manuao, a notable Vava'u poet, and grandfather of the poet Sokopeti Sika. Sokopeti Sika (b. ca 1928) was interviewed by Mähina in 1991. She related that both Fuapau and Kanongota'a were appointed by Tuku'aho to teach the new faiva at Vava'u for the occasion of royal visits (Mähina 1992, p.25). Thus during the reign of Tupou I (ca 1831-93) Vava'u was the home of the lakalaka.

In 1880 Shirley Baker became Premier of Tonga. He had been a Wesleyan minister in Tonga 1860-66, 1869-79. In 1882, now Premier, he revived legislation against the performing arts. The new faiva were named in law, see fig.34e :

E ikai gofua ke...kau ai kakai lalahi i ha lakalaka, moe otu haka; (gata pe i he ta fala moe lagi tua), It is unlawful for adults to perform in a lakalaka or 'otuhaka (except they may stand in the back line and sing).

The upshot was that during the 1880s Vava'u composers kept the new faiva alive through performances by school children. This is revealed in a despatch by Henry Francis Symonds who was the British vice-consul in Tonga from 1880 to 1886. Some time during this term of office, Symonds and the 'eiki Mateialona*⁵ made a visit on horseback to Tu'anekevale and Ha'alaufuli. Little love was lost between Baker and the people of Tonga, and Vava'u kept dancing by any means: Mateialona and Symonds were entertained by children and Sāmoans.

At Tu'anekevale the travellers were received with a presentation of provisions (hä'unga) followed by faiva (Gunson MSXIV, part 2 of Gunson 1977, p.97-106, not published):

On our return to [Tu'anekevale], I found that a small awning with a chair had been prepared for me, and having seated myself, the Chief came up with an enormous root of green Kava carried by two boys, and after came the men carrying an oven consisting of two enormous pigs and 2 cwt of yams, and several fowls... When this eating was over and a bowl of Kava disposed of, the young men and maidens commenced their lakalaka or dancing, this was much the same as I had witnessed at Neiafu with the exception of one, the words and tune of which had been composed and learned the day before. It was written in my honour and detailed all that had taken place since my arrival, and expressed a hope that I would oftener visit them: the refrain was- 'Seuka ofa noabe' The Liko

fahi'ke' which being translated means 'If you have true love stay at the haunted coast and you will be happy'.

[Si'eku 'ofa noa pë,
'I he Liku Fa'ahikehea.
My wistful yearning
On the haunted weather shore.]

When it was nearly dark, I stopped the dance and the chief came forward, thanked me in the name of his town for visiting them and then formally presented his people to me...^{*6}

The travellers continued on to Ha'alaufuli where each dancer presented an offering to the presiding 'eiki, as the lakalaka dancers did in 1970 when presenting their faiva for the first time to the estate-'eiki. The dancing continued till daybreak. As in every eyewitness description of Tongan night dancing, it was an occasion of pleasure:

It was nearly dark when we reached Alifule [Ha'alaufuli], and having seated myself on mats in the malae [mala'e], or public square, the lale [lali] or town tomtom beat to summons the people together. When they had assembled the women passed by in single file and each in their turn desposited some little offering at my feet, and a queer miscellaneous collection it was; among other things, I noticed Tappa or native cloth [ngatu], onions, yams, tongan combs, bottles of oil, eggs, fowls, and ship biscuits - of these I kept the combs, shells, and oil, and presented, in accordance with [Tongan] etiquette, the remainder to my suite. After this came the lakalaka which did not nearly come up to the Tuanekevale dancing and then I was presented with an 'oven' for supper.

There are numbers of Samoans at Alifule and when quite dark we adjourned into a large house where a sort of dais had been prepared for me - and the Samoans performed for my benefit. Their dancing was not to be compared to that of the Tongans still, the very novelty interested and amused me. About midnight, however, I fell asleep and on waking just before day break I found them still at it. Most of their faces were blackened and upon my asking the

reason I was told that it had been decided to blacken the faces of those who fell asleep...

The Sāmoan repertoire had dances of grace and agility; that Symonds was not well entertained reflects the suppressions of the era.

During his reign (1893-1918) Tupou II patronised performing artists. Tupou Posesi (pers.comm.) recalled that his court was full of composers and singers. Fuapau became Secretary to Government (Lätükefu 1975, p.68). Alamoti Taumoepeau provided a glimpse of Tupou's patronage of Fakatava, a Vava'u composer from Leimätau'a (Shumway 1977, p.30-1):

Fakatava came into favor with King Tupou II around 1912 because of a magnificent *lakalaka* he composed and performed with a large group of dancers from 'Eua. So deeply moved by this performance, the King bestowed on the poet the little island of Kalau just off the southern end of 'Eua island.

However, Tupou II also loved sport and outdoor life, particularly boat racing (Lätükefu 1975, p.67). Tupou Posesi (pers.comm.) recalled his passion for horse racing. Reeves reported that in 1895 Tupou II spent most of his time boating and fishing in his yacht at Lifuka, Ha'apai (Reeves 1898, p.67). Tongan faiva having been denigrated by the protestant mission were now becoming out-moded amongst the male chiefs. The patriarchal Wesleyans and the macho colonials from Australia and New Zealand were introducing a new ethos centred on western sports, see fig.35.

Tuku'aho's estate at Tatakamotonga in Tongatapu became another centre for the development of the *lakalaka*:

Tuku'aho brought [the *lakalaka* from Vava'u] and taught it to the people on his estate at Tatakamotonga [Mu'a, Tongatapu]. Ever since that time the Tatakamotonga people made this dance their speciality, their beloved Prince often joining in himself. After the death of

Tuku'aho the people of Tatakamotonga wore black to signify the loss of the one who had given them the dance. This custom is continued today in much the same way that black scarves are worn by British sailors in memory of Lord Nelson (MS Programme note prepared by the Premier's Office, 1970).

Tuku'aho appointed Fineasi to develop the lakalaka choreography at Tatakamotonga. Fineasi had been educated at Government College (Tonga College, opened in 1881), and had travelled widely, to Sāmoa, 'Uvea, Futuna, and Fiji. On his return Tuku'aho's father, Tungī Halatuituia, appointed him to the title of Malukava (Moyle 1987, p.138-9, citing Ve'ehala Leilua).

The ethos of contest which had characterised the martial arts was exercised in the lakalaka through the song texts. In a ta'anga lakalaka commissioned by the Ha'a Havea 'eiki Vaea of Houma, Fakatava (a Vava'u composer) issued a challenge (fetau) to Malukava Fineasi. Fineasi, who composed under the patronage of Tungī, replied with aplomb:

Ne u tupu Tonga pea u pehē
'Oku 'ikai lau 'a e kakala vale...

As a Tongan I grew up knowing
That common flowers are never mentioned...
(Malukava Fineasi, ta'anga lakalaka, n.d.)

The contest is wittily recounted by Shumway (Shumway 1977, p.30-2).

Ve'ehala Leilua believed that the earliest ta'anga lakalaka were composed by Tuku'aho himself (d. 1897). Other early composers named by Ve'ehala were Malukava Fine'asi, Prince Uelingitoni Ngū (d.1885), Täufa'ähau Tupou II (d.1918), Fuapau, and Fakatava. The lakalaka of that era were, said Ve'ehala, outstanding ('ilonga) (Moyle 1987, p.140). C. D. Whitcombe, Foreign Secretary in 1895, collected "an old Vava'u lakalaka", and a lakalaka tune composed by H R H Uelingatoni Ngu. Whitcombe's collection also included a lakalaka sung at Vava'u, mourning Uelingitoni

who died in 1885 (Moyle 1987, p.142-3, citing Reeves 1898, pp.133, 134, 135).^{*7}

During the early twentieth century the lakalaka was still not a fixed choreographic form. One lakalaka described by Collocott in 1917 had changes of place which evoke descriptions of me'etu'upaki choreography. In another lakalaka the dancers themselves beat time with the bamboo stamping tubes which had characterised night dances. And the precision of the illustrious era was still notable (Collocott 1928, p.110-11):

During the celebration of the Jubilee of the Tupou college, Nukualofa, in 1917, performances were given by a ballet from Mua, which must have numbered about two hundred dancers, arranged in rows alternately of women and men. These performers staged pieces of great length and complexity. The lines would turn, divide, front and back rows change positions, and go through a number of evolutions, hands and feet keeping time to the music. All this was done with the greatest precision and beauty...

At the same celebrations a party from Hihifo [Tongatapu] performed what was literally a *lakalaka*, marching. A long line of performers moved, with a sort of waltz step, slowly across the green in a serpentine file, keeping time with double thuds of the bamboo, now on this side of their feet, and now on that. The rhythmic hollow drumming of the bamboos, and the movements of the slowly-advancing winding line were peculiarly effective.

The greatest composer of ta'anga lakalaka during the twentieth century was undoubtedly Sälote Tupou III. To Tongan scholars her compositions are ravishingly beautiful ('I Futa Helu, pers. comm.). Shumway notes that for the greater part of the twentieth century Sälote patronised Tongan faiva by inviting the estate-'eiki to bring performances to public festivals and to royal family celebrations. It was

not uncommon on these occasions to see three large troops of singers and dancers performing simultaneously on the north, west and south lawns of the palace grounds (Shumway 1977, p.30).

In 1927 Sälote Tupou III sent the Vava'u punake Fakatava ahead of her to Niuafo'ou to teach two ta'anga lakalaka which she had herself composed, "Malau 'o Vailahi" and "Ngähau Tä" (Moeaki Takai pers.comm., 1970). In these ta'anga she entwined the hou 'eiki and people of Niuafo'ou in her own lines of descent. In this way the lakalaka became a vehicle of national unity and of political monopoly by the reigning lineage.

Ramsay described Sälote's royal visit to Niuafo'ou in 1927. "Malau 'o Vailahi" was to be performed for her welcome, and the Niuafo'ou people had prepared Angahä for her reception: there was not a vestige of weed or rubbish in the length and breadth of Agaha. On boat day however, the people were instructed to await Sälote at Futu; she nevertheless came ashore at Angahä. Ramsay reported tragically, The solitary policeman did his best; he rushed importantly around roaring to imaginary people: "Nofo katoa ki lalo, 'everyone sit down...'. Ramsay described Sälote seated on double-sided Niuafo'ou mats (fala tui) which covered the stone-faced terrace (paepae) of the guest house at Angahä. During her 14-day visit the succession of dances was never-ending. Lakalaka, mä'ulu'ulu, and kailao were now in the repertoire. One village alone (Pētani) presented one thousand baskets of cooked food. Not a man could be induced to load copra. The schooner "Normandie" lay idly at anchor for two weeks (Ramsay & Plumb [1938], pp.224-30).

In 1938 Sälote sent Hopoate Vaisima (1910-1986) to Kanokupolu in the Hihifo district of Tongatapu, to choreograph a lakalaka for the

people of her estate to perform during the festival marking the twentieth anniversary of her reign. Vaisima was the son of Hopoate, who was the son of Uelingitoni Ngu (named by Ve'ehala as one of the great composers of ta'anga lakalaka, see above). Vaisima was a master of dance movement, and taught with precision and clarity. Kaeppler comments that in 1938 Kanokupolu people had had little previous experience of lakalaka (Kaeppler 1993, p.140; Kaeppler 1994, p.49).

Sälote designed Kanokupolu's lakalaka costume for the 1938 festival: bark cloth kilt (vala ngatu); girdle of sweet-smelling leaves (sisi lau maile); white cotton shirt /blouse; garland (kahoa) of sweet-smelling plant parts, some cut. Kanokupolu has continued to wear this costume (Kaeppler 1993, figs 5.5-5.7); it can be compared with eighteenth century descriptions of women's costumes at the night concerts: vala ngatu, girdles of plantain (sī) leaves, ornaments of cut leaves (Anderson 1777, p.875; Williamson 1777, p.111n). Thereafter, Sälote herself composed ta'anga for Kanokupolu, which Vaisima set to music and choreographed (Kaeppler 1994, p.49).

The hau spread the lakalaka to the outer islands, displacing their own dances - very few Tongan people have seen the Tafahi vakaeke - and directing their allegiance to her own house:*8

Vailahi ë mo hono Kaho
 Ke 'oatu ki he vaha'akolo...
 The Crater Lake with its Kahos
 For dispatch to mid-city.

Si'i 'otu motu 'o Vaivela
 Lulululu mo e taunga peka...
 Beloved islets of the Crater Lake
 Shaking hands at the flying foxes' roost.

(Sälote Tupou III, "Malau 'o Vailahi", ca 1927.)

Over time the lakalaka songs eulogised the line of descent from Tupou I to Tupou IV. Sälote now used her gathering mastery of the form to entwine the lineages of the hou 'eiki in her son's lines of inheritance:

Ko eni e huni ko "'Ofa-he-anga"
'Oatu ke fio'aki ha'o mapa
Mo e langakali mei Alaimoana
He kuo u maheni ai pē tama hē!

I am the huni flower called "Love-your-way"
Bestowed to mix with your mapa berries
And with the langakali flowers from Alaimoana
For we're already acquainted!

(Sälote Tupou III, "Malau 'o Vailahi", ca 1927.)

As 'eiki titles became vacant during the reigns of Tupou III and IV they were filled by the royal children and so the hou 'eiki of Tonga came to owe their dignity to Nuku'alofa. Through the lakalaka songs the kingdom was re-colonised by the lineage of Tupou and the challenging dialectic of independent chiefs was lost.

In 1971, H M Tupou IV arrived at Vava'u to open the Agricultural Show. At the wharf he was welcomed with a lakalaka performed by Leimatu'a, and then transported in a minimoke (jeep) to the great Mala'e Akapulu (the Football Field) where he was received with a kava ceremony (taumafakava 'o e talitü'uta). The jeep drove onto the mala'e, escorted by two motor bike outriders wearing black leather jackets, and continued up through the middle of the immense circle of chiefs, to the reception house. Here Tupou presided, seated in the doorway, with Ula Matatoa on his left hand and Motua'puaka on his right. The musical chords of Motu'apuaka's voice rang across the open reception ground as he and Ula and the supporting matäpule thanked Vava'u for the extensive presentations of kava, baked pigs, and baskets of oven food.

Tupou leaned across to his right-hand matäpule and whispered, "Cut it short, Motu, the soccer's about to begin" (Pond & Kaho 1971, papers).

CHAPTER 20

Niuniupulu, Moamoalulu

The Tu'i Tonga and a Sāmoan expert in riddles agreed to exchange some of Tonga's large coconuts (niu) for some of Samoa's abundant hens (moa). The Tu'i Tonga placed in his basket carefully arranged coconut husks (pulu). The Sāmoan placed in his basket a bundle of owls (lulu). (Muse 1982, p.102-3.)

When Kauhala 'Uta converted to Christianity in the 1840s, its unique repertoire of faiva was lost. The Catholics revived the ula, a common woman's dance of the outlawed night concerts, and re-presented it as a faiva of the old, sacred, 'eiki heritage. The Wesleyans revived another *heathen dance* of the night, the me'elaufola, and re-presented it as a new dance, the lakalaka.

Scholars of Tongan dance recognise in the lakalaka choreographic elements which unquestionably demonstrate continuity of tradition. Kaeppler derives the gestures (haka), style, and aesthetic directly from the circular dances of the night concerts, the me'elaufola (Kaeppler [1967] 1993, pp.87-9, 95). Ve'ehala Leilua described the reconstitution of the lakalaka from dismembered gestures (haka) of many different dances. He named as old the gestures ha'otä, vete, tui, fū, pasi, kako, and teke; and their sources as the Tongan dances me'etu'upaki, fa'ahiula, 'otuhaka, sipi tau, and me'elaufola; the 'Uvean dances mako and kailao tokotoko; Futunan dances, and Fijian meke (Moyle 1987, p.139).^{*1}

In the face of this continuity, twentieth century Vava'u composers brazenly sourced the lakalaka in the reign of Tupou I (ca 1831-93). At Pangai mala'e on 5 June 1970, during the Independence Celebrations, Vava'u reminded Tonga of the new origins of the lakalaka:

'E ngalo 'e fē, 'e ngalo he hä
 Tukufua 'a Lopa Ukamea
 'Ene tä fihi pea tofa e hala
 Ka na'a misiteli ki he loto'itonga
 Ko e tuhu ki he kilukilua
 Ke malingi ai e holonga
 Ke kamata'anga 'eta lakalaka
 Fetu'utaki mo tu'a pule'anga.

Who could forget, who would let me
 The way pioneered by Iron Haliard [Maeakafa = Tupou I]

The land he cleared, the roads surveyed
And lest it mystify any Tongan mind -
As a pointer for the distant future
To give every one a drop -
Our lakalaka was inaugurated
Connecting people and government.

(Taleu Fakatava, "Hala Mangaono", ta'anga lakalaka, 1970.)

It remains now to examine the sleight of hand by which Tonga's poets and choreographers dismembered their illustrious heritage and reconstituted it in the twentieth century repertoire.

If Soakai's account is correct, the original impetus for the revival of Tongan dancing came with the Edict of Emancipation in 1862. Indeed, the Wesleyan *Tonga Circuit Report* described 1860 as a year of 'unprecedented trial and anxiety'. Among the causes were revivals of faiva by the Catholic church (Cummins n.d., p.147):

nearly forgotten heathen games of Tonga - Pitching [? lafo], - Topping [? tolo], - Lancing [? sika], - dancing etc. with which it desecrates God's Holy sabbath and disturbs the peaceable inhabitants by its midnight revels - The only heathen game prohibited [by the Catholic church] being the night dance which was performed naked - that is the only Tapu game [faiva].

Differences between the Wesleyan restoration and the Catholic restoration invite comment.

With the loss of the Tu'i Tonga title in 1865, the Catholic bishop and priests filled the role of presiding 'eiki at church festivals, and at kava ceremonies for the funeral rites of catholic priests and chiefs. Because of their mystical practice and elaborate religious hierarchy they could in some measure represent the sacred traditions of Kauhala 'Uta, filling that lakanga. The dances retrieved by the Catholics were however severely modified by the protestant ethos which had prevailed through the nineteenth century. The me'etu'upaki had lost its stunning

interludes of club-handling; the ula had lost its ravishing undulation, see Appendix. Nonetheless the Catholic church fabricated a history of continuity of tradition: *The me'etu'upaki is the oldest ritual dance that is still performed today...The ula...was performed to pacify the Gods* (Programme of the Independence Celebrations, 4 June 1971, [Premier's Office], Cyclostyled).

In the late eighteenth century the me'etu'upaki was not a ritual dance; it was classed with military drill as a me'e (King 1777, p.1361). The ula was performed at night dances by common women who gave their head wreaths to flattering young men (Martin 1981, p.415). The Catholic church fabricated a new history for these two faiva and at the same time confounded sacredness with the Tu'i Tonga's court: *The me'etu'upaki...was commonly performed before the temples and the Tu'i Tonga himself beat the drum...The Ula was a dance performed mainly for the Tu'i Tonga by maidens of chiefly birth* (Programme of the Independence Celebrations, 4 June 1971, [Premier's Office], Cyclostyled). In the late eighteenth century however, the me'etu'upaki had been exhibited along with the martial arts. At Ha'apai in 1777 the me'etu'upaki was danced on the beach for Captain Cook; at Tongatapu in 1797 and at Vava'u in 1809 it was danced beside the grave of the hau. At Popua on 17 June 1777 the Tu'i Tonga did not beat the drum; the players were his brother Fatafehi and two 'eiki of Kauhala Lalo, Mealiuaki and Omai's Finau.*2 The me'etu'upaki was the faiva of the warrior-'eiki. The faiva of the gods was the toutakao.

In 1970, when I worked with Tupou Posesi in the Palace Office, the me'etu'upaki and the fa'ahi ula were rarely seen. I recall the sense of awe that surrounded these two dances. They were regarded as properly

exclusive to the great dance experts of Lapaha, as dances of a chiefly tradition which common people would not presume to participate in. How did exhibitions of the me'etu'upaki and ula become the prerogative of Catholic festivals in the late nineteenth century ?

In 1831 Täufa'ähau (Tupou I) was baptised a Christian. As he pursued his campaign to become hau of Tonga, he pitted Christianity against the Tongan gods and against Kauhala 'Uta. On 22 January 1837 the Wesleyan missionary Rev John Thomas preached from the Old Testament, Joshua x, 30 (Cummins 1977, p.34-5):

'and Joshua smote them with the edge of the sword, and utterly destroyed all the souls that were therein, he let none remain'.

The following day Täufa'ähau massacred the Ha'a Havea 'eiki Tu'i Vakanö Uhi and his followers of the Tongan religion (Kaho & Pond PP1986a). Two leading chiefs of Ha'a Ngata who also had staunchly supported the Tongan religion, Ata and Vaha'i, were deposed by the Tu'i Kanokupolu 'Aleamotu'a (Lätükefu 1975, p.19).

Still the high-ranking lineage of Ha'a Havea resisted Täufa'ähau's campaign.*³ In 1842 Moeakiola (Ha'a Havea) offered patronage to the Catholic missionaries, Chevron and Attale, at Pea. In 1844 Moeakiola was baptised a Catholic (Laracy 1977, p.139). At Mu'a, Tu'i Tonga Laufilitonga supported the Tongan religion and harboured refugees from Täufa'ähau's laws (Laracy 1977, p.142-3). In 1847 the Catholics built a church at Mu'a; ca 1848 or 1851 Laufilitonga was baptised a Catholic (Laracy 1977, p.142-3; Campbell 1992, p.94); in 1850 Lavaka (Ha'a Havea) was baptised a Catholic (Laracy 1977, p.142-3).

Meanwhile, Täufa'ähau had been installed as Tu'i Kanokupolu on 4 December 1845 (Gifford 1929, p.93); in 1851 he had moved his residence

from Ha'apai back to Nuku'alofa, and in 1852 he went to war against the remaining Ha'a Havea chiefs: Vaea (fortress at Houma) and Lavaka (fortress at Pea). The lali was sounded on 1 March 1852 (Laracy 1977, p.144). The Ha'a Havea were defeated and many became Wesleyans. The me'etu'upaki had lost its finest exponents, the high-ranking warrior-'eiki.

During the challenges for hau from 1799 to 1852 power shifted from the high-ranking 'eiki of Kauhala Lalo (the descendants of Tupou Lahi and Maealiuaki) to the low-ranking descendants of Mumui. Many high-ranking chiefs had died in combat and at Tongatapu, 'eiki society was no longer a force.

In the 1850s, one decade before the revival of Tongan faiva by the Catholics (Cummins n.d., p.147-8), the Catholic religion was openly practised at Mu'a under the patronage of the Tu'i Tonga Laufilitonga (Laracy 1977, p.146). The revival of dancing violated Tupou I's 1850 codes of laws, see fig.34c, but was protected under the French Treaty of 1855 which guaranteed Catholics religious freedom (Laracy 1977, p.146-7). Thus the traditions of the me'etu'upaki now rested with the high-ranking 'eiki of Mu'a who were not however renown as warriors.

In 1865 Laufilitonga died. The me'etu'upaki and ula were identified with the sacred rituals of Kauhala 'Uta, as if this was their ancient and proper occasion (lakanga). By this sleight of hand the catholics possibly placed these faiva safely in the domain of the sacred and beyond the reproach of the law codes. Certainly the faiva would have graced and empowered (fakalängilangi) catholic ritual with greater sanctity. Blanc recalled that Tongan faiva were revived by the Catholic church for the investiture of Father Chevron in 1881, and for the opening of the

Ma'ofanga church (Blanc 1910, p.82). From 1881 on, the me'etu'upaki and the fa'ahiula had a new history.

Meanwhile the Wesleyans had re-choreographed the me'elaufola. Male and female sections were combined in straight rows facing out to the audience, although the sipa retained a semblance of the circular progression. The eighteenth century music was replaced with hymn tunes sung in verses (Thomson 1902, p.218; Shumway 1981, p.471), although the texts retained the essential metric structure of epic poems (maau) and recitatives (lave), where each line falls into two parts with two strong accents in each. New haka (hand gestures and foot work) were incorporated but the essential distinction between male and female haka was retained. The dance lost its eighteenth century chorus of musician-singers (fakaniua) but the antiphonal call and response was retained, especially in the sipa.

The Wesleyans constructed a new history for their new lakalaka, identifying it with mission schooling from the reign of Tupou I. The first Wesleyan schools had been opened at Kolovai and at Nuku'alofa in 1828. During the 1930s Wesleyan schools at Nuku'alofa, Fanga, Havelu and Höfoa were aimed at promoting literacy in the vernacular... Soon the missionaries could not keep up with the demand, for the glamour of being able to read and write attracted young and old alike to the schools (Lätükefu 1977, p.123). The Wesleyans recognised education as one of their most effective tools: At the District Meeting in Vava'u in May 1850 the members unanimously declared: 'We must have schools in every place...' The Tongans had already begun to respond with great enthusiasm to this aspect of the mission work. King George [Tupou I] himself took the lead and supported in every way possible the

missionaries' efforts to build schools and training institutions...

(Lätükefu 1977, p.129-30). Thus the lakalaka appeared during the era of mission education, and from here it derived its legitimacy.

Teaching methods used by the early Wesleyan schools in Tonga have been researched by Gunson. The first mission teachers had used the systems of Bell and Lancaster. In 1847 Amos arrived to introduce the system of David Stow of Glasgow (Gunson 1987, p.244). None of these systems employed action songs, but Froebel's song books did (Lawrence 1961, pp. 23, 64). Froebel had opened his first kindergarten at Blankenburg in 1837 (Lawrence 1961, p.22). The first kindergarten in England was opened in 1851, by Bertha Ronge who had been a pupil of Froebel's in Hamburg (Lawrence 1961, p.36). Froebel's methods became very popular and it is possible that some mission schools in the Pacific would have been familiar with them by the 1860s. However there are no eyewitness accounts of missionaries in Tonga teaching through the medium of action songs.

Unless Tongan teachers had already substituted Tongan dance actions for Wesleyan teaching methods, it is unimaginable that choreography of such finesse, so recognisably Polynesian, could have originated from the mission schools,⁴ but no one paused to look back. The lakalaka singing was resoundingly hymnal (Reeves 1898, p.137-8; Thomson 1902, p.218). The Wesleyans had succeeded in legitimating their retrieval of the illustrious heritage (motu'a'anga), and they had created a dance in which people of both 'eiki and common rank could perform together.

The New History of the Lakalaka.

The Lakalaka. This is purely a Tongan Dance created by His Majesty's Paternal Grandfather - Tuku'aho - He was inspired by watching children standing in line rehearsing their lessons when formal education came into being in Tonga. He started it in his own village (Mu'a). Thus we always refer to the Lakalaka as Mu'a's own and rightful duty to perform on important occasions.

Programme notes prepared by the Komiti Faiva for the royal Visit of H M Queen Elizabeth in 1970, in *The Visit of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II His Royal Highness The Duke of Edinburgh and Her Royal Highness Princess Anne to the Kingdom of Tonga March 7th 1970*. Official programme.

Lakalaka literally means "stepping ahead" and refers to early mission days when the participants moved forward first to one side and then to the other while reciting tables, numbers and other facts to be committed to memory.

MS in Palace Office. Gives a brief description of 5 Tongan dances, as programme notes for an occasion on which a tau'olunga was to be performed to the song " 'Ofa mei Pelehake", composed by Salote Tupou III for her grand-daughter, Princess Taone.]

Lakalaka. In translation this means 'stepping ahead.' This charming dance must be one of the most delightful things ever to emerge from a school examination. The story goes that in the early mission days in Tonga this dance was evolved from the stepping forward and repeating scholastic gibberish about capes and kings.... and nobody could guess that it originated from the double ranks of pupils at those oral exams of a century ago.

MS Tongan - Dances - Singers. Cyclostyled programme, 1970]

In their proper setting (lakanga) the me'elaufola and the ula were faiva of the night concerts, where the standing dances were preceded by a circle of musician-singers performing the seated fakaniua. The Catholics revived a faiva popularly called fa'ahi ula. Tupou Posesi (pers.comm., 1971) characterises this faiva as an ula performed by two sets (fa'ahi) of dancers; Kaeppler (1993, pp.23n, 27n) defines it as a standing ula preceded by a seated 'otuhaka. In my reading, the 'otuhaka is a transformed fakaniua, see Appendix. The Wesleyans followed suit and preceded the standing lakalaka with the seated tafi, a new faiva to open a festival by sweeping (tafi) the mala'e.*5

Fig. 38.

Dual repertoire of faiva, early 20th century.

CATHOLIC	HAU / STATE / WESLEYAN*6
SEATED DANCE	SEATED DANCE
'otuhaka	tafi
	mä'ulu'ulu
STANDING DANCE	STANDING DANCE
fa'ahi ula	
lakalaka	lakalaka
MARTIAL DANCE	MARTIAL DANCE
me'etu'upaki	kailao
vaka eke	vaka eke

Around the turn of the century a new dual repertoire of faiva distilled, one for festivals celebrated by the Catholic church and the 'eiki lineages of Mu'a; one for festivals celebrated by the Wesleyan church, the State, and the family of the hau. The Catholic repertoire was ostensibly old; it was acquired by transformation and revival (vaka eke, me'etu'upaki, fa'ahi ula, 'otuhaka). The state repertoire was

ostensibly new; it was acquired by transformation and borrowing (lakalaka, tafi, mā'ulu'ulu, kailao). Both repertoire had precursors in the eighteenth century festivals of Kauhala Lalo, and both replicated the same configuration: a seated dance to open the programme; a standing dance derived from the night concerts; and a men's martial dance.

Martial dances had followed presentations of produce (hä'unga) between chiefs, at receptions (tali tü'uta) and funerals (me'afaka'eiki). The format of these festivals was: assembly and display of produce - kava - faiva - feast - night concert; it was a day-and-night affair.

State festivals of the twentieth century transposed the format. Tupou Posesi and I recorded the sequence of events at the Independence celebrations on 4 & 5 June 1971. In the days immediately preceding the festival, the estate-'eiki brought their faiva to the palace grounds, where they made a tributary presentation of produce, followed by their faiva. Independence day, 4 June, was celebrated outside the Palace, on the public reception ground (Pangai). The day began with a feast for dignitaries and invited guests. Later in the day there was a programme of faiva, which continued on the afternoon of 5 June. The programme of 21 faiva comprised 14 lakalaka, 2 tafi, 2 mā'ulu'ulu, 2 kailao, and 1 vakaeke (Pond 1971, papers). It was therefore the night concerts, the most pagan, the most outlawed of eighteenth century practices, that Tongan chiefs transformed for their state occasions. With the occasion (lakanga) went the appropriate faiva: the seated fakaniua followed by the standing me'elaufola, performed within the circle of torches amongst very tall trees, had become the seated tafi followed by the standing lakalaka, performed in radiant technicolour in the heat of the day, on the bare, public ground outside the Palace wall.

The 1862 Edict of Emancipation had founded a new society based on monarchy and constitution; it had granted emancipation but not equality (Powles 1977, p.155).^{*7} With its enlistment of the common people of an estate, its places reserved for dancers of rank (*vāhenga*, *fakapotu*), its patronage by the estate-*'eiki*, its deference to the ruling lineages, in its new *lakanga* as the dance of state festivals, in its stately elegance, the *lakalaka* was a dance for the new era.^{*8}

Hakailanguotau

Over the Moon

At 'Onetale bay in 1793 an unknown artist sketched women dancing the *me'elaufola*. Outside the choreographed group, dancing beyond the pale, an old woman is protected from reprimand and disfavour. She is *māfana*, on the side of the gods, see fig.21.

There is one last question to address. Of all dances why did the Wesleyans retrieve the *me'elaufola*, a *faiva* from the most banned of all heathen occasions, night dancing by torchlight ?

Mariner remarked that the *me'elaufola* was perhaps the only dance of Tongan origin and the only one accompanied throughout with Tongan songs (Martin 1981, pp.373, 374). The Kaluli of New Guinea make the same remark of their *gisalo* dance. The *gisalo* is danced at night; it communicates with the spirits of the dead; and it is the only dance they claim as their own (Schieffelin 1976; Feld 1982).

Whenever a *lakalaka* inspires clowning we can reflect that Tonga's performing artists transformed the *me'elaufola* into the *lakalaka* to retain the one dance that was their own, the common people's path to the ancestors, their technique of ecstasy.

CHAPTER 21

Conclusion

Tapu ange mo e taloni 'o Tonga
Kalauni 'o e tolu 'i fofonga...
Na'e melitiane 'ia Tangaloa
Ko e sōtiaka 'o Tatakamotonga
Sone 'i Pangai mo e fu'u koka
Deepest respects to the throne of Tonga
Crown of the three royal heads...
Tangaloa was the meridian
Tatakamotonga the zodiac
Zone at Pangai with the installation tree.
(Sete Selui, Lakalaka "Fo'ou", 1971.)

Fig. 40. Bott's history of Tonga. The Tu'i Tonga descended from the god Tangaloa (Bott 1982, p.91-2). The Tu'i Ha'atakalaua lineage ("Tatakamotonga") segmented ca 1400. The Tu'i Kanokupolu lineage ("Pangai") segmented ca 1600. (SOURCE: Bott 1982, fig.12.)

Festival grounds were centres of power. Contest in faiva and contest in politics were the same paradigm. Kauhala 'Uta's inheritance of sacred rank (*sino'i'eiki*), and Kauhala Lalo's command of the land's resources achieved through contest (*hau*), is not a long-lasting duality, but an episode in the political process of one dynasty challenging and displacing another (*hau'liua*).

When the last Tu'i Tonga died in 1865, it was maintained that the Tu'i Tonga dynasty had descended from Tangaloa, a deity of the multi-layered skies; the Tu'i Tonga was the Tu'i 'o e Langi. He was owner of the land and representative of Hikule'o, deity of the Afterworld (*Pulotu*) through whom the land's productivity was secured.

During 1959-60 Bott and Sälote Tupou III collaborated in reconstructing a political configuration of Tonga in the late eighteenth century. The paradigm Bott presented was of a dynasty which had held sacred and secular power until ca 1400 when the lineage semented, and power was divided. Kauhala 'Uta became the sacred lineage (*kau sina'e*), retaining the sacred titles, the land's traditions (*talaefonua*), and the rank and power of sacred descent. Kauhala Lalo became the secular governors of the land. In 1865 the Tu'i Kanokupolu abolished the Tu'i Tonga title and united all Tonga under the one King. Thus Bott accounted for the entire span of Tongan history in one dynasty and its segmentation (Bott 1982, fig.12), see fig.39. The inheritance of sacred status had passed down from the gods through the dynastic lines. This

is the paradigm eulogised by the lakalaka poets. Sälote's son would rule as the repository of all three lines of royal descent, the kingdom united and peaceful once more (Kaeppler [1976] 1993, p.66-7, *new trans.*):

Tapu mo e Kalauni e Fonua
'Oku fakamalu 'a Lalo mo 'Uta
Laukau'anga 'o Tonga ki tu'a
He ai 'etau fatungamotu'a.

Deference to the Crown of the Land
Protected by Kauhala Lalo and Kauhala 'Uta
The pride of common Tongan people
Repository of our binding traditions.

(Sälote Tupou III, *ta'anga lakalaka*, ca 1929.)

Sälote's songs disclosed however a second process of upward mobility, as Kauhala Lalo titles raised their status through marriage to high-ranking women (Kaho & Pond MS1987a):

'Ofa he malau si'ene kakau
Na'e heka atu he Lomipeau
Uku 'i he lolo 'a Halaevalu
Mapuna hake 'i Kolongahau
Tanu hono fua he Longo'akau
Kae tuku hē 'a e lau hē

Think of the poor megapode starting to swim
Going on board the "Lomipeau"
Diving into Halaevalu's oil
Surfacing at Kolongahau
Burying her eggs at Longo'akau
I won't say any more.

(Sälote Tupou III, "Malau 'o Vailahi", 1927, 1.79-84.)*¹

In 1979 Gunson described two paradigms in Tonga's political process: sacred status (*sino'i'eiki*) was accorded on the basis of inherited descent, while paramount political power (*hau*) was achieved by contest. In 1988 Herda recognised that segmentation of the Tu'i Tonga dynasty into Kauhala 'Uta and Kauhala Lalo ca 1400, had been a contest for *hau*; she has provided a succinct account of the process (Herda 1988).

Around 1600 lines within Kauhala Lalo began contending amongst themselves for paramount power, and ca 1650 Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Vaea conceded the hau to Tu'i Kanokupolu Mataele Ha'amea. Hafoka described the process (Hafoka [1959, p.53], notated by the Tonga Traditions Committee):

Ko e Hau 'o Mataele. 'Oku hā 'i he fakahā atu kia Vaea Tangitau, kuo 'ikai tali 'e Kaloafutonga 'a e 'umu fakapoa 'a Mataele. Na'e tala mai 'e Vaea (ka kuo toulekeleka 'a Vaea) ke 'ange 'a e 'umu fakapoa na'e kai, na'a siko mai 'a e Hau. Ko e lau na'a 'ita mai eni 'o Mataele.

The hau of Mataele was demonstrated publicly when Vaea Tangitau was informed that Kaloafutonga had refused to accept a presentation of proposal-food from Mataele. Vaea sent word (remembering that Vaea was elderly) to bring him the [remains of] the proposal food that had been eaten, lest the hau [Mataele] should excrete. This expression means, lest the hau should be angered by the matter. *Teukava's interpretation is that this is how Mataele came to be recognised as hau.*

With this gesture Vaea conceded the hau to the Tu'i Kanokupolu, and Kaloafutonga married Mataele. All his wives were her fokonofa. The hau remained with Mataele's successors from absence of challenge: Ko e 'ai ki he Tu'i Kanokupolu ne tupunga 'enau hau 'i he hau 'a Mataele, 'as for the Tu'i Kanokupolu, they were hau because Mataele was hau' (Hafoka [1959, p.53-4]).

The records of the Tonga Traditions Committee are invaluable to Pacific history because they reveal the concepts and strategies by which power was manipulated: the elderliness of Vaea, his dilemma over the proposal-food. Without knowledge of Tongan concepts (hau, faiva, 'eiki, etc.), as they were used in each era, we cannot perceive why persons made the political decisions they did, why a performance

generated the force it did, why Tongan history followed the course it did.

Gunson (1979, p.42-3) reconstructed a continuous succession of hau, designating as hau the 'eiki with greatest political force. Hafoka however commented that there was not continuously a hau all the time, and that sometimes a hau in Vava'u was contemporary with a hau in Tongatapu. The title of hau required more than political status: Na'e sio 'a e Hau ki he ni'ihī pē na'e lava me'a malohi...he tangata na'e toka ki ai 'a e malohi 'o e fonua pea ne ma'u 'a e hau, 'Hau applied only to those who achieved something mighty...it skipped to the man who possessed the might over the land and he then possessed the hau' (Hafoka [1959, p.53]). Once won, hau was retained through lack of challenge, but it had first to be won through contest, from which a champion emerged.

Hau was acknowledged when chiefs on the land conceded to demands for the produce and resources of their estates. When the hau Fīnau 'Ulukālala 'i Feletoa died in 1809 his successor Moengangongo exiled rival chiefs and limited his own authority to Vava'u, forgoing the tributary presentations which the Ha'apai chiefs had brought to his father. His policy was (Martin 1981, p.217):

...to confine the new sovereignty to the island of Vavaoo, and its neighbouring isles, without receiving tribute (unless voluntarily paid, which was not all likely to be the case), from the Hapai Islands, now in possession of Toobó Tóa [Tupou To'a], against whom the prince [Moengangongo] had no intention of waging a new war, and shedding more blood, for the mere purpose of obliging him to continue that tribute as heretofore.

Challenge for hau, paramount power exercised through control of the land's resources and demonstrated through tributary presentations,

dominated politics in the late eighteenth century. From ca 1765 the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu titles were held by two brothers (Tupou Lahi and Maealiuaki); their lineage daughter (Tupou Moehofo) outranked the Tu'i Tonga (Gunson 1987, p.162). By 1793 these high-ranking lines had been successfully challenged in battle by Mumui's low-ranking son (Tuku'aho), and power of appointing the Tu'i Tonga had been wrested from Kauhala 'Uta.

Using eyewitness accounts Gunson demonstrated that at certain periods between 1780-1826, paramount power was acquired by chiefs not appointed to one of the three royal titles; Hafoka and Gunson both name Fīnau 'Ulukālala 'i Ma'ofanga, Fīnau 'Ulukālala 'i Feletoa, Vaha'i, and Tākai (Hafoka [1959, p.53-4]; Gunson 1979, p.42-3). Challenge for the status of hau amongst the chiefs continued to be contested in civil war. In 1806 'Ulukālala acquired guns and gunpowder from the Port 'o Prince (Martin 1981, pp.62, 248). At Velata in 1826 Täufa'ähau acquired guns and gunpowder from Kaufana in 'Eua, and fought the last battle against Kauhala 'Uta (Soakai 1959, p.7; Hafoka [1959]). Täufa'ähau continued his campaign against the chiefs of Tongatapu, defeating them in battle. After 1852 there was no further challenge; Täufa'ähau was hau. In 1875 the Tonga Constitution secured the succession of the Tupou dynasty; contest for hau was over (Kaho & Pond 1990):

Ko e tälanga kuo 'osi fakapapau
 Kuo 'osi matua he 'api ko Kau
 Pea sila'i mei Matuku'aetau
 'O veteki mei Velata kuo ma'u 'a e hau

The debate is over and done with
 Backers committed at the tract named Kau [Velata 1826]
 Signed and sealed at Matuku'aetau [Velata 1826]
 Disbanded at Velata, the hau secured.

(Fe'iloakitau Kaho, "Lofia", ta'anga lakalaka, ca 1943.)

During the five centuries that Kauhala Lalo chiefs held paramount authority (hau), they had nevertheless continued to send tribute to the sacred yam festivals at which the Tu'i Tonga presided (Kätoanga 'o e 'inasi). The agenda of these festivals was ostensibly to secure the success of the annual yam crop; but Mariner's account states that Vava'u also held its own annual festivals for this purpose, the kätoanga 'o e tautau (Martin 1981, p.346-8). It can be inferred that the early Tu'i Tonga dynasty had reigned as hau, and that the 'inasi festivals were a demonstration of paramount authority over the land's resources. Gunson indeed interprets the assassination of a number of Tu'i Tonga as the overthrow of a hau (Gunson 1979, pp.28-9). The rigorous prohibitions surrounding the Tu'i Tonga's yam festivals, the human sacrifices, and the restriction of participation to persons of rank (Cook 1777, pp.146, 147; Anderson 1777, p.917), suggest that the Kauhala 'Uta dynasty had surrounded itself with great religious awe.

In 1981 Wood Ellem produced her researches on the reign of Sälote Tupou III. Here she describes in fascinating detail the strategies of the Tupou dynasty as it annulled challenge and secured its position with sacred protocols. During the reigns of Tupou I - IV, from ca 1831 to the present, these four hau planned marriages so that their children and grandchildren would not be outranked by lineages whose sacred descent was historically higher than their own; annulled higher ranking titles; shifted titles from other lineages to the royal children; forgot some lines in recounting genealogy;*² reconstrued genealogies*³; and wove a new configuration, broadcast through the songs of the lakalaka, transferring the lines of sacred descent to their own house (Marcus 1980, pp.38-40; 56-66). They pre-empted vocabulary and protocols reserved for Kauhala

'Uta; presided at the head of the Free Wesleyan Church; reorganised the kava seating so that all lineages owed their allegiance to the hau (Sälote's lo'au of 1959; Tupou IV's pongipongi during Sälote's funeral rites); and received tributary presentations from the estate-'eiki (Kaepler 1987). The late Tupou dynasty reigned as spiritual and political heads, the possessors of the land (Wood Ellem 1981); they had harnessed the realm of the sacred.

