

# **Bridging the divides and healing the *Vanua***

**The role of the tukutuku raraba in the history of Fijians and the importance of critical review in modern Fiji. The example from the succession to the Vunivalu title of the yavusa Sovatabua, Natewa.**

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The report has been compiled with the hope that it will stimulate discussion in the Vanua of Natewa and encourage researchers contemplating similar research into Vanua succession history and governance in Fiji and the Pacific Islands region.

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This report is dedicated to the children of Natewa with the hope that after years of endemic conflict, misunderstanding and misrepresentation, they may learn something useful about their Vanua from this Report and pursue further research into their Vanua and enhance developments in Natewa and elsewhere in Viti.

Vinaka Vakalevu, Dhanyabaad, Fai'aksia

.....  
Natewa Research  
**The University of the South Pacific**

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## Glossary

**Bati leka** – the division of warriors (bodyguards) tasked with the personal security of a Ratu (chief) or a chiefly village or domain.

**Buli qele** – a mound of soil that becomes a yavu after a house/bure is built on it.

**Bure** – house dwelling.

**Di** – short for Adi which is a title for a lady of rank.

**Gonedau** – Fisherman clan/tribe in a Vanua.

**iTaukei Lands and Fisheries Commission (TLFC)** – The iTaukei Lands & Fisheries Commission (TLFC) is a statutory body constituted under the iTaukei Lands Act 1905 and the Fisheries Act 1941 to adjudicate on disputes regarding land ownership, fishing rights and customary chiefly positions. The Commission is the custodian of various significant registers for the iTaukei which are maintained and updated from time to time. These registers contain vital records which facilitate the resolution of disputes. The most significant of these registers is the Native Register of Land (RNL) also known as the Vola ni Kawa Bula (VKB). The RNL or VKB has been manually kept and updated since the first sitting of the Native Lands Commission in the early 1900. In 2014 work started on digitising the RNL to address the growing demand for greater accessibility.

**Lewa** – a judgment made by a recognised authority such as the TLFC.

**Lewenivale** – personal attendants.

**Mai Dawa** – title of the head of the mataqali (clan) of Nautovuso.

**Mai Dreketi** – title of the head of the mataqali (clan) Dreketi.

**Mai Dromuninuku** – title of the head of the mataqali (clan) of Dela.

**Mai Nakaulau** – title of the head of the mataqali (clan) of Kaulau.

**Mata ni katuba** – Literally, a door to another vanua and personified by an emissary (or Matakai).

**Matanivanua** – The herald or spokesperson for a chief or vanua.

**Mataqali** – landowning unit and often divide into tokatoka. The English approximate is ‘clan’.

**Matanitu** - comparable to a kingdom and comprise a confederation of vanua. They were flexible and often fragile alliances requiring force to maintain.

**Qusi ni loaloa** – Literally, to wipe a dark spot, a ceremony organized to resolve a debt of honour.

**Rabe** – the term used to denote the dual nature of the traditional yaqona ceremony. When a chief drink, protocol dictates a second bowl (i rabe) served to the chief’s matanivanua or herald.

**Ratu** – a generic term denoting men of noble stature in iTaukei communities. It is also the traditional designation of the paramount titleholder of the vanua of Verata.

**Sau** – Literally means mana. In the iTaukei socio-political order, the Sau is normally a title reserved for the older lineage of chiefs who, over time, has yielded their right to secular rule in favour of a new lineage or group. There are polities where the Sau is also the secular head.

**Sauvou** – title of head of Valenisau mataqali (clan). The first holder was known as Maivalenisau.

**Tabua** – Whale's tooth. It epitomizes iTaukei wealth.

**Tikina** – district, subdivision of a province. Some are divided by tikina makawa or vanua structure.

**Tikina makawa** – Old structural divisions.

**Tokatoka** – a subunit of the mataqali. Members of a tokatoka are related through a common founding male ancestor. A common English designation for this unit is 'sub-clan'.

**Tu Natewa** – The designation of the first titular head of Natewa.

**Tui** – A generic term used to designate the reigning chief in a Yavusa or Vanua. In Natewa, as in other places, the reigning chief is the Vunivalu.

**Tui Kama** – title of the chief of yavusa (tribe) of Kama and owes allegiance to the Vunivalu of Natewa. The title was formerly known as Mai Kama.

**Tui Vusasivo** – title of the head of the yavusa (tribe) Vuanisaiki. The title was formerly known as Mai Vusasivo.

**Tunauto** – the title of the head of the yavusa (clan) of Savunaira. The yavusa no longer exists but a remnant was formed into a mataqali (clan) of Nautuvuso, whose titled head is the Mai Dawa.