In the course of the twentieth century the Tupou dynasty had completed the challenge for hau which Kauhala Lalo had begun in the fifteenth century. The division between Kauhala 'Uta and Kauhala Lalo, between sacred power and paramount authority, was a process of contest within the one paradigm. The inheritor of sacred descent was in realpolitik the upwardly mobile pre-emptor of political power.

II

When D'Entrecasteaux's expedition saw the mount Sia ko Veiongo in 1793 a ring of pigeon-snaring huts surrounded the summit, *see fig.27*. When Mariner saw the mount in 1806 it was the Nuku'alofa fortress (Martin 1981, p.79-80). The bitter contests for hau had marked Tonga's landscapes with forts: Pea, Houma, Kolofo'ou, Vaini, Fua'amotu, Kolo Manahau (Nukunuku), Folaha, Ma'ufanga, Fo'ui, Mu'a, 'Utulau, Te'ekiu, Ngeleia, Hule, Feletoa, Otea, Neiafu, Velata, Tu'utaki, 'Utumata... . The enduring centres of power however were the festival grounds (mala'e).

In 1777 Samwell observed mala'e complexes as he explored the Hahake district, noting the association of a burial ground and a large building housing drums, **which seems appropriated as a public Hall for the use of a district to meet in to transact public Business or to perform their Dances** (Samwell 1777, p.1039-40). Each mala'e would have

belonged to an 'eiki holding land occupied by the käinga, or to a great 'eiki surrounded by the titled chiefs of his ha'a. Such mala'e were Pangai Lahi at 'Ähau, the mala'e of the Tu'i Kanokupolu; Olotele at Mu'a, the mala'e of the Tu'i Tonga; Pouono at Neiafu, Vava'u, the mala'e enclosed within Finau 'Ulukälala's fortress during 1807-09 (Martin 1981, p.212; Fonua & Fonua 1981, p.12-13).

Here the presiding 'eiki sat, inside the great meeting house (fale lahi), as Maealiuaki in 1777 and Mumui in 1793 were described (Anderson 1777, p.897; Labillardière 1800 v.2, p.138-9), ~~see~~ fig.27, or under a tree, facing straight down the centre of the ground to the burial grounds of his ancestors as Tu'i Tonga Pau must have sat (McKern 1929, p.95), ~~see~~ fig.18.

Here chiefs and people assembled for festivals. Presentations of produce and faiva conceded paramount power to the presiding 'eiki. The display on the festival ground signalled the clout of the presiding 'eiki, the rank of the recipient, and the agenda of the occasion.

Seating in the kava circle replicated the historical derivation of titles in relationship to the presiding 'eiki (Bott 1982, p.115-22). The unique kava protocols of each 'eiki re-enacted title histories (Bott 1982, p.124-8; Rogers 1975, p.367-74, figs 13-16; Gifford 1929, pp.158-63).

Selection of faiva complemented the status of the presiding 'eiki. Processions of high-ranking women exhibited the elegance and beauty of their sacred lines of descent; warrior-'eiki contested for championship in the martial arts. Visitors who were received with a kätoanga were expected to participate in the trials of skill (Martin 1981, p.196); club-fights were sometimes fought to the death (McKern MS, p.629; Martin 1981, p.110).

Dancers also were participants in the political arena. Omai's Fīnau led his retinue of supporting chiefs and warriors in me'etu'upaki performances at Ha'apai and Vava'u in 1777; the leading dancers were the leading political figures, each troop competing for renown. Harlequins exhibited chiefly mana. Clowns parodied the exercise of power. Recitatives were highly applauded (Anderson 1777, p.897-8); through the texts common people voiced political protest (Martin 1981, p.414):

'Tkai te tau manatu ki he[e] tau 'uluaki nofo, lolotonga kua te'eki si'i liaki he tau he[e]tau fonua. 'Oiaue ! ko e me'a fakamanavahe ko e tau: Vakai ange kua vaoa he fonua pea kua mate kovi he tu'unga tangata...

Do we not reflect on our former way of life, when our land had not yet been discarded for war ? Alas ! war is a dreadful thing: see how the land is overgrown with weeds and a generation of men is treacherously dead.

Faiva exhibited on the festival ground were exhibited in a state of equanimity (Anderson 1777, p.963-4; Martin 1981, p.347), and a code was strictly observed. A defeated contestant could not issue another challenge (Anderson 1777, p.900). Champions made no boast of their success, and spoke well of the antagonists they defeated (Martin 1981, p.145); bruised contestants made no complaint (Clerke 1777, p.1303); defeated contestants showed no grudge; defeat was not shameful (Burney 1777, p.108n; Anderson 1777, p.900-1). The ancestor-gods were present and it was an honour to have made the attempt (Martin 1981, p.95). Turbans were worn in warfare to signify respect for the gods (Martin 1981, p.112), and on the festival ground to signify a champion (Anderson 1777, p.896; Churchward 1959, p.13, ao).^{*4}

On the festival ground a champion emerged by victory in contest, by concession (the sign by which he [yields] is a sudden toss of the

head, Martin 1981, p.372n), or by absence of challenge (no one was found to accept [the challenge], Samwell 1777, p.1028). Leyard described the scene in 1777 (Munford 1963, p.35):

After being pretty well buffeted about the body, a fortuitous blow upon the head of one decided the [club fighting contest] and the conquered was carried off, while the victor elated with success stood and enjoyed the subsequent shouts of praise that proceeded from the spectators: When these shouts ended the young women round the circle rose, and sung, and danced a short kind of interlude in celebration of the hero.--But alas what did this avail him when a son of Polahow's entered the lists brandishing an enormous club...This young chief...was so well known not only in Tongataboo but among all the neighbouring islands for his feats with the club that he could of late meet with no competitor which was the case now, and after he had waited on the green until he had received two shouts, he retired and the exhibition ended.

Champions on the festival ground were leading contenders for political power. The spurious son of Pau's who wielded his club at Tongatapu on 21 June 1777, aged ca twenty-five, may have been the elderly son of Pau named Paunga who was briefly hau at Vava'u ca 1814 (Lätükefu 1974, p.21; Gunson 1979, p.43; Campbell 1989, p.26). At Ha'apai ca 1807 Moengangongo won victory on the festival ground after meeting 14 or 15 successive challenges; in 1809 he succeeded Finau 'Ulukälala 'i Feletoa as hau of Vava'u (Martin 1981, pp. 110, 226). Täufa'ähau emerged victorious in a national club-fighting festival (Feinga Kotone); in 1845 he was installed as Tu'i Kanokupolu (Soakai 1959, p.15; Kaho MS1960).

Contest for hau replicated the code of contest in the martial arts. In political contest, hau was accorded through victory in battle; through concession; or through absence of challenge. Thus Martin 1981 describes the battles fought by Finau 'Ulukälala 'i Feletoa during his term as hau;

Gunson (1979, p.42-3) gives a chronology of the succession of hau during 1736-1893; Hafoka [1959, p.61] describes Vaea's concession of his daughter to Mata'ele Ha'amea; by this gesture hau was conceded to the Tu'i Kanokupolu; after Tāufa'āhau's defeat of the Ha'a Havea chiefs in 1852, there was no further challenge; the status of hau remained with Tupou II, III, and IV.

At Velata fortress in 1826 Tāufa'āhau challenged the Tu'i Tonga. Soakai describes the battle with the regal word *maa'imoa*. In translating Soakai's account, the Tonga Traditions' Committee used the word 'sport': Tokua ne 'ikai loto 'a hou'eiki ke fai ha ma'imoa, pea 'ita 'a e kau to'a oku nau pehē, 'oku 'ikai fe'unga ke fai ha ma'imoa 'a e Tu'i Tonga mo Tāufa'āhau he ko e 'eiki tauhi fonua pe ia, 'It is said that the hou 'eiki were not of a mind to agree to a royal sport, and the warriors were affronted, saying it was not fitting for the Tu'i Tonga to engage in a sport with Tāufa'āhau as he was only a foreman-chief ('eiki tauhi fonua) (Soakai 1959, p.3). Contest on the festival ground and contest for hau are the one paradigm.

In 1978 Marcus recognised that status rivalries are endemic in contemporary Tongan society, and made a remarkable analysis of the codes for contest, victory, and concession (Marcus 198). Rivalry for social status follows the same codes as contest on the reception ground. Marcus was describing rivalry between two candidates standing for election as Town Officer, and rivalry between two men courting a woman making kava, when he wrote (Marcus 1978, p.266):

the winner in the wake of withdrawal typically offers a gesture of conciliation to his former rival, which is a communication about the broader structural condition of shared status equivalence in which the rivalry occurred. If the one who withdraws does so by

deferring to the winner, then the winner might respond with a reciprocal and elaborate gesture of respect....[the winner] would take no apparent notice of his superiority, letting public commentary develop his prestige for him.

Here Marcus is describing the equanimity of mind so admired on the festival ground two hundred years earlier, see Mariner's account of a wrestling contest ca 1808, between two warrior-'eiki, Talo and Hala'api'api (Martin 1981, p.255), see Appendix. Social status rivalries are acted out in the paradigm of faiva.

Whereas Marcus, writing in the post-Constitutional era, could conclude, Status rivalry sequences do not threaten the Tongan social order, but complete it by managing structural ambiguities (Marcus 1978, p.256), eighteenth century contest was dangerous. During the war over the hau ca 1784-1852, the great 'eiki lines descending from Pau, Tupou Lahi, and Maealiuaki lost their titles and political authority; Tongan society lost a great number of leading chiefs; with the transfer of titles and lands many lineages lost their traditions (talaefonua). When the warfare ended a new religious cosmology had been enforced, and a new political order was in the making. The new hau was Täufa'ähau, whose blow with a palalafa (tofikulu) had laid out the international club-fighting champion (Kaho MS1960).

In both politics and faiva, the eighteenth century objective was to harness the realm of the sacred. A critical theory for reading Tongan literature can now be proposed: Tongan accounts are not intended to recount historical origins, but to validate new configurations. Fragments of the paradigm have appeared in preceeding chapters, as follows.

* When Mä'atu Ngongo achieved paramount authority (hau) over the local head men of Niuatoputapu in the 1830s, he annulled the old titles, seated the local head men in his kava circle under new titles, and forbade any discussion of the old social order. In 1971, with the dogged independence which is a hallmark of Tongan lineages, many of Mä'atu's title-holders knew what their old titles and lands had been (Rogers & Pond, papers). The past was hidden, but the place name histories, guarded by each lineage, retained the clues. Mä'atu had commandeered an old configuration and reordered it. His new authority was validated and sanctified by an ancient institution, the seating of his kava circle. (See Chapter 1.)

* In the eighteenth century repertoire, the me'etu'upaki was a faiva of the warrior-'eiki. The ula was a faiva of night concerts, performed by common women. During the twentieth century these faiva were exhibited at Catholic festivals as ancient dances from the court of the Tu'i Tonga. The eighteenth century repertoire had commandeered the realm of the ancient and sacred. (See Chapters 10, 15, 20.)

* In 1777 Cook's expedition found the government of the country in the hands of Kauhala Lalo. The leading political figures worked cooperatively with the Tu'i Tonga Pau. In 1810 however the hau, Finau 'Ulukälala Moengangongo, put an end to the sacred yam festivals, where the estate-'eiki brought presentations of tributary produce to the Tu'i Tonga. In 1844 the Tu'i Tonga renounced his title. As the old sacred force of the Kauhala 'Uta titles waned, Täufa'ähau (Tupou I) formed an alliance with the Wesleyan missionaries (Cummins 1977). When the civil wars ended in 1852, Täufa'ähau was both hau and in command of the new Christian escatology.

* As Täufa'ähau and his descendants secured paramount power, the lakalaka songs transferred the lines of sacred descent to this low-ranking, upwardly mobile line (see Chapter 10). The transferral of sacred descent reconstituted an old configuration, and so validated the rule of the new Tupou dynasty. It was the source of their dignity and of the prerogatives they now claimed. The new hau was in command of the old sacred eschatology.

* The leading faiva of state festivals, the lakalaka dance, was reconstituted from the old dance repertoire (Ve'ehala in Moyle 1987, p.139); Kaeppler identifies its precursor as specifically the me'elaufola (Kaeppler [1967] 1993, p.87-9). Although the continuity of tradition is demonstrable, the Premier's Office nonetheless sources the lakalaka in the Wesleyan mission schools (Moyle 1987, p.138), and in a Wesleyan church festival, Malanga Fakamä (Tonga History Association conference 1993, discussion). A faiva so sourced is validated by the realm of the sacred, and its association with the heathen night concerts hidden. (See Chapter 21.)

The songs of the lakalaka validate the present; success is secured when the realm of the sacred is harnessed. Historical truth is retained but hidden. It is the validation of the present configuration that is made public. Politicians, poets, and historians alike collaborate in sanctifying new configurations. Sanctity secures wellbeing for the community. That is the feat. (See Chapter 12.)

Here is a critical theory for handling Tongan discourses.

Pacific researchers have examined kinship structures, lineage structures, social structures, political structures, syntactical structures

and monumental structures in a search for Tonga's history. In the blending of bamboo instruments with voices singing, in the synchronisation of a hundred dance palettes, in trials of skill on festival grounds where roads crossed at centres of power, Tongan society exhibited its structuring paradigm. That paradigm was faiva.

Scholars of Pacific history ! Take your seats at the next South Pacific Festival of Arts. Faiva is of the essence.

We don't have ideology. We don't have theology. We dance.

(Retort by a Shinto priest to a New York philosopher. Recounted by Joseph Campbell in *Masks of Eternity*, 1988, TV series.)

Appendix

Frontespiece. "Games of Young Girls". From left to right: 1. Hiko, juggling. 2. ?Fa'ahi ula ?Ula ?Me'elaufola 3. ?Me'etu'upaki, ?Hapo, cup-and-ball. 4. 'Üpë. Fisipä (fillip) with the raised hand. Compare with Ravenet's drawing of Fatafehi at Vava'u in 1793, see fig. 44.

Original unknown. (SOURCE: Jennifer Shennan.)

Fig. 41a. Hafoka's list of faiva, compiled during the reign of Sālote Tupou III, 1918-1965. Manuscript held in the Palace Office, Nuku'alofa.

(SOURCE: Records of the Tonga Traditions Committee, Palace Office.)

Palace Records
Faile No. 2 Ko e Ngaahi Fakatotoalo Na'e fai 'e Siotame Havili (Hafoka)
Unfiled.

Ngaahi Faiva Faka-Tonga

Tolo	Fanifo
Toutakao	Hiko (fafine)
Fangatua	Fisi (fafine)
Peta'aki	Pele (Tamaiki)
Lova	Feuuki (tamaiki)
Lafo	Fakamapi (tamaiki)
Velo	Fakapato (tamaiki)
Fuhu	Sionioloutalo (tamaiki)
Moli	Vakilo (tamaiki)
Sika	Laugatoi (tamaiki)
Sivakakau	Lautele (fai toko lahi 'eni)
Siu'a'alo	
Uku	

Ngaahi Faiva Faka-Tonga (haka)

Me'e	Faha'ihiva
Me'etu'upaki (tangata)	Tau'a'alo
Me'elaufola (fafine)	Sipi
'Otuhaka "	'Upē
Faha'iula "	Lakalaka
Ula "	
Kailao (tangata)	
Pō-sipi ('i he sō)	
Sipitau	

Ngaahi Faha'i 'i he Hiva Faka-Tonga

(c) Fasi. *to harangia ahi naitua danc* *to harangia ahi naitua danc*
to harangia ahi naitua danc *to harangia ahi naitua danc*
 Ko e tā 'o e taimi he me'a faka-Tonga, na'e tā tolu pel 'Oku tongi ia he
 ngutu'i nafa; me'e tu'upaki, ko e tā, tu, mo e tā.

Na'e ua pē 'a e me'a tā 'oe faiva faka-Tonga,
 1. ko e nafa 'a ko e lali 'oe me'etu'upaki. Na'e tā pē hangē ha lali kae fāsi.
 'aupito 'a e ngutu, 'ikai'ata hangē ko e lali ui kakai.
 2. ko e fala ko e me'a tā ia 'o e faiva ufo. Mo e 'ū kofe, pe pitu 'oku ha'i faka
 -taha 'o takai ma'u'aki ha fala (papa) pea tā'aki ha 'akau lōloa, 'o 'ikai ko ha
 kautā hangē ko e lali.

Ko e faha'i hiva na'e tuki pe 'a e kofe he kelekele 'o fakatonu'aki
 'a o taimi.

Ko e ula mo e ngaahi faiva tu'u, na'e fakatonu'aki pē 'a e pasi nima,
 mo e hiva. Pehē ai pē mo e lakalaka. Ko e kailao faka-Tonga na'e hangē pē ko'e
 sipitau, fakatonu'aki pē 'a e hiva, mo e patū 'a e va'o. Ko e kailao 'oku tā-kapa
 ko e faka'uvea ia.

Me'aifi Faka-Tonga

Ko e me'aifi pē 'oku 'ikopau ko e:
 Fangufangu (ifi ihu)
 Mimiha (ifi ngutu)
 Kele'a (Fisi)

Ko e Ngaahi Tefito'i Fatu'anga Haka

Koe ha'ē-tā
 Koe tene (kuku, mo mafola)
 Koe tui
 Koe toli
 Koe folā
 Koe vahe
 Koe tafi
 Koe 'ofa (na'e ui ko e lotu)
 Koe 'oatu
 Koe Fū moe Pasi.

KO E NGAHI FAIVA FAKA-TONGA.

(Haka)

Ko e Me'é, Me'etu'upaki, 'a ia na'e ngäue'aki ai 'a e pate 'oku ui ko e paki, pea fai ia 'e tangata. Mo e me'a 'a fafine ko e Me'claufola. Ko e faiva 'e taha ko e 'Otuhaka, fai pē ia 'e fafine, pea pehē mo e fa'ahiulá mo e ulá. Ko e faiva 'e taha ko e kailao 'a ia na'e fai 'e tangata pē. Na'e fai mo e Po-sipi ('i he so), mo'e Sipitau, Fa'ahihiva, Tau'a'alo, Sipi, 'Upē, mo e Lakalaka.

Ko e Ngaahi fa'ahi hiva faka-Tongá.

Ko e fasi, lalau, 'ekenaki, Kanokano, mo e laulalo.

'Oku i ai mo e fa'ahi 'e taha na'e ui ko e fakapakihi.

Ko e anga, 'o e tā 'o e taimi 'i he ngaahi me'a faka-Tongá, na'e tā-tolu pē. Pea na'e tongi pē 'i he ngutu'i nafá 'i he me'e-tu'upaki, 'o pehē, ko e TA, mo e TU, mo e TA.

Na'e ua pē 'a e me'a tā 'o e faiva faka-Tongá.

(1) Ko e Nafa 'a ia ko e lali 'o e me'etu'upaki. Na'e tā pē 'o hangē ha lali kae fāsi'i 'aupito 'a e ngutú, pea na'e 'ikai ke fā-atā ia 'o hangē ko e lali ui kaká.

(2) Ko e Falá, ko e me'a tā ia 'o e faiva-nofó. Ko e 'ū kofé, pe pitu 'oku ha'i fakataha 'o takai 'aki ha fala (papa) pea tā 'aki ha 'akau lōloa, 'o 'ikai ko ha kautā 'o hangē ko e lali.

Ko e faha'ihivá na'e tuki pē 'a e kofé he kelekelé 'o fakatonu 'aki 'a e taimi.

Ko e Ulá mo e ngaahi faiva tu'ú, na'e fakatonu 'aki pē 'a e pasi nimá, mo e hiva. Pea pehē ai pē mo e lakalaká.

Ko e Kailao faka-Tongá na'e hangē pē ko e sipi-táú, na'e fakatonu 'aki pē 'a e patú 'a e va'é mo e hivá. Ko e kailao 'oku ngäue'aki he taimi ni 'o tā-kapa — ko e kailao faka-Uvea ia.

Ko e ngaahi me'aifi faka-Tongá.

Ko e me'a ifi 'oku 'ilo paú ko e fangufangú, 'a ia 'oku ifi 'aki 'a e ihú, 'o tapuni'i 'aki 'a e motu'a tuhú 'a e ava'i ihú, kae lomi 'aki 'a e ngaahi avá e ngaahi fo'i tuhu kehé. Na'e fa'a ava 'e fā 'i he fo'i kofé, pea lomi 'a e ava 'e tolú kae ifi 'i he ava 'e taha.

Na'e ngäue'aki 'a e fangufangú ki he fakataka 'o e tōfā 'a e tu'i. 'I he hā'ele mai 'a Kuini 'Elisapeti, na'e toe ngäue'aki 'a e founga kolia.

Ko e me'a ifi 'e taha ko e mimiha. Na'e ngaohi ia mei he kofé 'o kamata mei he fuoiiki 'o a'u ki he fuolalahi. Na'e fakaava 'a e mui 'e taha 'o fakapaiku hono mui, pea toki vili'i e ngaahi ava 'i he fo'i kofé; pea toki filohi fakataha'i kinautolu pea toki ifi. Ko e anga 'o hono ifi, na'e toho pē 'a e mimiha 'i he ngutú, pea na'e taki taha pē 'a e fo'i kofe 'a e nota.

Ko e me'a ifi 'e taha ko e kele'a, ka ko e me'a ifi ia na'e ma'u mai mei Fisi. Na'e ngäue'aki ki he ui 'o e foláú, pea mo e siu angá, pe fāngota. Ko e fo'i kele'a pē 'oku sakaava 'a e mui fuosi'i 'o toki faka-pupū ki ai e ngutú. Ko e me'a ongo mama'o 'aupito hono le'ó. Kuo toki ngäue'aki ni 'e he ngaahi kautahá 'i he ui ha'anau fakataha, pe ko e ngaahi kalapu kehekehe.

Ko e ngaahi tefito'i fatu'anga haká.

Ko e ha'o-tā, te ne (kuku mo mafola) ko e tui, toli, folá, vahe, tafi, 'ofa (ui 'o e loto), 'oatu, mo e fū mo e pasi.

(Kē toki hoko atu)

Fig. 41c. Hafoka's list of faiva. Translated.

Tongan faiva (danced)

One dance (me'e) is the Me'etu'upaki, which used a bat called a paki, and was performed by men. And the women's one, the Me'elaufola. Another faiva is the 'Otuhaka, performed by women, as is the fa'ahiula and the ula. Another faiva is the kailao which was performed by men only. Also performed were the Pö sipi (for sweet hearts), and the Sipitau, Fa'ahihiva, Tau'a'alo, 'Üpë, and the Lakalaka.

Tongan part-songs

The [song parts are] fasi (melody), lalau (above the fasi), 'ekenaki (below the fasi), Kanokano (low contralto), and the laulalo (drone). There is one more part, which was called fakapakihi (falsetto). The style of beating time for Tongan activities was three-fold. For the me'etu'upaki the mouth of the drum (nafa) was struck thus: TÄ, TÜ, TÄ.

There were two percussive instruments for Tongan faiva.

(1) The nafa, which is the slit gong (lali) of the me'etu'upaki. It was struck like the lali, but the opening slit was much narrower, and it was not as hollow-bellied as the lali for calling people.

(2) The mat, the instrument of the seated faiva. A number of bamboo tubes (kofe or pitu) are bound together and wrapped up in a floor mat (papa) and struck with a long stick, not with a beater as the lali is.

For the part songs (faha'i hiva) bamboo tubes were struck (tuki) against the ground to keep time. For the Ula and the standing faiva the time was kept just with hand-clapping and singing. And also for the lakalaka.

The Tongan kailao was like a sipitau, the time was kept with the stamping of feet and the singing. The kailao which nowadays uses the beating of a tin - is the 'Uvean kailao.

Tongan wind instruments

The wind instrument known with certainty is the fangufangu, which is blown with the nose, by closing one nostril with the thumb, while pressing down on the openings with various fingers. The bamboo tube usually had four openings. Three openings were kept closed while one opening was blown.

The fangufangu was used to arouse the monarch from slumber. During the visit of Queen Elizabeth, this usage was revived.

Another wind instrument is the mimiha. It was made from bamboo tubes, beginning slender and becoming thick. One end was opened and made to taper, then holes were bored in the bamboo tube; then they were bound together and blown. To blow, the mimiha was drawn across the mouth, and each tube sounded a note.

Another wind instrument is the kele'a, but this instrument was borrowed from Fiji. It was used for announcing canoe departures, and for shark noosing, and shellfish gathering. For a kele'a a very small opening is made in the end and then blown with the mouth. It produces a sound heard at a very great distance. Today it is used by co-operatives to announce their meetings, and by various clubs.

Old dance actions

Ha'o-tä, tene (kuku and mafola), tui, toli, fola, vahe, tafi, 'ofa (named for the heart and soul), 'oatu, and fū and pasi.

Shining Skill

Alaisia alaikolonga

Fig. 42. The macho sensibility of New Zealand faiva. The caption reads, "Rampaging All Black wing Jonah Lomu leaves tacklers in his wake..." (The New Zealand Herald, 29 May 1995, sect.2, p.1). Anderson on wrestling: 'it is astonishing to see what temper they preserve in this exercise, for we saw no instance of their leaving the spot with the least displeasure in their countenance.' (Anderson 1777, p.900). Anderson on me'etu'upaki: 'Each motion is made in the gentlest manner and without those violent efforts which argue an exertion of rage.' (Anderson 1777, p.898).

Shining Skill

Alaisia alaikolonga

From a Tongan perspective Olympic gymnastics and ice dancing are faiva. Circus acts: acrobatics, tightrope walking, trapeze flying, are faiva. Hollywood movies are faiva. The generation of a fifth voice by barbershop quartets is a faiva. A public feat whose dexterity and intrepidity thrills the imagination;^{*1} dance performances which lift the spirit of the audience, generate a force, and harness the realm of the sacred; martial arts where champions are open to challenge by any person, these are faiva. This chapter continues to explore the criteria Tongan audiences use in assessing performances.

Faiva of the eighteenth century included feats of oratory (faiva lea, maau); land sports: running (lova), lance throwing (tolo, sika), dart throwing (teka); aquatic sports: swimming (siukakau), canoe racing (siu'a'alo), surfing (fänifo), and diving (uku); martial arts: wrestling (fangatua), boxing (fuhu), and club-fighting (fetä'aki); choreographed dances: me'etu'upaki, ula, me'elaufola, he'a; and singing and recitative: fakaniua, fa'ahi hiva, lave, and 'üpë, see fig.41. Hala'api'api,^{*2} a Vava'u warrior-'eiki aged about 30 in 1810, was described as follows:

To form a tolerable idea of Hala Api Api, we must conceive to ourselves a slim yet athletic figure, of a middling stature, full of fire and impetuosity, endowed with a mind replete with the most romantic notions of heroic bravery...His small quick eye gave an idea of wonderful activity; and, though he looked as if he were a mischievous fellow, his general physiognomy expressed much generosity, good sense, and understanding. His whole body was exceedingly well proportioned, and he was considered one of the best made men at Vavaoo. He was beyond conception swift of foot; to see him run, you would think he outstripped the wind; the grass seemed not to bend beneath his feet, and on the beach you would

scarcely expect to find the traces of his footstep (Martin 1981, pp.276, 277).

In 1777 Cook's company became aware of their comparative ineptness: The gracefull air and firm step with which these people walk are not the least obvious proof of their personal perfections. They consider this as a thing so natural or so necessary to be acquired that nothing us'd to excite their laughter sooner than to see us frequently stumbling upon the roots of trees or other things (Anderson 1777 p.928).

At Niuafou'u in the 1920s Charles Ramsay and Masi, the champion body-surfer (tangata 'oku ne faiva'aki 'a e loka), would swim through the shark-infested surf to the Matson liners and bring the mail back in a tin can. They were "the swimming mailmen of the South Seas"; that feat was their faiva (Ramsay & Plumb [1938], p.82-9; Rogers 1986, pp.107, 116-17). In this usage, individual feats of unmatched skill, and feats of intrepidity open to challenge, are faiva.*¹ In the context of festivals however, faiva are prescribed forms, delineated by codes of contest and by choreographic style. In oratory feats of poetic expression, instant innovation, and recall were tested. In athletic and aquatic sports prowess was acclaimed. In martial arts champions emerged by victory, or concession, or absence of challenge. In dances audience fervour singled out surpassingly fair performances; dance companies knew themselves triumphant or outdone.

During the eighteenth century women of rank were expert at hapo. Deschamps recorded in 1793 that two wives of Fatafehi Fuanunuiava (later Tu'i Tonga), entertained us a lot when they played a...cup-and-ball game which consists in making a ball enter a...crescent fastened at the end of a stick (Benguigui 1991, p.44). Labillardière also, admired the

address with which a ball of wood was thrown up into the air by Fatafehi's wife who endeavoured to let [it] fall through a very small semicircle of shell, to which the ball was fastened by means of a long string (Labillardière 1800 v.2, p.178). The faiva was called kaka hapo by Anderson (Anderson 1777 p.945).

All 'eiki and matäpule were expected to be skilled at finger-signing (liaki). In 1793 Labillardière recorded, We saw two...who were so quick at this exercise, that our eyes were scarcely able to follow their motions (Labillardière 1800 v.2, p.153). Householders played it as a gambling game, without discussion of the moves, and called it matua fakakai (Martin 1981, p.381; McKern MS, p.702-4). Mariner described a contest between two players:

They sit opposite each other, and make signs with the hands simultaneously. The one whose turn it is to count making one or other of three signs, i.e. by a sudden jerk of his arm, presenting either his open hand, his closed hand, or the extended index finger (the others and the thumb being clenched); his opponent at the same moment also makes a sign, and if it happens to be the same, it becomes [the antagonist's] turn to play, and the first gains nothing; but if he succeeds in making one or the other of these three signs, without his opponent making the same, five different times running, he throws down a little stick, of which he holds five in his left hand.

It is now the [antagonist's] turn to play, and he must endeavour to do the same; and whichever in this manner disposes of his five sticks first, wins the game: but if his antagonist imitates him before he can make five signs, we will suppose the fourth, he has a right to demand what were the three other movements on each side. If his opponent cannot mention them in the order in which they happened, and give a feigned reason for every individual motion on both sides, in the technical language of the game,

according to a certain invariable system laid down, he may begin his count again.

Giving these supposed or artificial reasons for each move is the most difficult part of the game, because it will vary according to the order of each of the moves that preceded it.

When four play, they sit as in our game of whist, but each is the antagonist of the one opposite to him; and when one has got out his five sticks, he assists his partner by taking one or two of his sticks, and continuing to play.

The rapidity with which these motions are made is almost incredible, and no inexperienced eye can catch one of them.

The eagerness with which they play, the enthusiasm which they work themselves into, the readiness with which those that are clever give the requisite explanation to every combination of signs, always appears very extraordinary to a stranger (Martin 1981, p.379-80).

Hapo and liaki are not included in Hafoka's list, see fig.41. Liaki has the attributes of prescribed rules, contest, dexterity, and feat which characterised older faiva. Hapo, with its prescribed form and favour by ta'ahine must also have been a faiva, as hiko (women's juggling) was.

In Tonga individual localities have become reknown for certain feats. Noosing sharks is a faiva of Kolonga and Navutoka villages; from their localities on the north east coast of Tongatapu they have direct access to deep water currents. Fakalukuluku is a faiva of the Niuas; in those islands it is one of the most popular long-lining techniques. Hokohoka netting is a faiva of Tafahi island; the coral apron abounds with crevices, for which this fishing technique is best suited.

At Tafahi the rock Maka Fakalavakolo was used as a trial of strength in the faiva of tulihopo.*³ Whoever could cling to the rock supporting the greatest number of men was declared the champion (to'a)

(Posele MS1971). At Niuafo'ou the warrior-'eiki Lihau selected his warriors by a series of trials, the final test being the faiva of walking around the rock Maka Mapuhia, heel to toe, whistling on one breath (Ramsay & Plumb [1938], pp.184, 235-42; Rogers 1986, pp.109, 117-19).

Control of the breath was a developed skill.*4 In the fakaniua mode of singing Waldegrave observed that the leader sang a tenor note to the tune, which note sounded without cessation. I tried in vain to learn how this was performed; the time was perfect, the voices in exact cadence. During five hours the chorus was only changed twice...I accompanied the song the last quarter of an hour, and was fatigued, although sitting. Summarising Tongan aptitudes he noted, their dances are very fatiguing, as they both sing, as music to the dance, and dance (Waldegrave 1833, pp.188, 189, 194). Tongan dances of the era were long. Four me'etu'upaki dances with introductory recitatives (fa'ahi hiva) filled four hours at Popua on 17 June 1777 (Anderson 1777 p.897; Kaeppler [1967] 1993, p.77).

The great 'eiki of the day were leading figures in faiva. They included in their retinue men of common descent who excelled in the martial arts. In 1826, during the war at Vēlata between the Tu'i Tonga Laufilitonga and Täufa'ähau (Tupou I), a warrior named Tu'uhetoka saved Täufa'ähau's life through his fleetness of foot. As reward he was given the tract Ikalahi (Kaho S.F., MS1960a).^{*5} Around 1912 the poet Fakatava was given the island of Kalau, at the southern end of 'Eua, after he produced a lakalaka for 'Eua which deeply impressed Tupou II (Shumway 1977, p.30-1). From these observations it can be inferred that skill at faiva was second only to rank (sacred descent) in social estimation; Marcus (198 , p.243) includes faiva amongst the domains of rivalry for higher social status.

Many of the Kauhala Lalo chiefs exercised an arbitrary cruelty towards the land's people, however, and there was a dark side to 'eiki patronage of the performing arts.*⁶ The canoe escorting the "Resolution" and "Discovery" into the Tongatapu lagoon in 1777 ran over two small canoes with as little concern as if they had been bits of wood (Cook 1777 p.122). Clerke noted in 1777, As to the lower Class of People they certainly can have no redress for the grievances inflicted by the Agee's ['eikis] (Clerke 1777 p.1310). Gifford reported that at Fotuha'a island in Ha'apai chiefs entertained themselves by ordering commoners to jump into foaming surf from a high cliff. The feat was so dangerous that death resulted (Gifford 1929, p.127). After observing martial arts at Ha'apai, Tongatapu, and 'Eua in 1777, Anderson commented that sham-club fighting was in some degree cruel and required no dexterity so that the advantage must generally be on the side of strength. He formed the impression that the contestants all show'd a kind of reluctance to engage (Anderson 1777 p.964).

In 1971, the reluctance of the Falehau people to prepare a faiva had foreshadowed the pro-democracy movement (see Campbell 1992, p.210-24). The 1862 Edict of Emancipation was similarly foreshadowed by 'eiki usurpation of people's lives and goods, and during the nineteenth century many rivers began to run.

Aquatic Sports

The champion wave-spear (tangata tao e ngalu) never exhibited his skill by daylight, or before common people, but was summoned to perform from time to time at night before chieftains. On such occasions his performance was observed by the light of a torch made from a cluster of dried coconut blossom pods, which the wave-spear held in his left hand above his head (McKern MS, p.683).

Does the tale of Kae (Gifford 1924, p.139-52) suggest that Oceanic seafarers once rode on the backs of whales ? In the illustrious era Tongan maritime and aquatic fleetness outstripped European accomplishment. McKern recorded that Tongan children often learned to swim and walk at the same age (McKern MS, p.681). Labillardière in 1793 described the swimming technique as a side stroke, pulling with the right arm and maintaining balance with small strokes of the left arm. I never saw an European swim with such confidence, or with such speed, he conceded (Labillardière 1800 v.2, p.101). Canoe crews (tafa'anga and pöpao) competed in the faiva of wave-spearing (fänifo) and women competed in solo paddling races (McKern MS, pp.684, 685). The fleetness of canoe paddling was noted in 1793. As soon as our people [in the yawl] got sight [of the canoe] they gave her chase, but the natives in her paddled away with such speed, that it was impossible to overtake them (Labillardière 1800 v.2, p.151). The French gentlemen capsized the paddling canoes. Labillardière reported, Early in the morning I set off, with all the other naturalists of our expedition, for the island of Tongataboo. Some of the natives would carry us thither in their little canoes, but most of us, not being sufficiently careful in

preserving our equilibrium, upset them as soon as they put off

(Labillardière 1800 v.2, p.153-4).

During his residence on Niuafo'ou in the 1920s, Ramsay observed his fellow mailman, Masi diving unaided by any mechanical equipment, to a depth of thirteen fathoms - seventy-eight feet (Ramsay & Plumb [1938], p.84). McKern recorded that diving contests (uku) were held to see who could stay underwater the longest, and there were underwater races for contestants holding a heavy stone while running along the sea floor. Vason observed the faiva of uku during 1797-1800:

Both sexes often play together in the water at the following diversion : they fix two posts, about a hundred yards distant from each other, in a depth of water about four feet, near the shore, and midway betwixt them is placed a large stone. Then dividing into two companies, the game is, which side can first tug the stone to their own post. In playing at this diversion with them, I have seen numbers at the bottom of the water together, hauling and pulling the stone different ways...When a diver returned to the surface, for breath, another of his party instantly dived down to take his place. I have seen one person carry a stone of considerable weight ten or twelve yards in this game, through the buoyant aid of the water (Orange 1840, p.125).

Mariner observed the faiva again during 1806-10: it consists of carrying a large stone under water ten feet deep, from one post to another, at the distance of seventy yards, the party who carries the stone running along the bottom. The difficulty is to pursue a straight course: a person may thus run much faster than another can swim (Martin 1981, p.381).

Tupou Posesi (pers.comm.) recalls that at Paluki beach on Lifuka island in the 1920s a grey stone named Paluki and a white stone named

Loupua were used in an underwater contest called Kumi. The players divided into two teams. Each hid its stone in the lagoon water and then dived in search of the stone hidden by the other team. The purpose of the game was to train children in swimming and diving and holding their breath under water.

In Ramsay's account of the aquatic champion Masi there are elements of spectator interest, fine judgement, analytical mind, and above all, intrepidity in the face of danger. At Angahä the open ocean pounded against rough, volcanic rock flows from which the men dived (Ramsay & Plumb [1938], p.84-5):

It was a considerable feat, particularly if heavy seas were running, to time a plunge off the rocks between a breaking roller and the ensuing backwash. Even more difficult, not to say dangerous, was it to negotiate a landing. Masi had both phases of this exciting art down to a fine knack. He was the wonder of all beholders as he rode through a smother of creaming surf, to land, unscathed, on the jagged rocks. To misjudge the critical moment even by so much as a split-second was to court disaster. If one started too soon, one arrived with too great a volume of water to maintain footing on the rocks; if too late, the force was insufficient to raise one high enough to reach the flat ledge. In the latter case, the only way to escape the next incoming wave, which would be certain to pound the helpless swimmer to a pulp on the rocks, was to turn immediately with the speed and agility of a seal, dive deep, and swim hard under the huge breakers, for the open sea...Masi seldom mistimed, but when he did he knew how to extricate himself.

On the reef apron along the northern coast of Tafahi island, at Mäuluulu, is a string of sandy-bottomed pools where the faiva of uku took place (Posele MS1971). Here also, at Mulimatua where opposing ocean currents meet, was a swell favoured for the faiva of fänifo, wave-spearing.

Observation of a blowhole named Talatalafänifo would indicate when the surf was right (Faka'osi MS1971).

A surf beach had to have a long, gentle slope. The champions were expert at travelling a long distance on one wave and at holding their bodies above the water (McKern MS, p.683). Wilson reported the sport on the ocean coast (tu'aliku) of north-west Tongatapu (Hihifo) in 1797: The shore rocky; a heavy surf upon it. Observed the natives amusing themselves with swimming in the surf, and carried on the top of the wave; this sport they call fäneefö (Wilson 1799, p.250).^{*1} Vason became familiar with the dangers of this faiva during 1797-1800:

...they take particular delight in another amusement in the water, called Furneefoo. They go down to the flat shore, at high water, when the swell rolls with great force to the land, and plunge in and swim some yards into the sea, then pushing themselves on the top of the swell, they ride in, close to the shore. It is astonishing to see with what dexterity they will steer themselves on the wave, one hand being stretched out, as the prow before, and the other guiding them like a rudder behind: and though they are riding in upon the swelling billow, with a frightful rapidity, that makes you apprehend they will be dashed and killed upon the shore, they will, with surprising agility, turn themselves suddenly on one side, and darting back through the next wave, swim out to sea, till another swell waft them on towards shore; when, if inclined to land, they will again turn themselves on one side, and, awaiting the wave's return, dart through the reflux surge [backwash], and reach the shore in safety. Several hours are often spent at one time, in this sport, in which the women are as skilful as the men. I never attempted this diversion myself, as the trial might have been fatal (Orange 1840, p.125-6).

The surf riders observed by Vason 1797-1800 and by Mariner 1806-1810 did not use boards (Orange 1840, p.125-6; Martin 1981, p.381). Of the men McKern spoke to in the 1920s, only those past middle age recalled the

sport. By then, McKern records, surfboards (laupapa) had come into fashion, specially constructed from breadfruit wood or reshaped from old kalia hulls; these were valued because they had been dressed smooth. The surfboards were short and held with the right hand, placed from the pit of the stomach to a distance beyond the head; the surfers did not stand on their boards (McKern MS, p.682-3).

Fänifo is included by Hafoka among Tongan faiva, ^{see fig.41,} and McKern confirmed that champions were set apart for entertaining chiefs. The champion wave-spear of a district bore the title tangata tao e ngalu. The tangata tao e ngalu never exhibited his skill by daylight, or before common people, but was summoned to perform from time to time at night before chieftains. On such occasions his performance was observed by the light of a torch made from a cluster of dried coconut blossom pods, which the wave-spear held in his left hand above his head (McKern MS, p.683). Grace and style embellished the danger of the faiva.

McKern's advisers in the 1920s attributed the demise of fänifo to rising reefs, which had formed barriers across the course of the breakers on the old wave sites (McKern MS, p.684). Moyle however recorded in the 1980s that there were still good surfing beaches at Mahofä and Niutoua in Tongatapu, and at Mo'unga'one in Ha'apai (Moyle 1987, p.211). The demise of wave-spearfing must be considered, along with the disappearance of women's canoe-racing, bonito trolling, and other skills of seafarers (see Benguigui 1988), in the context of a new political era. In addition to a wholesale ban against faiva in the Welseyan rules and law codes from 1834 to 1883, legislation against voyaging had curtailed intrepidity and freedom of political enterprise. With the shift to a landbased economy the seafaring festivals declined and in 1970 there were neither canoe nor sailing

regattas. As Pacific societies regained confidence in their skills during the 1990s, canoe regattas returned. The boats were now fibreglass.

With the new restrictions had come new opportunities. 'Eiki patronage of the arts faced competition from commerce, from churches, and from the alliance between state and monarch. By the 1920s Masi and Ramsay were earning their fame as swimming mailmen by entertaining passengers of cruise ships; 'eiki patronage had a new challenger in tourism. In 1970 faiva were performed for tour parties, for church jubilees, for national festivals, and for royal visits and royal birthdays. In the context of protestant hostility to 'eiki society, the criteria of excellence had changed.

Martial Arts

Fangatua, Fuhu, Fetä'aki, Toutakao

Fig. 43. The faiva of fuhu (boxing) during the katoanga at Faka'amumei bay, Lifuka, Ha'apai on 18 May 1777. Protocol required that contestants wore new bark cloth (vala ngatu) and left the upper body bare. Webber depicts hair worn loose.

Engraving after Webber. Cook/ King 1784. (SOURCE: Conner & Miller 1979, pl.9.)

Martial Arts

Fangatua, Fuhu, Fetä'aki, Toutakao

Eighteenth century descriptions of martial arts are fine examples of ethnographic scholarship. The festivals were reported by a number of observers, so the record is multidimensional; the reporters were skilled in their own arts of boxing and wrestling; and the ships' seamen pitted themselves against Tongan exponents. The resulting records give insight into the techniques and protocol of these faiva, disclosing a code of challenge.

The martial arts exhibited in the context of a festival demonstrate several salient features of faiva. A state of equanimity (fakame'ite) was maintained by participants; it was an honour to attempt the contest; there was no loss of face in defeat. In men's boxing and wrestling, contestants walked onto the reception ground and issued an open challenge, not a challenge directed at a particular person. A contestant who was beaten immediately conceded and did not issue another challenge. A champion accepted every challenge, one after the other; Mariner recorded an occasion when the young warrior 'eiki Moengangongo fought 14 consecutive matches (Martin 1981, p.110).

At each victory the champion's side gave a shout of acclaim. The champion then walked towards the presiding 'eiki, sat facing him, head bowed in mutual salute, immediately rose, and moved away.

The appropriate occasion (lakanga) for martial arts was at day festivals, following presentations of produce. These faiva marked the end of formal proceedings. At Tongatapu in 1777, exhibitions of martial arts concluded the yam festival (Cook 1777, p.153). At Ha'apai ca 1806, dancing and martial arts concluded a funeral festival (kātoanga 'o e fakalahi)

(Martin 1981, p.96). Mariner noted on occasion that once the presiding 'eiki had arrived at the reception ground, people not employed in assembling the produce would engage in martial arts for general amusement, until the ceremony began (Martin 1981, p.94).

There were also festivals entirely of martial arts. Kaho (MS1960) described a club-fighting festival held in the 1820s as maa'imoa fetä'aki. The 1882 laws prohibited wrestling carnivals, kätöanga fangatua, see fig.34.

Webber's depiction of martial arts at Ha'apai on 18 May 1777 records sham club fighting and boxing matches being contested simultaneously, see fig.10. This is a fabrication. The journals record that if a number of challengers rose at once, they would sometimes form contesting pairs with each other, but there were no occasions when different faiva were exhibited simultaneously.

The superiority of Tongan prowess was quickly recognised by Englishmen voyaging with Cook. Samwell noted: Some of the stoutest of our people often entered the lists to box and wrestle with them, but they always were worsted (Samwell 1777, p.1028). Burney recorded: their boxing being different from the English method which is generally looked upon as the standard, induced some of our Men to enter the ring against them, thinking to retrieve the credit lost at wrestling: but in this they were so much mistaken that of 4 or 5 who tried, not one escaped being knocked down (Burney 1777, p.107n).

Samwell noted the participation of young boys in the wrestling matches at Tongatapu on 18 June 1777: The Wrestling is generally introduced by the Boys of abt 6 or 7 years old, & is then taken up by older ones & so on till the old men themselves are at last engaged, tho' they seldom make their appearance till the boxing is introduced (Samwell

1777, p.1027). He observed that wrestling and boxing are held in great Esteem among them, the Children are brought up in the Practice of them from their Infancy, especially the Sons of the Chiefs. A son of Omai's Finau was skilled beyond his age (Samwell 1777, p.1028).

In 1793 D'Entrecasteaux's party was advised that wrestling could not be exhibited at a katoanga where the Tu'i Tonga Fefine presided (Labillardière 1800 v.2, p.162). The reasons for this have not been found; possibly the high sacred rank of Kauhala 'Uta absolved the need to propitiate the gods with blood; possibly the non-violent, sacred power of Kauhala 'Uta was elevated by the absence of bloodshed.

The Tu'i Tonga did however preside at festivals of martial arts. At the day of reciprocal faiva on 18 June 1777, *see fig.14*, Tu'i Tonga Pau must have been the presiding 'eiki as contestants paid deference to him (Samwell 1777, p.1027; Anderson 1777, p.899). At Mu'a ca 1820 club-fighting was exhibited in the presence of 'the Tu'i Tonga's gentlemen'; the festival (Katoanga 'o e Feinga Kotone) was a maa'imoa, implying the presence of Tu'i Tonga Laufilitonga (S.M. Soakai, MS1959, p.15; S.F. Kaho MS1960).

The faiva most highly rated by the warrior 'eiki was club fighting (fetä'aki). In 1777 Samwell observed, no Chiefs of any great Consequence entered the lists as boxers or Wrestlers while we were [in Tonga] (Samwell 1777, pp.1027, 1028). In 1777 a spurious son of the Tu'i Tonga Pau was an undefeated champion of this faiva (Samwell 1777, p.1028; Munford 1963, p.36). Finau 'Ulukälala Moengangongo, hau from 1810-12, was an undefeated champion (Martin 1981, p.110). In the 1820s Täufa'ähau (Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupou I, hau from ca 1831-93, was undefeated on the festival ground (S.M. Soakai, MS1959, p.15; S.F. Kaho MS1960). In the illustrious era, the leading exponents of faiva were at the same time the leading political figures.

FANGATUA*1

The protocols of offering a challenge in wrestling were described at Tongatapu on 18 June 1777:

When any of them chuses to wrestle he gets up from one side of the ring, crosses the ground in a sort of [measured] pace clapping smartly on the elbow joint of one arm, which is bent, and produces a hollow sound that is reckon'd the challenge. If no person appears from the opposite side to engage him he returns in the same manner and sits down, but sometimes stands clapping in the midst of the ground to provoke someone to come out. If an opponent appears they come together with marks of the greatest good nature, generally smiling and taking time to adjust the piece of cloth they wear which is fastened about the waste (Anderson 1777, p.899).

Samwell recorded on the same occasion, He who goes out first gives a formal Challenge to all round by laying the left Arm across the Breast & striking it hard with the right hand open, which gives a smart Sound; as he continues to do this he runs with a moderate pace up & down the Circle, and if no one comes out to answer the Challenge which is performed in the same manner, he continues it till he arrives at the place from whence he set out & then takes his seat (Samwell 1777, p.1027). Anderson continued, They then lay hold of each other by the piece of cloth, or a girdle which they sometimes wear, with a hand on each side and one endeavours to draw his antagonist to him, which if he is so lucky as to to effect he immediately trys to lift him upon his breast and throw him down on his back; and if he is able to turn round with him two or three times in that position before he throws him it never fails of procuring plaudits from the spectators (Anderson 1777, p.899-900).

Samwell says the girdle was plaited and was worn specifically for wrestling matches. (Samwell 1777, p.1027). Burney described wrestling at Lifuka in 1777, as much like the Cornish style (Burney 1777, p.107n). McKern called it belt-hold (McKern MS, p.693). Clerke commented on the

great strength and agility shown in the wrestling matches (Clerke 1777, p.1303). The contests were generally short (Samwell 1777, p.1027).

If they are more equally match'd they often close soon and endeavour to throw each other by intertwining their legs, or lifting each other from the ground, in which struggles they show a prodigious exertion of strength, every muscle as it were being ready to burst with straining and sometimes of such a size as would serve for an artist to draw from for a living Hercules, but it appears that the person who is evidently the strongest is often thrown at this time from accident (Anderson 1777, p.900).

The procedure at the end of a wrestling bout was as follows:

...when it is ended both the Victor and the vanquished rise & pay their respects to Powlohow [Tu'i Tonga Pau] by sitting down before him cross legg'd & touching his feet with their Heads, after which they return to their respective Sides. He that is conquered retires silently, while the other as he goes off repeats the Challenge and is received by his Party with a Song of Triumph (Samwell 1777, p.1027). When one is thrown he immediately quits the field, but the victor sits down for a few seconds, gets up and goes to the side he came from, who proclaim the victory aloud in a sentence deliver'd slowly and with a musical cadence (Anderson 1777, p.900).

The victor then had to meet the next challenger: After sitting a short space he gets up again & challenges, when sometimes one sometimes four, five or six make their appearance, but he has the privilege of chusing which he pleases to wrestle with, and has likewise the preference of challenging again if he throws his antagonist, untill he is himself vanquish'd & then the opposite side sing the song of vitory in favour of their Champion.

It often happens that five or six rise from each side and challenge together, in which case it is common to see three or four couple engag'd on the field at once...

When they find they are so equally match'd as not to be likely to throw each other, they leave off by mutual consent, and if the fall of one is not fair or it does not appear very clearly who had the

advantage both sides sing the victory & they engage again, but no person who has been vanquish'd can engage with his antagonist a second time (Anderson 1777, p.900).

Mariner recorded that when a contestant wished to yield to his opponent he gave a sudden toss of the head on one side, upon which his antagonist immediately retired to his seat, the victor (Martin 1981, p.372n). And Anderson noted of wrestling champions: One of them has sometimes thrown eight or nine successively (Anderson 1777, p.900).

Samwell believed the wrestling contests were brought to an end in the following way: A Continuance of the Exercise excites their Emulation & the young Men grow impatient for the lists, this sometimes brings on half a dozen matches at once, which when those who seemed to sit as judges & Conductors of the Games perceived they put a stop to them by introducing the Boxing (Samwell 1777, p.1027).

The song sung by the victor in a wrestling match was notated by Samwell as *Too way Hey O mār tō yo ě*, which was stated very loudly in a kind of recitative; the first word was sung by a single person and the rest in full chorus (Samwell 1777, p.1027). Beaglehole interpreted Samwell's text as *Tu'u ai hē 'o mou tuē*, 'Stand up and shout hurrah', after an expression current at weddings. Mariner (1981, p.110) however recorded that the victor's side in club fighting shouted: *wo, wo, a ma to, i oi i oi*, which is possibly: *uō! uō! 'a matou! 'Hurrah! hurrah! [one] to us! Yes! Yes!* Reconstructed, the sequence may have been:

Victor: Delivers a slap (*pasi*) of the right hand against the left arm.

Victor's supporters, Lead voice: *Tuē---*

Victor's supporters, Chorus: ---*hē! 'a matou! i oi! i oi !*
*'Hurrah! [one] to us! Yes! Yes!' *2*

Boxing contests were short. Clerke commented, they strike very hard, but have little Idea of catching a blow; they sometimes avoid it by feats of activity in skipping and bobbing aside, but are Strangers to the art of Broughtonising (Clerke 1777, p.1303).

The technique was described by Anderson at Tongatapu in 1777, as follows: The boxers advance side ways changing the side at every pace, with one arm stretchd fully out before, the other behind, and holding a piece of cord in one hand which they wrap firmly about it when they find an antagonist, or else have done so before they enter, which I imagine is done to prevent a dislocation of the hand or fingers, see figs.43.

Their blows are directed chiefly to the head but sometimes to the sides and are dealt out with great activity: they shift sides & box equally well with both hands, but one of their favourite and most dexterous blows is to turn round on their heel just as they have struck their antagonist and give him another very smart one with the other hand backwards.

The boxing matches seldom last long, and the party's either leave off together or one acknowledges his being beat in that manner, but they never sing the victory in these cases unless one strikes his antagonist to the ground, which shows that of the two wrestling is their most approv'd diversion (Anderson 1777, p.900-1).

Samwell however made a different deduction: [the old men] seldom make their appearance till the boxing is introduced, where more Manhood & Skill is required (Samwell 1777, p.1027).

Women also participated in the faiva of fuhu. Cook assessed that the women boxed with a[s] much art as the men and noted that the Victor received the applause of the spect[at]ors in the same manner as the men (Cook 1777, p.108). Women's boxing was recorded with a chauvinistic bias.

Clerke commented, The Women are introduc'd into these boxing Matches, and do pay one another about the Face and Eyes most intolerably (Clerke 1777, p.1303). At Lifuka in 1777 Samwell recorded: A Woman advanced a little way into the Ring & sat down which was understood as a Challenge & was not long unaccepted of; in the boxing they neither close nor pull hair & aim all their blows at the face taking care not to strike lower. As the engagement is not suffered to continue long it is seldom decisive, for after having exchanged 5 or 6 Blows some Friend steps between & parts them & they return to their Seats (Samwell 1777, p.1018). At 'Eua in 1777, Anderson recorded that the women when boxing engaged with irresistible fury, as the shame of being conquer'd seemd to affect them more than the severity of the blows...two of these after boxing a considerable time with great spirit and dexterity, and finding neither was likely to overcome, desisted suddenly and embracing kiss'd each other with a cordiality which left no room to doubt but they were convinc'd of their mutual merit & that malice had no share in urging them to the combat (Anderson 1777, p.963-4).

Anderson recorded the participation of boys and girls in boxing matches at a katoanga in 1777: Not only boys engage as often as the men in both these exercises, but frequently little girls, who are generally mention'd by some person in the circle, box very bitterly for a short time (Anderson 1777, p.901).

McKern and Churchward recorded some of the technical blows. These are: 'aka 'any blow with the foot, a sidewise kick delivered while leaping'; hoka 'an uppercut blow'; monoi 'a short, quick, straight jab from the body, executed with either hand'; muiva'e 'a blow delivered with the heel following a backward kick'; mu'ova'e 'a straightforward kick [striking with

the toes']; *sapi* 'a blow following tripping with the foot'; *soki* 'a straight forward kick'; *takitu'a* 'a short blow from the forearm, striking with the bony part of the wrist, directed principally at the throat'; *ta'ao* 'a left or right hook blow'; *tuinima'i* 'a blow from the elbow'; *tuki* 'a straight, full, forward delivery of a blow to face or body, with either fist'. Phonologically *sapi* and *soki* are not Tongan words; the teaching-masters may have been Sāmoan, Futunan, or Fijian.

Other technical terms used in this faiva are: *polefuhu* 'challenge to a fist fight'; *holomui* 'step backward from a blow'; *lakakimu'a* 'a forward step'; *lalango* 'ward off blows with fists and arms'; *kalo* 'dodge a blow by moving the head'; *punou* 'dodge a blow by crouching'; *femafuli'aki* 'withdraw to one side in following a missing blow' (McKern MS, p.699-700 & Churchward 1959, edited). Such documentation will make a contribution to recovering the practice of this faiva.

FETĀ'AKI*4 - Palalafa

Samwell came to the conclusion that the high ranking chiefs participated in the faiva of sham club fighting (which he called Battle ax) and of club fighting, but not in wrestling and boxing (Samwell 1777, p.1028).

At Ha'apai in 1777 Clerke recorded, the Men sometimes fought with Clubs, made of the large End of Coco Tree Branches, with which they bang'd each other about the Head most heartily (Clerke 1777, p.1303). The weapon used was a palalafa, the base and midrib of a coconut frond. Kaeppler has produced plates of Tongan clubs collected during Cook's voyages (Kaeppler 1978, figs 507-519). They are ca 84cm to 116cm long with

a thickened head, well replicated by the proportions and weighting of a coconut stem when wielded base up.

Sham club fighting was performed at Lifuka on 18 May 1777, following an exceptionally large presentation of provisions to Cook and Omai from Finau. The kätöanga was depicted by Webber; a pair of contestants are fighting with palalafa inside the ring of spectators (Joppien & Smith 1987 v.3, pls 3.45, 3.46, 3.46A), see fig.10. In Cook's account fetä'aki followed immediately after the presentation had been set in order, thus:

...a number of men entered the Circle or Area before us, armed with Clubs made of the green branches of the Cocoanut tree, these paraded about for a few minutes and then retired the one half to one side and the other half to the other, and seated themselves before the spectators: but soon after went to single Combat, one or two stepping forward from the one side and challenging those on the other which was done more by actions than words; if the Challenge was [ac]cepted, which was generally the case, each put himself in a proper attitude and began to engage and continued till one or the other gave out or their weapons were broke. Then the contest was over, the Victor squated himself down facing the cheif then rose up and retired, at the same time some old men, who seemed to sit as judges, gave their plaudit in a few words and the multitude, especially those on the side to which the [v]ictor belonged, celebrated it in two or three huzzas. This entertainment was now and then suspended for a few minutes, at these intervals there were Wristling and Boxing matches (Cook 1777, p.107). Samwell also described this faiva at Lifuka, regarding it as barbarous and cruel: Several young Men made their appearance with Clubs made of the green branches of the Cocoa nut tree about three feet long and 3 or 4 inches in thickness, they advance into the ring making Motions & flourishes which are meant as general Challenges; afterwards particular Challenges are given, when all retire except the two Combatants who fall to & bang one another most unmercifully till one of the Clubs

broke or one of them was knocked down which put an end to the Conflict (Samwell 1777, p.1018).

The faiva was recorded again at 'Eua in July 1777 when it was performed along with wrestling and boxing following a presentation of yams to Cook by the governing 'eiki, Taioonee (Täufa).

Many people likewise fought with clubs of the hard heavy Cocoa nut stem, a diversion I think the most exceptionable they have, both because it is in some degree cruel and requires no dexterity so that the advantage must generally be on the side of strength. These Champions collected in a body on each side of the circle and when any of them wanted to engage would come and sit down in the middle of the open space, when some from the opposite side would advance or if not he retreated to his party. When the challenge was accepted the pair began without any ceremony and beat from above upon each others heads and shoulders without mercy either till they left off by mutual consent or broke their clubs to pieces which frequently happened (Anderson 1777, p.964).

McKern states that contestants in club-fighting matches sought to injure or kill each other (McKern MS, p.629), and Anderson sensed reluctance to entertain the Papālangi at 'Eua: It can scarcely be doubted but accidents sometimes happen at this rough diversion, in which they all show'd a kind of reluctance to engage, yet we saw no method they us'd to defend themselves from the blows rather than holding down the face, except in one man who had a very large thick semicircular breast plate made of one piece of bone hung round his neck which they said was of the manufacture of Feejee (Anderson 1777, p.964).

The Tonga Traditions' committee recorded accounts by Fe'iloakitau Kaho and S.M. Soakai of the Kātoanga 'o e Feinga Kotone. Possibly the knock-out blow (tofikulu) by Täufa'ähau (Tupou I) legitimated his challenge for hau, and possibly the contest was fought with palalafa, not real clubs,

because the contestants were low-ranking; Täufa'ähau was an 'eiki tauhi fonua (Soakai MS1959, p.3).

In this era Täufa'ähau had become powerful by means of the many battles he had fought. Täufa'ähau's strength was demonstrated when the Tu'i Tonga's gentlemen participated in the club-fighting festivals (maa'imoa fetä'aki) held at Mu'a. The champion club fighter (ko e mafi 'i he fetä'aki) at Mu'a was a Sāmoan, and when there was not one person in Tonga who could challenge the Sāmoan, Täufa'ähau jumped up to salvage Tonga's reputation. That contest was fought with coconut stems (palalafa), not with clubs (pövai).

Täufa'ähau jumped up with his palalafa and fought (fetä'aki) with the Sāmoan. The strike (tä) which he delivered to the Sāmoan was a direct hit on the head (tofikulo), as it is still called today. This strike, the tofikulo, was used to name the Government vessel, the "Hifofua, Massive blow", for when Täufa'ähau's blow descended, the one called tofikulu, no further response was possible. That's why the blow was called a tofikulu. After delivering it Täufa'ähau swung his palalafa challenging Tonga's entire dominion for someone to fight with, but both sides (ongo mātanga) of the festival (kātoanga) conceded defeat (fo'i kātoa) and not a one answered the challenge ('o 'ikai tali 'e taha). (S.F. Kaho MS1960).

FETÄ'AKI - Pövai

Churchward recorded that a warrior's club (pövai) was usually given an individual name. Some famous ones were Pasivülangi, Pasitaukei and Mohekonokono (Churchward 1959, p.417). At 'Eua in 1773 Georg Forster commented, The clubs of the people of this isle, were of an infinite variety of shapes, and many of them so ponderous that we could scarce manage them with one hand; the most common form was quadrangular, so as to make a rhomboid at the broad end, and gradually tapering into a round

handle at the other...by far the greatest part were carved all over in many chequered patterns which seemed to have required a long space of time, and incredible patience... (Forster 1777 v.1, p.437), see fig.43.

Fighting with pövai was demonstrated only once to the Papālangi exploring parties during the thirty-year span of visits in the late eighteenth century. This was at the kätōanga at Popua on 18 June 1777, which was opened with the Papālangi faiva, a display of drill by the ships' marines. The kätōanga took place on the ground in front of the tents in the encampment at Popua. The champion was a son of the Tui Tonga Pau; possibly he was Pau's son Paunga (d. ca 1820) who was a warrior-'eiki and briefly Tu'i Vava'u (Campbell 1989, p.26; Lätūkefu 1974, p.21). Samwell recorded,

However it must be remembered that no Chiefs of any great Consequence entered the lists as boxers or Wrestlers while we were here; the Exercises in which they engage are those of the Battle ax [palalafa] and Club [pövai]...the latter being so rough an Exercise we never saw put in practice, tho' a Chief well known to us & related to Powlohow came into the ring with his Club & gave a Challenge to any one by brandishing it about in the air, but no one was found to accept it, on which he laid down his club & turning to his father paid him the usual Compliment, then took up his weapon and went out of the Circle; we were informed that he was superior to any man on the Island at this Exercise, he is a very stout young fellow, he has lost one Eye in fighting with the Club. This undoubtedly is the principal Weapon used in their Wars (Samwell 1777, p.1028). Ledyard elaborated, but did not distinguish between palalafa and pövai: as these contests are very severe and even dangerous they are seldom performed: We never saw but one instance of it, but it was a most capital one, as the performers were capital characters and though we expected the exhibition would be very short, yet it lasted near twenty minutes, protracted by the skill of the combatants in avoiding each others blows, some of which were no less violent than artful: After being

pretty well buffeted about the body, a fortuitous blow upon the head of one decided the matter and the conquered was carried off, while the victor elated with success stood and enjoyed the subsequent shouts of praise that proceeded from the spectators: When these shouts ended the young women round the circle rose, and sung, and danced a short kind of interlude in celebration of the hero. - But alas! what did this avail him when a son of Polahow's entered the lists brandishing an enormous club and exposing his brown shoulders...This young chief was a spurious descendant of Polahow's, and about twenty-four or five years old and was so well known not only at Tongotaboo but among all the neighbouring islands for his feats with the club that he could of late meet with no competitor which was the case now, and after he had waited on the green until he had received two shouts, he retired and the exhibition ended: He had one eye knocked out and his head and body had been at different times so beat that he was one intire piece of scarrification. When these exercises are meant to be full and well conducted Polahow is generally present, and when that is the case every pair who enter the lists walk up within 15 or 20 feet of their prince and compliment him after the manner of the country, which is by seting down crosslegged before him, and instantly rising again, and whether victorious or otherwise, before they quit the lists repeat the same compliment (Munford 1963, p.35-6).

At kätöanga ordered by the hau Fīnau Fangupö in the course of Tongan political process, fighting with clubs was more common. During Mariner's residence 1806-1810, Fīnau's son Moengangongo returned from Sāmoa. His marriage to two women who had been promised to him took place at Lifuka. Large presentations of produce were assembled on the mala'e, the wedding party arrived, and the company assembled in two parties, representing Ha'apai and Sāmoa. Mariner recounted:

The two parties being ready, the challenges were given in the following way. A man from one side ran over to the opposite party, and sat down before it. He then made a sign to know if anyone would

engage with him; and the person choosing to accept the challenge came forward brandishing his club, when the two combatants proceeded to the middle of the circle, each attended by one from his own party to assist as second.

They next determined whether they should fight after the Tonga or Hamoa fashion; the difference of which is, that the Hamoa custom allows a man to beat his antagonist after he is knocked down, as long as he perceives signs of motion; while the Tonga mode only allows him to flourish his club over his fallen foe, and the fight is ended.

This point being agreed on, the two champions for the applause of the multitude began to engage; and when they had finished, another party came on in the same way. Sometimes there are three or four sets of combatants engaged at the same time. When a man gains a victory, his own party gives a shout of approbation:

wo, wo, a ma to, i oi, i, oi
[Uö! uö! 'a matou! i oi i oi!] (Martin 1981, p.110).

The phrase was delivered as a recitative, with the u----ö dwelt on for five seconds. The champion then advanced towards Finau, who was presiding at the head of the circle, sat down in front of him in salute, then rose immediately and returned to his own party. Moengangongo fought 14 or 15 battles and was the victor in every one. The club-fighting finished on a signal from Finau, and boxing and wrestling matches commenced (Martin 1981, p.110).

Perspectives

I

The code of contest in martial faiva was well appreciated by Mariner:

...it is a thing very remarkable in the character of the people of Tonga, that they never exult in any feats of bravery they may have performed. On the contrary, they take every opportunity of praising an adversary; although this adversary may be plainly a coward... In

their games of wrestling they act up to the same principle, never to speak ill of their antagonist *afterwards*, but always to praise him (Martin 1981, p.145).

The journalists of Cook's visits keenly perceived the protocol of equanimity and forbearance (*fakame'ite*) which maintained the *mālie*, the shining excellence of the occasion. Clerke recorded, now thro' all this Boxing, fighting &c, wherein they must very frequently have been most miserably hurt...but tho' they were thus set on to knock each other about for the Amusement of their Superiors, they went thro' the whole Ceremony, and put up with the very disagreeable Sensations it must have occasion'd, with the same Complacency they wou'd have shewn in the most innocent and pleasing Amusements (Clerke 1777, p.1303). Burney commented, the diversions and exercises of these people were conducted with a degree of temper truly commendable, and which few are capable of; the conquerors not shewing any signs of exultation, nor the beaten party appearing in the least abashed (Burney 1777, p.108n). By comparison Burney noted of the English crewmen worsted in boxing matches with the Nomukans in 1777, as they did not take the drubbing with the moderation and good temper before remarked in the Natives, [they] were heartily laughed at; for our Men contrary to the established custom, always demanded a renewal of the conflict which, by the bye, was never suffered though both parties were willing (Burney 1777, p.107n).

Mariner recounted an incident during the yam festival at Vava'u ca 1808. Two 'eiki, Talo and Hala'api'api, engaged in a wrestling contest.

Talo left his companions, and seated himself immediately opposite Hala Api Api - a conduct which plainly indicated his wish that the latter in particular should engage with him...the challenge ought not to be made to one in particular, but to any individual among those of a

different place or party who chooses to accept it. As soon as Hala Api Api and his friends perceived this, it was agreed among them, that he alone should oppose him. In a short time Talo arose, and advanced; Hala Api Api immediately closed with him and threw him, with a severe fall. At this moment, the shouts of the people so exasperated Talo...that, on the impulse of passion, he struck his antagonist, whilst rising off him, a violent blow in the face; on which Hala Api Api threw himself into a posture of defence, and demanded if he wished to box with him. Talo, without returning an answer, snatched a *tocco tocco* [tokotoko, spear used as a walking stick], and would evidently have run him through the body, if he had not been withheld. Hala Api Api, with a nobleness of spirit worthy of admiration, seemed to take no notice of this, but, smiling, returned to his seat amid the acclamation of the whole assembly...in the evening, when he was drinking cava with the matabooles, whilst this noble chief had the honour to wait on them, the king [Finau Fangupö] addressed him, returning thanks for his presence of mind and coolness of temper (Martin 1981, p.255).

II

Writers on Balinese dance have remarked, festivals create a nimbus into which the gods descend (Lansing 1983, pp.66, 71; George n.d., pp.7, 9). While Tongan festivals acted out political challenges, contestants also practised a code of equanimity (*fakafiemälie*, *fakame'ite*) which, in my reading, would have created a benign circumstance for divine favour (*höifua*, *monü'ia*): when any man advances and gives a general challenge, if another enters the lists whom he thinks too hard for him, or whom he does not chuse to encounter, he returns to his seat without being laughed at for his defection (Burney 1777, p.108n). Anderson, describing wrestling and boxing at Tongatapu in 1777 observed, it does not appear that they ever consider it as the smallest disgrace to be vanquish'd, and the person overcome sits down with as much indifference as if he had never entered the lists (Anderson 1777, p.900-1). Mariner confirmed that, as in the

toutakao, no one was distinguished by rank: No man...is obliged to accept the challenge, nor is it thought dishonourable to refuse it... it is considered a sport for general entertainment, in which any man may take an active part, if he feels himself at all so disposed (Martin 1981, p.196). Mariner also noted that visitors who were received with a kätöanga were expected to participate in the martial arts (Martin 1981, p.196):

when these great exhibitions of wrestling and fighting are shown on account of the arrival of visitors or persons who have been long absent, it is customary for for the new comers to be challenged by any one, or every one of the island who chooses, so that in the end they are pretty certain of getting a thorough beating.

III

Eighteenth century warfare was led by able-bodied 'eiki, fighting hand to hand. As at festivals, the highest ranking 'eiki of each party presided, carried to the battle field on a litter if need be (Orange 1840, p.170). At festivals, fighting with clubs was the faiva of the high-ranking 'eiki.

In some measure eighteenth century warfare was conducted with inspiration of spirit, sharpness of intelligence, and strength of vital force that hand to hand fighting demanded. With the sacking of the Port au Prince in 1806 the Kauhala Lalo 'eiki, Finau Fangupö, obtained carronades and muskets; in 1807 he made an assault on the Nuku'alofa fortress (Nakele, Sia ko Veiongo) which had hitherto withstood attack; in the space of a few hours it was completely destroyed and three hundred and fifty people killed (Martin 1981, p.82). Finau continued his campaigns to become hau with the use of mechanical weaponry. The Tu'i Tonga conceded defeat at Velata in 1826 when it was made known that the Kauhala Lalo 'eiki, Täufa'ähau, had gunpowder (Kaho S.F. MS1960). In 1837 Täufa'ahau vanquished opposition to Christianity with guns (Cummins 1977).

In 1993 the Palace guards carried rifles and hip pistols. The Nuku'alofa palace of the Tu'i Kanokupolu was protected by a high, barbed wire fence. The hou 'eiki had lost the spiritual mana and respect that club fighting had given to the exercise of power.

Festivals of Tongan martial arts are totally unknown in the twentieth century. In 1882 the Premier's Office issued a law banning wrestling carnivals (*kätoanga fangatua*), see fig.34e. In the same year, the law codes were regulating but allowing cricket matches, see fig.34f. The disappearance of the Tonga martial arts can be attributed to the adoption of a new military technique, to legislation against Tongan *faiva*, and to the introduction of western sports. There was both opportunism, and loss of confidence in Tongan culture.

IV

At the 1970 Independence Celebrations the Ha'apai contingent brought with them two *lakalakas* composed by Fe'iloakitau Kaho. In the *lakalaka* "Talaefonua" Kaho evokes Täufa'ähau's championship in the martial arts, as a historical allegory of the part played by Ha'apai in Tupou I's rise to power (Kaho & Pond PP1991):

Fakahifo 'i he fanga ko Faleola
 Fakama'u hifo 'a e fononga
 He *kätoanga* matua 'i he lala
 He 'oku pili lolo si'ono vala
 Ko hono manako e *fakalala*
 Hiki 'a e langi kae matua
 Pea tali matua kumi ho'ona
 Ma'u ki he 'api ko Tongoleleka...
 Disembarking at Faleola bay
 The travellers attire themselves
 For a wrestling carnival in the sacred close
 Perfumed oil coats his *tapa* kilt
 The *fakalala* is his favourite costume
 Separate earth and sky in triumph
 The challenge is answered and backers sought
 Found at the homestead Tongoleleka...

(S.F. Kaho, *lakalaka* "Talaefonua", 1943.)

The outlawed faiva became a resource of embellishing metaphor for the lakalaka songs. For some time, the poetry of the lakalaka guarded the heritage of martial arts.

Lakalaka composers legitimately issue a challenge to other composers or to other performing groups. The challenge (fetau) is often encoded in the sipa of the lakalaka (Shumway 1977, p.29-32). In its fetau, the lakalaka has retained an essential quality of faiva (Faikava No. 4, 1979, pp.1-3, 10-15):

Kuo 'osi 'eku 'apa'apa
Ka u M.P. 'i he ha'ofanga...
'Oua te ke tu'u hoku 'elia
Kuo u kovi ange he sinaipa.

I have finished paying my respects
Now I'm the M.P. of the assembly*⁵
You can't stand in my arena
I am worse than a sniper.

Kau hifo e fakatafahi
'E 'aonga pē he paasi
Ko e hā ha'o poa
Ka hā hē 'a Seketo'a hē !

If gusts strike from Tafahi
A pass will be requisite
Will you keep your cool
If Seketo'a appears !*⁶

(Sioeli Filianga, "Motafi 'a e Tonga 'i Fale", 1959.)

Fe'auhi Faiva

In the context of festivals, where the hou 'eiki and the gods presided, faiva were conducted with the utmost order and decorum. In the god realms however there were no social codes. The gods pleased themselves (fa'iteliha) and their notion of faiva was contrary (fai kehe). With a

knowledge of the code practised in the martial arts, the humour of Tonga's shamanic mythology becomes accessible. Indigenous spirits (fa'ahikehe, tupu'itēvolo) often engaged in contests of faiva on first meeting. When the Vava'u goddess Fehuluni came to Niuatoputapu for the first time, she met the local shark god Seketo'a at Matatolu beach. Seketo'a proposed a wrestling match ("Ta fangatua!"), and promptly threw Fehuluni. Her girdle of heilala flowers was bruised and squashed. In the early morning air to this day the sand at Matatolu has a perfume reminiscent of heilala (Selui MS1971, p.16-17). Tafahi people have a plainer account of the meeting between their protector and the foreign Fehuluni:

Fehuluni arrived in the form of a ravishingly beautiful woman (fefine talavou 'aupito). Seketo'a's immediate response was to propose that they compete with each other: "Fēfē ke na fe'auhi ?" They agreed on three faiva: copulating, eating, and diving. Seketo'a won the first contest by substituting a peeled kape. Fehuluni couldn't withstand the itching. She gave in: "Kou fo'i 'i he 'uluaki faivá." The eating contest -ko e faiva hono hokó ke ta fe'auhi kai- Seketo'a won, by changing himself into a porcupine fish. He floated in Fehuluni's way and she swallowed him. He just fitted her throat nicely. Then he puffed himself up until Fehuluni's stomach was about to burst. She gave in: "Seketo'a, fakamolemole kou fo'i." In the diving contest they swam underwater from Tafahi to Vava'u, where both ran out of breath. Seketo'a took in a draught of air and changed himself into a half-submerged reef; Fehuluni came up for air at the reef; Seketo'a submerged again and continued on to Tonga. When Fehuluni arrived Seketo'a disqualified her for taking a breath and claimed victory: "Good. You have lost. You haven't won a single feat. So your influence will be confined to the maritime zone between Vava'u and Tongatapu : "Sai, kuo ke fo'i, 'ikai ke 'i ai ha faiva e taha te ke mālohi ai. Pea 'e ngata pē ho'o pule 'a koe he potu tahi 'o Vava'u 'o fai ki Tongatapu." (Faka'osi MS1971, edited.)

Feats for the Gods

Toutakao

I

The faiva toutakao, gang warfare,*⁷ was held when an allocation of produce was made to the gods. Mariner recorded the wearing of turbans at a toutakao, to resemble more nearly a real fight (Martin 1981, p.112).

During Mariner's residence at Vava'u 1806-10 the yam festivals (kātoanga 'o e tōta'u) were held annually to ensure continuation of the land's fertility. The priest of the goddess Aloalo nominated the date of the ceremony and was in charge of the ritual. The rites began as the yams approached maturity in early November or late December and were repeated on every tenth day, seven or eight times in succession (Martin 1981, pp.303, 346). Aloalo's consort was represented by a ta'ahine (a girl of rank) aged eight or ten. She sat at the head of the kava party which began the cycle of ceremonies, and at the head of the feast which followed.

In Mariner's account it was the hau, Fīnau Fangupō, who regulated the yam festival, as the paramount authority over the land. (Tu'i Tonga Fuanunuiava was then living at Vava'u, but this was a tō ta'u, not an 'inasi, and it appears that it was the hau who presided.) Yams and produce from the three districts of Vava'u were brought to the mala'e, attached to sticks for display, and arranged in three pyramids. Wrestling and boxing matches then continued for three or so hours. After the produce had been presented to the gods there was a general contest, one half of the island against the other. This faiva, toutakao, was considered an essential part of the religious rites (Martin 1981, p.346-8):

Wrestling and boxing-matches now commence, which generally last about three hours, and being ended, a deputation of nine or ten men from the priest of A'lo A'lo, all dressed in mats, with green leaves round their necks, arrives with a female child, to represent the wife of A'lo A'lo, and seat[s] themselves before the three piles, forming a single line, with a large drum (kept there for the purpose) immediately in front of them. The deputation now offer[s] a prayer to A'lo A'lo and the other gods, petitioning them to continue their bounty, and make the land fruitful, &c, which being done, they give orders in regard to sharing out the provisions.

What followed next is an interesting context for the toutakao, as it was the pile of produce for the gods which the faiva complemented. Two piles were allotted to the principal chiefs and sent off; one pile was allotted to Aloalo and various deities. The pile for the deities remained on the mala'e and was again allotted to them with a short prayer,

...at the close of which they make a signal by beating upon the drum, when all that choose make a sudden dash at the pile appropriated to the gods, and each man secures as much as he can, to the great amusement of all the spectators, though many of the scramblers come off with wounded heads, and sometimes with fractured limbs, the broken sticks being thrown about in every direction. All the women now get out of the way, while the men stand up and commence a general pugilistic contest, one half of the island against the other half: this combat is termed *tóë taców* [toutakao], and forms an essential part of this ceremony, but it is now and then practised at other ceremonies. At these general battles, the highest chiefs engage as well as the lowest *tooas*, and any one of the latter may, if he pleases, attack the king, and knock him down if he can, or even Tootonga, without the least danger of giving offence. These combats are sometimes very obstinately kept up; and when neither party seems likely to yield the ground after two or three hours dispute, the king [Finau] orders them to desist. The most perfect good humour constantly prevails on these occasions. If a man is knocked down, he

rises with a smile...to be angry, or to fight with the least animosity, would be considered the mark of a very weak mind.

At Vava'u in 1809 Finau Fangupö conducted the funeral of his daughter with elements from Tongan and Sāmoan conventions, and innovations of his own; Finau himself participated in the toutakao (Martin 1981, p.209):

After the men had shown their strength and dexterity in these feats [wrestling and boxing] by single engagements, the king [Finau] gave orders that all the women who resided north of the moa [mu'a, capital] would arrange themselves on one side, ready to combat all the women who resided south of the moa, who were to arrange themselves on the other. It was not a very rare occurrence for women to fight in pairs on occasions of rejoicing; but a general engagement like this, with about fifteen hundred women on each side, was a thing altogether new, and beyond all precedent, and quite unexpected at a funeral ceremony. The women, however, readily engaged, and kept up the contest, with obstinate bravery, for about an hour, without a foot of ground being lost or gained on either side: Nor would the battle have subsided then if Finow, seeing the persevering courage of these heroines, had not ordered them to desist...The men now divided themselves in like manner into two parties, and began a general engagement, which was persisted in a considerable time with much fury, till at length that party which belonged to the side of the island on which Finow dwelt began to give way. Instantly he rushed from the house in which he was seated, to reanimate his men by his presence and exertions, which he effected to such a degree, that the opposite party in their turn fell back, and were completely beaten off the ground (Martin 1981, p.210-11).

Toutakao was not performed at any katoanga for the reception of Papālangi expeditions. It was however observed in other Pacific societies,

performed as an internal affair. Shennan cites an encounter between two Māori parties described by Augustus Earle in 1827 (Shennan 1984, p.5)*8:

As the opposite party landed, ours all crouched on the ground, their eyes fixed on the visitors, and perfectly silent...When they came very near, they suddenly stopped. Our party continued still mute, with their firelocks poised ready for use. For the space of a few minutes all was still, each party glaring fiercely at the other; and they certainly formed one of the most beautiful and extraordinary pictures I had ever beheld...The stillness of this extraordinary scene did not last long. The Narpooes [Ngāpuhi] commenced a noise and discordant song and dance, yelling, jumping, and making the most hideous faces. This was soon answered by a loud shout from our party, who endeavoured to outdo the Narpooes in making horrible distortions of their countenances: then succeeded another dance from our visitors: after which our friends made a rush, and in a sort of rough joke set them running. Then all joined in a pell-mell sort of encounter, in which numerous hard blows were given and received; then all the party fired their pieces in the air, and the ceremony of landing was thus deemed completed. They then approached each other, and began rubbing noses; and those who were particular friends cried and lamented over each other.

In 1971 Falehau's choir sang off-key at a sprightly pace, to the immense amusement of the assembly. "Na'e tö e hiva ka mälie ! The singing was a flop but what a splendid performance !" Falehau's performance was co-ordinated, it didn't falter, it maintained control of the pace it set, and the effect was thrilling. Falehau had kept its act together, and carried off a feat. This chapter continues to explore the parameters of faiva as they are expressed through dance choreography. All elements combine to emp passion (mäfana) and transport (hakailangikuotau) the participants.

MAHEIKAU

Ripeness

In Tongan dance technique as dancers become older their movements (haka) develop an exquisite finesse. At Vava'u on 24 May 1793 high ranking women in Vuna's household came aboard the Descubierta to entertain the Spanish with 'üpë. Amongst them was Vuna's elderly sister, Tupou: It was the Dubou who directed the chorus, who insisted with the greatest efficacy for the continuation of the song, and who demonstrated, though elderly, the greatest sensitivity and tenderness in her movements (Herda 1983, p.66). At Vava'u in 1787 a kätöanga for La Pérouse's party was completed with a faiva, possibly lave (recitative); the person selected to perform was an old woman: The Tubou afterwards directed an old woman to sing for our entertainment...She never ceased singing for half an hour together in one strain, accompanying her song with actions and gestures, which might have made her pass for an actress declaiming on a theatre (Milet-Mureau 1798 v.1, p.385). The dance corps of a me'etu'upaki could comprise a hundred dancers of a wide age bracket, meeting the same requirements of strength and skill regardless of age: it was matter of

peculiar Delight & admiration to behold the Vigour & activity of the old Men, who in performing their military Exercise were not to be distinguished from the young ones (Samwell 1777, p.1017).

MAAU
Justness

Shennan has adopted from Indian dance terminology a distinction between agile muscular tension (tandava) and languid grace (lasya) (Shennan PP1992). Tongan faiva in the eighteenth century distilled both qualities. Shennan uses lasya for the passive muscular flexion which gives a quality of fluidity to Hawai'ian hula pahu, and to Tongan fa'ahi ula and me'etu'upaki. Tandava can be recognised in the explosive muscular contractions and releases of the Māori haka, Sāmoan sāsā, and Tongan kailao. The warrior-'eiki excelled in club fighting as in the graceful nuances of night dancing. During the night concert at Ha'apai in 1777 Anderson noted, their perfect discipline is no where better shown than in the sudden transitions they make from the ruder motions and harsh music to the soft airs and gentle motions (Anderson 1777, p.878).

The eighteenth century me'etu'upaki exemplified the quality of lasya. Cook, Clerke, and Anderson in 1777 discerned the elements of exactness in gesture, timing and synchronisation which contributed: The amazing exactitude of their various Motions, both with this implement and every joint of the Body, and the perfect Time in their musick surpass'd every thing I had the least Idea of; their motions were infinitely more uniform than any company of Soldiers I ever saw exercise in my life (Clerke 1777, p.1302). ...it was musical and harmonious and all their motions were performed with such justness the whole party moved and acted as one man

(Cook 1777, p.109) ... They danc'd and recited sentences with some very short intervals for about half an hour, sometimes quickly sometimes more slowly, but with such a degree of exactness as if all the motions had been made by one man (Anderson 1777, p.896). The Spanish at Vava'u in 1793 observed a me'elaufola danced by men: The head, the arms, and the legs moved with equal rhythm; slightly amusing, although manly, the different positions of the eyes, breathing modulated and concerted (so to speak) with the general harmony, they demonstrated that there was not any fibre in all the machine that did not share in the pleasure which occupied them at that time (Herda 1983, p.50).