**Turaga ni mataqali** - The head of the mataqali (clan) who answers to the head of the Yavusa.

**Turaga ni Vanua** – the head titled head of a vanua. The head of a vanua is normally the head of social categories from the tokatoka to the vanua.

**Turaga ni yavusa** – the head chief of a yavusa (tribe). He is expected to be the head of all social categories and normally comes under the head of a Vanua.

**Tukutuku Raraba** - a collection of oral evidence on the history of a vanua submitted as sworn testaments of each vanua and recorded by the TLFC in Bauan dialect.

**Vakaitaukei** – in the indigenous traditional manner.

**Vanua** – the largest socio-political entity comprising a federation of yavusa (tribes) or villages.

**Veidewayaki** – to go from one to the other.

**Veiqati** – rivalry.

**Veivakagunuvi vakabutakoci** – a kava ceremony during which members of the tokatoka confer the title of Vunivalu to the Vunivalu-designate.

**Vonu**- Turtles.

**Vulagi** – respected visitors or newcomers

**Vunivalu** –the god of war or warlord and titular head of the vanua of Natewa.

**Yaqona vakaturaga** – a ceremonial yaqona ceremony.

**Yavu** – Literally means a mound of soil that a *bure* is built on.

**Yavusa** – the basic unit of a society where members in theory claim descent from a legendary founder and ideally coextends to a village consisting of many mataqali. The closest English approximation to the term is ‘tribe’. They were power constructs articulated by the continued exercise of force.

## Executive Summary

The research is about the history of succession to the Vunivalu title in the Vanua of Natewa (Sovatabua) and it is motivated by three goals:

- a. Desire to see an end to the long-standing disputes over the succession to the paramount title of Natewa,
- b. Desire to provide more historical background to the Tukutuku Raraba (Sovatabua) and minimize if not eliminate some of the main conflicts of interpretation over the title within Natewa, and
- c. Desire to consolidate the Vanua leadership and develop its governing structures and processes.

### **Our main findings are:**

1. Despite gaps in the Tukutuku Raraba on the history of Natewa and succession to its paramount title, the general narrative and list of title holders as male descendants of Ratu Saurara have been, in the main corroborated by the evidence.
2. The one single exception to (1) above has been the appointment of Ratu Epeli Vakalalabure to the headship of the Vanua of Sovatabua in the 1920s.
3. The association of the title with the mataqali of Valelevu and Valenisau is because Ratu Saurara's agnatic<sup>1</sup> descendants are found in both of these two mataqali.
4. The main cause of the current disputes surrounding the Vunivalu title stems from seemingly irreconcilable interpretations of the customary ways, as recorded in the Tukutuku Raraba (Sovatabua), of how the title of Vunivalu is passed down. These conflictual accounts are held mainly by the two mataqali of Valelevu and Valenisau.
5. These seemingly irreconcilable differences are not insurmountable and can be resolved with goodwill and a sound grasp of historical facts.
6. The government's role of dealing with the customary titles process of succession could be much clearer and thus open to abuse and manipulation.

### **Primary Recommendation:**

- That the government (ITLFC) process of formalizing the appointment of successors should be reviewed given the findings above.

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<sup>1</sup> A male or female descendant from the same male ancestor as another especially through the male line. Google, Oct. 2023.

- That a research team, adept in hermeneutical research methods, should be set up specifically for the task of shedding light on a more legitimate interpretation of the Tukutuku Raraba

## 1.0 The Vanua of Natewa (Sovatabua): Introduction

The chiefs that dominated the Fiji group of islands in the nineteenth century were few and there was no historical precedent for a single, unified Fijian society. The modern system of government was introduced by British rulers with iTaukei Fijians governed through 14 Provinces ruled by chiefs. In the three provinces of Cakaudrove, Bua and Macuata in Vanua Levu lie 37 districts or tikina and a number of Vanua. The island of Taveuni and nearby islands all fall within the dominion of the three provinces. Taveuni is the centre of the province of Cakaudrove chiefly because the seat of the *Tui Cakau* is now based in Somosomo village.