Mariner's description of the he'a, danced by high ranking males ('eiki and matāpule), confirms that the quality of lasya was a mark of social rank: The dancers, who are all men, in the meanwhile perform their evolutions round the chorus, exhibiting a vast variety of very graceful movements with arms and head, accompanied by expressions of countenance suitable to the character of the dance, which is that (abstractedly) to a manly and noble spirit, consistent with the mind and habits of a superior person, and therefore it is deemed essential that every chief and matāpule should learn it...among the Tonga people, it would be considered a mark of great ignorance to be unaccomplished in the graceful, manly, and expressive movements of this dance (Martin 1981, p.372-3).

Vason's descriptions of night dancing also suggests the quality of muscular fluidity Shennan calls lasya: These dances were performed with admirable skill. Every possible motion and inflexion of the body was made with a uniformity and rapidity, which the torpid limbs of Europeans could not, except after a very long course of exercise from earliest youth, imitate (Orange 1840, p.152).

Anderson noted the kinaesthetic coördination achieved: though the musick of the chorus and that of the dancers correspond, yet constant practice seems to have a great share in effecting the exact time they keep; for if any of them are accidentally interrupted they never find the smallest difficulty in entering upon any part of the dance or song (Anderson 1777, p.878).

In 1910 Blanc wrote of Tongan dancing generally, 'The action is sometimes lively, sometimes slow, but always imprinted with a gracious charm. The movements are impeccably precise, the gestures always made with an elegant suppleness (*une souplesse élégante*), in spite of a disconcerting infinity of forms' (Blanc 1910, p.82). In 1970 the quality of *lasya* was still found in *fa'ahi ula*, and *lakalaka* choreography maintained the same goals. Shumway wrote: The key ingredient of the power to evoke *malie* is in the concept of *mau* or order, with everything in its place, flowing smoothly, logically, and coherently with precision (Shumway 1981, p.479 n7). The exactitude, the impeccable precision, the modulated breathing, the coordination and kinaesthetic unity of the performing group, all contribute to a sense of "justness" (*ma'au*). The elements gell, generating a force which moves the audience.

FAKATAU LANGI E

Let the song be accordant

The songs of the *me'etu'upaki* and *ula* were *langi* (Martin 1981, pp.374, 377-8). *Langi* are layers: the multilayered heavens of Tongan cosmology; the terraced tombs of the sacred *Tu'i tonga*; the rows of singer-dancers; the polyphonic songs of the eighteenth century. Song texts especially have the power to evoke *mälie* (Kaeppler [1971] 1993, p.31; Shumway 1981, p.469). Anderson described the recitatives which preceded performances of the

me'etu'upaki at Tongatapu in 1777: before they enter on the scene of action they always spend a considerable time just at one side where they may be seen in repeating sentences very softly but with little action, which is commonly one of the most applauded parts (Anderson 1777, p.897-8). At times in the performance the elements jell, transporting the spirit with a sense of intense beauty. Contemporary Māori audiences acknowledge that the rangi (song line) 'reaches' them emotionally: should a composition appeal to them they will applaud during the high points of the performance (Shennan 1984 p.61, citing Mead 1969). In 1777 Anderson wrote: The spectators who were no doubt perfect judges of the propriety of the several parts could not withhold their applauses at some particular one (Anderson 1777, p.878). In twentieth century performances of lakalaka, Tongans say of these moments, kuo tau e langi, the refrain hits home, the spirit soars.

Bishop Blanc recognised the profound artistry of the blending of poetry and choreography: 'In its gracious forms and in its elegant style (allures) this choreography mysteriously reveals ideas and feelings in accord with the emotions of the spectators' (Blanc 1910, p.74). Anderson also: for though through the whole the most strict concert was observ'd it might be said that some of the motions absolutely spoke the Language that accompanied them (Anderson 1777, p.878).

TA'E FIE TÖ Reputation

Clerke reflecting on the pöme'e at Lifuka in 1777 recalled the interaction between performers and audience: If there [was] such a Sensation as Anxiety felt among the Group, it was in the vying of the Performers and

Spectators which shoul'd most emphatically express their satisfaction and approbation of each other (Clerke 1777, p.1302).

Competitiveness also added an edge to excellence and generated exhilaration (mäfana). Cook's company recovered the reputation lost by the marines with a display of fireworks: few of us had seen such a variety of good fireworks & we shar'd in the pleasure with the natives; but our admiration was cool, while theirs was expressd with a warmth & violence, which our civiliz'd mode of restraining passions cou'd never equal & hardly conceive; such roaring, jumping, & shouting... (King 1777, p.1361).

MÄFANA

Warmth of bliss

A dance is not complete without the exhibitions that demonstrate transportation (mäfana). Persons in a state of mäfana are immune from punishment; the gods are with them. Members of the audience and supporters at the back may exhibit mäfana by clowning (faka'oli); their antics are greeted with mirth and appreciation. The dancing company however must maintain immaculate order, whatever the state of exhilaration around and within it.

By the mid twentieth century, scholars were interpreting mäfana as essentially an aesthetic experience of faiva; Shumway described the experience as both intensely emotional and spiritual (Shumway 1981, p.478 n3). In my experience of lakalaka performance, mäfana is a state of transportation to another kind of consciousness; this is consonant with shamanic cosmologies where other zones are accessible to the human mind. The exhibitions of clowning suggest that the realm is outside the boundaries of human society.

Expressions of clowning in eighteenth century records were of two kinds: exhibitions of burlesque by old female clowns, and exhibitions of exceptional skill in club-handling by males of rank. Contemporary women clowns cross-dress, walk between the presiding 'eiki and the dancers, stumble, get the dance actions wrong, touch the persons of performers,

shake their hips, and shout insults. Their antics offset the grace and order of the dancers. In my reading clowns are beyond the pale, transported by the force of the faiva; they signal that the performance has touched the realm of the sacred, see figs 21 & 55.

VELA VELA VELA

Fire of ecstasy

During rehearsals of Sete Selui's "New" lakalaka at Niuatoputapu in 1971 it was finally decided to present the first verse in a kneeling position, eyes cast down. This was the fakatapu where deference was paid to the ruling dynasty (see Kaeppler 1993, fig. 5.1).

Thomas writes of the Tokelau *fätele*: During the initial slow section the dancers frequently have a downcast gaze and a 'withdrawn'...expression, but in the accelerating section the dancers are smiling and their gaze is lifted to include the audience...The change from the first expression to the second is one of the most dramatic changes in the appearance of the *fätele* (Thomas 1986, p.46 & fig.2).

At 'Onetale on 25 May 1793 the Spanish discerned the composure maintained by women performing a me'elaufola (Herda 1983, p.73-4):

... the actions seemed more expressive and the song more sonorous. To see them, a moment later, almost roused from the ideas which distracted them, to listen and to follow the music again with greater attention and to surrender all to the pleasant movement of the fibres. Then the rhythm accelerated [bringing about] more lively movements and cleared away the langor from the eyes, all took in the pleasure...

From the perspective of the eighteenth century it appears that the lakalaka choreographers have commandeered a slow beginning from a performance technique, rather than from a political eulogy.

Acceleration is an aesthetic element of many Pacific dances but Thomas notes that the dynamic features differ from one island to another. Accelerations of the Tüvalu fa'atele reach high speeds quickly, with several accelerations in the one performance; some outliers cherish a single acceleration to a high speed, very fast and short-lived; in the Tokelau fätele there is a boiling up, with the acceleration presented as a dramatic feature of the performance (Thomas 1986, p.42-3).

Many eighteenth century descriptions of Tongan dances record accelerating tempos. Anderson describing a me'etu'upaki in 1777 observed, Their motions were at first slow but quickened as the drums beat faster...at the end of a short space they all joind and finish'd with a shout (Anderson 1777, p.895). Waldegrave describing women's me'elaufola during a night concert for the Tu'i Tonga Laufilitonga in 1830 wrote as follows: Eighty women performed in each dance; and each moved the hand at the same instant, in the same attitude. The tune was changed from slow to quick, by degrees, until it was very quick; the whole body from the feet upwards was in motion: it ended in a shout (Waldegrave 1833, p.188). The Spanish also saw a men's me'elaufola at Vava'u on 22 May 1793. As the dancers sank into the fluid motion of the dance the tempo gradually accelerated; the audience became enlivened, while the dancers retained perfect coördination. The feat is to maintain coordination and order (maau) during the acceleration: As the fervour, the agitation, and the habit made the uniform movements of the dance more easy and natural, the music, penetrated by almost the same sensation, was gradually accelerating the rhythm until coming to the greatest degree of swiftness, yet, without causing the least disorder, enlivened the remaining audience with an

almost equal degree of feeling (Herda 1983, p.50). The acceleration is a technique for generating māfana.

Other changes of tempo were more complex. In a men's dance performed by Fīnau's retinue during the night concert at Ha'apai in 1777, the pace accelerated numerous times, each time reaching a greater intensity: began with a gentle soothing song with corresponding motions of the hands and head (which lasted for a considerable time) and then chang'd to a much quicker measure...They accompanied this with such a soft air as at the beginning, but soon chang'd it to repeat sentences in a harsher tone, at the same time quickening the dance very much till they finish'd with a general shout and clap of the hands...the same was repeated several times, but at last they form'd a double circle as at the beginning, danc'd and repeated very quickly and finish'd with several very dexterous transpositions of the two circles (Anderson 1777, p.877). It requires experienced dancers to retain the group's coördination, so that all dancers accelerate at the same pace; graphs of the Tokelau fātele by Thomas vividly record the difficulties (Thomas 1986, fig. 1, p.56).

Turning again to the Tokelau fātele, Thomas records that it will often end with a 'flourish'; this is the *tuku*, a genre of short dance routines which can be used to finish a dance, sometimes with acceleration (Thomas 1986, p.43). At Tongatapu on 17 June 1777, a *me'etu'upaki* was so ended: They then began a much quicker dance (though slow at first) and sung for about ten minutes, when the whole divided into two parts, retreated a little and then approach'd forming a sort of circular figure, which finish'd the dance, the drums and music going off at the same time (Anderson 1777, p.895). The women's *me'elaufola* dance, which opened the *pōme'e* at Lifuka in 1777, also concluded with a short, fast item: Their manner of dancing

was now chang'd for a quicker sort in which they made a kind of half turn by leaping and clapp'd their hands...towards the end as the quickness of the music increas'd they performed a sort of motion which with us would be rather reckon'd indecent, as they mov'd the lower part of the body on the trunk from side to side for a considerable time with such vigour and dexterity...on which they finish'd the dance (Anderson 1777, p.875-6). From an eighteenth century perspective the lakalaka has been shorn of the ravishing rapid undulation which thrilled audiences at eighteenth century night concerts (Anderson 1777, p.875-6).

The composer of the dance song has already embellished his meaning with metaphor, and it is common for a lakalaka to have already choreographed into it, a shout of hē! hē! at the end of each verse. During the last dance at the Ha'apai night concert in 1777, ~~see~~ fig.12, Anderson reported that at the end of each stanza the dancers, who were men, increas'd their motions to a prodigious quickness, shaking the head from shoulder to shoulder with such force that a person unnacustom'd to it would suppose they ran a risque of dislocating their neck. This was attended with a smart clapping of the hands and a kind of savage hollo or shriek not unlike what is sometimes practic'd by our lower sort of country people in their dances (Anderson 1777, p.877). Kürti (1994, p.43-9) explores the use of shouts in dances to call for assistance by a deity or spirits.

As the audience becomes aroused and performers become enlivened, performers further elaborate their actions (haka) and singers improvise on the song lines. Shumway attributes the embellishment to māfana and calls it 'solo creative flight' (Shumway 1981, p.479 n7); in singers it is called fakahēhē (Churchward 1959, p.42) and is most apparent in the soprano (kanokano) line (Shumway 1981, p.472).

Shamanism is a technique of ecstasy. Eliade writes, Throughout the immense area comprising Central and North Asia...in which the ecstatic experience is considered the religious experience par excellence, the shaman, and he alone, is the great master of ecstasy (Eliade 1972, p.4). Mastery over fire, magical flight, and communication with the cosmic zones of sky and underworld are particular magical specialties of shamans (Eliade 1972, pp.5, 367). My reading of eighteenth and twentieth century records of faiva is that in Tonga the technique of ecstasy (hakailangikuotau) was not just a practice of solitary shamans (see Gunson 1990, 1993). Dance choreographers (pulotu) were by very name technicians of the sacred, in command of a technique of group transportation.

Acceleration is a technique of ecstasy: it generates a force that can transport or release audience and performers into the altered state called māfana. Tonga's performing artists have retained their shamanic heritage. Malukava Kavaefiafi described a lakalaka performance as like rubbing two sticks together, faster and faster, and suddenly there bursts forth a flame (Shumway 1981, p.474). As the dance works, women in the lakalaka shriek "vela! vela! vela! fire ! fire ! fire!"

HAKAILANGIKUOTAU

Climax

Eighteenth century accounts evoke the beauty of human voices blending with the different tones of wooden and bamboo instruments, the contrasts of unison and responsorial singing, the changing metres of the drumming, the co-ordinated accelerations, the competitive challenge, all contributing to the experience of surpassing fairness (mālie).

Hakailangikuotau is the climax of a performance. The poetic beauty of the song, the sweetness of the singing, the musical justness of the

dancing, have combined to make an aesthetic impact. The orators issue shouts of approbation: "Mälie! mälie"; singers arouse the spirits: "Hë! hë!"; harlequins perform with prodigious energy and clowns invert the social order, demonstrating that the faiva has harnessed the realm of the sacred and brought about well-being in which the entire community shares.

CHAPTER 25

‘Ōpē

Fig. 44. The ta'ahine Fatafehi, a daughter of Tu'i Tonga Pau, at Vava'u in 1793, performing fillips (fisipā). Depiction by Juan Ravenet.

Original in the Museo Naval, Madrid. Fatafehi - De la familia de los Equis en las Yslas de Babao, 'Fatafehi, of the family of the 'eikis in the Islands of Vava'u, 215 x 340 mm. Located by Herda 1983, fig.8.

Women's Ensemble, 1793

Fig. 45. Women's ensemble at Vava'u. On 24 May 1793 high ranking women of Vuna's household performed songs aboard the Spanish ship "Descubierta". In the journal account the young women were groomed with flower garlands and combs, dressed in patterned bark cloth (vala ngatu) and fine mats (ngafingafi). Their bodies were oiled. Under the direction of Vuna's elderly sister Tupou (possibly one of the old women seated, clapping). The journal records that they sang songs accompanied by flute playing and gestures of the arms, head, and eyes. Ravenet's sketch includes finger snapping (fisipā) by the two standing women, facing each other.

Drawing by Juan Ravenet. Original in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, *Diversiones Caseras de las mujeres de la Vabao*, 'Home Entertainment of the Women of Vava'u', 165 x 190mm. Located by Herda 1983, fig. 13.)

18th century exploring expeditions were entertained informally by small women's ensembles who sang songs accompanied by flute playing and finger-snapping.

I

Üpë were sung so widely in the eighteenth century that vocabularies compiled by explorers recorded üpë as the word for singing. Thus Samwell who accompanied Cook in 1777: *To sing, oobee* (Samwell 1777, p.1046). Cevallos with Malaspina at Vava'u in 1793: *To sing, V-pe* (Herda 1983, p.167). Labillardiere with d'Entrecasteaux at Tongatapu: *to sing, song ... Oubé* (Labillardière 1800 v.2 Appendix, p.54). Ellis described üpë as the common songs of Tonga (Ellis 1783 v.1, p.106).

The characteristic by which the foreign explorers distinguished 'üpë was finger snapping: When one, two or three or more women sing in concert & snap the fingers it is called oo'bai (Anderson 1777, p.944) ... those who sing (generally two or three girls, and sometimes a man and a girl) snap their fingers throughout the whole of the song (Ellis 1783 v.1, p.106). The fillips were a precise skill. The forefinger was bent by the thumb and then let go against the middle finger; or the thumb was flicked against the fore and middle fingers (Labillardière 1800 v.2, p.130); or the forefinger and thumb were snapped while holding the three remaining fingers upright (Forster 1777 v.1, p.429). The feat was illustrated in 1793 by Ravenet (Herda 1983, figs 8, 9), see fig. 44.

In Mariner's record from 1806-10 it is not finger snapping that distinguishes 'üpë, but nose flute playing. 'Üpë was a kind of singing always accompanied with the *fango-fango* [fangufangu], (or nose flute).

The subjects of the song are much the same as [the fakaniua], but the style of music is different, being more monotonous and grave. The fakaniua songs were descriptive of fabulous places and past events (Martin 1981, p.374-5).

When eighteenth century records are pieced together they suggest that 'üpē was a faiva performed by small ensembles of women; amongst the artisans were women of rank. The components of the faiva were voices singing in parts, nose flutes, finger snapping, and dance gestures. The occasions (lakanga) for 'üpē were informal house entertainments. Ravenet's depiction of an ensemble of women aboard the "Descubierta" at Vava'u in 1793 is entitled "Diversiones Caseras de las mugeres de la Vabao, Home Entertainment of the women of Vava'u" (Herda 1983, fig.13), see fig. 45. In 1777 Anderson recorded, **private diversions are chiefly singing, dancing and music perform'd by the women...oo'bai** (Anderson 1777, p.944).

II

Kaeppler states that eighteenth century singing (hiva) was polyphonic with up to six parts, four of male voices and two of female voices. Male voices sang fasi (melody line), lalau (above the fasi), ekenaki (lower than the fasi), and laulalo (drone). Female voices sang fakapakihi (high contralto), and tali (low contralto) (Kaeppler MS1972). Hafoka lists five parts (fa'ahi); the two female parts are possibly represented in Hafoka's kanokano, see fig.41.

A distinction was made between langi, songs with dancing, and hiva, recitatives without dancing (Martin 1981, p.379). Hiva often preceded me'etu'upaki and ula dances (Martin 1981, p.379), where they were sung by the orchestra of musician-singers which then accompanied

the dancers and joined them in call and response (Anderson 1777, pp.876, 895). Anderson described the sung preludes of me'etu'upaki suites as being the most applauded parts (Anderson 1777, p.897-8).

On some occasions (fa'ahi) hiva were sung by the whole assembly. At Tongatapu in 1777 Anderson recorded, When one, two or three or more women sing in concert & snap the fingers it is called oo'bai, but when there is a great number they divide into several partys each of whom sings on a different key which makes a very agreeable music and is call'd Heeva (Anderson 1777, p.944). At Vava'u on 21 May 1793 Vuna's assembly received Malaspina's party with singing. The assembly was divided into three groups, men, women, and children, each group singing one part (Herda 1983, p.39). While Mariner distinguished between songs for narrative (hiva) and songs for dancing (langi), the earlier explorers distinguished between community singing (hiva) and small women's ensembles ('üpë).

Hiva, langi, and 'üpë were all polyphonic. James Burney, who transcribed a tune common at 'Eua and Tongatapu in 1773 stated that the number of parts in the small women's ensembles depended on the number of singers: they sing in parts...so many singers...one confined herself entirely to the...Drone (Hooper 1983, p.84), see fig. 46. At Tongatapu in 1793 Labillardière was explicit. One...sung...for half an hour at least...Soon after two other young girls repeated the same air, which they sung in parts, one singing uniformly a fifth [under] the other (Labillardière 1800 v.2, p.129-31).^{*1}

III

At 'Eua on 2 October 1773, Cook and a party of officers were escorted ashore to the reception house of the governing 'eiki, Luani Täufa Toutai

("Taioonee"). Here they were entertained within the house by women singing, see fig. 46a. My reading of the journals is: a small ensemble of three young women sang 'üpë, accompanying the songs with fillips of the thumb and forefinger (fisipä); a second ensemble responded or challenged; then the faiva was ended with hiva during which the entire assembly sang together, either replicating the parts of the three singers, or singing in the five or six part polyphony of the era (Hoare 1982 v.3, p.378; Forster 1777 v.1, p.429; Sparrman 1953, p.92; Hooper 1975, p.84; Holmes 1984, p.96-7). Cook recorded (Cook 1773-4, p.245-6):

at last the Chief cleared the way and conducted us up to his house which was situated hard by in a most delightfull spot, the floor was laid with Matting on which we were seated, the Islanders who accompanied us seated themselves in a circle round the out sides. I ordered the Bag-pipes to be played and in return the Chief ordered three young women to sing a song which they did with a very good grace. When they had done I gave each of them a necklace, this set most of the Women in the Circle a singing, their songs were musical and harmonious, noways harsh or disagreeable.

J.R. Forster was with the party and added further detail:

After we came in to the house we sat down & the crowding people before us, two or 3 women began a song which had something very cadenceful & musical in it...To the song they beat time, with snapping the second finger & thumb, holding the other 3 fingers erect... When these had done an opposite set of singers took them up, & at last they all chorused (Hoare v.3, p.378).

Sparrman's account was (Sparrman 1953, p.92):

This song (which we believed we could play on our bagpipes afterwards) was sung by three women...In time with this melodious and gentle song, the beat was snapped with the thumb and first finger, which made a not unpleasing harmony. When the three singers became silent, others started to sing, but the same melody

as before, and so on until they were all tuned in together in chorus.

J.R. Forster noted that the song had something very cadenceful and musical in it (Hoare 1982 v.3, p.378), and G. Forster that the voices were very sweet and mellow (Forster 1777 v.1, p.429).

The common songs I have identified as üpë employed four notes. Georg Forster recorded, They varied the four notes without ever going lower than A or higher than E; singing them rather slowly... Burney made a transcription of this tune, sung at 'Eua in 1773; it was published in G. Forster's account (Beaglehole 1961 v.2, p.246n; Hoare 1982 v.3, p.378n; Forster 1777 v.1, p.429), see fig. 46a. Burney and G. Forster heard the same tune again on Tongatapu a few days after. Forster recorded, the musical ladies again performed the same tune which we had already heard at Ea-owhe, the different voices falling in with each other very harmoniously, and sometimes joining all together as in chorus (Forster 1777 v.1, p.473). It is a common tune in modern lullabies (Futa Helu, pers.com.). Burney transcribed the tune in his own journal with a small variation (Hooper 1983, p.84), see fig. 46b :

Music. flat 3d. they sing in parts, keeping the Same time and varying the 4 notes without ever going beyond them. So many singers & so few notes you always hear the whole together. the difference of Words & Voices make some variety. the Singers (that I heard) all were women. one confined herself entirely to the Lower Note which acted as a Drone. they sing slow and ended with the minor Chord it put me in mind of the Church Singing among the Roman Catholics - instruments, Flutes (Nosy) and Reed Organs -.

Common tunes in vogue, 1773 - 93

In this little specimen the music is in the minor key, (a flat third.) They varied the four notes without ever going lower than A or higher than E; fingering them rather flow

and sometimes ending with the chord

Fig. 46a. A tune sung at 'Eua in 1773. Transcribed by James Burney.

(Source: Forster 1777 v.1, p.429.)

Music. flat 3^d they sing in parts, keeping the Same time and varying the 4 notes without ever going beyond them. So many singers & so few notes you always hear the whole together. the difference of Words & Voices make some variety. the Singers (that I heard) all were women. one confined herself entirely to the Lower Note which acted as a Drone. they sing slow and ended with the minor Chord it put me in mind of the Church Singing among the Roman Catholics—instruments, Flutes (Nosy) and Reed Organs¹—

Fig. 46b. A tune sung at Tongatapu in 1773. Transcribed by James Burney. (Source: Hooper 1983, p.94).

Apu lellei Apu lellei Apu lellei Apu lellei

Fig. 46c. A tune recorded by Labillardière at Tongatapu, 30 March 1793. Performed by women in the court of the Tu'i Tonga Fefine. 'A pō lelei, 'a pō lelei, on a fine night, on a fine night.

(Source: Labillardière 1800 v.2, p.130.)

At 'Eua on 2 October 1773 Wales followed the party ashore. He recorded being entertained with singing, and the playing of nose flutes (fangufangu) and panpipes (mimiha) (Wales 1773-4, p.808):

Immediately after dinner I went on shore with several of the Officers; the two Capts were gone before us. We found them at the house of the Chief where a great number of the Inhabitants were assembled, and singing in a manner which was very agreeable, accompanying the Music with clapping their Hands so as to keep exact time to it. Not their voices only but their music also was very harmonious & they have a considerable compass in their Notes. There were some also who played on a very large Flutes, which they fill with their noses as at Otahitee; but these have 4 holes or stops, whereas those of Otahitee have but two. They had also an instrument which they blow into with their mouths composed of 10 small reeds of unequal lengths, bound together side by side, as the Doric Pipe of the Ancients is described to have been done.

Samwell and Anderson heard panpipes at Tonga in 1777; this is the only eighteenth century record of the name mimiha (Samwell 1777, p.1038-9). Sparrman had noted in 1773, On the previously mentioned Pan's pipe...though it consists of many thin reeds joined together in from seven to eleven different lengths, the music did not possess a greater variety of notes [than the common songs] (Sparrman 1953, p.92). Thus, in the records of Cook's expedition, nose flutes (fangufangu) and panpipes (mimiha) both appear to have produced four notes; the songs I have identified as 'üpē songs likewise employed four notes.

On 5 April 1793, a party of naturalists from D'Entrecasteaux's expedition went ashore at Tongatapu. They were already acquainted with the 'eiki Tupou, brother of Tu'i Kanokupolu Mumui. His residence was close to the shore where they landed, possibly in the vicinity of Ma'ofanga. At Tupou's residence they were entertained by three of his

daughters, who would have been women of rank. The gentlemen complained that the daughters (who had observed the lascivious manners of the French) asked so many questions about French society they could not get on with eating their meal. Tupou's daughters then played a very monotonous duet on flutes made of bamboo: but we were much amused at seeing them blow with the nose into a hole at the extremity of the instrument, in order to make it sound (Labillardière 1800 v.2, p.156-7).

At Vava'u on 24 May 1793 the 'eiki Vuna [possibly Vuna Tu'akalau] came aboard the Spanish ship "Descubierta" accompanied by twelve young women of rank and three old women, one of whom was Vuna's sister, Tupou. The published record states that the young women were costumed in flower garlands and combs, wraps of bark cloth and fine mats, with their upper bodies oiled. The women sat on deck in public view and, under Tupou's direction, sang a number of songs. The words were accompanied by gestures and by flute playing (Herda 1983, p.66-7). Among the records of the voyage is a sketch by Ravenet of a women's performing group in which there are one young woman seated, playing a nose flute; two old women seated, singing and clapping; one young woman standing, gesturing; a group of three young women standing: the two facing each other are singing and finger snapping. The dress is fine mats and bark cloth (Herda 1983, fig.13), the dress of women of rank, see fig. 45.*2. Ravenet's sketch matches the written description of 24 May.

The journal description continues, **They easily sang their songs in tune, not overlooking any means, by harmony and movement, to make them more pleasant.** Tupou led the singing and the dance gestures: It was Dubou who directed the chorus, who insisted with the greatest

efficacy for the continuation of the song, and who demonstrated, though elderly, the greatest sensitivity and tenderness in her movements (Herda 1983, p.66). This is a striking observation. I have seen old women dancing in Tonga and it is true that their gestures have a ravishingly subtle finesse which the young women lack. Matching Ravenet's sketch with the journal record, one of the old women kneeling can be identified as Tupou Filo'imanuma'a, sister of Vuna Tu'ioetau, see fig.45.

The 'eiki youths Feileua and Tufoa were present and led the Spanish officers in bestowing tokens of appreciation (fakapale): at each step, the youths interrupted the song, calling to the officers with whom they had exchanged names, with much affection, with a thousand pleasant and decorous jokes...The flowers, the combs, the flutes, and one or another mats of little value were soon shared out with all the charms of a caprice (Herda 1983, p.66).

No mention is made in the published account of fillips (fisipä). Ravenet illustrated one of Vuna's high-ranking young wives, Fatafahi, dressed in a fine mat and garment of bark cloth, performing fillips with both hands. Here one snapping hand is characteristically raised to head height and the fillip is executed with a turn of the hand, compare figs

19 & 44.

From the descriptions of 1773-1793 we have small women's ensembles and the elements of üpë: women singing songs employing four notes, while one or two women play nose flutes, and one or several women perform arm gestures with finger snaps. Other records of the era can now be addressed.

At Tongatapu in 1793 D'Entrecasteaux's expedition was received by "Queen Tiné", the Tu'i Tonga Fefine, sister or half sister of the Tu'i

Tonga Pau who met Cook in 1777. On 30 March the ta'ahine came aboard the "Recherche". The French sang songs accompanied by violin and zither (cittern); the ta'ahine's young women however responded more enthusiastically to the bird-organ. The ta'ahine reciprocated with a performance by young women in her company who, on that account, would have been women of rank. A single woman sang, marking the metre with small steps in place and with finger snaps. The finger snaps were part of her arm gestures (Labillardière 1800 v.2, p.129-31):

Queen Tiné, unwilling to be in our debt, ordered some young girls of her suite to sing. One of the prettiest immediately rose, and we did not fail to applaud her performance. She sung, indeed, nothing but *apou lelley; apou lelley; apou lelley; apou lelley* [*'a pō lelei, a fine clear night*]; which she continued repeating for half an hour at least; but she displayed so much grace in the action with which she accompanied this air, that we were sorry she finished so soon. She moved her arms forward, one after the other, following the measure, and at the same time raised her feet alternately, though without quitting her place: the time she marked with her fore-finger, which, after having been bent by the thumb, was let go against the middle finger; and sometimes by moving the thumb against the fore and middle fingers. The beauty of these movements depended greatly on the fine shape of the hand and arm, which is so common among these people, and was striking in this young woman. One...sung...for half an hour at least...Soon after two other young girls repeated the same air, which they sung in parts, one singing uniformly a fifth [under] the other.

This description, at Tongatapu in 1793, is remarkably replicated in Ravenet's sketches at Vava'u in 1793. In one, the ta'ahine Fatafehi is performing finger snaps while lifting one foot, see fig. 44. In another, depicting the women's ensemble, a woman standing is lifting her arms one after the other, see fig. 45.

There is no illustration of the ta'ahine's visit to the "Recherche" on 30 March, but Labillardière's record of the occasion included a transcription of the song, see fig. 46c.

Labillardière's account has been interpreted as an ula by Kaeppler, and associated with the plate depicting the ta'ahine's kätöanga ashore on Pangai Motu on 5 April when, we would both agree, an ula or fa'ahi ula was performed (Kaeppler 1993, p.27 & fig.2.7). Kaeppler notes that arm movements executed for their sheer beauty and not to explicate a text, are characteristic of the ula (Moyle 1987 pp.79, 128-8, citing Kaeppler [1970] 1993, p.27).

There are several features to be considered when deciding whether the performance on 30 March was an 'üpë or an ula. 1. The performance of "'A pö lelei" took place aboard the "Recherche" during a sight-seeing tour by the Tu'i Tonga Fefine, during the middle of the day. It was on such informal occasions that 'üpë were recorded by eighteenth century expeditions. 2. Mariner states that the songs accompanying the ula were called langi; where the ula had an introductory recitative the song was a hiva (Martin 1981, p.376-9). The word langi does not occur in Labillardière's vocabulary, whereas 'üpë was taken to be the common word for singing in the late eighteenth century vocabularies. 3. the performance was accompanied by fillips (fisipä) and conforms with Anderson's definition, When one, two or three or more women sing in concert & snap the fingers it is called oo'bai ['üpë]. The ensemble sang without the accompaniment of nose flutes, and Mariner's definition states that 'üpë were always accompanied with flute playing (Martin 1981, p.374-5).

While 'üpë was a women's art, the records confirm the participation of men in these informal day entertainments. Aboard the "Recherche" in 1793, Labillardière recorded that two young women then sang the same

song in parts, while several men danced: Soon after two other young girls repeated the same air...and several men rose to dance to the music of their melodious voices. These marked the time by movements analogous to those of the young women, at first with their feet, and frequently carrying one of their hands to the opposite arm (Labillardière 1800 v.2, p.129-131). This description can be compared with Webber's scene at Nomuka in 1777, where the figure gesturing is possibly male, see fig.47.

At Nomuka sometime during 2-14 May or 5-8 June 1777, Webber, artist with Cook's expedition, illustrated a group of three figures seated under a thatched roof, on a mat partly unrolled (Joppien & Smith 1987 v.3, pls 3.43, 3.44, 3.44A a&b). The figures are protected by a screen (tatau), as person of rank were. A seated woman is playing a nose flute (fangufangu). Beside her another female figure with a whisk in the left hand is, in my reading, finger-snapping with the right hand. A fourth figure is standing in the open, performing towards the seated women while holding a long staff in the right hand. The left hand is extended at waist height, possibly finger snapping. There is no known dance performed solo with a long staff, and there is not a word of such scenes in the daily journals of 1777. A group of nearby figures also has a staff. In my reading the staffs are common carrying poles (ha'amo) and the performer is a man, dancing in spontaneous response to an informal women's ensemble. The scene has elements characteristic of 'üpë: a small women's ensemble performing during the day, with seated nose flute player, singers, finger snapping, and a standing figure gesturing. As in all other eighteenth century records interpreted at 'üpë, the nose flute player is female, depicted seated fäite-style.

Fig. 47. A view at Nomuka by John Webber, 1777. Three seated figures with a moveable screen (tatau). Seated woman playing a nose flute; seated woman holding a fly whisk and possibly finger snapping; one figure seated at back. Standing figure holding a staff while posturing and possibly finger snapping.

Original in Yale Center for British Art, New Haven. "A View in Annamooka" (Joppien & Smith 1987 v.3, pl. 3.44.)

'The flutes are a joint of Bamboo close at both ends, with a hole near each and four others, two of which & one of the first only are us'd in playing. They apply the Thumb of the left hand to close the nostril of that side and blow into the hole at one end with the other [nostril]. The middle finger of the left hand is applied to the first hole on that side and the fore finger of the right to the lowest of the same side. In this manner though the notes are only three, they produce a pleasing yet simple music which they vary much more than the notes would seem to admit of' (Anderson 1777, p.940.)

IV

In 1773 Sparrman, Wales, and Burney associated panpipes and nose flutes with the songs sung by women's ensembles, but their records do not state specifically what the association was. Panpipes were sets of bamboo tubes of different lengths, closed at one end, and bound in a raft, usually made up of nine or ten tubes (Kaeppler 1978, p.230-1, fig.486; Joppien & Smith 1985 v.2, pl. 2.88).

There are no field records of panpipes being played after the eighteenth century. Moyle has addressed the enigma of the Tongan panpipes (*mimiha*) (Moyle 1987, p.101-7) and has made an extensive examination of nose flutes (*fangufangu*) (Moyle 1987, p.83-94). Kaeppler has traced nose flutes and panpipes collected at Tonga during Cook's visits. The nose flutes are bamboo tubes 52-54 cm long, closed at both ends by the nodes of the bamboo. Some are decorated with incised patterns and figures (Kaeppler 1978, p.230, figs 484, 485). Kaeppler remarks that four pitches are used. The tunes notated by Burney in 1777 had four notes. In Māori *hūpē* is a discharge from the nose (Williams 1957). If *'ūpē* and *hupe* are from a common root, the defining characteristic of the *'ūpē* songs possibly was their replication of the melodic contours of flutes blown through the nose.

V

Moyle noted that Tongan vocal music in the archaic style contained passages of rapid pitch movement, and that panpipe tubes were arranged to produce repeated pitches. He suggests that the melodies played by panpipes would have had contours of descending phrases (Moyle 1987:101-7). Moyle's researches further disclosed an account

known to the punake Ve'ehala Leilua (Moyle 1987, p.90, citing Keats, 1973, p.2):

...all flute compositions [are] called tukipotu...The tukipotu is an attempt to imitate the tū bird [friendly ground dove, *Gallicolumba stairii*]...In the early morning, these birds gather and comb their plumage, in the process of which their feathers fall out. The birds pick them up with their foot and give forth a call which seems to be a lament over the lost plumage. It is this lament that the tukipotu seeks to imitate.

The call of the tū is a resonant, mournful coo, monotonously repeated, coo-a-coo, coo-a-coo, coo-a-coo (Watling 1982, p.80). Did eighteenth century 'ūpē songs emulate flute melodies, which emulated the call of the tū bird ? Relationships between the call of the tū and the flute melody would, following the lateral associations of Tongan metaphor, probably have been allegorical rather than causal.

Pigeons appear in Oceanic mythology as vehicles of the flight of the spirit, sometimes in search of a beloved in the afterworld (Chadwick 1931, p.478; Eliade 1972, p.367; Gunson 1993, p.151 & n). New Zealand Māori associate the sound of flutes with the voices of spirits (Richard Nunns, pers.comm. 1991). The gisalo dancers of the Kaluli forest in New Guinea evoke the spirits on the other side by reproducing the lamenting notes of fruit dove songs in melodies of descending phrases (Schieffelin 1976, pp.178, 222; Feld 1990, p.37).

VI

In Tonga in 1777 flutes were also played in the evenings. On 10 June 1777 Ledyard spent a night with the Tu'i Tonga Pau, in his reception house at Popua, situated in a thick embowring shade and recorded, It was now about nine o'clock and a bright moon shine, the sky was

serene and the winds hushed. Suddenly I heard a number of their flutes beginning nearly at the same time burst from every quarter of the surrounding grove...Polahow immediately on hearing the music took me by the hand intimating that he was going to sleep... Three quarters of an hour later Ledyard walked out into the middle of the green in the full moon shine, where...the sounds that proceeded from the circumventilating*³ flutes would more regularly pass the ear (Munford 1963, pp.30, 32, 33). The Tu'i Tonga, as an 'eiki of great sacredness, was allied with the spiritual realm. Were the flutes which lulled him evoking the spirits of the afterworld ?

VII

Small women's orchestras were once found all over Asia. An ensemble of six female figurines from ca 600 AD comprises 2 panpipe players, a flute player, a lute player, a drummer, and a solo dancer who accentuated her arm gestures with her long sleeves, see fig. 49. If 'üpē ensembles have an ancient history, Tonga has a treasure.

VIII

The records of small women's ensembles end with the eighteenth century. When the 'üpē reappeared in the mid twentieth century it had been dismembered and the parts scattered.

Panpipes were unknown. In the 1950s nose flute playing was entirely the practice of a few old male punake, notably Malukava Kavaefiafi, 'Ahio, Fakahafua, and Ve'ehala Leilua. Moyle describes how these four were summoned to the palace in 1953 not to lull but to awaken Queen Elizabeth II with flute playing (Moyle 1987, p.84, pls [p.xii] & 9).

In 1970 the precise art of finger-snapping with the second and third fingers, while holding the remaining fingers upright, as observed by Labillardière (1800 v.2, p.130) and Georg Forster (1777 v.1, p.429), was no longer practised. However in the modern tau'olunga (and in the Sāmoan taualuga particularly) there is a rounded lift of the arms ending in a finger flick, which vividly replicates Labillardière's description and Ravenet's illustration 200 years earlier, see fig. 45.

In 1970 the women's ensembles with nose flutes had been displaced by string bands singing lyric songs (hiva kakala); most of the ensembles broadcast by Tonga radio were male. While the eighteenth century 'ūpē songs could consist of a single phrase, the verses of modern hiva kakala were long and narrative, and alternated with a chorus, the texts varying from ca 12 to 24 lines. The tunes were influenced by popular western songs; Kaeppler discerns borrowing from Rock 'n Roll and uses the expression 'pan-Polynesian pop' (PP1972). Hiva kakala were sung unaccompanied, especially at evening kava parties, with a falsetto that was sweet and seductive in the stillness of night; or accompanied by string bands (Linkels 1992, p.95 lists guitars, banjos, ukuleles, tea-chest bass, and violins). In 1970 ensembles all over the kingdom composed and sang hiva kakala; most were male because kava parties were the venue par excellence for hiva kakala songs. To this accompaniment a solo woman could dance a tau'olunga, while several males might offset (fakahikihiki) her gracefulness with coarser movements. Kaeppler notes that tau'olunga dancing of the 1970s was usually choreographed spontaneously and often used fill-in motifs taken from other dances (Kaeppler 1990, p.197).

Fig. 48. Extracts from an 'üpë composed by Sälote Tupou III for her grand-daughter Princess Siu'ilikutapu, b.1948, and set to music by Vaisima Hopoate. (SOURCE: Kaeppler 1990, p.200-6.)

[Kupu II] C C^b7

Si - ngi - so - ngo e Ta - u - 'a - ta - i - na, Ke o -

F C

- ngo - na 'e he 'O - tu Ki - ne - ki - na.

Singisongo e "Tau'atāina"
Ke ongona 'e he 'Otu Kinekina
Let the "Independence" choir sing
Heard afar by the isles rich in sea relish...

[Tau] C C

Si - u' - i - li - ku - ta - pu ke me - 'i - te mu - 'a.

C C F

Ke ke sa - li - o - te 'i ho - ku u - ma. Ke ta 'e - ve - e - va 'i he

F G7 C

Ha - la Vu - na 'O to - li - hesi - si tau - 'o - lu - nga.

Siu'ilikutapu ke me'ite mu'á
Ke ke sāliote 'i hoku umá
Ke ta 'eva'eva 'i he Hala Vuna
'O toli he sisi tau'olunga
Siu'ilikutapu don't cry
My shoulders are your chariot
As we stroll along Vuna road
Picking flowers for a dance girdle... (chorus)

473.

In eighteenth century women's ensembles the musician-singers were seated while one or several standing women performed arm gestures and finger snaps; the 'üpë was a faiva, see fig. 41. In twentieth century tau'olunga, a band of seated musicians sang hiva kakala while a solo women performed gestures; neither tau'olunga nor hiva kakala were classed as faiva in 1970, see fig. 41. From the perspective of the eighteenth century, the 'üpë has lost its place (lakanga) as the common songs of the day.*4

IX

During the twentieth century 'üpë reappeared as lullabies composed for children of rank, sung to hiva kakala tunes. Compositions by Sälote Tupou III had as many as 30 lines recounting the genealogical connections of the princes and princesses of Ha'a Mohefo, the royal house of the Tu'i Kanokupolu, see fig. 48.

Kaeppler has described two 1948 compositions, "Ko e 'Üpë 'a Palu Vava'u kia Siu'ilikutapu" and "Ko e 'Üpë 'a Lavinia kia Täufa'ähau" (Kaeppler 1990, p.200-7). Through these 'üpë Sälote claimed all important chiefly lineages as lines of descent for her children and grandchildren. "Ko e 'Üpë 'o e Ta'ahine ko Lätüfuipeka" was composed by Tupou Poesi in 1985 for her grand daughter Pesenga Fanua to sing to the princess Lätüfuipeka (Kaho and Pond PP1986):

Ke kumi ai hota hala tupu'a...
In search of our ancestral path [genealogy]...

He tä kuo hou'eikisia e hala !
See how the path has filled with chiefs !

(Tupou Poesi Kaho, Ko e 'üpë 'o e Ta'ahine ko
Lätüfuipeka, 1985.) *5

The song recalls the overgrown paths which lead back to the great ta'ahine of Vava'u and to the original Lätüfuipeka, daughter of the Tu'i

Tonga Fefine Nanasipau'u. This is the generation of courtly women who, on 30 March 1793, had entertained Dentrecaesteaux aboard the "Recherche" with the 'üpë, "'A pö lelei", see fig. 46c.

What continuity is there in this transformation of the 'üpë into lullabies tracing the genealogical paths of chiefs? One: the evening flutes played for the Tu'i Tonga Pau suggest an association with lulling to sleep. Two: the women who performed 'üpë in the courts of Vuna and the Tu'i Tonga Fefine in 1793 were women of rank; 'üpë was a faiva of chiefly society. Three: only the sacred chiefs ('eiki and ta'ahine) had essences which voyaged after death to the Afterworld of Pulumotu. Thus modern 'üpë, with their recounting of chiefly genealogies, continue a tradition: they are a vehicle for knowledge of the ancestors. In eighteenth century cosmology the emotional sweetness of the 'üpë songs would itself have evoked the realm of spirits, simply while singing over and over "On a fine Night", whereas twentieth century 'üpë make a long and erudite geographical journey, visiting landmarks which denote genealogical lines of descent back through time, while remaining within the realm of this world.

During the transformation from pithy phrases into long narrative texts*⁶ the poetic aesthetic of the 'üpë songs changed. The shift from a four-note polyphony sung by women, to harmonised five-part male voices (Moyle 1987, p.237-8) similarly introduced a new musical aesthetic, see fig. 48.

In Moyle's work on Tongan Music (1987) dismembered pieces of the 'üpë appear under "Miscellaneous Idiophones (finger snaps)", under "Aerophones" (nose flutes), and under "Song Categories" (Lullabies). Scholars looking around in the twentieth century could not have

reconstituted the eighteenth century 'üpë ensembles from the scattered fragments that remain.

Fig. 49. Five Female Musicians and a Dancer. Five tomb figurines from the Sui dynasty of China, ca. A.D.600. White clay with a thin cream-coloured glaze and traces of unfired black, red, and green pigments, 25.5-27 cm high. The instruments are wether drum, two sets of panpipes, flute, and bent-neck lute. The dancer's movements emphasize the swinging of arms, accentuated by flying sleeves. Kucha ladies represented the height of fashion in hairstyling, held in place with a small comb, make-up and dressing.

Many foreign entertainers are reported to have performed at the imperial court of Wen-ti, founder of the Sui dynasty. Orchestras came from all over Asia: India, Kucha, Bukhāra, Samarkand, Kashgar, Cambodia, Japan, and the countries of the Turks. The orchestras comprised instrumentalists, singers and dancers. One report is of an orchestra of 20 girls from the Kingdom of Kucha in western Turkestan, playing harp, guitar, mouth organ, flutes, whistles, drums, and cymbals. Best-liked of all the Kuchean instruments was the little lacquered 'wether drum', with its exciting music and the exotic songs in mispronounced Sanskrit it accompanied. Original in the Rietburg Museum, New York.

(SOURCE: Brinker & Fischer, 1980, p.111-13 & fig.40.)

Me'etu'upaki Suite

The me'etu'upaki is a standing dance with drum accompaniment, graceful manipulation of dance palettes, and intricate choreography. Eighteenth century performances were sometimes complimented by introductory recitatives, interludes of club-handling, harlequins, and circular after-dances.

I

At Tongatapu in 1777 Anderson described the me'etu'upaki as the *ne plus ultra* in dexterity. He commended the choreographic plan, the variety of dance actions, and the exact unity achieved by the performers (Anderson 1777, pp.894-8). In 1910 Blanc stated, It is to its undeniable aesthetic beauty that its conservation must be attributed; for its preparation is very laborious and its execution very difficult, and those who can direct it are becoming more and more rare. Many weeks are necessary to train the performers (Blanc 1910, p.77).

The light, elegant palettes (paki) are employed exclusively in this dance.*¹ In 1777 Cook described the paki as a light wooden paddle, two and a half feet long, with a small handle and thin blade. He characterised the dance by its paddle flourishes; the name me'etu'upaki draws attention to the sound of the light slap (paki) of the paddle blade against the palm of the hand: With these Instruments, they make many and various flourishes each of which was attended with a different attitude of the body and some different movement or a nother (Cook 1777, p.109). Kaeppler describes the implements as a rhythmic accompaniment, dexterously manipulated to accentuate the timing of the hand movements: they add a layer of embellishment (heliaki) (Kaeppler 1985, p.106-16).

Eighteenth century exponents of the me'etu'upaki were characterised by Cook as men and youths of the first rank (Cook 1777, p.109); by King as their principal people (King 1777, p.1361); by Samwell as Indian warriors in battle array (Samwell 1777, p.1017); they are here called warrior-'eiki.

Me'etu'upaki were the outstanding dances of daytime katoanga (Anderson 1777, p.897). Each company comprised an 'eiki and his retinue: at Lifuka on 20 May 1777 Omai's Finau led a company of 105 dancers (Cook 1777, p.109), a dance compos'd of the men who attended or had follow'd Feenou (Anderson 1777, p.877).^{*2} At the katoanga at Popua on 17 June 1777 the accompanying nafa were beaten by Fatafehi (brother of Tu'i Tonga Pau); Finau (acting hau of Tonga); and Maealiuaki, the Motu'a Tonga. These were the three leading political figures of the day; all three had high 'eiki rank by descent. Maealiuaki was the presiding 'eiki at this katoanga and beat the drum from where he sat in the entrance of his reception house (Anderson 1777, p.897).

Eighteenth century me'etu'upaki had a quality of elegant ease which Shennan calls lasya. This is a different aesthetic from the assertive strength (tandava) and mockery of a modern kailao (Shennan PP1992). Me'etu'upaki were performed alongside demonstrations of the martial arts, and the warrior 'eiki of Kauhala Lalo were undoubtedly the great exponents of the me'etu'upaki; in the eighteenth century they were sea-warriors fighting from the voyaging canoes (Orange 1840, p.177-8). They were fleet and agile and danced with consummate grace (Anderson 1777, p.898).

Eighteenth century performers wore bark cloth (Clerke 1777, p.1302), see fig.16. In all twentieth century records made by Kaeppler, the dancers are wearing bark cloth (Kaeppler 1993, figs 1.4, 2.2, 7.1, 7.7).

Eighteenth century performances were accompanied by two or three wooden slit drums; Anderson noted that they were nafa (Anderson 1777, p.895). Each nafa required two or three men to carry it onto the reception ground (Anderson 1777, p.896):

They are large cylindrical pieces of wood or trunks of a tree from three to four feet long, some twice as thick as an ordinary sized man and some smaller, hollow'd entirely out but close at both ends, and open only by a narrow chink about 3 inches broad running almost its whole length...It is called naffa, and with the chink turn'd towards them they sit and beat strongly upon it with two cylindrical pieces of hard wood about a foot long and as thick as the wrist, which which they produce a rude though loud & powerfull sound. They vary the strength and rate of their beating at different parts of the dance, and also change the tones by beating in the middle or near the end of the instrument.

Kaeppler distinguishes the nafa from the lali: The nafa is flat on both ends and nearly circular...It is about 4 feet long and 1 1/2 feet in diameter...It is quite different in type from the lali slit drum used for signalling and imported from Fiji, which is only 3/4 circle and has indented end pieces (Kaeppler PP1972, p.9). The chorus of musician-singers is named lolongo (Kaeppler [1967] 1993, p.79).

During a performance of a me'etu'upaki in 1793, Labillardière observed, The women occasionally united their voices with those of the men, accompanying their song with very graceful movements (Labillardière 1800 v.2, p.161). Kaeppler records of twentieth century performances, A chorus of men and women with one or more musicians keeping time on hollow log gongs usually sings with the dancers (Kaeppler [1967] 1993, p.78). Moyle notes, women periodically double men at the upper octave (Moyle 1987, p.118).

In 1777 one me'etu'upaki included women amongst the dancers: The second [me'etu'upaki] was conducted by the Toobou, who also danc'd there, and had four or five women in it who went through the several parts with

as much exactness as the men (Anderson 1777, p.902). Women did not dance in me'etu'upaki in the 1970s.

There are descriptions of seven me'etu'upaki performances from Cook's visit to Tonga in 1777. The descriptions indicate it was a classical form with rigorously defined parameters and standard formations. However between the companies there were differences in numbers of musicians, drums, and dancers; and differences in dance formations, in costume, and in pace. These variations suggest that in 1777 the dance was being actively choreographed. Kaeppler states that in the 1960s only one configuration of the me'etu'upaki had been retained, and the choreography was static: the Tongan men who teach and perform it say they pass it on exactly as they learned it (Kaeppler 1991, p.348; Kaeppler [1967] 1993, p.92).

The programme of four dances presented on 17 June 1777 lasted four hours (Anderson 1777, p.897; Kaeppler [1967] 1993, p.77). There has not been the like since. The eighteenth century me'etu'upaki exemplified a particular quality of shining excellence (mālie) in its deft manoeuvres, cross rhythms, grace of muscular strength, and exactness of execution. It was the dance of the athletic warrior-'eiki. Omai's Finau excelled at it.

II

The me'etu'upaki dances performed at Popua on 17 and 21 June 1777 were presented in suites. Each suite occupied possibly one hour, and could comprise an introductory recitative, the dance performed in stanzas, exhibitions of club-handling, and a concluding piece.

First the musician-singers entered the reception ground and formed a cluster in the centre, in line of sight of the presiding chief with the dancers ranged behind. The suite opened with a recitative which we can

only class as fa'ahi hiva (see Moyle 1987, p.165-70). Anderson reflected, though the spectators always approve of the various motions when well made, a great part of the pleasure they receive seems to arise from the sentimental part, or what they deliver in Language; for before they enter on the scene of action they always spend a considerable time just at one side where they may be seen repeating sentences very softly but with little action, which is commonly one of the most applauded parts (Anderson 1777, p.897-8). Twentieth century performances of me'etu'upaki do not have introductory recitatives.

The me'etu'upaki was then performed. The journals suggest each me'etu'upaki was lead by just one 'eiki. Webber's sketch depicts the dance company in two opposing sections; the detail is not precise enough to establish whether each section is led by a solo figure, see fig.16.

Kaeppler's records of twentieth century performances depict sometimes one vāhenga (Kaeppler 1993, figs 1.4, 2.2, 7.1) and sometimes two (Kaeppler 1993, fig.7.7).

In 1777 performances, the me'etu'upaki was divided into stanzas, with interludes between. Anderson recorded, at the end of a short space they all joind and finish'd with a shout. After ceasing two or three minutes they began as before, and continued with short intervals above a quarter of an hour (Anderson 1777, p.894-5). Kaeppler confirms the stanza structure in twentieth century performances: Each stanza ends with a shout, "Tü!" [Tu'u 'cease!'], and there is a short interval before the next stanza begins. One man, who might be called the director, stands to one side and indicates when the next stanza should begin by saying "tu ki hoki" [tu'u kahoki 'hold the paddles up!'] (Kaeppler [1967] 1993, p.78-9).

One of the choreographed sequences which thrilled audiences in 1777 was the melting of dancers from the front as the back rows advanced. At the first performance, at Faka'amumei in Ha'apai, the response was as follows: It was observed that Phenow, who appeared to be their General, was always at the beginning of their Exercise in the centre of the front rank, but by the Course of their different Evolutions he was sometimes in the rear Rank & in the Wing of that rank, so that there did not seem to be any fixed Station for their Leader (Samwell 1777, p.1017). With hindsight Ellis recorded, As soon as the music strikes up, they also begin and perform an incredible number of motions with [the paki], all moving as if only one man, with great quickness and in exact time to the music. After this has continued about seven or eight minutes, they all, by very gradual and indeed almost imperceptible degrees, change places, so that those who were behind are now in front, and those who were in front are now in the middle, observing the different attitudes and motions with the instruments throughout the time. This continues till they have all regained their proper places (Ellis 1783 v.1, p.101-2). Anderson wrote, the rear rank dividing shifted themselves very slowly round each end and meeting in the front form'd the first line, the whole still continuing to recite the sentences as before. The other ranks did the same successively till that which at first was the front became the rear, and they continued in the same manner till the last regained its first situation (Anderson 1777, p.894-5). Kaeppler has analysed the floor plan (Kaeppler 1991, p.352-4) and confirms the subtlety of choreography in twentieth century performances: While performing a number of expert turns and twirls of the *paki* they rearrange themselves so skillfully that one must see several performances

to understand what movements each person makes to take him to his new position (Kaeppler [1967] 1993, p.78).

The same characteristic movements in both eighteenth and twentieth century performances can be recognised: With [the paki] they made a great many different motions, such as pointing [the paki] towards the ground on one side, at the same time inclining their bodys that way, from which it was shifted to the opposite side in the same mannner, then shifting it quickly from one hand to the other and twirling it about very dexterously with a great variety of other [movement]s, all which were accompany'd by corresponding attitudes of the body (Anderson 1777, p.895). Kaeppler adds, The principal foot movements are steps in place, small steps around in a circle, side steps, small jumps, and the crossing of one foot in front of the other, pointing the toe, and passively touching it to the ground (Kaeppler [1967] 1993, p.78-9).

Anderson recorded the use of counter-rhythms, dancers against drummers: I did not observe that [the dance motions] were always regulated by the drums, which sometimes beat very quickly while these were slow, but the sentences they repeated or mode of their song constantly accorded with the motions [of the dancers] (Anderson 1777, p.898). Kaeppler notes further intricacies in twentieth century performances: In at least one stanza the dancers divide into three groups and each group sings a different set of words and melody, all of which have different lengths and different sets of movements. During this polyphony the chorus does not sing (Kaeppler [1967] 1993, p.78-9). These observations suggest it was the choral singing maintained by the dancers themselves that was their key to rhythmic unity. That is, metric patterns were maintained by the drumming, the singing and the dancing. The

musicians sang while drumming; the dancers sang while dancing. At times the dancers must depend on their own singing to retain their rhythmic cohesion counter to the drumming.*3

Some suites were finished with a short, fast dance: They then began a much quicker dance (though slow at first) and sung for about ten minutes, when the whole divided into two parts, retreated a little and then approach'd forming a sort of circular figure, which finish'd the dance, the drums and music going off the field at the same time (Anderson 1777, p.895).

In some 1777 performances there was an interlude for solo exhibitions of club handling. This is better appreciated on noting that the clubs were up 116 cm long (Kaeppler 1987, p.238-40), and that there was only one occasion when exploring expeditions saw a contestant enter the reception ground bearing a real club (pövai); the champion was a son of Tu'i Tonga Pau (Munford 1963, p.35; Samwell 1777, p.1028). Anderson described a pair of club handlers at Maealiuaki's kätöanga on 17 June 1777 (Anderson 1777, p.896-7):

[The me'etu'upaki dancers] retreated to each end and left the greatest part of the ground clear, on which two men enter'd very hastily and excercis'd the clubs which they use in battle. They did this by first twirling the club in their hands and making curcular strokes before them with great force and quickness, but so exactly together that though standing quite close they never interfer'd. They shifted them to the opposite hands with equal dexterity, and after continuing a little time kneeld & made different motions, tossing their club up in the air which they caught as it fell, and went off as hastily as they entered...

Anderson noted the audience response when real clubs were paraded: The two partys of dancers, who had divided, kept repeating something slowly all the time [during the club-handling] and now advanc'd and joind again, ending with universal applause (Anderson 1777, p.896-7). On this occasion the presiding 'eiki was Maealiuaki. The me'etu'upaki was led by Tupou, dressed in red feathers. Maealiuaki, Fatafehi and Finau played the drums, all indications that this faiva was presented by the leading lineage of the day.

Some of these weapon-magicians had a unique costume (possibly kie fau), distinguishing them from the dancers who wore wrappings of bark cloth (vala ngatu): they had only a very small piece of cloth made of thread almost like what our girls sow upon at school ty'd about the middle, seemingly that they might be cool & free from any incumbrance or weight (Anderson v3, p.896).

The club-handlers also wore turbans (fa'u): their heads were cover'd with a piece of white cloth tied at the crown almost like a night cap, with a wreath of foliage round the forehead (Anderson 1777, p.896). Mariner recorded that turbans were worn only by combatants engaged in warfare, and exceptionally in the faiva of toutakao to signify that a battle was taking place: On all other occasions, to wear a head-dress would be disrespectful; for although no chief be present, yet some god unseen may be at hand (Martin 1981, p.112). Churchward (1959, p.13, ao) notes that turbans were worn as the insignia of champions. The turbans would appear to signify that the club-handlers were champions and that they were paying respect to the ancestor-gods.

There are no ethnographic records which provide a name for the exhibitions of club handling. Samwell imagined that the dancers were

replicating champions on the battlefield who challenged the opposite party to single combat (Samwell 1777, p.1017-18).

Performances of me'etu'upaki were completed by a club-wielding "harlequin" who exhibited prodigious agility (Cook 1777, p.136). The feats of stunning dexterity in club-handling by champions and "harlequins" suggest the quintessential feat of the me'etu'upaki was its exhibition of the fighting skills of the warrior-'eiki. With the accomplished heliaki of Tongan choreography, the light dance palettes wielded with infinite grace are possibly a transformation of fighting clubs: **Each motion is made in the gentlest manner, and without those violent efforts which argue an exertion of rage** (Anderson 1777, p.898). For an audience which understands the sleight of hand, appreciation of the dance's grace is infinitely sweeter.

After the eighteenth century there were no further records of club-handling exhibitions and "harlequins" at performances of me'etu'upaki. When the dance reappeared under Catholic patronage in the 1880s (Blanc 1910, p.82), it exemplified the ancient and sacred status of Kauhala 'Uta, the least of Tonga's warriors.

III

There is only one illustration of a me'etu'upaki from the entire eighteenth century opus. This was drawn by Webber in 1777, and it is problematic (Webber in Joppien & Smith 1987 v.3, pl.3.56; in Kaeppler 1993, fig.2.1), *see* fig.16. Webber depicts two towers at the centre bottom of the circle, which identifies the occasion as the festival at Popua on 21 June 1777. In front of the towers Webber has drawn a me'etu'upaki company divided into two opposing groups, each of eight adult figures with a small child at the tail end. In the centre are two figures, possibly two club-handlers. Anderson

recorded club-handlers in two of the me'etu'upaki dances at that festival (Anderson 1777, p.902).

The me'etu'upaki performances on 21 June received perfunctory notice; only Anderson described them (Anderson 1777, p.902). He gave no description of the participation of small children (though the cover of Kaeppler 1993 will confirm that a child of rank may participate in a twentieth century lakalaka performance).

Accompanying the me'etu'upaki Webber drew a seated chorus with four bamboo stamping tubes. In all journal accounts bamboo stamping tubes accompanied the fakaniua and the dances of the night concerts. The journal accounts of me'etu'upaki performances state unambiguously that the instruments accompanying the me'etu'upaki were two or three wooden slit drums (nafa); some were so large they required two men to carry them on. The absence of slit drums and the presence of stamping tubes is problematical. Possibly, Webber transferred the circle of musician-singers from his sketches of night concerts, see fig.26.

IV

Cook had described the me'etu'upaki as quite unlike anything he knew in any other part of the world (Cook 1777, p.109), but scholars have not been convinced of its Tongan provenance. Their observations are:

Tongan indigenous usage would not be me'e tu'upaki but *meke tu'upaki*. Me'e 'to dance' is still used in Niuatoputapu, (?Niuafou), and 'Uvea; Sāmoan usage is meme'e 'boast', me'eme'e 'rejoice' (Pratt 1911, pp.219, 220).

Mariner was told during 1806-10 that the words were Sāmoan, and that the me'etu'upaki reached Tonga from Niua (Martin 1981, pp.374 & n). In Tongan usage 'Niua mo Niua' is Niuatoputapu and Niuafou; Helu examined the imagery of a me'etu'upaki text and concluded that Niuafou was the more likely (Helu 1979, p.30).

Moyle has analysed the two earliest transcriptions of the me'etu'upaki, which are from Mariner's residence in Tonga (Martin 1981, p.377-9), and from Basil Thomson's visit (Thomson 1902), and concluded that Mariner's rendition of the fast section of the me'etu'upaki contains a melody which concentrates on two notes a p4 apart. Moyle comments that Sāmoan music emphasises this particular interval (Moyle 1987, p.120).

The songs accompanying the me'etu'upaki were classed as *langi*, as were the songs of the *ula* (Martin 1981, pp.374, 379). *Langi* 'layered' implies polyphonic singing. Moyle's reading of eighteenth century records is that the me'etu'upaki was sung in unison throughout; in this respect he says it is unlike all other Tongan songs of the era (Moyle 1987, p.118). Kaeppler however has annulled this argument, demonstrating that a section of a me'etu'upaki performed in 1966 was polyphonic, polytextual, and polykinetic (Kaeppler 1994, p.464-71).

Kaeppler records that *paki*, and dances in which *paki* are used, are also found in 'Uvea (Burrows 1945, p.39-48), Tikopia (Firth 1990, p.68), and 'Anuta (Feinberg 1977, p.150) (Kaeppler 1994, p.464-5). If the dance pallets do indeed replicate *pakipaki*, they are possibly most like Sāmoan paddle clubs (see Moyle 1987, fig.6), see p.175.

Kaeppler recognises the Tongan me'etu'upaki as a transformation of the Futuna dance, the *tāpaki*. She notes that while the leg movements are Tongan in style, the paddle movements and the palette itself conform with the Futunan *tāpaki* (Kaeppler [1967] 1993, p.92).

Velt has made a linguistic analysis of the me'etu'upaki texts and tentatively suggested a Futuna-'Uvean source (Velt PP1993).

The "harlequins" which appeared at me'etu'upaki performances in 1777 in some measure replicate the "clown" which accompanied the Lau dancers (Wilkes 1852 v.2, p.102-3), see fig.22.

The maritime warriors and traders of eighteenth century Tonga were multi-lingual and multi-cultural, and many sources were melded. Whatever the provenance of the me'etu'upaki, choreographers of the late eighteenth century had made it a distinctly Tongan dance with a secure occasion (*lakanga*) in Tongan festivals.

It is not until the loss of lakanga is addressed, that the loss of the force of the faiva can be appreciated. In the eighteenth century the me'etu'upaki had been exhibited at festivals for the reception of chiefs and at festivals concluding the burial of chiefs; on these occasions it followed presentations of produce. Funeral festivals were banned in 1883, *see fig. 34h*, and during the royal tour (Hä'ele ki Tokelau) of the hau in 1971, presentations of produce (hä'unga) were not accompanied by faiva. The me'etu'upaki had lost its eighteenth century lakanga.

This however was not the only coup against the me'etu'upaki. The most remarkable shift was the displacement of the me'etu'upaki by the lakalaka. A dance executed with exquisite fluidity and immaculate precision by the warrior 'eiki, which once occupied the place of leading faiva at daytime festivals, had its place taken over by a rowdy mass of village people performing a dance whose origins are in night dancing by torchlight (Kaeppler [1967] 1993, p.92).

In 1777, in the perception of Cook's party, each me'etu'upaki had one leader (vähenga) whose place was in the centre of the front row: **with Feenou at their head or in the middle of the front rank, which is the principle place in these cases** (Anderson 1777, p.895). It would seem that in 1777 a me'etu'upaki company comprised an 'eiki and his own retinue: **a dance compos'd of the men who attended or had follow'd Feenou** (Anderson 1777, p.877), that is, the dance company represented a real political configuration. In 1970 a lakalaka company likewise comprised a real political configuration: the people from the estates of an 'eiki. Thus the villages of Malapo, Nakolo (Tongatapu) and Tefisi (Vava'u) combined under their 'eiki, Luani to perform the lakalaka "Tapu ange mo e Tu'i Ha'a

Mo'unga" (Pond 1970, papers). Kaeppler has documented the social reality of me'etu'upaki performances in the mid-twentieth century. At national katoanga a single company presented the dance: The Lapaha me'etu'upaki was a work of art and it made its own political statement in representing Kauhala 'Uta, a lineage whose privileges have been usurped by the reigning hau. The Lapaha company however did not have the excellence which me'etu'upaki of the eighteenth century achieved: Anderson had noted the quality of exactness as if all the motions had been made by one man (Anderson 1777, p.896); such dexterity in twirling the paddle-clubs that they had the constant applauses of the spectators (Anderson 1777, p.896); the fineness of articulation, Each motion is made in the gentlest manner (Anderson 1777, p.898). Twentieth century performances have neither the skill of execution nor the force of challenge which lakalaka of the twentieth century achieved through competing for reputation, like against like.

Kaeppler has demonstrated that there has nevertheless been continuity of tradition: me'etu'upaki dancers still dress in bark cloth; the dance is still accompanied with nafa; the paki has retained its unique shape; the choreography is still polyphonic, polytextual and polykinetic with call and response and subtle changes of place (Kaeppler 1994, p.464-71). In Blanc's estimation, As the meetuupaki was described by Cook, so it is still performed today (Blanc 1910, p.77-8), and in Kaeppler's: this introduced implement dance has remained essentially the same for more than 300 years (Kaeppler 1991, p.356). But the suite has been abandoned: the choral preludes which were commonly one of the most applauded parts (Anderson 1777, p.897-8); the interludes of dexterous club handling; the

prodigious agility of the "harlequins" (Cook 1777, p.136). What has been lost is the force (mafa) of the faiva.

At the 1970 Independence celebrations the me'etu'upaki was exhibited at a night concert on 4 June as part of a historical pageant; it had no part in the exhibitions of faiva at the state celebrations of that day. In 1989 a contingent of Teachers' Training College students presented a me'etu'upaki at the Fifth International Festival of Pacific Arts in Townsville, Australia. The foot movements were derived from the kailao. The paddle movements were accentuated with rugbyfield vigour. The performance was short and the dancers soon breathless. The warrior's lithe agility and sleight of hand was gone. The mälä of the illustrious era had been dispelled. The subtle arts and code of the warrior 'eiki had faded with the introduction of guns, with Christianity, and with the macho sensibility adopted from Australia and New Zealand, where rugby players sometimes bite off ears, gauge out eyes, and trip up their opponents, see

fig.42.

Through the reign of Sälote Tupou III (1918-1965) the common people participated in the dances of the national festivals: lakalaka, mä'ulu'ulu, tafi, kailao, and vakaeke. The demise of the me'etu'upaki is accounted for in the alliance between Tupou I and the protestant mission, the emancipation of the people, the eclipse of the 'eiki lineages, and the fading skills of the illustrious era: its preparation is very laborious and its execution very difficult (Blanc 1910, p.76).^{*4}

Me'etu'upaki Choreographies

The name me'etu'upaki did not appear in any written record until Blanc indentified the 1777 descriptions (Blanc 1910, p.78). The choreography of a me'etu'upaki taught in 1966 by the punake Kavapele (b.1920s) was notated by Kaeppler, *see* figs 50 & 51; her account is reproduced here as it enables the eighteenth century descriptions to be read with illumination, particularly her observation that the stanzas can be performed in any order. She writes (Kaeppler 1991, pp.350, 351, 354):

Me'etu'upaki is performed by men ranged in several rows who may move as one group or who may divide into two or three groups. While performing a number of expert turns and twirls of the paki, they rearrange themselves so skillfully that one must see several performances to understand what movements each person makes to take him to his new position. In one section where the dancers divide into three groups, each group sings a different set of words with different melodic contours simultaneously, all of which have different lengths and different sets of movements...

...recurrent movements consist of the hitting of one hand to the blade in a manner similar to performing a pasi (flat hand clap)...the paki is often twirled by rubbing the hands together much like the [action called palu, 'knead']...The foot movements include steps in place...small steps around in a circle...small jumps...and touching one toe in front of the other foot...the fakateki side head tilt...is performed in prescribed places in the dance...

...while the dancers also sing, a group of singers and drummers, called lolongo, convey the poetry and set the timing...The poetry is through-composed in several stanzas. Each stanza is performed two or more times and there is usually a short interval between the stanzas. Before each stanza begins the dance leader, who stands at one side, says, "Tu ki hoki" which signifies that the stanza is to begin. Most stanzas end with a shout "tu!" at which time paki are raised with a flourish...The stanzas used and the number of their repetitions is at the discretion of the dance leader.

Kaeppler's notation, *see* fig.51, shows the entire dance in rectangular formations, although circular formations still do occur (Kaeppler pers.comm.). Descriptions of 1777 choreographies suggest that some me'etu'upaki ended with circulating formations: Near the end the hind rank divided, *came round* and took the place of the front as in the first dance, which again resum'd its situation, and when they finish'd the Drums and Chorus again went off (Anderson 1777, p.895-6). One me'etu'upaki choreography of 1777 had a concluding section or after-dance with circular formations: They then began a much quicker dance (though slow at first) and sung for about ten minutes, when the whole divided into two parts, retreated a little and then approach'd forming a sort of circular figure, which finish'd the dance, the drums and music going off the field at the same time (Anderson 1777, p.894-5). Ellis' record is a recollection: During [the performance by the club-handlers], the two companies remain inactive, but as soon as the harlequins are retired, they begin again, but vary in their performances, describing circles and semicircles in this manner [*see* fig.53], and exchange their places as before (Ellis 1783 v.1, p.101-3).

Fig. 50a. Song structure of a *me'etu'upaki* taught by Kavapele (b.1920s). Notated by Adrienne Kaeppler from a performance in 1966. Stanza A is polytextual, polyphonic, and polykinetic. Stanza E is sung in call and response. (SOURCES: Kaeppler 1991, p.351-2; Kaeppler 1994, p.465-71.)

Stanza A	
He 'oie 'oi e kama'u ka mau ke kau savoli mo tuilolua	(t1)
'I o e o nai valu e o nai valu e	(t2)
Fotu mai falike tolua e ia kase ie kase	(t3)
He kau sa tū ūli e ie au e	(t4)
Stanza B	
'latu latu e	
Pei tonga mu'a kae tokelau ia	
'I 'i a, 'I 'i a.	(t1)
Paleki pala puileva	
Kae liua manu oleva	
Kae takoi e lenga'uta ia	
'I 'i a, 'I 'i a.	(t2)
Stanza C	
'O tapu tea tapu tea mai uia mala maile tai	(t1)
'Ou sulu ia lau penga tuia uia mala maile uia.	(t2)
Stanza D	
Lau ta e lauta e lauta e, siki poi e,	
he siki poi e, he siki poi e	(t1)
Si ke 'olungu ma'a tu foe ma'u e tata mulie,	
he siki poi e, siki poi e	(t2)
Stanza E	
Anu mai fai mai tapu la e maile tai	(t1)
He velo e sila, talava e, Vaka e suva, kite fanua	(t2)
Tafe a mai fea he fusi e lanumea	(t3)
Tafea ki Uvea 'o akatu.	(t4)
Stanza F	
Tonu mo tekau ke tu'a tafa faka hakea 'i ai tevaka	(t1)
He tapu mo si mo longo te vai fa lonai ae	(t2)
Fakapakupaku pasipasi mai futuna katoa e 'i a 'o e.	(t3)

Structure of the performance in 1966

Group 1	Group 2	Group 3
Stanza A — t1 (18 times)	t2t2t3t3t2t2t3t3	t4t4t4t4
Stanza B — t1t2		
B — repeat		
Stanza C — t1t1t2t2		
C — repeat		
C — repeat		
C — repeat		
Stanza D — t1t1t2t2		
D — repeat		
Stanza E — t1t1t2t2t3t4		
E — repeat		
E — repeat		
Stanza F — t1t1t2t2t3		
F — repeat		
F — repeat		

In stanza A the dancers divided into three groups and sang different poetry phrases, all three of which were of different length. Group 1 sang their phrase 18 times, two of these preceded actions by the other two groups. Groups 2 and 3 sang their respective phrases enough times so that they all finished together. During the rest of this rendition of *me'etu'upaki* the performers all sang together. The beginning formation was of eight columns, three men deep (that is, three rows, each with eight men) who were located at the rear of the dance space.

Fig. 50b. Choreography of a me'etu'upaki taught by Kavapele (b.1920s).
Notated by Adrienne Kaeppler from a performance in 1966.

(SOURCE: Kaeppler 1991, p.353-4.)

The beginning formation was of eight columns, three men deep (that is, three rows, each with eight men) who were located at the rear of the dance space.

Beginning Formation — X X X X X X X X
X X X X X X X X
X X X X X X X X

During stanza A each of the three groups moved separately: Group 2 (middle 4 columns) remained in place while groups 1 and 3 (outer 2 columns) moved to the front of the dance space. Thus:

Stanza A — First X X X X
change in formation X X X X
X X X X X X X X
X X X X
X X X X

Then groups 1 and 3 remained in place and group 2 moved forward. Thus:

Stanza A — Second X X X X X X X X
change in formation X X X X X X X X
X X X X X X X X

During stanzas B and C the dancers remained in this position. During stanza D the whole group moved to the right. Stanzas EF began with the dancers as a single group. They divided into two groups each with four columns, three men deep. Thus:

Stanzas EF — First X X X X X X X X
change in formation X X X X X X X X
X X X X X X X X

Each set of four columns then moved to become two columns. Thus:

Stanzas EF — Second X X X X
change in formation X X X X
X X X X
X X X X
X X X X
X X X X

Each pair of two columns moved each other to become a single group of four columns, six men deep. Thus:

Stanzas EF — Third X X X X
change in formation X X X X
X X X X
X X X X
X X X X
X X X X

Finally they returned to their original starting position of a single group of eight columns, three men deep. Thus:

Stanzas EF — Final X X X X X X X X
change in formation X X X X X X X X
Stanzas EF — Final X X X X X X X X

There was no interval between stanzas E and F.

Fig. 51a. Text and choreography of Stanza A.
Text from Vaisima Hopoate. Choreography by Kavapele, 1965.
SOURCE: Kaeppler 1994, p.465. The films are held in the Human Studies Film Archive,
Anthropology Department, Smithsonian Institution.)

Group 1.
 He 'oie 'oi e kama'u ka mau ke kau savoli mo tuilolua

Group 2.
 He kau sa tu uli e i e au e [text line omitted by Kavapele]

Group 3.
 'I o e o nai valu e o nai valu e
 Fotu mai falike tolua e ia kase ie kase

(C) In this section of the me'etu'upaki, the dancers divide into three groups and sing three (or sometimes only two) different poetry phrases, each with different melodic contours. Each of the phrases was of different length and each had a different set of movements. Group 1 performed their phrase eighteen times, two of which preceded the entry of the other two groups. Groups 2 and 3 performed their respective phrases enough times so they all finished together, thus:

Beginning Formation	X X X X X X X X
	X X X X X X X X
	X X X X X X X X

The performers divided into three groups, each of which moved separately. One group (middle 4 columns) remained in place while performing one set of movements. The other two groups (outer 2 columns) moved to the front of the dance space; they performed the same set of movements, which included turns; alternately one group faced frontward, while the other group faced backward, thus:

Stanza A – First change in formation	X X X X
	X X X X
	X X X X X X X X
	X X X X
	X X X X

Then the outer groups remained in place (still performing their movement sequence), and the middle group moved forward, thus:

Stanza A – Second change in formation	X X X X X X X X
	X X X X X X X X
	X X X X X X X X

Fig. 51b. Musical notation of Stanza A, from a performance by Vaisima, Kavapele, Tu'ivai and others at Mu'a in 1966. Recording by Adrienne Kaeppler, notation by Jacob Love. The lower part (drone) is sung primarily on one note, transcribed here as D, with occasional movement downward to B. SOURCE: Kaeppler 1994, p.466-71.)

[A]

'O - i - e, 'o - i - e, ka ma ——— 'u, ka

ma - 'u e ka - u sa - vo - li mo tu - i la - u - lu - a.

[A]

'O - i - e, 'o - i - e, ka ma ——— 'u, ka

ma - 'u e ka - u sa - vo - li mo tu - i la - u - lu - a.

[A]

'O - i - e, 'o - i - e, ka ma ———

[B]

He ka - u sa tū u - li e! He

'u, ka ma - 'u e ka - u sa - vo - li mo tu - i la - u -

[B]

i - e a - u - e! He ka - u sa

[A]

lu - a. 'O - i - e, 'o - i - e, ka

tū u - li e! He i - e a - u - e!

1.

ma — 'u, ka ma — 'u e ka - u sa - vo - li mo

[B] He ka - u sa

[C1] 'i — o — e! O na - i

[A] tu - i la - u - lu - a. 'O - i - e, 'o - i - e,

tū u - li e! He i - e a - u - e!

[C1] va - lu - e, o na - i va - lu - e! 'i —

ka ma — 'u, ka ma — 'u e ka - u sa -

[B] He ka - u sa tū u - li

o — e! O na - i va - lu - e, o - na - i

[A] vo - li mo tu - i la - u - lu - a. 'O - i - e,

e! He i - e a - u - e! He

[C2] va - lu - e! E fo - tu ma - i fa - li - ki to - a -

'o - i - e, ka ma — 'u, ka ma — 'u e

[B] ka - u sa tū u - li e! He i - e

lu - a. E 'i - e ka - se! 'i - e ka -

ka - u sa - vo - li mo tu - i la - u - lu - a.

[B] a - u - e! He ka - u sa tū

[C2] se! E fo - tu ma - i fa - li - ki to - a -

[A] 'O - i - e, 'o - i - e, ka ma — 'u, ka

u - li e! He i - e a - u - e!

lu - a. E 'i - e ka - se! 'i - e ka -

ma - u e ka - u sa - vo - li mo tu - i la - u - lu - a.

[B] He ka - u sa tū u - li e! He i - e

[C1] se! 'i — o — e! O na - i

2.

[A] 'O - i - e, 'o - i - e, ka ma — 'u, ka ma — 'u e

[B] a - u - e! He ka - u sa tū u - li

[C1] va - lu - e, o na - i va - lu - e! 'i — o —

[A] ka - u sa - vo - li mo tu - i la - u - lu - a. 'O - i - e,

[B] e! He i - e a - u - e! He ka - u sa

[C1] e! O na - i va - lu - e, o na - i va - lu - e! E

'o - i - e, ka ma — 'u, ka ma — 'u e ka - u sa -

tū u - li e! He i - e a - u - e!

[C2] fo - tu ma - i fa - li - ki to - a - lu - a. E 'i - e ka -

[A] vo - li mo tu - i la - u - lu - a. 'O - i - e, 'o - i - e,

[B] He ka - u sa tū u - li e! He i - e

[C2] se! 'i - e ka - se! E fo - tu ma - i fa -

ka ma — 'u, ka ma — 'u e ka - u sa - vo - li mo

[B] a - u - e! He ka - a sa tū u - li -

li - ki to - a - lu - a. E 'i - e ka - se! 'i - e ka -

[A] tu - i la - u - lu - a. 'O - i - e, 'o - i - e, ka

[B] e! He i - e a - u - e! He ka - u sa

[C1] se! 'i — o — e! O na - i

ma — 'u, ka ma — 'u e ka - u sa - vo - li mo tu - i la - u -

tū u - li e! He i - e a - u - e!

[C1] va - lu - e, o na - i va - lu - e! 'i — o —

[A] lu - a. 'O - i - e, 'o - i - e, ka ma.

[B] ka - u sa tū u - li.

e! O na - i va - lu - e, o na - i va - lu - e!

20 May 1777 at Faka'amumei bay, Lifuka, Ha'apai. A day of reciprocal faiva (fa'auhi faiva) between Cook's expedition and the Ha'apai chiefs. The presiding 'eiki is unidentified; but we can suppose the presence of many aristocratic men and women of kauhala 'Uta and Kauhala Lalo. There is no presentation of provisions. The ships' marines present a display of military drill; the hou 'eiki of Ha'apai present a me'etu'upaki lead by Omai's Finau. In the evening there is a pöme'e, see fig.12.

1. 20 May 1777. At Lifuka the dance company comprises men and youths of the first rank...there were in this one hundred and five (Cook 1777, p.109). Each dancer holds a light [wooden] paddle, 2 1/2 feet long, with a small handle and thin blade. With these Instruments, they made many and various flourishes each of which was attended with a different attitude of the body and some different movement or a nother. They at first ranged themselves in three lines, and by different movements and motions each man changed his station in such a manner that those who were in the rear came in front. Nor did they remain long in the same form, but these changes were made by pretty quick movements; they at one time extended themselves in one line then formed into a semicircle and lastly into two square Columns, while this last was performing, one of them came and danced a harlequin dance before me with which the whole ended. The musick was two drums or rather two hollow logs of wood on each of which they beat with two sticks (Cook 1777, p.109).

Samwell's description of the same performance is more boistrous and evokes aspects of the Fijian meke wesi and the 'Uvean kailao: Presently after the Marines had withdrawn, about a hundred Indian Warriors in battle array made their Appearance with Phenow at their Head, each bearing a small weapon in his hand about 2 feet long, very slender & of the shape of a spade, they seemed to use them instead of Clubs like we do Foils in fencing. They were drawn up in a regular Line three deep with two Drums beating in front. They began their Exercise by twirling their Instruments slowly according to the Measure beat on the Drums, several of the Chiefs at the same time singing in a gentle deep Cadence & lifting up their Legs & inclin[ing] their Heads & Bodies to each Side alternately, keeping exact time; by degrees the Drum and the Song grew louder & quicker, which was accompany'd by their Movements which at last became violent to a great degree; they ran backwards & forwards the rear Rank being sometimes in the front and the front in the rear. After continuing these manœuvres some time there ensued a Pause; then they began again in a slow measure and went through the several Degrees of quickness as before, & thus repeated the same Exercise several times (Samwell 1777, p.1017).

At interludes between the stanzas of the me'etu'upaki, solo dancers give dexterous exhibitions of club handling. Only Samwell describes the interludes. Samwell calls the me'etu'upaki an 'exercise' and records, Once or twice while a pause was made in their Exercise a Man advanced in the front of the line with a Club in his Hand, who jumped and turned about as quick as possible, brandishing his Club & twirling it about in a strange & violent Manner, this he continued for about a Minute and then retired to his Rank. Perhaps on the day of battle his office may be like the Champions of old to challenge the opposite Party to single Combat. In a later interlude of the me'etu'upaki there is a another exhibition of club-handling. This time a small party of men is led by two club-handling experts, called commanders or chiefs by Samwell: Some time afterwards it

was observed that the Exercise performed by a few Men commanded only by two Chiefs was something different from that before described, for here the two Chiefs brandishing their Clubs ran backwards & forwards along the front of the Line, & were distinguished as the Commanders by performing a separate duty from their Men (Samwell 1777, p.1017-18).

In twentieth century performances of the me'etu'upaki the person of highest 'eiki rank (vähenga) is distinguished by costume; for example in 1975 Kalaniuvalu wore a sisi over his shoulders (Kaeppler 1993, fig.7.1). At me'etu'upaki performances at Popua, Tongatapu on 17 and 21 June the 'eiki Tupou was distinguished by a garment of red feathers, see below. At Faka'amumei in 1777 Finau appears to lead the dance but not to be distinguished; in a modern performance this would indicate he was the leading dancer (tu'unga mälie) and not the person of highest rank (vähenga). However in the performance at Faka'amumei it appears no dancer is distinguished by costume: It was observed that Phenow, who appeared to be their General, was always at the beginning of their Exercise in the centre of the front rank, but by the Course of their different Evolutions he was sometimes in the rear Rank & in the Wing of that rank, so that there did not seem to be any fixed Station for their Leader, nor was he distinguished from the rest by his weapon or any other mark of Eminency (Samwell 1777, p.1017). The absence of insignia of rank elsewhere implies the presence of the gods, see Sacred Festivals. The presiding 'eiki, before whom Finau's retinue were performing, has not been identified. The matter invites further thought.

17 June 1777 at Popua, Tongatapu. A complete kätöanga for the reception of Captains Cook and Clerke by the Kauhala Lalo 'eiki, Tupou Lahi and Maealiuaki, comprising a presentation of yams and bark cloth, faiva, and a pöme'e (Cook 1777, p.131), see fig.13.

From 11 a.m. to 3 p.m. faiva are performed on a ground where Anderson estimates eight thousand people are congregated (Anderson 1777, p.897). In this interpretation four companies perform a showcase each featuring a me'etu'upaki dance. The performers are entirely male and some performances may have lasted an hour. The small group of musicians is augmented by a large number of singers; the dancers sing while dancing; the musicians possibly sing while playing. Anderson describes the sound of the drumming as loud and powerful (Anderson 1777, p.894-9).

The presiding chief is Maealiuaki (Anderson 1777, p.902). Each dance company is lead by an 'eiki. Each showcase begins with a fa'ahi hiva; then a standing me'etu'upaki; there may be a display of weapon handling by solo dancers; the performance may conclude with a short, fast dance. In the evening there is a pöme'e.