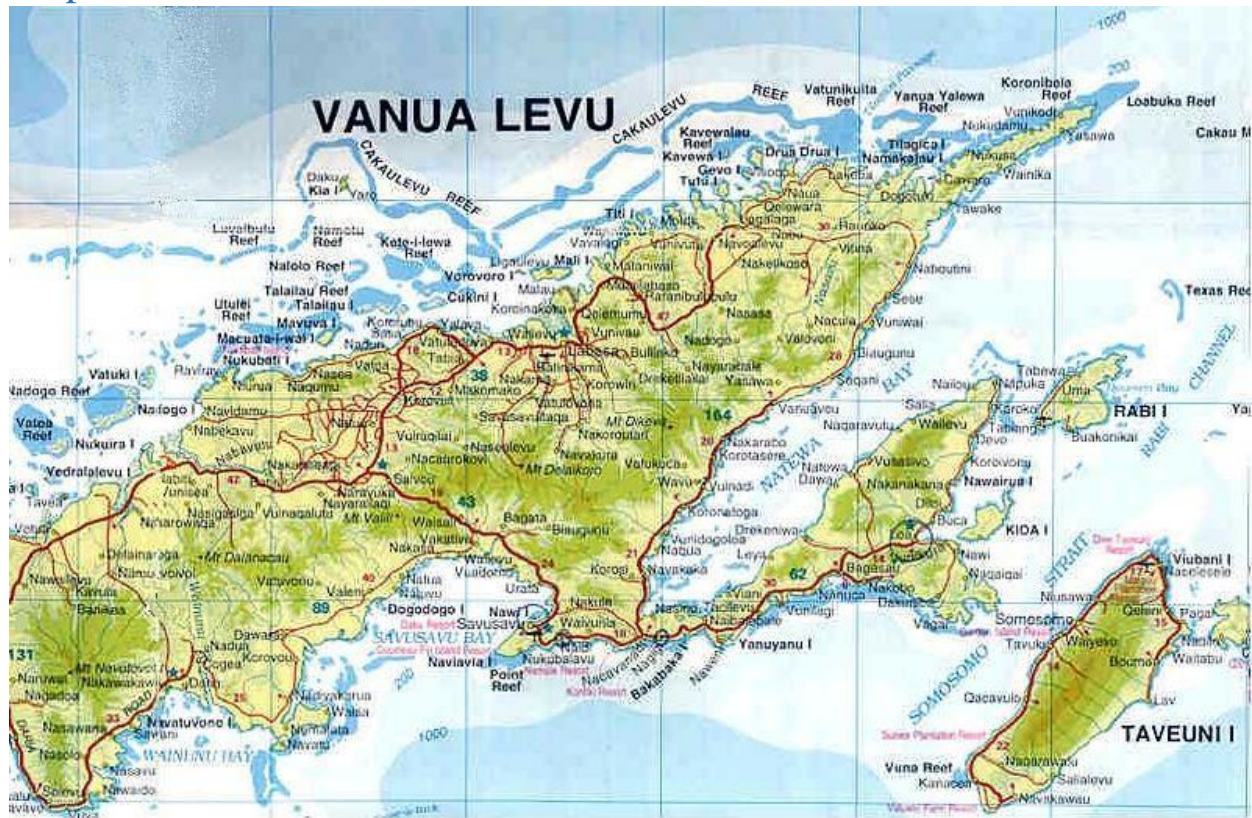
A Vanua is made up of a number of different yavusa which are in turn comprised of a number of mataqali or landowning units. A mataqali is further divided into smaller descent groups called tokatoka or tokatoka. Each village is led by its head who is designated as either a head of a yavusa (tribe) – na turaga ni yavusa or head of mataqali (clan) - na turaga ni mataqali. Within the province of Cakaudrove lies three Vanua each with its paramount title; the Vanua of Natewa (Sovatabua) is under the Vunivalu of Natewa, Wailevu is under the Tui Wailevu and Cakaudrove is under the Tui Cakau. And while the province is called Cakaudrove, Natewa and Wailevu each asserts their independence from Cakaudrove.<sup>2</sup>

The leading village of the Vanua is Natewa, the village with the same name as the Vanua, in which the titular head of the Vanua, the Vunivalu – which means the god of war or warlord, resides. The Vanua comprise eleven villages: nine lying along Natewa Bay (four on the western side and five on the eastern side) with another two on Buca Bay.

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<sup>2</sup> Tukutuku Raraba, p.ix/350. Also see p. 409 of A M Hocart 'The Estates of the Realm in Thakaudrove', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* Vol. 9, No. 2 (1938), pp. 407–421. Hocart was translating a submission to the 1911 December issue of *Na Mata* (pp. 182–183) by one Isikeli Navidi, who noted that the Matanitu of Cakaudrove was divided broadly into two: the first one is Cakaudrove and the second is Natewa. Navidi was described by Hocart as the provincial scribe based in Somosomo. Other literature suggests that Natewa is a satellite of Cakaudrove – see Shelley Ann Sayes, *Cakaudrove: Ideology and Reality in a Fijian Confederation*, PhD Thesis, Australian National University (April 1982).