2. 17 JUNE 1777. The first company, led by an unidentified 'eiki, comes into the ring of spectators. Fa'ahi hiva: 70 singers and musicians (lolongo), with three slit gongs (nafa), perform songs. Next, a company of 96 dancers, standing in four lines (ranks) with 24 men in each, performs a number of stanzas of a me'etu'upaki. They sing while dancing; the dancers call and the chorus responds. Next, the same dancers perform a short dance, beginning slowly and quickening in pace. The dancers, singers and musicians exit promptly, without formality.

Anderson records, the music consisting at first of seventy men as a Chorus, who sat down and amongst them three instruments...call'd Naffa...The first dance consisted of four ranks of twenty four men each,

who held in their hands a...Pagge. With these they made a great many different motions, such as pointing it towards the ground on one side, at the same time inclining their bodys that way, from which it was shifted to the opposite side in the same manner, then shifting it quickly from one hand to the other and twirling it about very dexterously with a great variety of other [movement]s, all which were accompany'd by corresponding attitudes of the body. There motions were at first slow but quicken'd as the drums beat faster, and they recited sentences in a musical tone the whole time, which were answer'd by the chorus but at the end of a short space they all joind and finish'd with a shout. After ceasing two or three minutes they began as before, and continued with short intervals above a quarter of an hour, when the rear rank dividing shifted themselves very slowly round each end and meeting in the front form'd the first line, the whole still continuing to recite the sentences as before. The other ranks did the same successively till that which at first was the front became the rear, and they continued in the same manner till the last regained its first situation.

They then began a much quicker dance (though slow at first) and sung for about ten minutes, when the whole divided into two parts, retreated a little and then approach'd forming a sort of circular figure, which finish'd the dance, the drums and music going off the field at the same time (Anderson 1777, p.894-5).

3. 17 JUNE 1777. The second company, led by Omai's Finau, performs a dance in a series of stanzas at different tempos. It is not certain whether Anderson has failed to mention the presence of paki, or whether the dance is a hea or an unknown dance. Typically of an eighteenth century me'etu'upaki the dance has one vāhenga and is accompanied by nafa. Noting that in the evening there is a pōme'e at which Finau leads a company of fifty men who had danced at Ha'apai (Anderson 1777, p.898), it is possible this dance is also performed by Ha'apai men. The chorus comprises 40 singers and musicians, with two slit gongs (nafa). The dancers comprise two lines (ranks): 17 in the front rank with Finau in the centre front, 15 in the back rank. The dancers sing while dancing.

Anderson records, The second had only two drums with forty men for a chorus, and the dancers or rather actors consisted of two ranks, the foremost having seventeen the other fifteen, with Feenou at their head or in the middle of the front rank, which is the principal place in these cases. They danc'd and recited sentences with some very short intervals for about half an hour, sometimes quickly sometimes more slowly, but with such a degree of exactness as if all the motions had been made by one man, which did them great credit. Near the end the hind rank divided, came round and took the place of the front as in the first dance, which again resum'd its situation, and when they finish'd the Drums and Chorus again went off (Anderson 1777, p.895-6).

When Omai's Finau appears at the pōme'e dressed in a distinguishing costume, this is recorded (Anderson 1777, p.898). It is likely that Finau led the me'etu'upaki without any distinguishing item costume that would have caught the attention of foreigners.

4. 17 JUNE 1777. The third company is led by an unidentified 'eiki named Tupou, who is dressed in a garment of red feathers. Fa'ahi hiva: the chorus comprises 70 men and three large slit gongs. One drum is beaten by Fatafehi, brother of Tu'itonga Pau; one by Finau. Maealiuaki is seated

in his own house and beats an accompanying drum from there. The dancers consist of two ranks with 16 men in each. The me'etu'upaki is performed rapidly. It closes with the familiar pattern of each back row dividing and coming to the front. The two ranks of dancers then withdraw, while continuing to sing. In the cleared ground two dancers give solo displays of dexterous club handling, then a third solo dancer appears with a spear, somewhat in the manner of the Fijian, Tu'i Soso (Gifford 1929, p.94). The weapon dancers are wearing turbans (Anderson 1777, p.896). The spear dancer retreats and the two parties of me'etu'upaki dancers rejoin.

Anderson records, Three drums (which always took two, sometimes three men to carry them) were brought in and seventy men sat down as a Chorus to the third dance, which consisted of two ranks of sixteen each with a chief nam'd Toobou (not the one mentioned before) at their head, who was richly ornamented with a sort of garment covered with red feathers, an article much esteem'd here. These danc'd, sung and twirl'd the Pagge as before, but in general much quicker and so well that they had the constant applauses of the spectators. A motion chiefly approv'd was one in which they held their faces aside as if asham'd & the Pagge before it. The hind rank clos'd before the first and that again resum'd its place as at the other dances, but they began again, form'd a triple row, divided, retreated to each end and left the greatest part of the ground clear, on which two men enter'd very hastily and excercis'd the clubs which they use in battle. They did this by first twirling the club in their hands and making curcular strokes before them with great force and quickness, but so exactly together that though standing quite close they never interfer'd. they shifted them to the opposite hands with equal dexterity, and after continuing a little time kneeld & made different motions, tossing their club up in the air which they caught as it fell, and went off as hastily as they entered...A person with a spear dress'd like the former then came in, also in a hasty manner, & look'd about eagerly as if he wanted some body to throw it at. He then ran hastily to one side of the crowd in the front and put himself in a threatening attitude, as if he meant to strike with it at one of them, bending the knee a little and trembling as it were with rage. He continued in this manner only a few seconds when he came quickly over to the other side and put himself in the same posture at two of us who stood together, & standing about the same time retreated from the ground as fast as he had appear'd. The two partys of dancers, who had divided, kept repeating something slowly all the time and now advanc'd and joind again, ending with universal applause (Anderson 1777, p.896-7).

5. 17 JUNE 1777. The fourth showcase begins with a fa'ahi hiva: a single person calls and the entire groups responds. The chorus comprises 40 men and two slit gongs.

There are 60 dancers. The dancers form into three lines, with 24 men in the front line. As they perform the me'etu'upaki the standing dancers sing in call and response with the seated chorus. In some stanzas the dancers divide into two groups facing back to back; reform as one group; change lines; and end with the back lines moving successively forward; divide into two groups and move apart, leaving the centre space clear but continuing to sing as a pair of solo dancers gives an exhibition of club handling, followed by a second pair. The dancers return briefly to conclude the performance.

Anderson records, The last dance had forty men and two drums as a chorus. It consisted of sixty men who had not danc'd before dispos'd in three rows having 24 in front, but before this they had a pretty long preliminary harangue in which the whole body answer'd a single person who spoke. They recited sentences (perhaps verses?) alternately with the chorus and made many motions with the Pagne in a very brisk mode, which were all applauded with Maree'ai [*Mälie! Stunning!*] and Fy'fogge [*Fai foki! More!*], two different degrees of praise. They divided into two bodys with their backs to each other, form'd again, shifted their ranks as in the others, divided and retreated, making room for two champions who exercis'd their clubs as before and after them two others, the dancers all the time reciting slowly in turn with the chorus, after which they avanc'd and finishd (Anderson 1777, p.897).

21 June 1777, at Popua, Tongatapu. A complete katoanga with presentation of provisions, faiva, and a pöme'e. A great quantity of provisions is assembled in two towers and presented to Cook from Tu'itonga Pau, an 'eiki of Kauhala 'Uta, and from Finau Fangupö, an 'eiki of Kauhala Lalo (Munford 1963, p.42), see fig.15.

Anderson records, The Indians...collected in great numbers about the tent and in the morning two large piles, each comp's'd of the trunks of four trees plac'd near [each] other in a square about thirty feet high, were erected with pieces fastend across to get up by. These were fill'd to the top with large yams, and in the forenoon a number of people brought a good many fish which were chiefly mullet, and others carry'd small ones stuck on branches as at Mareewagees though more numerous in a kind of procession. They also brought a small Turtle and afterwards a great many more Yams, all of which with a piece of cloth, a mat and a bit of red feathers were given as a present to the Captain by Poulaho, beside two hogs which were carry'd up and fasten'd to crown the two piles of Yams (Anderson 1777, p.902).

The faiva begin at 1 p.m. The programme comprises three me'etu'upaki, wrestling and boxing. Anderson remarks that the me'etu'upaki performed on this occasion are less grand and less spirited than the performances on the 17 June 1777. A me'etu'upaki performance in front of the two towers of yams is recorded by Webber (Joppien & Smith v.3, pl.3.56), see fig.16. In the evening there is a pöme'e (Anderson 1777, p.901-2).

6. 21 JUNE 1777. The first me'etu'upaki appears to be again performed by the same company who performed first at the katoanga on 17 June 1777 which was hosted by Maealiuaki (Anderson 1777, p.902).

7. 21 JUNE 1777. The second me'etu'upaki is led by Tupou. The second was conducted by the Toobou, who also danc'd [at Maealiuaki's reception on 17 June], and had four or five women in it who went through the several parts with as much exactness as the men. Towards the end they divided to leave room for two men who exercis'd their clubs as mentioned [on 17 June 1777] (Anderson 1777, p.902).

8. 21 JUNE 1777. The third me'etu'upaki is not described, suggesting Anderson observed nothing new in it. He notes that two solo dancers exercise their clubs (Anderson 1777, p.902).

Cook's account of the entire programme on 21 June is as follows: In the afternoon we had two or three of the ----- dances, after them a man with Club in his hand danced a harlequin dance with prodigious agility (Cook 1777, p.136). It thus appears that Finau's company does not perform at Pau's reception. In the evening there is a pöme'e.

Ellis's record of me'etu'upaki performances in 1777 is a memoir. His account is problematical; different dances may have been coalesced. In Ellis' description, the dancers divide into two parties, which first perform in lines facing the presiding chiefs, performing an exchange of positions between front and back lines; there is an interlude of weapon handling; the dancers perform a choreography of similar subtle shifts producing semicircles and circles. Possibly Ellis adopted the word hiva from New Zealand Māori. Ellis does not regard the me'etu'upaki as a dance and he does not name it. *Not forming a circle as in the dances* is possibly a reference to the circular dances of the pöme'e.

Their grand heivahs seem to be divided into different acts: they first begin with a dance of the men, which continues near a quarter of an hour; and when finished, another large party of performers come in, and divide themselves into two companies, not forming a circle as in the dances, but a line, with the music in front, something like this:

Every performer has a small wooden instrument in his hand, about three feet long, shaped, something like a baker's peel. As soon as the music strikes up, they also begin and perform an incredible number of motions with this instrument, all moving as if only one man, with great quickness and in exact time to the music. After this has continued about seven or eight minutes, they all, by very gradual and indeed almost imperceptible degrees, change places, so that those who were behind are now in front, and those who were in front are now in the middle, observing the different attitudes and motions with the instruments throughout the time. This continues till they have all regained their

proper places, when the two companies recede from each other still farther and soon after two men make their appearance, dressed in a very antic manner, with each a kind of club in his hand. The various motions, actions and attitudes, which these two harlequins put themselves into, together with the regularity and exactness they observe, are such as cannot be described, and even if they could, perhaps would not be credited. During their performance, the two companies remain inactive, but as soon as the harlequins are retired, they begin again, but vary in their performances, describing circles and semicircles in this manner, and exchange their places as before (Ellis 1783 v.1, p.101-3).

Fig. 53.

9. 5 April 1793 at Pangaimotu, Tongatapu. On 5 April 1793 the Tu'i Tonga Fefine, Nanasipau'u, holds a kätonga for Dentrecasteaux in a temporary camp at Pangaimotu. Her women attendants dance an ula (Kaepler 1993, fig.2.7); Fatafehi (son of the Tu'i Tonga Pau, possibly Fuanunuiava) leads the singing and dancing while standing to one side; the musicians follow Fatafehi (Labillardière 1800 v.2, p.160), see figs 19 & 29. There is no description of the musicians. Labillardière states that the concert differed little from that given by the Tu'i Kanokupolu Mumui on 30 March. The statement is remarkable because the descriptions of the faiva at each are totally different; at Mumui's the musicians were a fakaniua chorus with bamboo stamping tubes. Nanasipau's concert includes a long performance of a me'etu'upaki: When the women had ceased dancing, several men rose up, each holding in his hand a little club, nearly of the shape of a paddle. These they brandished about, keeping time with much precision, and making different movements with their feet. The musicians, after they had sung some tunes in very slow time, sung often very quick, which gave this sort of pyrrhic dance a very animated action, that we admired for a long while. The subject of this dance excited our curiosity; but we soon found, that its object was to celebrate the great deeds of some of their warriors. The women occasionally united their voices with those of the men, accompanying their song with very graceful movements (Labillardière 1800 v.2, p.161).

22 & 25 May 1793 at 'Onetale bay, Vava'u. Receptions by Vuna of the Spanish expedition led by Malaspina and Bustamante. Vuna is identified by Bott as Tu'i Ha'ateiho Fä'otusia Fakahiku 'o 'Uiha, a Ha'a Falefisi 'eiki of Kauhala 'Uta (Bott 1982, p.165-6), and by Gunson as a Kauhala Lalo 'eiki of the Vuna line (Gunson 1987, p.152). The Spanish remain at Vava'u for twelve days, and Vuna's receptions attract the 'eiki society of Vava'u (see Herda 1983, pp.49-51, 70-4). There are no martial arts and the faiva performed do not include a me'etu'upaki (Kaepler 1993, p.93), see figs 31 & 32.

28 May, 1797 at Pangai Lahi, 'Ahau, Tongatapu. Funeral of the hau, Tupou Mumui, an 'eiki of Kauhala Lalo.

10. Day 30, 1797. Day of the kätöanga. This is a day of jubilant dancing (tome'e), celebrated with a me'etu'upaki accompanied by slit gong drumming (tä nafa). The great toomai [tome'e] was performed by men dressed in their finest robes, and mats ornamented with feathers, beads, shells, &c.; the drums called tarraffe [tä nafa] sounding, accompanied by a chorus of performers singing, and holding in their hands an instrument like a paddle, called doböche [tu'u paki], about two feet and a half long, with a short handle; those around them joining in the chorus. They began in three lines, and shifted by various evolutions, till those in the rear became the front, moving in exact time, and with a graceful step (Wilson 1799, p.250-1).

1809 at Feletoa, Vava'u. Funeral of the hau, Finau Fangupö (Finau 'Ulukälala 'i Feletoa) an 'eiki of Kauhala Lalo.

11. Day 20, 1809. The ceremonial of burial is concluded on the twentieth day when the fa'itoka is decorated with black and white pebbles; the fale on the fa'itoka is closed; cooked provisions are sent by the chiefs of each district to the mala'e; a kava ceremony is held and the provisions redistributed. The affair is concluded with faiva: wrestling matches and a performance of the me'etu'upaki (Martin 1981, p.228-9).

1834. The Tongan version of the Methodist Rules prohibits dances, see fig.34.

1848. The Tu'i Tonga Laufilitonga converts to catholicism (Campbell 1992, p.65).

1850. The 1850 Law Code makes dancing illegal, see fig.34.

1860. The Catholic church revives faiva (Cummins n.d., p.147).

1862. The 1862 Law Code declares June 4 an annual day of celebration of the Emancipation edict. A competition is held to find a new dance; the lakalaka is born (Soakai MS[1959], p.20-1).

1875. The Tonga Constitution denies political power and succession to the Tu'i Tonga lineage. ARTICLE 35 The Crown and Throne of this kingdom is possessed by His Majesty, King George Tubou... (Lätükefu 1974, p.260-1).

1881. Kātoanga marking the consecration of the Catholic church at Ma'ofanga. Revival of the me'etu'upaki by the Catholic church (Blanc 1910, p.82). Henceforth the me'etu'upaki becomes a dance practised only by Lapaha, on occasions when the Tu'i Tonga or the Catholic church presides. The form is retained, but the context of performance has changed (Kaeppler [1967] 1993, p.93). This circumstance continues into the 1970s.

1882. TOHI FANOGONOGO FAKABULEAGA Novema 14 1882. It is not permitted to perform any of the Fijian-style dances (ngaahi meke fakafisi) nor any night-time ula (pōula)... Signed Mr Baker, Premier.

The law against meke fakafisi possibly reinforces the dropping of club-handling exhibitions in the interludes of the me'etu'upaki, see fig.34.

1910. The me'etu'upaki is regarded by Bishop Jean Marie Blanc (Père Soane Malia) as a war dance, the finest of all Tongan dances, and identifiable with 1777 choreographies: **The finest (plus belle) of the Tongan dances is a war dance, the meetuupaki...As the meetuupaki was described by Cook, so it is still performed today.** Blanc cites Cook's description of the me'etu'upaki lead by Finau at Lifuka on 18 May 1777 and omits the description of the concluding harlequin solo which would have been a club-handling exhibition (Blanc 1910, p.77-8). The faiva known to Bishop Blanc in 1910 are me'etu'upaki, fakaniua, fa'ahiula, lakalaka, mā'ulu'ulu, tafi, kailao, eke, and mekefakafisi (Blanc 1910, p.81).

1945. Kātoanga celebrating the centenary of the birth of the Kauhala Lalo 'eiki, Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupou 1. Me'etu'upaki performed by men of Lapaha (Kaeppler MS1971, p.9).

1940-60. Hopoate plays the nafa at me'etu'upaki performances and writes down the total known me'etu'upaki opus. He teaches the me'etu'upaki arts to his son Vaisima (b. ca.1900). The me'etu'upaki is taught by members of the Falefā, amongst them the punake Mailau (b. ca 1890); and by Kavapele (b. ca 1920). Kavapele teaches the dance to young men in the Catholic high schools.

In 1959 the Tonga Traditions Committee adds records of the me'etu'upaki to its archive in the Palace Office (Kaeppler 1991, p.354).

Kaeppler's researches reveal that only one me'etu'upaki text is still performed, by Lapaha (Kaeppler [1967] 1993, p.92).

1967. Kātoanga celebrating the coronation of the Kauhala Lalo 'eiki, Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupou 1V. A me'etu'upaki is performed by men of Lapaha (Kaeppler PP1972, p.9; 1993, fig.1.4).

4 & 5 June, 1970. Kātoanga 'o e Tauatāina. No me'etu'upaki is included in the programme of faiva at Loto'ā (4 June) and at Pangai Mala'e, Nuku'alofa (5 June).

Night concert at Fāonelua Gardens: "A Historical Pageant of Tonga", 4 June, 1970. A me'etu'upaki is performed by men of Lapaha. The programme notes state: **The Me'etu'upaki is the oldest ritual dance that is still performed today. It was commonly performed before the temples and the Tu'i Tonga himself beat the drum** (Komiti Faiva MS1970).

1975. Kātoanga celebrating the centenary of the Tonga Constitution. A me'etu'upaki is performed by men of Lapaha; the dancers include

'Asipeli and Kalaniuvalu (Tu'i Tonga line), Kavapele (Falefä) and Maliepö (Falefä). The vāhenga is Kalaniuvalu, great grandson of the last Tu'i Tonga (Kaeppler 1993, fig.7.1).

1989. A me'etu'upaki is performed at the 5th International Festival of Pacific Arts in Townsville, Australia. The performers are students of the Tonga Teachers Training college. The performance is ragged and macho, with footwork from the kailao (Pond, pers. obs.). Kaeppler (pers.comm.) notes that Tuialo choreographed the new footwork to add interest.

In 1793 the Vava'u side responded to Spanish military drill with a vigorous and short war dance performed with assertive vigour. It could not thereby have been a me'etu'upaki but it may have been a meke fakafisi; Fijian and Tongan chiefs participated in each other's affairs in this decade. Like the me'etu'upaki of the era, the dance was prefaced with a song.

During the late eighteenth century the maritime searaiders of Tonga were trafficking with Fiji. Anderson recorded in 1777 that Fiji was three days sailing with a fair wind. He surmised that traffic between Fiji and Tonga was frequent, but possibly recent. The party had noted the absence of dogs in 1773; the dogs they saw in 1777 were common on Fiji. Anderson recorded carved clubs, spears, decorated bark cloth, patterned mats, and clay pots from Fiji and noted their superior workmanship (Anderson 1777, p.958-9). In 1793 Dentrecasteaux's expedition likewise learned that the finest articles traded came from Fiji (Labillardière 1800 v.2, p.174); Finau's eighty-foot kalia was a booty of war against Fijians (Labillardière 1800 v.2, p.138); the matäpule Kaumoala returned from lengthy participation in Fijian affairs (Martin 1981, p.182-96); Moyle recognises Fijian characteristics in the fa'ahi hiva songs (Moyle 1987, p.170); and Gunson recognises alliances of the ruling Vava'u families with Fiji (Gunson 1987, p.152-3). Tongan admiration for Fijian skills, trade with Fiji, the participation of Tongan and Fijian chiefs in each others affairs and their presence in each other's courts (Labillardière 1800 v.2, p.174-5; Martin 1981, pp.68, 69, 72, 187, 193; Herda PP1986) provided circumstances for Tongan adoption of Fijian

dances. The harlequins which accompanied dances with implements, suggest cultural continuity between Lau and Tonga in the late eighteenth century, see Harlequins & Clowns.

Mariner spent four years at Vava'u and Ha'apai during 1806-10. Meke fakafisi is not included in the repertoire of faiva he described. The first record of the name is in the 1882 laws which specifically suppressed it: E ikai gofua ke fai ae g. meke fakafiji, see fig.34e. Blanc was acquainted with the meke fakafisi in 1910, and during the 1920s Collocott described it. It has the quality of asserted vigour which Shennan (PP1992) calls tandava.

A dance which enjoys a great vogue is the Fijian *meke*, or club dance. This is accompanied by the drum alone. A small party, including the drummer, or drummers, sits down at a distance from the dancers, who are all men, each carrying a club over his shoulder. The drumming commences, slowly and softly at first, but quickening in time and increasing in volume. There are shouts from the club-bearers and presently a single figure comes skirmishing forward. His steps keep time to the beats of the drum, as he comes on, bending this way and that, performing various evolutions with his club. He seems to be a sort of scout, or, more probably, a representative of the inciting and challenging to single combat which preceded battle...The single warrior advances toward the party where the drummer is seated, but presently retreats again to the main party, which advances, sometimes with both hands on the handles of clubs, which are resting on shoulders, keeping time to the drum with hands and elbows, sometimes performing more intricate movements with club and body and limbs. As the warriors draw closer and closer the beats of the drum and the movements of the dancers quicken, though the rate of their advance is not appreciably accelerated. Heads and faces, bodies, arms and legs, are all expressive of the spirit of the war dance. The tension and excitement of performers and spectators rise higher and higher. It seems as though the dancers will break and rush upon the party with whom the drummer sits, and upon the spectators. Suddenly there is a shout and a dramatic stop. the

inciting drumming ceases, and the dancers move quietly away. The *meke* is ended.

The realism of this dance is increased by smears of black on the performers' faces, plumes stuck in the hair, and rattles of dried beans about ankles and wrists - adjuncts used in all dances. (Collocott 1928, p.111).

At Vava'u on 25 May 1793, at a day of reciprocal faiva between the great 'eiki Vuna and Malaspina's exploring expedition, the Vava'u side responded to the Spanish military drill with a vigorous and short war dance. This dance also had the assertive vigour Shennan characterises as tandava. It could not thereby have been a me'etu'upaki but it may have been a meke fakafisi. The dance was preceded by a chorus of musician-singers. A "hollow stick" was played by Havea, 'brother' of the presiding 'eiki, Vuna. The ensemble of instruments is an unusual selection. Was the "hollow stick" the elusive wooden sounding board /rattle which is known from museum collections (Moyle 1987, pls 4 & 5), but cannot be recognised in any eyewitness account ?

The music was the first to occupy the centre of the area. Xavea, the brother of Vuna, played the hollow stick [? wooden sounding board], the split cane [bamboo sounding board /rattle] and the drums accompanied, or rather, followed him, and in addition to the rhythm, a chorus of 32 men sang harmoniously.

[The singer-musicians] then, yielded their place to about 60 men who were divided into two groups, feigning a battle. So as not to alarm us in any way, they had substituted short paddles and other small sticks for their wooden clubs. They did not leave out the singing nor the rhythm; but little by little, both [sides] came together; the gestures becoming more violent and, perhaps, more angry in proportion to the closer proximity; the very words, themselves, inflamed the combatants with greater fury. Finally, they moved closer together and without forsaking the rows nor intermixing the two factions, they converted their study to seeking a position which would allow them to brandish

their own blows and to avoid those of the enemy. It was common in this moment, for the entire faction to repeat the short words which their leader uttered. They endeavoured by rapid movements of the head which ruffled their hair to smear their faces with the yellow earth which they found and to vary, at each step, their position, whether as fugitives, or as pursuers...The violence of these movements did not allow this diversion to go on for a long time (Herda 1983, p.71-2).

One of the dance leaders, an 'eiki, performed as a harlequin.

This performance was illustrated by an unknown artist. The drawing is reproduced in Malaspina 1885, opposite p.360; Herda 1983, fig.16; and Moyle 1987, fig.12. The original was located by Herda at the Museo Naval, Madrid, *El Baile de las Hombres en Vavao*, 'The Dance of the Men in Vava'o'. The only occasion when dancers were reported in the journals to have held sticks and twigs, was during a dance here identified from the journal account as *meke fakafisi*. The illustration is otherwise quite unlike the journal description. I have concluded that the illustration is based on a sketch of a *me'elaufola*, and that it was redrawn in Spain by someone who had not seen the performance, with the purpose of illustrating the journal account when it was prepared for publication. The substitution of twigs for weapons had reader-interest in its political connotations.

The people of Koulo on Lifuka island have a Fijian *meke* which is specific to their village. The punake *Ve'ehala Leilua* advised Moyle that Koulo had been settled by Fijians; around 1910 a dance exponent named *Tu'i Tupou* taught this dance to the local residents. The melodic shape of the short stanzas, and the use of a small *lali* (slit gong) for accompaniment, distinguish this dance. Neither Tongans nor Fijians recognise the words (Moyle 1987, p.156).

Koulo excepted, when Kaeppler and Moyle carried out their researches in Tonga during the 1960s and '70s, the meke fakafisi was nowhere to be found. The dances which carried the quality of muscular force (tandava) in 1970 were the vaka eke from the Niuas and the kailao from 'Uvea.

Mariner learned during 1806-10, of late some Tonga chiefs on a visit to Hamoa were so pleased with the superior gracefulness of the *oóla*, which was danced there, that they afterwards brought it into fashion among the higher classes in Tonga, with many improvements and graceful embellishments borrowed from the former place (Martin 1981, p.373). Did the young women of Nanasi's court in 1793 entertain General D'Entrecasteaux with the new Sāmoan ula ?

When Nanasipau'u ordered a *kātoanga* for D'Entrecasteaux, at Pangaimotu on 5 April 1793, young women of her court were depicted performing a dance (Labillardière 1800 v.1, pl.27) which Kaeppler has identified as an ula, citing the grace of the movements: the graceful, soft movements based on the rotation of the lower arm and extension and flexion of the wrist [which] find their characteristic expression [in the ula and *tau'olunga*] (Kaeppler 1993, p.29 & fig.2.7); Labillardière likewise noted the grace of the dancing, see fig.19.

There is no eighteenth century record of an ula where the dance is both named and described. Mariner has compounded the difficulty, with a history of the ula as he heard it in 1806-10, so I will first address this problem. Martin recorded, The night dance called *oóla* is a very ancient one in Tonga, though borrowed no doubt originally from the people of Hamoa [Sāmoa]. This dance was formerly only adopted in the Tonga islands among the lower orders of people; but of late, some Tonga chiefs on a visit to Hamoa were so pleased with the superior gracefulness of the *oóla*, which was danced there, that they afterwards brought it into fashion among the higher classes in Tonga, with many improvements and graceful

embellishments borrowed from the former place (Martin 1981, p.373).

Mariner added that the lyrics were not Tongan (Martin 1981, p.373). Which ula was being danced fifteen years earlier, during the visit of D'Entrecasteaux : the new Sāmoan ula or the old one ?

Labillardière's description reads, **When we arrived at Pangaïmotoo, Queen Tiné, sitting under a shed covered with cocoa-leaves, and erected under the shade of several fine breadfruit trees, was giving an entertainment to General D'Entrecasteaux. She first ordered some young persons of her attendants to dance, which they did with infinite gracefulness, singing at the same time, while Futtafaihe, who was standing, directed their movements, and animated them by his voice and gestures. (See Plate XXV11)...The Queen was surrounded by women, while a great number of men kept at a little distance opposite to her, forming a circle round the musicians (Labillardière 1800 v.2, p.160 & pl.27).***1

In the plate which accompanies this description, ~~see~~ fig.19, the dance depicted is possibly not an ula but a fa'ahi ula,*2 at the moment in which two sets (fa'ahi) of young women have combined in a single line and then regrouped so that the front line moves in one direction while the back line moves in the opposite direction. The depiction is problematical. (i.) The women of each set should be facing the same direction, and their arm movements should be identical. However, as Kaeppler observes, the artist has used the device of different gestures to record the progress of a choreographed movement (Kaeppler 1993, p.26). (ii.) On the right of the Tu'i Tonga Fefine ("Queen Tiné") is a seated woman with hands cupped to perform a clap (fū), and on her left a seated woman performing a fillip (fisipä). Finger-snapping is characteristic of the 'üpē; the expedition had been entertained with 'üpē aboard the "Recherche" on 30 March 1793, and

it is possible that Plate 27 is a collage; fig. 10 is an example of Webber's collages. (iii) There is no depiction of a company of musicians. Fatafehi is holding a nose flute, which accompanied 'üpë. The discrepancies in Plate 27 can be attributed to the circumstance of its being engraving, not an eyewitness sketch, and to an ingenious technique of depicting motion.

In Tongan protocol the Tu'i Tonga Fefine will undoubtedly have been attended by women of rank. If we follow Mariner's history of the ula, there is the intriguing suggestion that her women were dancing the recently introduced Sāmoan ula fashionable among the higher classes, and that what was new about this ula was that it was danced in a set (fa'ahi) of women. If this is correct, the fa'ahi ula of the modern repertoire was introduced to Tonga from Sāmoa during the late eighteenth century. We thus have an unexpected insight: the high ranking young women attending the Tu'i Tonga Fefine entertained the French General with a new dance which they were themselves leading into fashion.

At Vava'u in the same year the women of Vuna's court, by contrast, entertained Malaspina with a me'elaufola. At Vuna's katoanga there was however a very much larger gathering of people, see fig. 32.

When the Tu'i Tonga Fefine and her women went aboard the "Recherche" on 30 March 1793, they entertained the French officers with 'üpë; when the women of Vuna's court went aboard the "Descubierta" at Vava'u, they too entertained the Spanish officers with 'üpë. It can be inferred, therefore, that 'üpë were a faiva of informal day occasions, while the me'elaufola and ula were faiva of the informal night concerts which completed katoanga. Mariner states without qualification that the ula was a night dance (Martin 1981, p.374). Possibly protocol was not quite ordinary during the receptions of Papālangi ships.

Two of the figures in plate 27 are wearing a fine mat over the bark cloth; one of these is possibly Fatafehi Fuanunuiava (later Tu'i Tonga). The other is one of the women dancing; it can be inferred she was a ta'ahine, and the highest ranking of the dancers. Fuanunuiava's highest-ranking wife was Tupou Falemei. Perhaps this is she.

The dress of day kätöanga was bark cloth (vala ngatu) which was pleated round the waist and tied with a girdle (sisi), see Dance Grounds. The exposed arrangement of the garments in the published engraving is its own comment on Europe's lascivious vision of Polynesian women. If Tupou Falemei bared her arse to the French General it could only have been in derision.

Fakaniua

Fig. 54. Night concert by torchlight 1777, attributed to Ha'apai. A musician is gesturing. Night concerts were held at Faka'amumei bay, Ha'apai on 20 May 1777, and at Popua, Tongatapu on 17 & 21 June 1777. Kaeppler (1993, p.87-9) has identified the dance as a men's me'elaufola. The ensemble of musician-singers in the centre opened the concert with a style of singing which Blanc (1910, p.80-1) has identified as fakaniua. The fakaniua is 'a chorus which has the addition of mime' (Blanc 1910, p.79). In 1793 'Three musicians placed before the others expressed the subject of their song by action also...Every now and then they turned toward the king, making not ungraceful motions with their arms' (Labillardière 1800 v.2, p.140-2). Boxing and club fighting at Ha'apai on 18 May 1777 were collaged in the published plate, see fig.10, and possibly gestures of the fakaniua prelude have here been collaged with the me'elaufola dance.

Webber, Sharp. Cook /King 1784. (SOURCE: Conner and Miller 1797, pl.10.)

The eighteenth century fakaniua was an all-male chorus, seated while singing, some playing bamboo instruments (stamping tubes and rattle /sounding board), and some performing arm gestures to embellish the narrative. This faiva opened programmes of night dances; it addressed the gods; it cleared the way for the standing dances. In the twentieth century repertoire its place was taken by the 'otuhaka, tafi, and mā'ulu'ulu.

Blanc writing in 1910 stated that while the me'etu'upaki was the finest (plus belle) of all dances, the fakaniua was the most skilful (la plus savante) (Blanc 1910, p.79). He added, 'Formerly this chorus was no more than a prelude, the overture to the dancing' (Blanc 1910, p.81).

Anderson confirmed the importance of sung poetry in all preludes to the dances: a great part of the pleasure they receive seems to arise from the sentimental part, or what they deliver in Language; for before they enter on the scene of action they always spend a considerable time just at one side where they may be seen in repeating sentences very softly but with little action, which is commonly one of the most applauded parts (Anderson 1777, p.897-8).

The fakaniua songs were recitatives (sprach-gesang) with neither rhymes nor regular measure (Martin 1981, p.174; Kaeppler PP1972, p.8; Moyle 1987, p.169). From Mariner we learn the fakaniua was introduced to Tongan society from the Niua islands (Martin 1981, p.374 & n);*¹ that during 1806-10 the songs were always sung in Tongan language;*² and that the texts were narratives of scenery; of fabulous places such as Europe and Puluotu; of past events including the visits of Cook and d'Entrecasteaux and the Tonga revolution (the civil war following the

massacre of Tuku'aho in 1799); but seldom of love. He gives the text of a fakaniua song describing preparations for a night concert (Martin 1981, p.174-7; 374-5; 413-15). Kaeppler recorded the text of a fakaniua song describing the ten layers of the upper cosmic realm, "Lau Langi".*7. Moyle recorded a text which confirms that the fakaniua was undoubtedly a vehicle of current commentary (Moyle 1987, p.168):

Ke mou fanongo mai pea /ka mau feia ha talanoa /pea mou me'a ange ä
mu'a /ki he faiva 'a hotau fonua /'oku ui ko faka-Niua /'oku tala ko
fakatokanga /telia e kaha'u e fonua.

Just listen if you would
while we weave a story
come along do
to our local specialty (faiva)
known as the Fakaniua
reputed to sound a note of warning
concerning the country's future. (Moyle 1987, p.168)

The musician-singers of the fakaniua blended three qualities of sound: voices singing in polyphony, grave toned bamboo tubes, and acute toned rattles. The bamboo stamping tubes (kofe) varied in number but were invariably of three different lengths, which were tamped (tuki) against the ground. Each length emitted a different tone, producing the minor chord which dominated Tongan music of this era (McKern MS, p.779-80). All eyewitness descriptions describe the sounding board (rattle) as being made of one or several lengths of bamboo, split longitudinally, laid on the ground, and struck with two short sticks. Moyle has reviewed the records (1987, p.70).

The aesthetic beauty of the sounds of the fakaniua must be imagined in its setting. At Ha'apai in 1777 the fakaniua ensemble performed with their instruments and voices resonating in the night air, in a circle lit by torches, amongst trees close to the lagoon shore (Anderson 1777, p.878; Samwell 1777, p.1019). Fakaniua orchestras opened

the night concerts; eighteenth century records suggest that the proper occasion (lakanga) for the fakaniua was the close of day and the stillness of night. On 15 June 1777 Cook was ashore at Popua with Tu'i Tonga Pau: About the dusk of the evening, a number of men came and sat down in a round group and began to sing to the Musick of Bamboo drums which were in the middle of them, there were three long ones and two short, with these they struck the ground end ways as before discribed; there were two others which lay on the ground side by side, one of them was split or shivered, on these a man kept beating with two smal[l] sticks. They sung three Songs while I stayed and I left them at it and was told they continued till 10 o'clock; they burnt the leaves of the Wharra palm for a light (Cook 1777, p.130).

Anderson noted that the grave tones of the bamboo stamping tubes were complemented by the acute tone of the sounding board (rattle). The combination of the polyphony of voices and the tones of the instruments produced an effect of **vast power** (Anderson 1777, p.875). Blanc commented sardonically to those who call this music simple, that its very simple harmony is obtained by very complicated procedures and that he had been unable to notate the music (Blanc 1910, p.81); for this we must turn to Moyle (1987, p.165-70).

Blanc has identified the following description as a Fakaniua (Blanc 1910, p.79-80). The occasion was a reception for Tu'i Tonga Laufilitonga on his return to Tongatapu from Ha'apai in 1830, *see Ka'uhala 'Uta's Elegance*. The fakaniua chorus opened the night concert. Waldegrave noted the tenor's art of breath control (Waldegrave 1833, p.188):

After dinner, the dancers practised; and after dark we again assembled in the inclosure, which was lighted by torch-bearers.

The chorus sat in the centre of a circle, consisting of from thirty to forty men: the leader had three hollow bamboos placed on the ground, on which he beat; others made the base by striking bamboos, closed at the lower end, perpendicularly on the ground; another part clapped their hands like cymbals: the leader sang a tenor note to the tune, which note sounded without cessation. I tried in vain to learn how this was performed; the time was perfect, the voices in exact cadence. During five hours the chorus was only changed twice. The dancing commenced by the women standing in a circle, facing the chorus, keeping exact time to the chorus, which they accompanied with a song. The hands and head were in perpetual motion...

The dancing continued for five hours, ending shortly before midnight. Thus the fakaniua chorus opened the evening's entertainment and continued to accompany the dances, which were possibly me'elaufola.

Blanc also recognised the fakaniua in an account of the night concert for Cook's entertainment at Ha'apai on 20 May 1777 (Blanc 1910, p.80-1), see figs 26 & 54. The fakaniua was again the first item of the evening, prelude to a me'elaufola dance (Anderson 1777, p.875):

the prelude...was a band of music or chorus of 18 men, who sat down in the centre of the place where the dances were to be performed. Four or five of these had pieces of large Bamboo from three to five or six feet long, with the close end of which the[y] kept constantly beating the ground, though slowly, and they produc'd sounds of different sorts according to their length, but all of the grave or base cast, to counteract which a person kept striking a piece of the same substance split and laid along the ground quickly with two sticks, and by that means furnish'd a tone acute as the first was grave. The rest as well as those that beat with the Bamboos sung a slow and soft air, which so temper'd the harsher music that a bye stander who had been accustom'd to hear the most perfect and various modulation of sounds could nevertheless not avoid confessing the vast power and pleasing

effect of this simple harmony, which appear'd not to be produc'd from the variety but the sorts of tones made use of.

Samwell described the same night concert so we can add a third description of the fakaniua. Waldegrave's tenor note sounding without cessation may be Samwell's monotone (Samwell 1777, p.1019):

A Band of Music consisting of four or five Performers was placed at one part [of the ring of spectators], one beat very briskly with two sticks upon small Reeds of Bamboo Cane, the others had large Canes about 2 yards long open at one end & the other they beat slowly against the Ground, accompanying it with their voices in which they were joined by many others in the ring; this accompaniment consisted of a Monotone made by repeating the double o three times, as thus öö-öö-öö, the last tone being drawn out longer than the preceeding. This, the only vocal music, was repeated the whole time in concert with the Instruments, if they may be called such, & all together formed a plaintive Melody which was not disagreeable. Anderson added, After continuing for about a quarter of an hour twenty women enter'd the circle [meaning the ha'ofanga, the great circle of spectators]...They made a circle round the chorus turning their faces towards it, and began by singing a soft air to which responses were made by the chorus in the same tone, which were repeated alternately, during which time the woman accompanied their song with several very graceful motions of the hands (Anderson 1777, p.875).

Thus on 20 May 1777 the same chorus of singers and bamboo instruments continued to play as the night dances commenced.

Mariner stated that the fakaniua was a recitative, and never accompanied by dancing (Martin 1981, p.374-5). Blanc likewise stated, Formerly this chorus was no more than a prelude, the overture to the dancing. However it is clear that by 'dancing' these men must mean standing-dancing, because Blanc also states that the fakaniua is a

chorus which has the addition of mime (Blanc 1910, pp.79, 81), as the following descriptions from 1777 and 1793 confirm. In 1793 Tupou Mumui ordered a *kätoanga* for the reception of General D'Entrecasteaux. It was held at Nuku'alofa on 1 April, possibly on the ground since occupied by the Nuku'alofa palace of Tupou II - IV, *see* fig.27. There was only one *faiva*; it has the hallmarks of a *fakaniua*.^{*3} The instruments of the singer-musicians were four bamboo stamping tubes of three different lengths, and a bamboo sounding board (Labillardière 1800 v.2, p.140-2):

On our right, toward the north-east, were thirteen musicians, seated under the shade of a bread-fruit tree, which was loaded with a prodigious quantity of fruit. They sang together in different parts. Four of them held in their hands a bamboo of a yard, or a yard and a half long, with which they beat time on the ground; the longest of these bamboos sometimes serving to mark the measure. The sounds these instruments gave approached tolerably near those of the *tambourin*, and the following were their proportions to each other. Two bamboos of the middle length were in unison, the longest was a note and a half below them, and the shortest was two notes and a half above. The musician, that sung the counter-tenor, made his voice be heard much above the rest, though it was a little hoarse; and at the same time he accompanied it by beating with two little sticks of *cassuarina* [*toa*] on a bamboo six yards (sic) long, cleft throughout its whole length. Three musicians placed before the others expressed the subject of their song by action also, which no doubt they had thoroughly studied, for their gestures were performed all together, and in the same manner. Every now and then they turned toward the king, making not ungraceful motions with their arms: sometimes they bowed their heads quickly, till the chin touched the breast, and shook them several times, &c. Meanwhile preparation of the *kava* had been completed. The musicians, no doubt, had reserved their choicest pieces for this instant; as now, at every pause they made, the cry of *mâli, mâli* [*mälie! mälie!*], resounded from every quarter, and the reiterated

applauses...informed us, that this music made a very strong and pleasing impression on them. The kava was then distributed.

Turning to Webber's depictions of the night concert at Ha'apai on 20 May 1777 we can see the gesturing arms (haka) of one of the musician-singers (Joppien & Smith 1987 v.3, pls 3.50, 3.51, 3.51A; Moyle 1987, back cover), see fig.54.

Webber depicted simultaneous performances of boxing and club fighting at Ha'apai on 18 May 1777, see fig.10, when all journal accounts described the faiva sequentially; he transposed bamboo stamping tubes onto the me'etu'upaki musicians at Tongatapu on 21 June 1777, see fig.16, when all journals record the use of slit drums; and it appears that he may have transposed the gestures of the fakaniua prelude onto the accompaniment of the me'elaufola dances. Webber's depictions must be treated as collages.

At Mumui's katoanga in 1793 the three performers executing dance gestures (haka) were seated in front of the musician-singers. At Ha'apai on 20 May 1777 Cook described the prelude as follows, A number of men seated themselves in a circle before us and began a Song not one word of which we understood (Cook 1777, p.110). At Tongatapu on 17 June 1777 he recorded, The Musicians to the ----- dance are in front and round them are seated in a long oval form a number of men who keep singing and claping their hands during the whole of the performance, the same is done in the circular dances, with this difference that they sit in a circle and round them the dancers form a nother (Cook 1777, p.131). Anderson (1777, p.875) states explicitly that the orchestra accompanying the circle dances was the same as the orchestra which opened the night concert. Webber's drawings depict the centre circle of seated musicians with the standing dancers performing around them, see figs 26 & 54; this then is the orchestra that performed the opening fakaniua. Following Cook and Blanc, it can be inferred that when the

fakaniua opened the night concert at Popua on 17 June 1777, a row of seated dancers accompanied the recitatives with arm actions (haka). The fakaniua was a faiva with haka.