## Map of Vanua Levu<sup>3</sup>



Located in the two districts of Natewa and Saqani, on both sides of the Natewa Bay as well as on Buca Bay, the eleven villages of the vanua of Natewa are:

East of Natewa Bay: 1. Dawa 2. Vusaratu 3. Natewa 3. Vusasivo 4. Nadavaci.

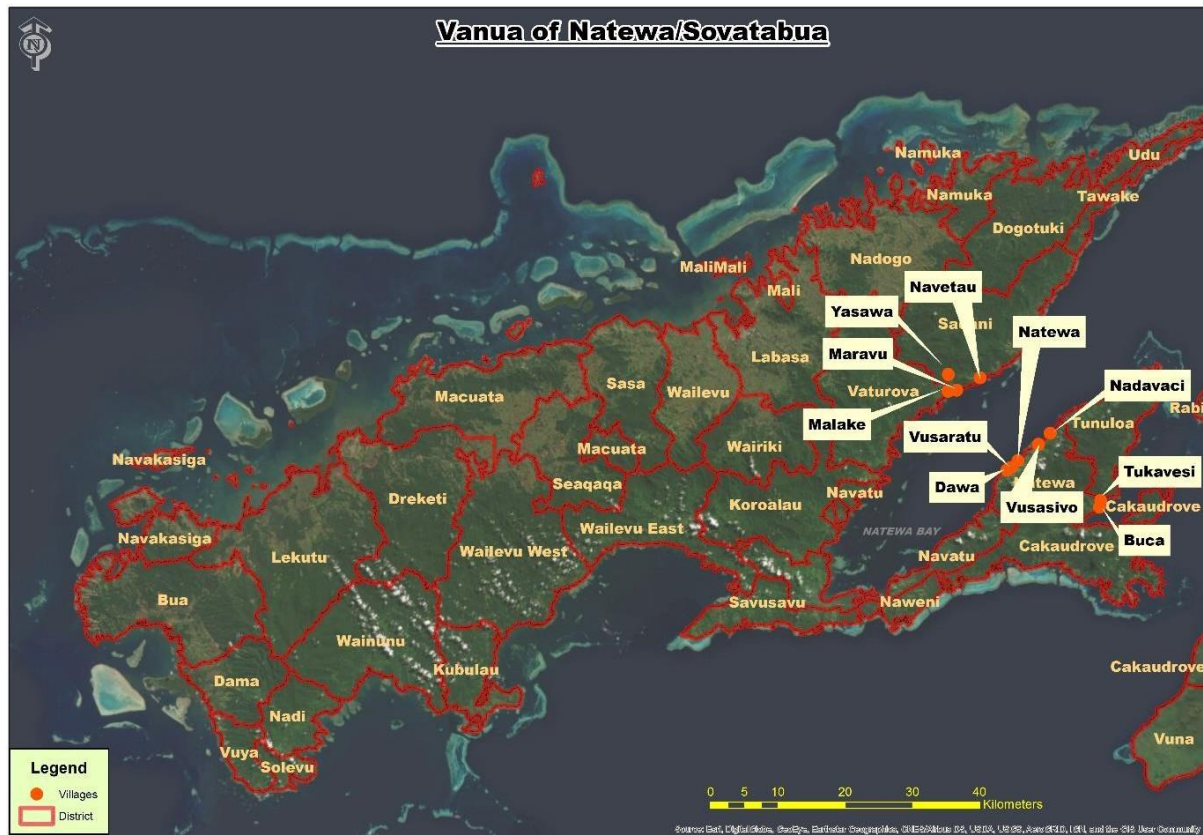
West of Natewa Bay: 6. Malake 7. Maravu 8. Yasawa 9. Navetau.

Buca Bay: 10. Buca and 11. Tukavesi.

<sup>3</sup> [www.Google.com](http://www.Google.com) accessed July 2020.



Map of the eleven villages which form the Vanua of Natewa (Sovatabua) today.



The modern social organization of Natewa follows a model established by the British administrators from mid-1870s to 1880s based largely on the hierarchy of eastern Fiji. The work of the I Taukei Lands and Fisheries Commission in conceptualizing customary owners of the land was influenced by landholding structure of eastern Fiji.<sup>4</sup>

This investigation responds to a longstanding concern felt by indigenous scholars of the debilitating consequences arising from unresolved conflicts over the succession to paramount vanua titles. The study of villages provides evidence of numerous efforts by individuals and collectives to develop a family or village project with many falling short.

<sup>4</sup> For an excellent account of this see Peter France, 1969. *Charter of the Land: Custom and Colonisation in Fiji*, Melbourne: Oxford University Press.



Among Fiji's 14 provinces, there were 1,800 villages in the 1940s and over 1,000 vanua.<sup>5</sup> In 2007, the total number of vanua titles was 7,170.<sup>6</sup> These included vanua, yavusa and mataqali titles. In that year, 25% of these titles were vacant. In July 2019, the Chair of the iTaukei Lands and Fisheries Commission reported that the total number of vanua titles was 6,219 of which 3,234 or 52% were vacant. The general understanding is that the most common reason for the vacancies is due mainly to kinship rivalry or *veiqati*<sup>7</sup> but also to possible miscommunication between the government represented by iTaukei Lands and Fisheries Commission (TLFC) and people in the villages. Before 2016, the number of vacancies included the paramount title of Natewa, na Vunivalu ko Sovatabua.

From 1973 to 2016, the selection and appointment process of a successor to the Vunivalu title had been mired by disputes between members of the two leading mataqali, Valelevu and Valenisau.

To minimise future disputes, the aim of this project is to maximize understanding by documenting the conflicting views over the appointment to Natewa's paramount title. The disputes appeared before the TLFC in 1973, 2011 and 2016 with the latter case culminating in convening the iTaukei Tribunal, an Appeals court, to review previous TLFC decisions.

The social and economic consequences of titular disputes on families have not always been assessed but they are substantial in terms of lost hours of employment and family time and resources. Many well-intentioned projects have been delayed and often sabotaged with debilitating losses as the adverse impact of vanua disputes pervades almost every level from local and national. Vanua communities like any other community are not immune to the globalising forces of change with its concomitant impact on identities, resources, culture, and environment.

In light of the above, the current investigation was proposed from a collective desire to help identify critical stakeholders and collectively define and confirm common understandings of the issues involved as well as to acknowledge areas of unresolved differences, with the right of each party to retain their version of tradition and history.

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<sup>5</sup> F. J. West, Sir Lala Sukuna and the Establishment of the Fijian Administration, *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. 36, No. 1, (1967) p. 99.

<sup>6</sup> Between 2007 and 2019, a period of 12 years, 951 titles had disappeared and were unaccounted.

<sup>7</sup> Morgan Tuimaleali'ifano 2000. Veiqati vakaviti and Fiji Islands 1999 General Elections. *The Journal of Pacific History*, 35 (3), 253-267.

The focus on the vanua of Natewa was done to satisfy two aims: first, to produce findings within a relatively short time frame, and two, to generate discussion on a problem of critical concern to Pacific Islands indigenous communities under conditions of rapid change.

From the outset, we recognize that the Tukutuku Raraba of Natewa (Sovatabua) as recorded by the Lands Commission in 1928 provides the current baseline of the vanua narrative. Given the sanctity with which it is regarded by the Government,<sup>8</sup> we begin by reviewing it as a historical document from the first attempt by Natewans to record a group narrative in 1928. This provides a context from which the conflicts over succession can be discussed with clarity and how decisions were arrived at by interested parties including the TLFC.

## 2.0 Research purpose

With the permission of the incumbent Vunivalu titleholder, Ratu Ifereimi Buaserau, the Vunivalu title was selected as a case because the disputes have been well documented in the public media and while differences may linger, the Vanua has come to accept the TLFC decision.

Natewa is just one example of the many vanua in Fiji that is confronting leadership challenges in an age where contemporary social differentiation has led to the emergence of competing value systems. We feel that title disputes are mirroring the dilemma of the contemporary age where in the place of a universal consensus to what is supposed to be the ‘good life’ there exists in the words of one commentator ‘a new polytheism of warring, incommensurable value commitments, by a new and violent struggle of gods and demons.’<sup>9</sup> In Fiji, this dilemma can be seen as an endless, and often, bitter struggle within and between communities as people struggle to make sense of who they are and what they aspire to be in a rapidly changing socio-economic landscape.