Fakaniua - 'Otuhaka

I

During the 1960s and '70s both Kaeppler and Moyle searched for the renown fakaniua mode of singing as it had been described in eighteenth century records (Kaeppler PP1972; Moyle 1987). Some people who spoke to Kaeppler in the 1960s recalled that the fakaniua had been accompanied by bamboo stamping tubes; the fakaniua of the 1960s however was accompanied by hand clapping, often syncopated and forming complex rhythmic patterns. The repertoire of texts which formerly had related historical and mythological events now included Old Testament Bible stories (Kaeppler PP1972, p.8). Moyle found that twentieth century fakaniua were synonymous with songs of the fa'ahihiva mode of singing; these are songs of an old tradition distinguished by the accompaniment of stamping tubes, multipart clapping, call and response, and a bass pedal with parallel movement between fasi and tēnoa (Moyle 1987, p.165-70). My researches in Niuatoputapu during 1971 confirm Moyle's statement that in Niuatoputapu the fakaniua was unknown as a mode of singing; the tau fakaniua was a dance replicating the display of arms by World War 11 soldiers, see fig.6.

Mariner included the fakaniua but not the 'otuhaka in his repertoire of dances from 1806-10. The earliest known record of the 'otuhaka is the 1882 Law Code supressing it along with the lakalaka, see fig.34. In the course of her researches Kaeppler noted that a fakaniua

text recorded by Gifford in the 1920s had resurfaced in her records as an 'otuhaka (Kaepler PP1972, p.8).^{*4} The conclusion to be drawn is that after the law codes suppressed the dances of the night concerts, the me'elaufola resurfaced in the guise of the lakalaka, while the fakaniua resurfaced in the guise of the 'otuhaka.

The advice given to Kaepler by Lapaha dance exponents is that the 'otuhaka was performed by a row of seated dancers, gesturing while singing; a small group of female dancers then rose and performed a standing ula (Kaepler [1970] 1993, p.23n; figs 2.5 & 2.8; Blanc 1910, p.79). There is no eyewitness description of the choreographies of eighteenth century pö ula in Tonga. Both Mariner 1806-10 and Vason 1897-1800 attended night concerts, but neither described their faiva, and from 1834 on the pö ula was adamantly banned in both Wesleyan and law codes, see fig.34. The format of a pö me'e was described by Anderson in 1777: the concert was opened with a seated fakaniua and standing circular dances (me'elaufola) followed. Possibly a pö ula was opened with a seated chorus and standing ula dances followed. The songs of the danced ula were langi, but the introductory recitatives to the ula were hiva (Martin 1981, p.376-9) and Moyle notes that fakaniua songs have the characteristics of fa'ahi hiva (Moyle 1987, p.165).

In 1832 reverend John Williams had attended a night concert (pö ula lagi) in Sāmoa and recorded that the concert was opened with a song honouring the gods (Moyle 1984, p.246). Fakaniua and 'otuhaka songs describe the multiple layers of Tongan cosmology (lau langi) (Gifford 1924, p.18; Kaepler 1976 [1993], p.64-5; Moyle 1987, p.169-70; Velt 1990, p.93). It can be suggested that pö ula concerts opened with a seated chorus of musician singers performing fa'ahi hiva. Then followed

standing ula dances. It is possible that ula and fa'ahi ula were accompanied by drumming, on wooden slit drums, or on tafua, or on bamboo rattles. Tu'i Tonga Takalaua was injured while 'beating the drum', ca 1400, because he was watching Va'elaveamata dance (Gifford 1929, p.55; Gifford 1924, pp.31, 60, 62; Thomson 1894, p.294-304). The occasions for the admiration of women's dancing were the pö me'e and pö ula; there are no accounts of drumming at pö me'e.

It can be suggested that when the Catholics began a revival of faiva in 1860 (Cummins n.d., p.147-8), and again in 1881 (Blanc 1910, p.82), a "new" faiva was created : a chorus of seated dancers performed an 'otuhaka which was followed by a standing dance, possibly the common ula of the night concerts, possibly the Sāmoan taualuga, possibly the new Sāmoan fa'ahi ula performed by high ranking women.

II

Kaeppler has described 'otuhaka choreography of the 1960s, and here there may be a further resource for retrieving the choreography of the fakaniua (Kaeppler [1970] 1993, p.23):

...the dancers, usually women or girls, are seated and interpret words of poetry with their movements...the poetry recounts legends of creation, feats of the gods, exploits of the chiefs, and historical episodes...in many cases the poetry and the movements...are no longer understood...During a performance the women usually sit in a single curved row. Often the dancers split into two or more groups which may sing alternately or polyphonically and perform different movements (fa'ahi). In the structure of an 'otuhaka there is usually a preliminary section of hand movements and drum beating without singing (tafua), this is to draw the attention of the spectators before the main section begins. The second section relates a story through singing and hand motions.

Kaeppler writes, In contrast to *me'elaufola-lakalaka* in which the arms are unfolded to an outstretched position, the *'otuhaka* is characterised by *haka nounou*, that is, the arms are held close to the body... These movements are considered more difficult to perform and therefore are more applauded (Kaeppler [1970] 1993, p.23).

What happened to the eighteenth century bamboo stamping tubes ? Kaeppler describes the clapping in one particular *'otuhaka*, the "Laulangi", in which there is no dramatisation and a minimum of movement and illustration: The movement used for the first half of each line is *päpätenga*...a Tongan dance motif in which the knee is struck repeatedly with the open palm and derives from a movement used in everyday life to attract another's attention or for emphasis...the movement for the second half of each line is *pasi, fū, pasi, fū*; that is, the alternation of two types of hand clapping (Kaeppler [1976] 1993, p.63).

Moyle's researches into the songs of the old tradition (*fa'ahi hiva*) add further information about clapping. *Fū*, with the hands cupped, produces a deep, hollow sound. *Pasi*, with the palms flat, produces a smack with a higher pitch. The *fa'ahi hiva* songs have three male parts, each with its own rhythm of clapping accompaniment. The musician singing the bass drone claps the firm beat (*tātaha*) with *fū*. The tenor claps the dividing beats (*vahevahe*) with *pasi*. The musician singing the melody line (*fasi*) claps the rapid after-claps with *pasi* (Moyle 1987, p.165-6). Labillardière noted that whatever the number of bamboo stamping tubes, they were of three lengths. Thus it may be possible to reclaim the rhythms of the eighteenth century bamboo stamping tubes from the clapping rhythms of the *fa'ahi hiva*.

The bamboo stamping tubes may have been replaced by clapping; but not in fact have been altogether abandoned. An 1886 performance of the 'otuhaka at the old Ma'ofanga convent was accompanied by a tafua, which, Kaeppler says, consisted of bamboos wrapped in a mat and struck with sticks (Thomson 1902, fig. opp. p.222; Kaeppler [1970] 1993, p.23 & Fig.2.5; Moyle 1987, pl.14). There is no description of a tafua in any of the eighteenth century records; it seems first to have appeared with nineteenth century performances of 'otuhaka.

The bamboo stamping tubes thus possibly took two routes through the nineteenth century. Hand-clapping retained their aesthetic of contrasting tones and rhythms. Rolled up in a mat they became an accompaniment for the 'otuhaka. Here is a repertoire retained by strategies of dismemberment, reconstitution, and transformation.

Fakaniua - Tafi

During the twentieth century a further transformation occurred. In 1918 the wedding of Sälote Tupou III and Tungī Mailefihi was celebrated with a new faiva named tafi 'to sweep'. Kaeppler states that the tafi is an evolved form of the 'otuhaka, and that its role (lakanga) is to be the first dance in a program of Tongan dances in order to sweep the malae in preparation for the dances that follow (Kaeppler 1983, p.91). Thus at state festivals, the lakanga of the fakaniua was filled by the tafi, see

Soakai's History of the Lakalaka.

Kaeppler attributes the creation of the tafi to Tuku'aho; it was at first a faiva exclusive to Fua'amotu, the estate of Tungī, Tuku'aho's successor (Kaeppler 1983, p.91). By 1970 the most popular seated dance

of twentieth century festivals was a closely related dance, the mā'ulu'ulu. Village companies usually comprised both male and female dancers. During the 1960s the mā'ulu'ulu of Queen Sālote College, performed by 600 girls gesturing in unison, became renown; possibly because of the scaffolding, it was customarily the final item of the programme.

Perspectives

The fakaniua was tuned to the acoustics of a secluded clearing amongst tall trees where the toonk, toonk of bamboo instruments blended with voices singing and resonated in the night air. The performers were surrounded by a great seated circle of spectators, in an open space amongst the trees just by the sea, with lights at small intervals in the inside of the circle (Samwell 1777, p.1019; Anderson 1777, p.878). The chorus of musician-singers sat in a close circle facing in to each other; the me'elaufola dancers encircled them, singing with call and response between dancers and musicians.

Nineteenth century photography now participates in the record. Reeves' accompanied his account of 1895-96 with a photograph of a row of seven young girls seated in the open performing an 'otuhaka (Reeves 1898, p.39). The dance repertoire was in the hands of school girls. In 1902 Thomson accompanied his account of Tongan music with a photograph of the 'otuhaka taken by J. Martin in 1886 (Thomson 1902, opp. p.202; Moyle 1987, pl.14; Kaeppler 1993, fig.2.5). Here is a company of twenty-four girls seated on the lawn of the Ma'ofanga convent. Their hair is long and tied with ribbons; their garments are of factory fabric,

covering the body from neck to forearm to ankle. Some are wearing black, fringed capes. The seated dancers are formed into a horseshoe around two girls who are beating a tafua. The performance is in the open, in the daytime. In the background are wooden shacks. Some postures are slouched and the faces are not animated. The transition fakaniua to 'otuhaka reflects the transformation of the illustrious era to the taste of the governing English gentlemen: John Thomas, Shirley Baker, Henry Francis Symonds, Basil Thomson.

The 'otuhaka photographed in 1886 took place against the sounds of carts and public activity. The performers sat in an open horseshoe, dancers and musicians facing outwards to the presiding guests. The wit and elusive topical comment of the fakaniua songs had been replaced by Old Testament Bible stories. The agility and sheer pleasure of dancing evidenced in eighteenth century performances had been replaced by passive compliance; offstage is an alien authority-figure. Strongly absent in the 1886 photograph are the animation of posture and gesture and the unity of the company which would reveal exhilaration of spirit. This is a dance retrieved under restrictions.

By the 1960s and '70s taxi horns and brass bands were familiar sounds on the Nuku'alofa waterfront. Queen Sälote College for girls had made the mä'ulu'ulu its own faiva. Performances were six hundred heads strong, raised on forms in serried ranks. The beat of the drum excited both audience and performers. There was a unity and dramatic tension which elicited immediate shouts of mälie! mälie! (see Kaeppler 1993, pls 1.3, 2.6, 9.5, & back cover). Let us suppose that at Pangai mala'e the kätoanga is a blaze of colour in the full sunlight. Radio Tonga's van is fitted out with a battery of technology; microphones and electric cables

cross the reception ground. Moyle is stationed in the van with the radio announcer; Kaeppler has positioned her video camera end-on to the dancers. The dais accommodates the royal family, cabinet ministers, and overseas guests, although the seats reserved for ANU's Pacific historians are empty.*⁵ Kauhala Lalo heads the Free Wesleyan Church. The songs of Ha'a Mohefo praise the era of peace and manufactured prosperity. It is an entirely new aesthetic.

CHAPTER 31

Me'elaufola Suite

Fig. 55. Late afternoon at 'Onetale bay, 25 May 1793. Me'elaufola dance performed by women during an afternoon of reciprocal entertainments between Vuna, an 'eiki lahi of Vava'u, and a Spanish expedition led by Malaspina. In front of the circling dancers an old woman is performing a solo dance. Her stance with bent knees and her arm gestures replicate a modern Tongan or Sāmoan tau'olunga. A figure in the foreground is playing a nose flute. The old woman who clowned, see fig. 21, is seated by the tree trunk.

The programme on 25 May comprised Spanish military drill, and possibly a meke fakafisi (men), a me'elaufola (women), a he'a (men), and a dance by children. Painting by Juan Ravenet.

Original in the Museo Naval, Madrid, *Baile de las mujeres en las Ys de Vavao*, Dance of the Women on the Island of Vava'u,, 350 x 590 mm. Located by Herda 1983, fig. 15.

Eighteenth century me'elaufola were performed at night concerts (pö me'e) and at reception for foreign explorers. They possibly had short texts, executed with increasing acceleration. The journals of eighteenth century expeditions do not anywhere record the name me'elaufola; the night dances were characterised as circular dances.*1

A feature much remarked on in eighteenth century me'elaufola was the great variety of gesture: neither pen nor pencil can describe the numerous actions and motions they observe, which as I have before observed are easy and gracefull and many of them extreemly so (Cook 1777, p.131).....The musicians sit together forming a small circle, and the women dance round them, and their attitudes and motions are beyond description (Ellis 1783, v.1, p.98-100).

Me'elaufola dances appear to have been open to participation by people of all ranks. At Vuna's reception at Vava'u on 25 May 1793, Malaspina's party commented, The more adult women did not disdain in mixing with the younger and the dance had not even begun when it was already necessary to form a second circle outside in order that all would be able to dance with some comfort (Herda 1983,p.72-3), see figs

21 & 55.

In 1970 new texts and choreographies were being constantly created for the lakalaka, and possibly this was so of the me'elaufola. At the night concert at Popua on 17 June 1777 Anderson recorded: in another [dance] consisting of twenty four men there were a number of motions with the hands that we had not seen before which were highly

applauded (Anderson 1777, p.898). No song texts have been identified as me'elaufola. Comments by Malaspina's expedition at Vava'u on 25 May 1793 suggest the songs may have comprised a repeated text: To see them, a moment later, almost roused from the ideas which distracted them, to listen and to follow the music again with greater attention.....the evenness and rhythm...apparently depended on the specified number of repetitions of the song (Herda 1983, p.72-4). Anderson's account of a men's dance at the Ha'apai night concert on 20 May 1777 also suggests the same choreography, and possibly therefore the same text, was being repeated with increasing acceleration: at intervals increas'd the measure of their dance by clapping the hands and quickening the motions of their feet which however were never varied (Anderson 1777, p.876).

Short, repeated texts are characteristic of eighteenth century dance songs (see Martin 1981, p.376-9). Descriptions of call and response between dancers and musician-singers suggest the form of the night dance-songs was antiphonal or responsorial (Moyle 1987, pp.112, 113).

Eighteenth century me'elaufola appear to have been performed in suites, as the me'etu'upaki were. Night concerts (pö me'e) opened with a fakaniua recitative, followed by a woman's me'elaufola dance. Acceleration in men's me'elaufola was marked with rapid footwork. Women's me'elaufola were concluded with a short, fast dance with a thrilling rotation (as in Tahitian dancing) or vibration (as in Cook Islands dancing) of the hips. This movement remains unknown in the legislated legacy of twentieth century Tonga. Performed with acceleration at the end of the me'elaufola, it would have caused audiences to flip

their lid, to fly to the moon. The following records possibly describe women's me'elaufola.

WOMEN'S ME'ELAUFOLA

1. At the Ha'apai night concert on 20 May 1777 the first dance was by women, *see* fig.12. Anderson (1777, p.875-6) recorded:

[FAKANIUA] ...the prelude to [the dances] was a band of music or chorus of 18 men, who sat down in the centre of the place where the dances were to be performed. Four or five of these had pieces of large Bamboo for three to five or six feet long...The rest as well as those that beat with the Bamboos sung a slow and soft air...After continuing for about a quarter of an hour

[ME'ELAUFOLA] twenty women enter'd the circle...

[CIRCLE] They made a circle round the chorus turning their faces towards it, and began by singing a soft air to which responses were made by the chorus in the same tone, which were repeated alternately, during which time the women accompanied their song with several very gracefull motions of the hands towards the face and in other directions, at the same time making constantly a step forward and then back again with one foot while the other was fix'd. They then turned their faces to the assembly, sung some time, and retreated slowly in a body to one part of the circle which was opposite to where some of the principle people sat as spectators in a small hut.

[CIRCLE] One then advanc'd from each side, met and pass'd each other at the front walking round till they came to the rest, on which two advanc'd from each side two of whom pass'd each other and return'd as the former, but the other two remaind & to these came one from each side by intervals till they had again made a circle about the chorus, [*see* fig.26].

[ULA] Their manner of dancing was now chang'd for a quicker sort in which they made a kind of half turn by leaping and clapp'd their hands, repeating some words in conjunction with the chorus, but towards the end as the quickness of the music increas'd they

perform'd a sort of motion which with us would be rather reckon'd indecent, as they mov'd the lower part of the body on the trunk from side to side for a considerable time with such vigour and dexterity as shows they have been well initiated in the practice of it, on which they finish'd the dance.

2. Waldegrave described a night concert at Mu'a, Tongatapu in 1830, for the reception of Tu'i Tonga Laufilitonga, see Kauhala 'Uta's Elegance. The first dance was by women (Waldegrave 1833, p.188):

After dinner, the dancers practised; and after dark we again assembled in the inclosure, which was lighted by torch-bearers.

[FAKANIUA] The chorus sat in the centre of a circle, consisting of from thirty to forty men : the leader had three hollow bamboos placed on the ground...During five hours the chorus was only changed twice.

[ME'ELAUFOLA - CIRCLE] The dancing commenced by the women standing in a circle, facing the chorus, keeping exact time to the chorus, which they accompanied with a song. The hands and head were in perpetual motion, of the most graceful attitude, occasionally curtsying or turning half or quite round. Eighty women performed in each dance; and each moved the hand at the same instant, in the same attitude.

[ULA] The tune was changed from slow to quick, by degrees, until it was very quick; the whole body from the feet upwards was in motion : it ended in a shout.

3. Cook described a night concert at Tongatapu on 17 June 1777, see fig.13, (Cook 1777, p.131):

The Evening was ushered in with singing and dancing the Circular dance in which both men and women performed. Feenough...was a principal actor in this entertainment: even Mariwaggy himself at one time beat on the drum. These drums were...hollowed logs of Wood and Bamboos of different lengths.

[FAKANIUA] the Musicians to the ----- dance are in front and round them are seated in a long oval form a number of men who

keep singing and claping their hands during the whole of the performance,

[ME'ELAUFOLO - CIRCLE] the same is done in the circular dances, with this difference that they sit in a circle and round them the dancers form a nother, but this is done so insensibly that it is some time before it is compleat and very often not till the end of the dance. These dances vary perhaps much more than we were able to discover, however there appeared a sort of sameness throughout the whole.

Anderson also described the night concert (pö me'e) at Tongatapu on 17 June 1777. It was held in front of Finau's house, lasted three hours, and comprised 12 dances (Anderson 1777, p.898): in two [dances] that were perform'd by women a number of men came and form'd a circle within theirs.

4. At Vava'u on 25 May 1793, during an afternoon of reciprocal faiva, women performed a dance led by Vuna's elder lineage sister, Tupou, ^{see} fig.32. The journalist noted the transition as the dancers were aroused from a langor of the eyes to a gay acceleration, during which they maintained complete composure (Herda 1983, p.72-4):

Fifty women, the greater part of them *Eguis*, and almost all young, entered the area and made ready to embark upon a new dance...The music, composed, now, of a chorus of a numerous men and the general gaiety which equally penetrated everyone, incited them not, to lose momentum.

[FIRST REPITITION] Those [who] wished to direct their attentions at closer quarters moved nearer, as they danced round about, until they ended up elaborating a little on the newly accomplished steps, the actions seemed more expressive and the song more sonorous.

[SECOND REPITITION] To see them, a moment later, almost roused from the ideas which distracted them, to listen and to follow the music again with greater attention and to surrender all to the pleasant movement of the fibres.

[ACCELERATION] Then the rhythm accelerated the more lively movements and cleared away the langor from the eyes, all took in the pleasure; and not only the spectators, but also Nature, herself, seemed to take part in this very pleasant scene.

As the dance accelerated an old woman clown appeared, see figs 21 & 55.

MEN'S ME'ELAUFOLO OR HEA

The night concert at Ha'apai on 20 May included four dances by men, see fig.12. If they were all me'elaufola or all hea, each performing group had its own choreography, as in the modern lakalaka. In the first and third dances, however, both choreographies required balancing on one leg. The first two dances were small troops, 15 men and 12 men, which could suggest that each troop was the retinue of an 'eiki.

1. The first dance followed immediately after the opening women's me'elaufola; it was accompanied by the fakaniua orchestra with a bamboo, not a wooden rattle. It was described by Anderson (1777, p.876).

Kaeppler ([1967] 1993, p.82-3) identifies this account with Webber's drawing, see fig.54. :

To these [women] succeeded fifteen men some of whom were old, but their age seem'd to have abated little of their agility or ardour for the dance.

[ME'ELAUFOLO - CIRCLE] They were dispos'd in a sort of circle divided at the front, with their faces not turn'd out towards the assembly nor in to the chorus, but one half of the circle fac'd forwards as they had advanced and the other half in a contrary direction. They sometimes sung slowly in conjunction with the chourus during which they made several very fine motions with

their hands but different from those of the women, at the same time inclining the body to either side alternately by raising one leg which was stretch'd outwards and resting on the other, the arm of the same side being also stretch'd fully upwards. At other times they recited sentences in a musical tone which were answer'd by the chorus,

[REPITITIONS, WITH ACCELERATION] and at intervals increas'd the measure of their dance by clapping the hands and quickening the motions of their feet which however were never varied. At the end the music & dancing quickend so much that it was scarcely possible to distinguish the different motions, though one might suppose they were almost tir'd as it had lasted near half an hour.

2. Anderson (1777, p.876) continued with a description of the second men's dance:

[INTRODUCTORY RECITATIVE] After a considerable interval twelve men came in, who plac'd themselves in double rows fronting each other but on opposite sides of the circle, and on one side a man who repeated several sentences as if he had been a prompter, to which they and the chorus replied. They then sung slowly [ME'ELAUFOLA] and afterwards danc'd and sung more quickly almost after the manner of the former, for about quarter of an hour.

3. After some dances by young women and a comic speech, two men's dances completed the night's programme. The first was by a large company of 48 men: we had a dance compos'd of the men who attended or had follow'd Feenou. It was described by Anderson (1777, p.877):

[DOUBLE CIRCLE] They form'd a double circle (i e one within the other) of twenty four each round the chorus, and began with a gentle soothing song with corresponding motions of the hands and head (which lasted for a considerable time)

[FIRST ACCELERATION] and then chang'd to a much quicker measure with which they repeated sentences either in conjunction with or in answer to some spoke by the chorus.

[TRIPLE SEMI CIRCLE] They then retreated to the back part of the circle as the women had done, and advanced on each side in a triple row till they form'd a semicircle, which was done very slowly by inclining the body on one leg & advancing the other a little way as they put it down. They accompanied this with such a soft air as at the beginning,

[SECOND ACCELERATION] but soon chang'd it to repeat sentences in a harsher tone, as the same time quickening the dance very much till they finish'd with a general shout and clap of the hands.

[REPEATS OF ACCELERATION] The same was repeated several times, [DOUBLE CIRCLE] but at last they form'd a double circle as at the beginning,

[ACCELERATION] danc'd and repeated very quickly

[DOUBLE CIRCLE CHANGES] and finish'd with several very dexterous transpositions of the two circles.

4. The last dance of the evening, 20 May 1777, was performed by all the men of rank, possibly a large company. Moyle has suggested it was a hea (Moyle 1987, p.113). Anderson's description replicates the exceptional speed of the hea, the circular formations characteristic of me'elaufola, and the attention to singing of both (Anderson v.3, p.877).

[HEA] The last dance consisted of the same number of the principle people who were present and began nearly as the last, [REPITITIONS, WITH ACCELERATION] but their ending at each interval was different, for they increased their motions to a prodigious quickness, shaking the head from shoulder to shoulder with such force that a person unaccustom'd to it would suppose they ran a risque of dislocating the neck. This was attended by a smart clapping of the hands and a kind of savage hollo or shriek not unlike what is sometime practic'd by our lower sort of country people in their dances.

[TRIPLE SEMI CIRCLE] They form'd the triple semicircle as the former had done, and a person who advanc'd at the head on one side began by repeating something in a truly musical recitative, deliver'd with an air so gracefull that might put to the blush our most applauded performers. He was answered in the same manner by the person at the head of the opposite side, which being repeated several times the whole in one side joind in the responses to those of the other

[CIRCLE] as they advanc'd slowly to the front, and they finish'd by singing and dancing as they had begun .

5-7. At Vava'u on 22 May 1793, see fig.31, a presentation of produce to the Spanish expedition was followed by kava and then faiva: three dances by men. The participation of most of the assembly in the dances suggest they would have been me'elaufola rather than hea. The journalist noted the acceleration (Herda 1983, p.49-51):

[FA'AHl HlVA] The music was not different to that which we already knew...[a reference to an orchestra of 20 men with bamboo stamping tubes on 21 May 1793].

[ME'ELAUFOlA] About thirty men performed the greater part being of the class of the Eijis, and they were no less disposed by their agility than by the gallantry of their appearance to give much prominence to the scene. They sang, accompanied at the same time by the music of the canes [bamboo stamping tubes]. The head, the arms, and the legs moved with equal rhythm; slightly amusing, although manly, the different positions of the eyes, breathing modulated and concerted (so to speak) with the general harmony, they demonstrated that there was not any fibre in all the [human] machine that did not share in the pleasure which occupied them at that time. As the dancers sank into the fluid motion of the dance, the tempo gradually accelerated, and the audience became enlivened, while the dancers retained perfect co-ordination.

[ACCELERATION] As the fervour, the agitation, and habit made the uniform movements of the dance more easy and natural, the music, penetrated by almost the same sensation, was gradually accelerating the rhythm until coming to the greatest degree of swiftness, yet, without causing the least disorder, enlivened the remaining audience with an almost equal degree of feeling and gaiety. The dance figures changed two times and with them the music also varied, these athletes had to give up for a short time to rest, not without having received our share of the greatest praises and applause and even of the remaining audiences.

8. The programme of dances at Vava'u on 25 May opened with a vocal item. Havea ('brother' of Vuna) controlled the pace by playing on the 'hollow stick' (possibly a wooden rattle /sounding board). The first standing dance was possibly a meke fakafisi by 60 men. The second dance was by ca 40 men of 'eiki rank who formed circles round the musicians, see Hea.

Perspectives

I

The proper occasions (lakanga) for me'elaufola were the night concerts (pöme'e) where the dance was lit by torch light and set in a clearing amongst very tall trees, in the vicinity of a chiefly burial mound at a junction of roads. The dance masters of the lakalaka are called pulotu: poets (pulotu fa'u), choreographers (pulotu haka), and composers of tunes (pulotu hiva). In this constellation of features, a connection with the afterworld and the shades of the ancestors ('otua) is implied.

It can be suggested that the quintessential feat of the women's me'elaufola was its acceleration, a technique of ecstasy.

II

The faiva with long narrative texts were poems and recitatives: maau, lave, fa'ahi hiva, and fakaniua. Eighteenth century me'elaufola possibly had short texts repeated with acceleration. This is territory familiar to scholars of Polynesian dance. The Tokelau fätele texts collected by Thomas (1986) comprise four lines, repeated with gathering acceleration.

Eighteenth century me'elaufola were exhibited in suites. This also is familiar territory. Thomas describes the presentation of Tokelau fätele with a preceding speech which usually evokes hilarity, and a concluding tuku, a short, rapidly accelerating piece (Thomas 1986, pp.39, 43, 106, 121). Kaeppler states that a programme of Hawai'ian dances was traditionally concluded with a mele ma'i, which was short, fast, and rhythmic and probably conducive to the aesthetic exhilaration ideally created by Polynesian dance (Kaeppler [1976] 1993, p.72).

From this perspective the twentieth century lakalaka is missing a prelude (fakaniua) of witty, political songs which pleased eighteenth

century audiences, and although it gains pace it is missing a concluding display of dizzying dexterity (ula). But possibly all was not lost.

In 1970 the first verse of a lakalaka was sung without dance movement, while the dancers paid homage (fakatapu) to the ruling lineages. This convention seems to stand in for both the opening recitative and the slow gathering of movement.

Sälote's lakalaka was a stately dance eulogising the governing dynasty (Shumway 1977); its choreographers however still retained its technique of transportation: the *lakalaka* must begin in majesty and end in ecstasy (Malukava Kavaefiafi in Shumway 1981, p.474).

On occasion, a tau'olunga added a finishing touch to a lakalaka or a mä'ulu'ulu dances; Kaeppler notes that this may be done at Loto'ä (in the palace grounds) but not at Pangai (on the reception ground) (Kaeppler [1970] 1993, pp.27, 29; figs.2.9, 5.4). People came to the Nuku'alofa Palace to present their dances with warmth and spontaneity at all hours of the day; here old traditions survived. Thus at loto'ä the lakalaka sometimes did have its concluding piece, in the modern tau'olunga.

The great lakalaka composer Malukava Fineasi, acknowledged his precursor. At Loto'ä on 4 June 1970 Lapaha closed the programme with the lakalaka, "'E taku 'a pë kuo u ta'emä" :

Me'a mai kau hau'atea
Kae no'o si'eku ta'ovala
Ko e me'elaufola e haká

Draw near, festival-goers
While I don my waistmat
This dance is a me'elaufola.

(Malukava Fineasi, ta'anga lakalaka, ca 1930.)

Ula Suite

Eighteenth century ula were a women's faiva of the night concerts. The texts were in couplets, repeated over and over at increasing tempo. The ula was executed with a thrilling movement of the hips (a vibration or rotation).

Early eighteenth century ula songs (*langi*) recalled by Mariner comprised a couplet which was repeated with increasing tempo (Martin 1981, pp.377, 378). During the increase in tempo the dancer maintained immaculate accuracy of timing and execution. The ula songs were many and various.

Like the *me'etu'upaki* and *me'elaufola*, ula were part of a suite, that is they were preceded by recitatives ([*fa'ahi*] *hiva*). The songs sung while dancing were *langi*: The *hiva*...is repeated several times *ad libitum*; but when the *langi* is about to commence, and the *hiva* to cease, the latter is generally ended with a sort of flourish difficult to describe, but with a louder tone of voice, and very abruptly, as if significant of a sudden rush or assault (Martin 1981, p. 379). The twentieth century ula is a dance portraying female grace, without the thrilling vibration: The poetry is one or two lines repeated over and over. ...The emphasis...is on beauty of movement, and the graceful, soft movements based on the rotation of the lower arm and extension and flexion of the wrists find their characteristic expression here...In the structure of the dance, one dividing motif alternates with a set inventory of movements...The movement motifs are known to the spectators and the dancer is judged by their correct execution...there is little body or leg

movement, except for the bending of the legs while keeping the back straight, small sideways steps, and steps in place (Kaeppler 1993, pp.27, 29).

Kaeppler has traced the ula-tau'olunga connection, that is the displacement of the ula by the modern tau'olunga (Kaeppler [1970] 1993, pp.27, 29; figs. 2.9, 5.4). Modern tau'olunga cover more ground than the ula, and include lively movements which add an air of excitement and festivity: small jumps to turn side on, a clap inserted before a hand action, small ecstatic cries uo! uo! uo!, and a sequence called fakataupasi 'hitting with a clap'. Kaeppler writes, The *fakataupasi*...consists of snapping the fingers, clapping the hands, hitting the palms to other parts of the arms and legs, a half turn usually on one leg while the other leg is quickly raised after hitting the hand to the ankle, and sometimes by leaping. Today this group of movements usually comes at the end of the dance when the music is considerably speeded up (Kaeppler [1967] 1993, p.82).

Samwell had a coalesced recollection of the night concert at Ha'apai on 20 May 1777. Anderson stated that the first women's me'elaufola was performed by twenty women. Samwell's description begins directly with a fakataupasi performed by ca twelve women. It may correspond with Anderson's description of the "ula" which concluded the me'elaufola. The women were dancing in sets (Samwell 1777, p.1020):

The music was no sooner begun than there advanced into the Ring with a measured Step a Female elegantly dressed with a Chaplet of Flowers on her Head. She was soon followed by near a dozen more dressed in the same manner who all joined together and formed the Dance. It consisted in moving in couples briskly round the ring, springing up & clapping their Hands all together, throwing them by

their sides, clapping one hand to the head the other to their waist, then wriggling their backsides in a lascivious manner, springing up again & repeating the same motions. Then dividing in equal numbers, retreating back, then running forwards & meeting, all the time repeating a Song & frequently looking upward towards the Sky. They continued dancing about a quarter of an Hour and then went out of the Ring & were succeeded by a new sett.

Cook at the Ha'apai night concert, having described only the dancing of women, adds, Both men and Women accompanied the Song with a variety of motions of the hands and snapping of the fingers, which seems to be an essential part of their singing (Cook 1777, p.110).

Trance Dances

Included in the programme of night dances at Ha'apai on 20 May 1777 was a set of dances performed by young women who were afterwards each struck a severe blow. Cook's party interpreted this as punishment. However night dances were occasions of some informality (Kaepler [1967] 1993, p.91-2). The blows may have been punishment for inaccuracies in execution, or they may have been a demonstration that the dancers were in trance. It is unimaginable that 'eiki women would be struck so grossly. The incident suggests the dancers were selected for their skill and this was also Williamson's conclusion: their dancing Women...are early trained to it, for the entertainment of the great.--The principal Women who have at all times an Air of consequence & dignity in whatever they do, never perform among them (Williamson 1777, p.111n). As Kaepler reports, dancers of the *ula* are chosen because of their skill in dancing, in contrast with the *lakalaka*, *'otuhaka*, and

mā'ulu'ulu in which dancers are placed according to social status

(Kaeppler [1970] 1993, p.27). This is Samwell's account (Samwell 1777, p.1020-1):

...a company of young women came into the ring & sat down looking rather dejected. This unusual appearance led us to expect some new Entertainment, & we were not kept long in Suspence before a Scene truly novel tho' not very entertaining was exhibited. A Man came into the ring & without any Ceremony advanced to one of the Girls who immediately bowed down her head & presented her back in an advantageous position, upon which he laid as heavy [a] blow a she could with both hands open & then proceeded to the next, & so on...the Girls went through it without any outcries or complaints & as soon as it was over they all rose up and danced as if nothing had happened.

The dance performed by these women was also described by Anderson. Here again were the features of finger snapping and undulation (Anderson 1777, p.877):

This dance did not differ much from that of the first women [possibly the dance identified as an ula following the opening *me'elaufola*] except in one circumstance, where they raised the body upon one leg by a sort of double motion and so with the other alternately, during which they kept snapping the fingers and at the end they repeated the wriggling motion of the first with great briskness

In Bali the *legong* (*sanghyang dedari*) dances are performed by girls in trance, inhabited by divine spirits (George n.d., pp.41-4; 46-9); they are young because after menstruation they are no longer effective as mediums. Their limbs have been trained from an early age to articulate with fluid suppleness the quality Shennan calls *lasya*. The choreography of the ula invites comparison with the *legong*; it is a

dance for pleasuring in the sheer beauty of the movement, and in the physical grace of the dancer (Kaepler [1970] 1993, p.27).

Demonstration that the dancers were in trance could have been made with a gentle gesture; the severity of the blows has no explanation in Tongan records.

With the vocabulary available,*¹ we can suggest that at the Ha'apai night concert on 20 May 1777 women performed both me'elaufola and (fa'ahi) ula. The opening me'elaufola was preceded with a fakaniua and completed with a fast (fa'ahi) ula. Later in the programme a set of nine young women under the charge of old women, performed a (fa'ahi) ula and were required to repeat their performance. The dances described were performed by sets of women; they were possibly fa'ahi ula performed at a concert that had the format of a pö me'e.

In 1970 Ve'ehala Leilua would perform a tau'olunga to end a dance he had choreographed (Kaepler 1993, pl.5.4), but amongst the public, men had not displaced women; the ula - fa'ahi ula - tau'olunga connection remained a women's art.

Perspectives

Hafoka's list of faiva recognised ula and fa'ahi ula as separate faiva, see fig.41. By 1970 the fa'ahi ula of the Catholic church was fixed in choreography and executed by a set of young women (usually four, six, or eight), ideally with immaculate accuracy and consummate grace (the quality Shennan calls lasya); its reputation was as an authentic replication of an eighteenth century faiva. Meanwhile the role of the ula had possibly been taken over by the tau'olunga, a popular form quick

to reflect modern fashion, and danced as a solo by women of any age, as an expression of jubilation at weddings, birthday parties, hotels, and tourist beaches.

The Tongan tau'olunga is reputed to be derived from the Sāmoan tau'aluga (Kaepler [1971] 1993, p.29) In 1970 it was not a faiva. There are occasions when older Māori women will rise to mark the completion of formal proceedings with a solo dance. Each woman performs in her own style the kopikopi. Shennan writes, The mood of *kopikopi* is clowning and always provokes hilarity. There are movements of the pelvis and hips, known as *onioni*, which give rise to its lighthearted label of 'the New Zealand Maori hula' (Shennan 1984, p.54-5). Māori oni is possibly cognate with Tongan oli 'amusing'; fakaoli is said of the spontaneous clowning which is an expression of exhilaration of the spirit (mäfana) during displays of faiva. Shennan comments that the kopikopi has no fixed form, no text to interpret, no beginning, middle and end. This is the very essence of why the modern Tongan tau'olunga was not classed as a faiva in 1970. However, as Kaepler notes (pers.comm.), the tau'olunga conforms to the structure of the hiva kakala it accompanies.

It seems we remain uninformed about the format of a concert of pö ula. Was it a seated circle, lit by torchlight, within which a solo woman rose to dance, to be surrounded by male dancers (tulaufale) who complemented her grace, as tau'olunga were performed within the night kava circles in 1970 ?

He'a Choreographies

The he'a was a faiva of the eighteenth century night concerts, performed by men of rank. As in the me'elaufola, the dancers circled round the seated chorus. The essential quality of the faiva is not known. Characteristics by which descriptions of he'a might be recognised are the wooden sounding board, complex patterns in the singing, difficult gestures of limbs and head, and extreme acceleration at the end.

I

Mariner stated that the songs of the he'a were mostly Sāmoan, but sometimes Tongan (Martin 1981, pp.372-3, 374):

The [he'a] is one of the most ancient dances of Tonga, and is practised only by chiefs and superior matabooles; and is a dance very difficult to execute, not only on account of the accompanying gesture, but also of the singing...the difficulty of keeping time is owing to the extreme velocity with which they beat, particularly towards the latter end. The dancers, who are all men, in the meanwhile perform their evolutions round the chorus, exhibiting a vast variety of very graceful movements with arms and head, accompanied by expressions of countenance suitable to the character of the dance, which is that (abstractedly) to a manly and noble spirit, consistent with the mind and habits of a superior person, and therefore it is deemed essential that every chief and mataboole should learn it...it would be considered a mark of great ignorance to be unaccomplished in the graceful, manly, and expressive movements of this dance .

The he'a is not named in any eighteenth century journal. At a late afternoon reception ordered by Vuna for the Spanish expedition at Vava'u on 25 May 1793, see fig.32, a dance was performed by men of 'eiki rank. It had the quality which Shennan characterises as lasya (Shennan PP1992), and may have been a he'a. One of the dance leaders

was the Sāmoan 'eiki Tu'imoala (Tumoala), described by the Spanish as outstanding in his features and natural gaiety (Herda 1983, p.72). the head described by Mariner is evoked in the attention to the singing and the civility of the dancers :

A dance of the men, whose number was no less than forty and whose class, in our understanding, was completely of Eiji, immediately, replaced [the preceding dance]. They danced for a long time, singing to themselves, and doing different turns around the instrumental music. The pleasure, the harmony, the civility, and the agility were outstanding almost with envy. They doubled their care and skill when they filed out in front of us, and the assembled impression [was] of strength, of pleasure, and of internal tranquility... (Herda 1983, p.72).

Mariner described the chorus of musician-singers who accompanied the hea: The chorus is composed of ten or twelve of the chiefs or principal matabooles in the middle of whom sits one who beats time upon a loose flat piece of hardwood, about three feet long, and an inch and a half square, fastened only at one end upon another similar piece. This is struck by two small sticks, one in each hand, and produces a rattling sound (Martin 1981, p.372-3). By 1972 Kaeppler had found examples of the wooden sounding board in museums (Kaeppler PP1972, p.10); they are illustrated in Moyle, made of tamanu wood, carved and inlaid (Moyle 1987, p.71-74, pls 4 & 5).

The programme of dances at Vava'u on 25 May was opened with a vocal item, possibly a fa'ahi hiva or fakaniua. The musicians were led by Havea, thought by the Spanish to be a 'brother' of Vuna. Havea controlled the pace and meter by playing on the 'hollow stick' (possibly a wooden sounding board). The musicians playing the 'split cane' (possibly a bamboo sounding board) and the drums (possibly wooden slit

gongs, nafa) followed Havea. The music was first to occupy the centre of the area. Xavea, the brother of Vuna, played the hollow stick, the split cane and the drums accompanied, or rather, followed him, and in addition to the rhythm, a chorus of 32 men sang harmoniously (Herda 1983, p.70-2). The Vava'u record can be read to suggest that the wooden sounding board characteristic of the he'a was present, *see Me'elaufola*

Suite.

II

At the night concert at Ha'apai on 20 May 1777 the last dance of the evening was performed by all the men of rank. Moyle has suggested it was a he'a (Moyle 1987, p.113). Anderson's description replicates the exceptional speed of the he'a, the circular formations characteristic of me'elaufola, and the attention to singing of both, *see Me'elaufola Suite.*

At Ha'apai on 20 May 1777 the chorus of 18 male musician-singers played four or five bamboo stamping tubes (kofe) and a bamboo sounding board (Anderson 1777, p.875). There was no wooden sounding board in this chorus. However the programme was interrupted by the 'punishment' of nine women dancers, and a comical speech, and when the dancing resumed the final two men's dances could have had a different orchestra, though Anderson noted nothing of the sort.

During a programme of 12 dances, at a night concert at Tongatapu on 17 June 1777, Anderson noted of one item: in another [dance] consisting of twenty four men there were a number of motions with the hands which we had not seen before which were highly applauded (Anderson 1777, p.898), *see Me'elaufola Suite.*

At Vava'u on 22 May 1793, a programme of three men's dances has here been interpreted as me'elaufola, *see fig.31*, but there was a change

of orchestra: The dance figures changed two times and with them the music also varied, these athletes had to give up for a short time to rest (Herda 1983, p.51).

Musicologists have not recognised transformations of the he'a in any twentieth century dances. The Tongan hou 'eiki have not continued to treasure their works of art and the skills of the illustrious era are beyond the reach of twentieth century dancers. The Methodist Rules for Society and the Tonga Constitution invited conformity and rigidity, not audacity and dexterity.

BLANC Joseph Felix. 1910. *Chez les Méridionaux du Pacifique.*

V1 Danses des temps passés Dances of the Past, pp.74-86.

p.74.] Before speaking of dance in Tonga, because it is one of the things that the indigenous inhabitants love the most, I will first remark that the Tongans do not dance just for amusement. Smile who will. But while the European does not, in effect, seek any thing more from a ball than entertainment, people of former times devised different purposes. Dancing was formerly a religious act. It has retained this character in many countries of the East. Nowadays in Polynesia, where the old dances have not been lost, their religious purpose has fallen into disuse. One dances in the style of the old generations, but for entertainment.