We believe that if these challenges are not acknowledged and managed, they could destabilize communities and sever kinship ties – pillars of indigeneity as we understand it today. The confusion and mismanagement of age-old traditions and customs in a rapidly changing world, we believe, has led to a plethora of problems in contemporary Fiji. There are a number of reasons for these problems:

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<sup>8</sup> The authority of this document has been asserted time and again by the TLFC.

<sup>9</sup> Richard J. Bernstein, *The New Constellation: The Ethical-Political Horizons of Modernity/Postmodernity*, Cambridge: Polity Press (1991) p. 37

1. Fear of constant disputes are driving eligible claimants away from their inheritance,
2. Failure by iTaukei communities to understand government regulations and liaise with relevant government agencies to review and implement more efficient processes for the selection, installation, and formalisation of vanua leaders,
3. The failure in two above could possibly lead to instances where a leader may be recognized at the vanua level but not by government as illustrated by the co-existence of rival claimants – one in the vanua and recognized by the vanua and another outside of the vanua and recognized by the government,
4. The absence or breakdown of a consensus mechanism can lead to a headless and weak vanua. For example, the Vunivalu title of Bau remained vacant for over 30 years before it was filled in 2023, and
5. Misunderstanding and consequent misinterpretation associated with the Tukutuku Raraba.

As the official adjudicator of vanua titles, the TLFC is a key stakeholder in our collaboration.

## 2.1 Research objectives

1. Examine certain canons that the TLFC holds to be immutable in adjudicating claims,
2. Suggest alternative ‘interpretive’ methods to provide a more holistic understanding of the Tukutuku Raraba,<sup>10</sup>
3. Articulate a contextual adjudicative model for a more efficient consensus building model of settling vanua title disputes.

These objectives were designed to clarify, verify, and elaborate the Tukutuku Raraba as the baseline narrative of vanua histories and further enhance the adjudicative process in resolving succession issues and related customary land matters.

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<sup>10</sup> The structure-agency model is one that proposes that as social institutions moderate human behavioral patterns, these institutions are simultaneously redefined by these patterns of behaviour. See Anthony Giddens, *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the theory of Structuration*, Berkeley: University of California Press (1984)

## 2.2 The researchers as insiders and outsiders

The team, at the time of writing, is comprised of four members: Associate Professor Morgan Tuimaleali'ifano from the History programme in the School of Social Sciences, Dr. Nawi (Tui) Rakuita from the Oceania Center for Arts, Culture and Pacific Studies, Mr. Sevanaia Sakai and Mr. Eroni Rakuita, both from the School of Development, Government and International Affairs. Three members from the region outside Fiji were unfortunately unable to join due to work-related reasons and a fourth had passed away at the commencement of our work. We identified and enlisted participation of vanua members with different views and they included Mr. Jone Dakuvula and Dr. Eta Varani-Norton. Each were provided with preliminary draft reports for their information and comments. Together with Dr. Tui Rakuita and Mr. Eroni Rakuita, they provided information as insiders and as members of the same mataqali, Valelevu. Dr. Tui Rakuita and Mr. Eroni Rakuita are members of the tokatoka Valelevu of the same the mataqali with the same name, Valelevu. Mr. Jone Dakuvula and Dr. Varani-Norton are members of the same mataqali, Valelevu and belong to the tokatoka Yautibi. It is due to their willingness and frankness to share their hearts and minds with a firm eye to the long-term security and development of the vanua that the outcome of this project must ultimately be assessed.

The membership of the project places a high premium on methodology and ethical standards. The inclusion of insiders naturally raises questions of bias, and the team was appropriately weighted with outsiders to ensure alternative views were consciously sought, acknowledged and deliberated as part of the search for historical accuracy.

The necessity of insiders was emphasized and considered by the USP Research Committee. As an intrinsic part of the research applicaiton, Dr Tui Rakuita and Eroni Rakuita declared their interests and outlined their role in the research. They admitted their representation of their mataqali in the TLFC hearing in 2016.

### 3.0 The Tukutuku Raraba of Sovatabua

This section outlines the settlement of Natewa according to the first written account of Natewa's history, Tukutuku Raraba. Each phase of development has been categorised in different sections for clarity. This section (Section 3) discusses the first migration out of Verata and the establishment of the first paramount title in Natewa. The narrative is completed in section 4 with the arrival of a second migration from Bau. The second migration culminated in a change of paramount title. The section begins with a history according to the Tukutuku Raraba.