I insist on this last word. For, on the evidence of eastern cultures it seems that they rest on a certain sense of symbol, in harmony with the dreamy (reveuse) imagination of these countries. In its gracious forms and its elegant style (*allures*), this choreography mysteriously reveals ideas and feelings in accord with the emotions of the spectators. It is true that there is something of that [p.75] in Tonga too; otherwise the pronounced liking of the crowd for these spectacles would not be explicable. But the ideas and the feelings no longer provoke the curiosity to uncover them under the mobile and changing envelop which hides them; there remains only an instinct which seeks to observe the form without going beyond it.

Any theory of the art would wear itself out trying to deduce the state of soul of the indigenous inhabitants, and the origin and trend their imagined fantasies. They are no more than the games of children, enjoyments beyond what embellishes a festival, where the eyes and ears alone seek gratification. Agreeable and noble sensations certainly, but nothing more. One could compare the use that modern-day Tongans make of this artistic heritage to the mindless game to which the Ha'apai people gave themselves up when, having pillaged the "Port-o-Prince", they used [p.76] the pieces of gold they found aboard as discs for playing ducks and drakes.

And though it is a game, it must be recognised they they give themselves over to it with an ardour which befits a game designed to inflame. One cannot amuse onself better and at so little cost, meaning cost of money, for time does not count.

When the preparatory rehearsals for a dance intended for an approaching festival have begun, the ear is pursued relentlessly by the heavy and impelling beating of the drum which sustains the rhythm. The patience of the practitioners does not diminish during the long days of waiting. They give themselves up to a veritable fever. And there is never a lack of spectators to urge them on, and gorge themselves with an always ta steful show.

The day of the festival having arrived, the artists assemble at the village square. Through their dance costumes, always elaborate, often very becoming, they are conscious of fulfilling a public role. Dignified and reserved, male and female dancers save themselves for the moment of execution. Moved by the very emotion they expect to arise in the crowd which is watching them, an intense preoccupation throws a light veil over their features. But at the given signal, a transformation occurs.

Their voice rises, sure and melodious, in harmony with the movements of their limbs. Their physiognomy comes to life. And, for hours at a time, the fascinated on-lookers regard them in absolute silence, then, in [p.77.] moments of rest, issues its bravos with exuberance and profusion.

The finest (*plus belle*) of the Tongan dances is a war dance, the *meetuupaki*. Cook and his companions saw it executed in Ha'apai and were ravished with admiration. It is to its undeniable aesthetic beauty that its conservation must be attributed; for its preparation is very laborious and its execution very difficult, and those who can direct it are becoming more and more rare. Many weeks are necessary to train the performers. But the result truly rewards them for their pains.

As the *meetuupaki* was described by Cook, so it is still performed today. De Rienzi has translated literally the account of the celebrated explorer: "It was a kind of dance, performed by men and youths of the first rank; but so unlike any thing I know of in any other part of the World, that no description I can give will convey even a tolerable Idea of it. Any number may perform it, there were in this one hundred and five, [p.78] each having in his hand an Instrument shaped something like a paddle of 2 1/2 feet in length, with a small handle and thin blade so that they were very light and the most of them neatly made. With these Instruments, they made many and various flourishes each of which was attended with a different attitude of the body and some different movement or a nother. They at first ranged themselves in three lines, and by different movements and motions each man changed his station in such a manner that those who were in the rear came in front. Nor did they remain long in the same form, but these changes were made by pretty quick movements; they at one time extended themselves in one line then formed into a semicircle and lastly into two square Columns.... The musick was two drums or rather two hollow logs of wood on each of which they beat with two sticks. It did not appear to me that the dance was much assisted or directed by this Musick, but by a Song in which every one joined as with one voice; it was musical and harmonious and all their motions were performed with such justness that the whole party moved and acted as one man. It was the opinion of every one of us that such a performance would have met with universal applause on a European Theatre, and so far exceeded any thing we had done to amuse them... " [This quotation is from Cook's journal, *Beaglehole* v.3 1967, p.109. Blanc (p.77-8) however is quoting the official account of Cook's voyage.]

The other dances are generally executed either by women only or by men only. It is rare to see men and women in the same [dance]. When such a case does arise, either the women are seated in the first line in front, and the men in another line behind; or else they form a single line with a [p.79.] male and female placed alternately. In every case, a seated position,

legs crossed, is adhered to; it is only exceptionally that a figure occurs in the course of a (*bal*) programme of dances where the performers stand up.

If the war dance, the *meetuupaki*, is the finest of all, that which is called *fakaniua* (in the manner of Niua island) is the most skilful (*savante*)

It would be more exact, in fact, to regard it as a chorus (*concert*) and not as a dance; but it is a chorus which has the addition of mime. Captain Waldegrave, who visited Tonga in 1830, saw it. Here, following de Rienzi, it how he spoke of it:

"The leader had three hollow bamboos placed on the ground, on which he beat; others made the base by striking bamboos, closed at the lower [p.80.] end, perpendicularly on the ground; another part clapped their hands like cymbals: the leader sang a tenor note to the tune, which note sounded without cessation. I tried in vain to learn how this was performed; the time was perfect, the voices in exact cadence. During five hours the chorus was only changed twice." [W. WALDEGRAVE, 1830, in *Journal of the Royal Geographic Society* Vol.3, 1833: 168-196.]

It is the *fakaniua* again that can be recognised in the following description given by Cook: "...they treated us in their turn with several dances, the prelude to which was a band of music or chorus of 18 men, who sat down in the centre of the place where the dances were to be performed. Four or five of these had pieces of large Bamboo from three to five or six feet long, with the close end of which the[y] kept constantly beating the ground, though slowly, and they produc'd sounds of different sorts according to their length, but all of the grave or base cast, to counteract which a person kept striking a piece of the same substance split and laid along the ground quickly with two sticks and by that means furnish'd a tone as acute as the first was grave. The rest as well as those that beat with the Bamboos sung a slow and soft air, which so temper'd [p.81] the harsher music that a bye stander who had been accustom'd to hear the most perfect and various modulation of sounds could nevertheless not avoid confessing the vast power and pleasing effect of this simple harmony, which appear'd not to be produc'd from the variety but the sorts of tones made use of." [*This quotation is from Anderson's journal in Beaglehole 1967 v.3, p.874-5, whereas Blanc (p.80-1) is quoting the official account of Cook's voyage.*]

This very simple harmony is obtained by very complicated procedures, such that it has been impossible for us to record the notation of this music. Formerly this chorus was no more than a prelude, an overture to (*bal*) the programme of dances. Today only the chorus remains; the dancing has disappeared. The dances which still comprise it are different. They form a very varied repertory. As well as the two described above, there is the *faahiula*, the *lakalaka*, the *mauluulu*, the *tafi*, the *kailao*, the *eke*, the *mekefakafisi*.

[p.82.] They all have in common the characteristic of being mime-dances. The action is sometime lively, sometimes slow, but always imprinted with a gracious charm. The movements are impeccably precise. The gestures are always made with an elegant suppleness, in spite of a disconcerting infinity of forms.

Following the establishment of protestantism, Tonga was for a long time deprived of these entertainments. Instead of pruning a few elements which were too free or certain exercises which were too strenuous, the whole lot were suppressed en bloc. But when the catholic Mission celebrated the sacerdotal jubilee of Father Chevron in 1881, it was found that most of the Tongan dances had nothing incompatible with a community of fervant converts (*neophytes*) and they were honourably restored (*elles furent remises en honneur*). The *meetuupaki* was revived a little later, on the occasion of the consecration of the Ma'ofanga church.

In the interval, the old stanzas that had been sung while dancing had almost been forgotten. They have been replaced by religious compositions. If the festival is secular, verses are borrowed from the Samoans.

However, poetry is not dead in Tonga: there are still some composers, and they are all the more appreciated for the drop in their numbers.

The Tongan poet works without pen or paper. He goes and finds his muse in the bush. He remains there for days at a time; and when he returns to the village, his brow is furrowed; he pays attention to no-one, it is [p.83.] said that he speaks only to things. In his memory the lines (*vers*) are arranged one by one, filed in long series of rhymes terminated by the same vowel until, pushed out, it concedes its place to another one.

The lines have almost all the same number of feet [a foot is a group of syllables, one having the main stress], most often 12, but these are alexandrines [line of 6 feet or 12 syllables, as in French heroic verse] without caesura [metrical pause, especially near the middle of a line], or with a caesura that moves about.

The figurative language, which is invariably used, sometimes makes it very difficult for the common person to comprehend the meaning of a composition at first hearing, especially if the poet, true to the traditions of his art, takes pleasure in the secret meanings of the symbolic language of flowers. They represent figuratively goodness (*le bien*), beauty, happiness. The art of the poet consists in making them [p.84.] speak for themselves, or rather in presenting them as they are (*dans l'état*), in colours which can suggest these ideas in their various nuances and in their different aspects.

From nature the poet borrows other images again; the mountain, the breeze, the sea with its waves, are favourite sights which he loves to borrow for inspiration. But always the image is presented on its own; the pleasure of discovering its application (meaning) is left to the listener. Here for example is how an elegy on the death of Monseigneur Lamaze begins:

I would sing, but on what subject?
The disc has fallen
And the disc holds fast;
The embalmed flower has faded
And the embalmed flower has opened
The mountain has crumbled
And the mountain has risen up.

In the game of discs [lafo] one chases the other and takes its place. Thus, thinks the poet, so be it of the defunct bishop and of his successor. The flower whose perfume has evaporated and its lustre faded, will be succeeded by another which will bear fruit. If the mountain erodes, another will rise in its place. Through these simple enigmas, the alternation of life and death, in appearance as capricious as a game of chance, relentless as the breeze of time, and whose rigour is not shattered by any resistance, but which submits all splendour and all grandeur to the common law, releases a resigned melancholy, and like some [p.85.] feelings of sadness, almost consoles.

Whatever subject it touches on, this poetry is only an enfeebled resonance of the monotonous and tepid breeze in which the coconut fronds wave in the evening. It has nothing vibrant, nothing more than gentle shivers which strokes the heart without penetrating it. It is like a lilting dialogue, full of sweetness and calm.

When the poet commences to paint, it is in the fashion of the very simple and inimitable Japanese kimonos. In one stroke he depicts the funeral cortege of the bishop of these islands:

It was a flight of black gulls.

With as much restraint and the same skilful touch, he profiles the apostle who has left his homeland for distant oceans:

I love my exile at the foot of a solitary coconut palm.

To relish this poetry without depth but not without art, nothing can equal hearing the poet himself, surrounded by numerous dancers, before the assembled audience, on a festival day.

These are magnificent shows, which one can scarcely fail to meet in these lost islands, which Europeans consider nothing more than a land of savages. What a long way from these indigenous entertainments to the [p.86.] vulgar polkas, to the shady hops that some sad prowlers of the islands teach nowadays, at night, in the villages, under the benevolent eye of certain foolish chiefs! One is sickened at seeing these night-club manners infiltrating such worthy people. It is disgraceful shame which must be laid at the feet of (*de plus au compte de*) the degenerate descendants (*avatars*) of the old civilisation.

Trans. W.P.

End Notes

19. *Soakai's History of the Lakalaka.*

1. Tupou Posesi Kaho (pers.comm.) states that the first parliament of chiefs was held at Pouono, Vava'u in 1859. Lätükefu (1974, p.173) states that the parliaments were held at Nuku'alofa in 1859, at Ha'apai in 1860, and at Vava'u in 1861, but does not cite his source.
2. Sioeli Pangia was the son of Kalaniuvalu, son of the Tu'i Tonga Laufilitonga. He died in 1935 (Bott 1982, fig.1) and was possibly not Governor of Ha'apai as early as 1859.
3. This was an idea of the time. Lätükefu 1975, p.54 notes, The teaching of the missionaries on the equality of all men before God had significantly raised the social status of commoners, and their participation in church organizations together with the chiefs had helped to prepare the ground for greater social and political acceptance.
4. Tuku'aho is described by Campbell 1992, p.108-9.
5. Sione T. Mateialona was a grandson of Tupou I (see Bott 1982, fig.13) and Premier of Tonga from 1905-12.
6. At Niuatoputapu in 1971, Fuimaono completed his hala to the hau by leading his people forward to kiss the hand of the prince. In this account it is possible that the 'eiki of Tu'anekevale was fulfilling a hala to Mateialona; or he may have been enacting the British protocol of shaking hands. Symonds felt himself to be the presiding 'eiki.
7. Reeves' records of lakalaka are problematical. The dance depicted on p.39 "The maid of the village leading, they performed a 'laka laka'" is a seated 'otuhaka performed by seven girls who are executing precisely the same motif recorded by Kaeppler in 1965 (Kaeppler 1993, fig.1.5). However, Collocott's records from the 1920s do confirm that lakalaka dances were still variable in form (Collocott 1828, p.110-11).
8. Vailahi is the crater lake on Niuafo'ou island. The Kaho brothers were ministers in Sälote's parliament. Through Tuita their ha'a is descended from Niuafo'ou. The flying foxes have favourite roosting trees at Kolovai on 'Ata's estate in the heart of Tu'i Kanokupolu territory. At Kolovai is Pangai Lahi and the koka tree where the Tu'i Kanokupolu were installed. In both couplets Sälote is reminding Niuafo'ou people of their connections with her house.

20. *Niuniupulu, Moamoalulu.*

1. From the 1860s on, Polynesian choreographers in the Pacific retrieved their dance heritage by various strategies. When scholars searched for the sources of the new Māori action-songs (waiata kori) they found some actions had been taken from the old patere, the haka

powhiri, and the haka taparahi; some actions had been newly devised; the skills of facial gesture (pukana, ngangahu) and the quiver of the lower arms (aroarowhaki, wiri) were feats of old dances carried into the new choreography (Shennan 1984, p.62-70).

2. In the account in which the Tu'i Tonga Takalaua was injured while beating the drum, ca 1400, he was watching Va'elaveamata dance (Gifford 1929, p.55; Gifford 1924, pp.31, 60, 62; Thomson 1894, p.294-304). The occasions for the admiration of women's dancing were the pöme'e and pöula.

3. The first Lavaka (Ha'a Havea) was the son of Tu'i Kanokupolu Mataele Tu'apiko and Fatafehi, daughter of the Tu'i Tonga Kau'ulufonua. He outranked the Tu'i Kanokupolu Mataele Ha'amea (Bott 1982, p.132, fig.2).

4. While these were dances for a new era, scholars of Pacific dance cannot avoid recognising that there is an older Polynesian heritage common to the twentieth century forms of the Tongan me'etu'upaki, the Futunan täpaki, and the Mäori peruperu; the Tokelau fätele and the Tongan lakalaka; that there is a continuity of tradition between Indonesia and Polynesia. This recognisable continuity rules out the mission schools as the source of the lakalaka.

5. The tafi is a variation on the mä'ulu'ulu (Kaeppler 1983, p.91). The Tongan mä'ulu'ulu is possibly a variation on the Sāmoan mä'ulu'ulu which was introduced to Tonga around 1900, or a transformation of the 'otuhaka (Kaeppler [1970] 1993, p.25). The earliest record of 'otuhaka are the 1882 law code banning it, see fig.34e. Kaeppler suggests the tafi was created by Tuku'aho, an 'eiki of Tatakamotonga, Mu'a, ca 1895. The earliest performance recorded was in 1918, at the wedding of Tuku'aho's son, Tungī Mailefihi to Sälote Tupou III (Kaeppler 1983, p.91).

6. At the Independence celebrations (Kätoanga 'o e Tau'atäina) on 4 & 5 June 1971, the two-day programme of faiva at Pangai comprised 21 dances: 14 Lakalaka, 2 tafi, 2 mä'u'u'ulu, 2 kailao, 1 vaka eke (Pond, papers).

7. Powles 1990 notes that while the Constitution guaranteed civil liberty for the people, the Tu'i Kanokupolu remained the hau, the highest authority over chiefs, people, and land. Under nineteenth century laws, selected chiefs were privileged in land tenure (they were granted estates and income); in status and authority (their powers were made legally enforceable, their titles and estates hereditary); and in parliamentary process (by voting restrictions).

8. When a search was made for the origins of the new Tokelau fätele, old Tokelauans answered, 'E ola mai laia au kua iei, When I entered the world it was there', although it was known amongst them that the dance had been brought from Tüvalu. Tokelauans now perform the fätele in preference to their old dances which were banned by Sāmoan protestant missionaries but are still in the Tokelau repertoire. Thomas notes that the fätele is not Sāmoan and not specific to any one Tokelau atoll; from 1880 onwards it was indigenised, rechoreographed, and popularised to

become a vehicle of national unity and identity. Its origins, belonging to an abandoned paradigm, are of no account (Thomas 1986, p.136-56).

21. *Conclusions*

1. Through place names Sälote is describing the origins of the Fotofili title of Niuafu'ou and her own genealogical connection to the line. The technique is called laumätanga (Helu 1986).
2. Compare Bott 1982 with Gunson 1979, p.39 n52; 1987, p.152-3 n62.
3. For example, Bott 1982 Figs 13, 29, records that Tupouto'a, father of Täufa'ähau Tupou I, was the son of Tu'i Kanokupolu Tuku'aho by the high-ranking woman 'Ulukilupetea. Accounts of the era however treat Tupouto'a and Tupou I as chiefs of low rank. (i). Tupouto'a was the chief who directed the scuttling of the Port 'o Prince in 1806; in Mariner's contemporary account his mother was one of the king's female attendants (Martin 1981, p.99). (ii). In Soakai's account of events at Vēlata in 1826, Täufa'ähau had the rank only of an 'eiki tauhi fonua (Soakai 1959, p.3). (iii). During the siege of Pea in 1840 Te'efoto taunted Täufa'ähau with the jeer, Ala 'e he Ha'aola fie Tu'i, 'a fisherman trying his hand at being king' (Soakai 1959, p.15). (iv). In Hafoka's account of renown hau, Täufa'ähau is cited as a hau kinima, a self-made hau who achieved the title without the asset of rank (Hafoka [1959, p.53-4]).
4. Ao of Kauhala 'Uta chiefs, fa'u of kauhala Lalo chiefs (Martin 1981, p.112; Soakai 1959, p.7).

22. *Shining Skill*

1. In Queensland from 1990-94 Spiderman (the cat burgler) scaled high-rise apartment blocks barehanded; it was his faiva (Dominion 13 August 1994). In Paris Philippe Petit walked at dizzy heights between the towers of Notre Dame cathedral; tightrope walking was his faiva. "Scared of what? I just can't fall down. That is not part of my universe." (NZ Herald 14 June 1994, p.6).
2. Hala'api'api was the son of Pasiaka, a brother of 'Ulukälala 'i Ma'ofanga (Bott 1982, p.143). He murdered 'Ulukälala's son, Finau Fisi (Campbell 1992, p.51). He is well described by Mariner (Martin 1981, p.274-6).
3. McKern by contrast records tulihopo 'diving', hopotafisi 'fancy diving' (McKern MS, p.684).
4. While crossing the north Tibetan tableland in the 1920s, Alexandra David-Neel observed a lung gumpa runner travelling at an unusual gait with extraordinary swiftness. Lung gumpa training develops uncommon nimbleness; the feat expected however is one of endurance rather than of momentary fleetness: the performance does not consist in racing at full speed over a short distance as is done in our sporting matches, but of...extraordinarily long tramps with amazing rapidity. The feat combines

mental concentration with breathing exercises; the skills attained are spiritual and physical.

David-Neel was warned not to harm the runner by interrupting his trance but as he passed she observed the regularity of his springing leaps: I could clearly see his perfectly calm impassive face and wide-open eyes with their gaze fixed on some invisible far-distant object situated high up in space. The man did not run. He seemed to lift himself from the ground, proceeding by leaps. It looked as if he had been endowed with the elasticity of a ball and rebounded each time his feet touched the ground. His steps had the regularity of a pendulum...The right [hand] held a *phurba* (magic dagger). His right arm moved slightly at each step as if leaning on a stick, just as though the *phurba*, whose pointed extremity was far above the ground, had touched it and were actually a support ... my servants dismounted and bowed their heads to the ground as the lama passed before us...[he] seemed as if carried on wings (David-Neel 1938, pp.183-8; David-Neel [1927] 1983, p.xv, xvi). Lung-gom 'the art of flying' and thumo reskiang 'the art of self-heating' were classed by David-Neel as 'psychic sports'. No records have acknowledged this element in Tongan faiva.

5. In 1826 the Kauhala 'Uta 'eiki, the Tu'i Tonga Laufilitonga, and Täufa'ähau of Kauhala Lalo, established forts on Lifuka and prepared to attack each other. Laufilitonga's fort was Velata, in the tract Fiehua; Täufa'ähau's fort was Mata'aho, near Tau'akipulu. The hau, Täufa'ähau (later Tupou 1), was a warrior-'eiki of wide versatility: alaisia-alaiKolonga, skilled in pursuits both at sea and on land. Ula Matatoa recorded this account by Fe'iloakitau Kaho for the Tonga Traditions Committee:

One evening Täufa'ähau left the fighting men at Tau'akipulu and went alone to reconnoitre at Velata, while the warriors of Tau'akipulu were fast asleep. Not a one knew of his absence. At dawn a shout was heard. The warriors of Velata were pursuing Täufa'ähau. They were chasing after him.

Täufa'ähau knew Tau'akipulu was a long way off and the batallion was close on his tail. He thought he would make the sea his escape route, by swimming in the ocean, and he immediately went down to Fakapale and waded through Funganuku...He ran there to swim in the sea for it was his escape route... Meanwhile, one of Täufa'ähau's warriors, Tu'uhetoka, has heard the dawn shout and has set out running from Tau'akipulu. He runs down to the shore and cuts the Velata fighting party off from Funganuku passage. Tu'uhetoka and Täufa'ähau keep the Velata party at bay until their warriors straggle up from Tau'akipulu. Täufa'ähau's life has been saved by Tu'uhetoka's fleetness of foot. After the Velata party has fled, Täufa'ähau addresses Tu'uhetoka: As Tu'uhetoka and Täufa'ähau returned along the strand, Täufa'ähau asked Tu'uhetoka, "What route did you take to get here so fast?" Tu'uhetoka replied, "This is the route I took. Those are my footprints in the sand." Then Täufa'ähau said, "That tract is appropriate for you." That is how Ikalahi [a portion of Tau'akipulu] came into the possession of Tu'uhetoka (Kaho S.F., MS1960).

6. See Gifford 1924, p.32-4 for the excesses of the hau, Tu'i Tonga Kau'ulufonua "Fekai". See Martin 1981, p.166-171 for the excesses of the

hau, Finau 'Ulukälala 'i Feletoa (Finau Fangupö). See Cummins 1977 for the excesses of the hau, Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupou I.

23. *Aquatic Sports*

1. If the name was properly fänifö as Wilson's record suggests, it may be derived from fä 'feel with the hand'; ni (see infixes in Fijian dialects); fö 'swirl'. Fäfänifo expresses grace in shooting the waves. Ngaluhele, wave-snaring, is the sport of chasing or racing with each other. A surf rider who is 'auhia, swept up by the rising wave, is in control of the force, hence the expression 'auhia 'a motu'a fänifo, 'an old surfhand swept by the flow', which is said when a person gets into difficulties but cleverly extricates himself (Churchward 1959).

24. *Martial Arts.*

1. McKern MS records feoloi 'wrestling'; Churchward 1959 records feolo'i 'to grapple of wrestlers'. However we know that the faiva was called fangatua in 1777 from Anderson's record (Anderson 1777, p.899 & n).

2. Excited calls of uo! uo! uo! by tau'olunga dancers express jubilation. 'Uvea oi! oie! 'expression of joy, woe' (Rensch 1984); Tonga 'uoi 'alas'; 'oi, hoi 'oh!' (Churchward 1959); Sāmoa üuü 'a shout of triumph or delight, as in surf-swimming, or when taking täufolo to a party'; oli 'to challenge' (Pratt 1911).

3. McKern MS records fetokai 'boking'; Churchward 1959 records fetokai 'to punch each other'. However we know that the faiva was called fuhu in 1777 from Anderson's record (Anderson 1777, p.899 & n).

4. This faiva is described but not named in the 1777 accounts. McKern quotes Samwell's description and names the sport fetaaki (MS, p.693). Mariner includes Fetági 'club fighting' in a list of games and pastimes of the period 1806-1810 (Martin 1981, p.379-80). Hafoka includes feta'aki in his list of Tongan faiva (Hafoka MS). Churchward 1959 defines fetä'aki as 'to fight with foils, to fence'. Thomas uses the name 'sham club fighting' (Thomas MS1854, p.265). It appears that club fighting with pövai, and sham club fighting with palalafa, were the one faiva.

5. In the mid twentieth century the American expression "M.P." (Military Police) spread widely throughout the Third World.

6. Seketo'a is the shark god who protects the Niua people. Here Seketo'a stands for the Niuatoputapu people, in the challenge of their faiva.

7. McKern MS, p.701 defines toutakao as the meeting of two groups of angry young men, representing rival communities or tofi'a 'districts', resulting in a free-for-all fist fight. The name also applied to a game in which smaller boys played at gang warfare.

8. Compare Tongan Toutakao and Māori tākaro 'engage in single combat, wrestle; riri tākaro 'practice the use of weapons'; ka emi mai te mano o te tangata ki te haka...ki te tākaro 'thousands of people gathered here for the haka, for the martial arts', or does it mean: 'the wellsprings of manliness are concentrated in the haka, in the martial arts' (Williams 1957, see tākaro, see emi).

26. 'Üpē

1 Ellis heard 'üpē in 1777. Writing some years later, he stated, In these there are no separate parts, but the whole is sung in one tune (Ellis 1783 v.1, p.106).

2. The original sketch made on board is reproduced here (Herda 1983, fig.13, 'Diversiones Caseras de las mugeres de la Vabao'). Ravenet developed from it a sketch of the üpē ensemble without the two older women (Herda 1983, fig.14, untitled), and another sketch of three young women dressed in fine mats and bark cloth performing arm gestures (Herda 1983, fig.10, 'Yndias del Archipelago de Babao, Yslas de los Amigos').

3. By circumventilating Ledyard may have meant 'being blown around the circumference of the clearing' or 'blown with continuous breathing'.

4. In eighteenth century records here interpreted as 'üpē, the faiva has small steps in place, rounding arm gestures ending in finger flicks, and standing dancers accompanied by an ensemble of singers and musicians. All are paralleled in modern tau'olunga. Kaeppler however says the tau'olunga took 'the place of the ula' (Kaeppler [1970] 1993, p.29).

5. In 1986 the 'üpē was sung as a duet by Pesenga Fanua and a friend, to a hiva kakala tune. Archive of Asia & Pacific Music, Victoria University of Wellington, Tonga 90.068.

6. This happened in the lakalaka as well. H.M. Sälote Tupou III was a leading composer of both faiva, and greatly influenced the modern repertoire.

27. Me'etu'upaki Suite

1. Contemporary performers call the palette 'paki'. Note doböche [tu'upaki] (Wilson 1799, p.250-1); pagge [paki] (Anderson 1777, p.897).

2. The retinue of Fīnau 'Ulukälala Moengangongo comprised the sons of his chiefs and matāpules, and his warriors (Martin 1981, p.227).

3 Rossen has described the technique in the suahongi dances of Bellona; she calls it coördinate polyphony and notes, 'I could not transcribe or analyse the recordings musically until I had seen the performance, was able to follow it with written texts, and could record

the *pese* and *huua mako* apart from a *suahongi* performance' (Rossen 1987, p.260-1).

4. Kaeppler has proposed two other lines of argument in tracing the displacement of the *me'etu'upaki*: 1. It was a Futunan dance performed in Tonga as a received form and therefore lacked the impetus of new texts and new choreography. 2. The *me'etu'upaki* was an old form by the time of European contact; the words were not understood; the dance was associated with the Tu'i Tonga whose title was vacated in 1865 (Kaeppler [1967] 1993, p.92-3).

The twentieth century *me'etu'upaki* has been well described by Kaeppler (PP1972; 1991, p.347-57; 1993, pp.17-18, 77-9; figs. 1.4, 2.1, 2.2, 7.1, 7.2, 7.7), and by Moyle (1987, p.113-20).

29. *Fa'ahi Ula*

1. Kaeppler [1970] 1993, p.27 has cited a description from a shipboard visit on 30 March 1793; fig.2.7 records events ashore on 5 April 1793.

2. Kaeppler 1993, p.27n states, *Ula is the standing section of the fa'ahi ula which follows the 'otuhaka*, by which she means that the 'otuhaka and the ula are sections (*fa'ahi*) of a *faiva* called *fa'ahi ula*. In this usage she is following Vaisima, Ahio, and Kavapele of Lapaha. I am following the usage of Tupou Posesi who defines *fa'ahi ula* as an ula performed by two sets (*fa'ahi*) of dancers. Hafoka treats ula, *fa'ahi ula*, and 'otuhaka as three separate *faiva*, see fig. 41. I have interpreted the historical relationship between the ula and the 'otuhaka as arising from the eighteenth century *pöula*, when the night concert was opened by a seated chorus (*fakaniua*); standing dances (*ula*) followed, see *Fakaniua*.

30. *Fakaniua*

1. The Niua islands are Niuafo'ou, Niuatoputapu, and Tafahi. Mariner's editor identifies Niuatoputapu as the source of the *fakaniua* and *me'etu'upaki* because in 1817 he himself (Martin) believed "Niua" to be 'Traitors' (Niuatoputapu) and Cocos (Tafahi) islands charted by Schouten and Le Maire in 1616 (Martin 1981, p.374). Note however that Helu argues for Niuafo'ou as the source of the *me'etu'upaki* on a reading of the song text (Helu 1980, p.28-9).

2. A number of men seated themselves in a circle before us and began a Song not one word of which we understood (Cook 1777, p.110). In 1777 some songs may have been sung in the Niua language.

3. Kaeppler has identified this as a description of the 'otuhaka (Kaeppler [1970] 1993, p.23)

4. Gifford's text of the Lau Langi is *Ke fanongo mai e tama hiva ni* recounted by Täufa and recorded by Dr J.E. Moulton (Kaeppler 1972, p.8, citing Gifford 1924, p.18). Moyle has expanded on Kaeppler's work by publishing a laulau composed by Tu'ihakavalu in 1900 and recorded by Tonga Radio in 1974, *Pe fanongo mai mokopuna*. It has a similar text and narrative form (Moyle 1987, p.169-70). In 1976 Kaeppler published a

further text, the text of an 'otuhaka, *Ke fanongo mai ho'o pulotu na* (Kaeppler [1976] 1993, p.64-5).

5. 'Pacific anthropologists are only beginning to note the importance of visual and performance arts in the understanding of society and power' (Kaeppler 1992, p.312).

31. *Me'elaufola Suite*

1. By Mariner's account the faiva of the night dances were fakaniua, me'elaufola, hea, and ula (Martin 1981, pp.372-5). It is on Mariner's account that Webber's illustrations have been identified as me'elaufola and not as hea or ula. Mariner says, In the account given by Cook there is only mention made of two principal dances, viz. *mée low folla*, and *mée too buggi* (Martin 1981, p.372; Joppien & Smith 1987 v.3, pl.3.51A). Mariner did not give adequate instructions for distinguishing a me'elaufola from a hea.

Identification of specific descriptions as me'elaufola was made by Kaeppler in pioneering work in the scholarship of early music in Tonga, where she describes the transformation of the me'elaufola into the lakalaka (Kaeppler [1967] 1993, p.80-96; [1970] 1993, p.18-20).

During visits by exploring expeditions in the late eighteenth century night dances were held on three occasions, all in 1777: at Lifuka on 20 May; and at Popua on 17 and 20 June. There was no night dancing at receptions given by the Tu'i Tonga Fefine in 1793, by Tupou Mumui in 1793, and by Vuna in 1793. However, on 22 and 25 May Vuna held two late afternoon receptions which ended at sunset, and at these possibly me'elaufola and hea were presented. Elsewhere these were night dances. A reading of the records can be proposed as follows:

At Faka'amumei on 20 May 1777 the orchestra comprised 18 males with four or five bamboo stamping tubes (kofe) and a bamboo rattle /sounding board. Fakaniua, women's me'elaufola with ula, four men's me'elaufola or hea, and possibly fa'ahi ula were presented (Anderson 1777, p.875-7; Kaeppler [1972] 1993, pp.80, 83; Moyle 1987, pp.69-74, 113).

At Popua on 17 June 1777 the orchestra was not described in any journal; me'elaufola and possibly hea were presented. The concert was a pöme'e, comprising 12 dances (Anderson 1777, p.898).

At Popua on 21 June 1777 the night dancing was not described at all.

At 'Onetale on 21 May 1793 there was a chorus of 20 men with hollow or split canes. Fa'ahi hiva were sung (Herda 1983, p.39).

At 'Onetale on 22 May 1793 the concert opened with fa'ahi hiva. Three dances by men, possibly hea or me'elaufola, were accompanied by the music of the canes ... the music was not different from that which we already knew (Herda 1983, pp.49, 50; Kaeppler [1972] 1993, p.85-6).

At 'Onetale on 25 May 1793 the concert opened with singing: fa'ahi hiva and possibly fakaniua. The instruments were possibly a wooden rattle ('hollow stick'), bamboo stamping tubes ('split cane') and drums. A depiction by Ravenet recorded bamboo stamping tubes (Herda 1983, p.70-2; fig.15). A meke fakafisi or sipi tau or kailao tokotoko, possibly a men's hea, a women's me'elaufola, and a children's dance were presented.

At Mu'a in 1830 there was a chorus of 30 to 40 men with three bamboo rattles and bamboo stamping tubes which accompanied the faiva.

The concert comprised fakaniua, two me'elaufola by women, and four dances by men with choreography similar to the women's dances (Waldegrave 1833, p.188; Blanc 1910, p.79-80; Kaeppler [1967] 1993, p.87).

There are no texts which have been identified as me'elaufola or hea songs. Musical transcriptions and texts of four ula songs, a text of a tau'a'alo, and a text of a fakaniua were recalled by Mariner (Martin 1981, pp. 375-6, 377-8, 413-15).

Pictorial records which may be eighteenth century me'elaufola were made by Webber at Ha'apai (and possibly at Tongatapu) in 1777 (Joppien & Smith 1987 v.3, pls 3.48-3.51), and by Ravenet and an unknown artist at Vava'u in 1793 (Herda 1983, figs 15, 19, 20, 21), see figs 21 & 55.

32. *Ula Suite*

1. The distinction between ula and fa'ahi ula has been perplexing to some scholars. Moyle treats the two as different kinds of dance (Moyle 1987, p.127-137). In current usage, the ula is called fa'ahi ula when performed by a group (fa'ahi) of women instead of as a solo (Tupou Posesi, pers. comm. 1970; Kaeppler [1970] 1993, p.27); or when the seated 'otuhaka and standing ula are sections (fa'ahi) of the faiva known as fa'ahi ula (Kaeppler [1970] 1993, p.23n).

Short Glossary

of eighteenth century usage.

faiva, 1, a focussed activity. 2, a feat or trial performed with competitive dexterity, and open to challenge at a public festival (kātoanga). At festivals, faiva include martial arts, athletic and aquatic sports, structured group dances. 3, informally, a person or community who excells above all others at a feat (such as throwing a net amongst fishermen) has that skill as their faiva. 'Knack, dexterity, sleight of hand' (Martin 1981, p.426).

fakatau, serve (kava). In 20th century usage, fakatau ange, beseach (god).

fale 'otua, sanctuary of an 'otua, called 'god house' in 18th century literature.

fale hau, fale kava, fale lahi, fale me'e, fale olo, fale pou ono. In the 18th century large oval, open-walled buildings, of great architectural beauty, were placed at ceremonial grounds (lala, mala'e, pangai). They housed drums and were occupied by the presiding chiefs at fono, kātoanga, and pōme'e.

fa'itoka, In the 18th century, burial ground of any sacred chief of Kauhala Lalo, including the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu. Distinguished by a mound constructed of coral gravel and topped with a grave shed protecting the decoration which is formed with black and white pebbles. The mound covered a tomb. In the 20th century, public burial ground. see langi, mala'e.

feilaulau, propitiatory sacrifice. In 20th century usage, offering.

fono, meeting of lineage heads, called by a chief with executive authority ('eiki, tu'i). In twentieth century usage, meeting of household heads, called by the Town Office.

fono, food for eating with kava. In 18th century records, commonly sugar cane. In 20th century records, commonly pork and yams.

hau, the champion warrior-'eiki. In the 18th century the status was achieved by demonstration of superior fighting strength and retained by the lineage until sucessfully challenged. The status was conceded when landed chiefs sent tribute, acknowledging the hau's control of the resources of the land.

hau liua, change of ruler.

heliaki, embellishment of speech with metaphor, irony, etc., so as to hide the essential meaning.

hou 'eiki, plural of 'eiki.

hou'eiki, form of address to an ancestor-god.

kätoanga, 1. public festival open to participation by everyone (kätoa); 2. public festival which is complete (kätoa) with a presiding 'eiki or ta'ahine, presentation of the land's produce, and trials of skill (faiva). In the 18th century often concluded with an evening of night dances by torch light, see pöula, pöme'e.

Kauhala Lalo, literally low side of the road. Coastal villages throughout the archipelago are divided into kauhala 'uta (landward side) and kauhala tahi (kauhala lalo, seaward side). In oratory, Kauhala Lalo is the line of sacred chiefs responsible for governing the land's production. The leading titles are Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu. Historically the Kauhala Lalo chiefs were a junior lineage of the Tu'i Tonga who settled at Mu'a on reclaimed land along the lagoon shore.

Kauhala 'Uta, literally landward side of the road. The founding line of sacred chiefs holding the two titles of highest rank, Tu'i Tonga Tangata (male) and Tu'i Tonga Fefine (female).

kau sina'e, offspring of the sacred stomach or mother (tinae), descendants of the Tu'i Tonga Fefine. In the 18th century the sina'e included the Ha'a Falafisi who had the highest sacred rank but no political power.

koloa, wealth in the form of women's manufactures: fine mats (fihu, kie Tonga, kie Ha'amoā, kofu to'onga, etc.), and stencilled bark cloth (ngatu). These are the highest ranked of presentations. The produce of the land is ngäue: the highest ranked are pigs and yams. Complete presentations comprise kava, ngäue, koloa, and faiva.

lakanga, proper occasion, office, function, slot, role.

lala, in the 18th century, a sacred close remote from human settlement, surrounded by very tall tress, located beside the burial ground of a sacred chief, used for night dances (pöme'e, pöula) and festivals (kätoanga). Cf. FIJI lala 'uninhabited'.

laumälie, in 20th century usage 'soul', displacing 18th century 'otua 'shade'.

lotu, In 20th century usage 'prayer, Christianity'.

langi, a layer. Sky, the multilayered overworld; terraced tomb of the sacred chiefs of Kauhala 'Uta; the refrain of a song (comprising multiple parts); the back row of supporting singers (langi tu'a). In oratory, the head of the Tu'i Tonga, Tu'i Tonga Fefine, and kau sina'e.

maa'imoa, regal, entertainment for Kauhala 'Uta, game, sport, possibly faiva, kätoanga.

mala'e, a flat, open reception ground, located in areas of concentrated settlement, used for meetings of household heads (fono) and festivals

(kātoanga); cf. la'e 'forehead'. See lala, pangai. In the 20th century, burial ground of the Tu'i Kanokupolu.

me'e, 1. to dance (retained in Niuaoptuapu usage). 2, structured movements performed by a group: military drill, me'etu'upaki, meke fakafisi, and other faiva. Indigenous Tongan usage would be meke. Cf. *FIJI meke, SĀMOA me'e*.

moheofo, head wife of the Tu'i Tonga; ideally sister of the hau. Brought into usage when the Tu'i Kanokupolu became hau, possibly borrowed from Sāmoan masiofo (Collocott 1925, p.32); possibly a metaphorical usage of moheofo, the shore party guarding the fale siu while a fishing expedition is at sea.

monū'ia, fruitfulness, fertility, abundance, good health bestowed by the langi. In 20th century usage, good fortune.

motu'a tonga, progenitor of the working chiefs, in 1777 title of Maealiuaki; in 1797 title of the Tu'i Kanokupolu; possibly originally ascribed to the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua in his role of appointing the titled chiefs.

Mu'a, the centre of chiefly society at Tongatapu; at Lifuka (Ha'apai); at Neiafu (Vava'u).

ngatu, bark cloth.

ngäue, provisions, produce, of which yams and pigs are the most highly ranked.

pangai, public reception ground (mala'e) of the Tu'i Kanokupolu.

papālangi, a total foreigner, from outside the Tonga maritime domain, outside the influence of Tongan gods and social conventions.

pome'e, night dances by torchlight, informal gatherings open to everyone, at which a sacred chief presides. The programmes comprise faiva appropriate to night-time performance: fakaniua, me'elaufola, ula, and hea dances. Usually held at ceremonial clearings (lala) close to chiefly burial grounds, where the natural world prevails. Occasions of surpassing fairness. 18th century records do not disclose the distinction between pō me'e and pō ula.

Pulotu, the afterworld of sacred and realised beings; the ancestral homeland; a composer of dance choreography, dance-songs, dance-poetry. Pulotu tu'uma'u, steadfast Pulotu.

tāpuaki, imbued with sacredness. In 20th century usage, divine blessing.

tāpuhä, absolutely sacred (hä). In 20th century usage, the Almighty.

taula 'eiki, shaman. In 20th century usage, a minister of the Church of Tonga (Siasi Tonga Hou'eiki).

tau'atäina, 1. political independence, of a state from colonisation, of a citizen from suppressive government. 2. emancipation of people from fatongia, service to the hou 'eiki. From 1862 the annual Kätoanga 'o e Tau'atäina and 'Aho Tau'atäina celebrated the Emancipation Edict of 4 June 1862. In 1970 the Kätoanga 'o e Tau'atäina, held on 4 & 5 June, celebrated Tonga's complete political independence.

ta'ahine, female of sacred descent, here called 'sacred chief'. Plural, kau ta'ahine.

tu'i, governor of an estate; 'eiki-tu'i, governor of sacred descent. This usage can be derived from Cook's record: Kohagee-too-Fallangou, [ko e 'eiki tu'i 'o Lofanga] (Cook v.2, p.257). 20th century usage is 'eiki-nöpele.

Tu'i Tonga, highest ranked of the sacred titles, master shaman (Gunson PP1993), representative of the deity Hikule'o, source of the land's fertility (Thomas MS1854, p.263); "lord of the fields" (Orange 1840, p.).

Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, highest ranked of the sacred working chiefs, responsible for governing the land's production until ca 1750 when the title was claimed by Maealiuaki.

Tu'i Kanokupolu, leading title of a part-Sämoan lineage, the Ha'a Ngata, and in the late 18th century the hau, the title of greatest political power in Tonga. In the reign of Tupou I 1797-1893 designated hau-ki-nima because the status of the title was achieved without the advantage of sacred descent.

'eiki, male of sacred descent from the gods, here called 'sacred chief'. The sacred blood lines were transmitted by women of sacred descent (ta'ahine). An 'eiki held authority by his blood line (sino'i'eiki), regardless of whether he held a title. In 20th century usage, a chief, any person appointed to a title with governing authority, regardless of his blood line. 'eiki lahi, 'eiki of great rank and power; hou 'eiki, plural.

'otua, unoriginated god, ancestor-god, the 'shade' of a being of high realisation or sacred descent. Manifests through an 'eiki or ta'ahine of the lineage, or through a priest (taula 'otua). Wayward spirits are fa'ahikehe. Spirits of the land are now called tupu'itëvolo.

Contemporary Tonga usage follows Churchward 1959. Scientific names of plants follow Yuncker 1959; scientific names of birds follow Watling 1982.

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