#### 3.1 Historical background

The Native Lands Commission was established by the British administrators to investigate land claims of Europeans. It was formally established under the Native Lands Ordinance XXI of 1880 and revised in 1892.<sup>11</sup> By 1905, work began to establish the history of migration for each *yavusa*, define its land boundaries and register the names of landowners.<sup>12</sup> The collection of evidence took the form of oral testaments as part of the British colonial government's efforts to rule Fiji. The collection of oral testaments is known as Tukutuku Raraba which contains tribal statements orally handed down about the history of migration of the itaukei people from the distant past. Today, the Native Lands Commission has been renamed iTaukei Lands and Fisheries Commission and the Tukutuku Raraba is used, amongst other things, as a reference document for the adjudication of Vanua title disputes and associated customary (*vakaitaukei*) land in Fiji.

The Commission arrived in Drekeniwai in 1928. What follows is the history of the vanua of Natewa, *Yavusa o Sovatabua* according to the Tukutuku Raraba as recorded in 1928.

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<sup>11</sup> Peter France, *The Charter of the Land*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press (1969) pp. 130–132.

<sup>12</sup> <http://www.itaukeiaffairs.gov.fj/index.php/divisions/itaukei-lands-and-fisheries-commission> accessed 14 April 2019. The decision of the TLFC, based on a close reading of the Tukutuku Raraba and coupled by additional information that the body may have attained during the course of its work, can only be reviewed by appealing to a Tribunal. This is the final appellate body on chiefly title disputes. Rusiata Nayacakalou in *Leadership in Fiji*, Melbourne: Oxford University Press (1975) observed that, on the main, 'Although seniority of descent is said to be the main principle in the selection of traditional leaders, it has been shown that it is frequently superseded by other considerations' ... 'The two main principles in the selection of leaders, then, are seniority of descent and political dominance' (p.150).

### 3.2 The origin of Natewa

The people chosen to provide the tribal statements to the Commissioner in 1928 were Tomasi Mara and Ratu Epeli Vakalalabure. Vakalalabure was the sitting Vunivalu and was also Buli, the highest government official in Natewa. The Tukutuku Raraba recorded that Natewa was first settled by people from Verata in Tailevu. They settled in a place called Naqaravutu, a village located a few miles up the coast from Natewa village. Their leader was called Mainaqaraqara who had five sons, all of whom were born in Naqaravutu. From the oldest to the youngest, their names were:

1) Lutunakarikari, 2) Dreketirua, 3) Mainukumasia, 4) Cavunailoa and 5) Dawanavatu.

An altercation occurred between Mainaqaraqara and his oldest son Lutunakarikari over a missing turtle net. This led to the relocation of Mainaqaraqara and his four sons down the coast, moving in a south-westerly direction, to what is now known as Natewa village. The sons who came to Natewa with Mainaqaraqara were Dreketirua, Mainukumasia, Cavunailoa and Dawanavatu.

### 3.3 Natewa: The first settlement and Tu Natewa

After the death of Mainaqaraqara, his four sons became the founders of the social and political configurations of the Vanua of Natewa. This configuration appeared to have continued with very few changes until the present day.

Mainukumasia, the third son, was the founder of the yavusa o Vunisaiki and yavusa o Navaki. Today the yavusa Vunisaiki consists of the villages of Vusasivo and Nadavaci. The yavusa Navaki are now living in the village of Tukavesi on Buca Bay.

Cavunailoa, became the founder of yavusa of Kama in Buca village.

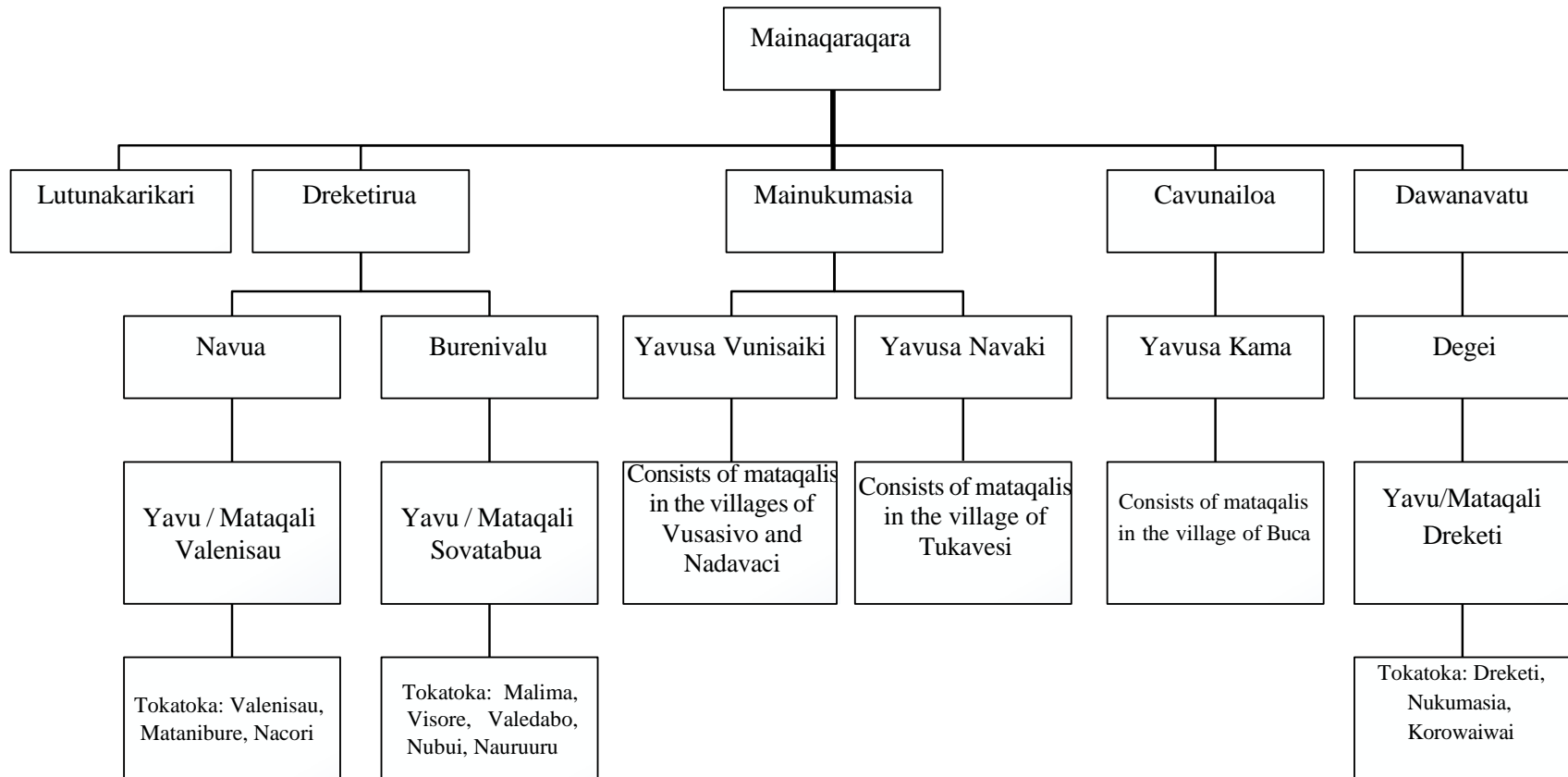
Dreketirua and Dawanavatu became the founders of Natewa village.

The Tukutuku Raraba states that Dreketirua had two sons: 1) Navua and 2) Burenivalu.

1. Navua founded the ‘yavu’ of Valenisau.
2. Burenivalu became the founder of the ‘yavu’ of Sovatabua.

Dawanavatu, on the other hand, had only one son called Degei who founded the ‘yavu’ of Dreketi.

Navua, the founder of the 'yavu' Valenisau became the chief of Natewa and was the first to be accorded the title of Tu Natewa, the first paramount title of Natewa.





**Yavusa of Sovatabua from Verata** – consist of the following mataqali and tokatoka.

<b>Mataqali</b>	<b>Tokatoka</b>
Valenisau	Valenisau
	Matanibure
	Nacori
Dreketi	Dreketi
	Nukumasia
	Korowaiwai
Sovatabua	Malima
	Visore
	Valedabo
	Nubui
	Nauruuru

## 4.0 Second migration from Bau and emergence of the Vunivalu

Sometimes later, another group arrived in Natewa from Bau.<sup>13</sup> This group was led by Ratu Saurara who married a local woman called Adi Raura. They had a son called Dakuwaqa.

After some time, Navua, the Tu Natewa died, and he was succeeded by Ratu Radolou as the new Tu Natewa. However, the people of Natewa were not happy with this appointment and so it was decided by a Ratu Duguavou, who was also known as the ‘Mai-Valenisau’, that a change of leadership was in order. Ratu Duguavou, as Mai-Valenisau, then ordered that Dakuwaqa, who was the son of Ratu Saurara, be made the new leader of Natewa and was bestowed the title of Vunivalu.

### 4.1 Installation of the Vunivalu and the second political configuration

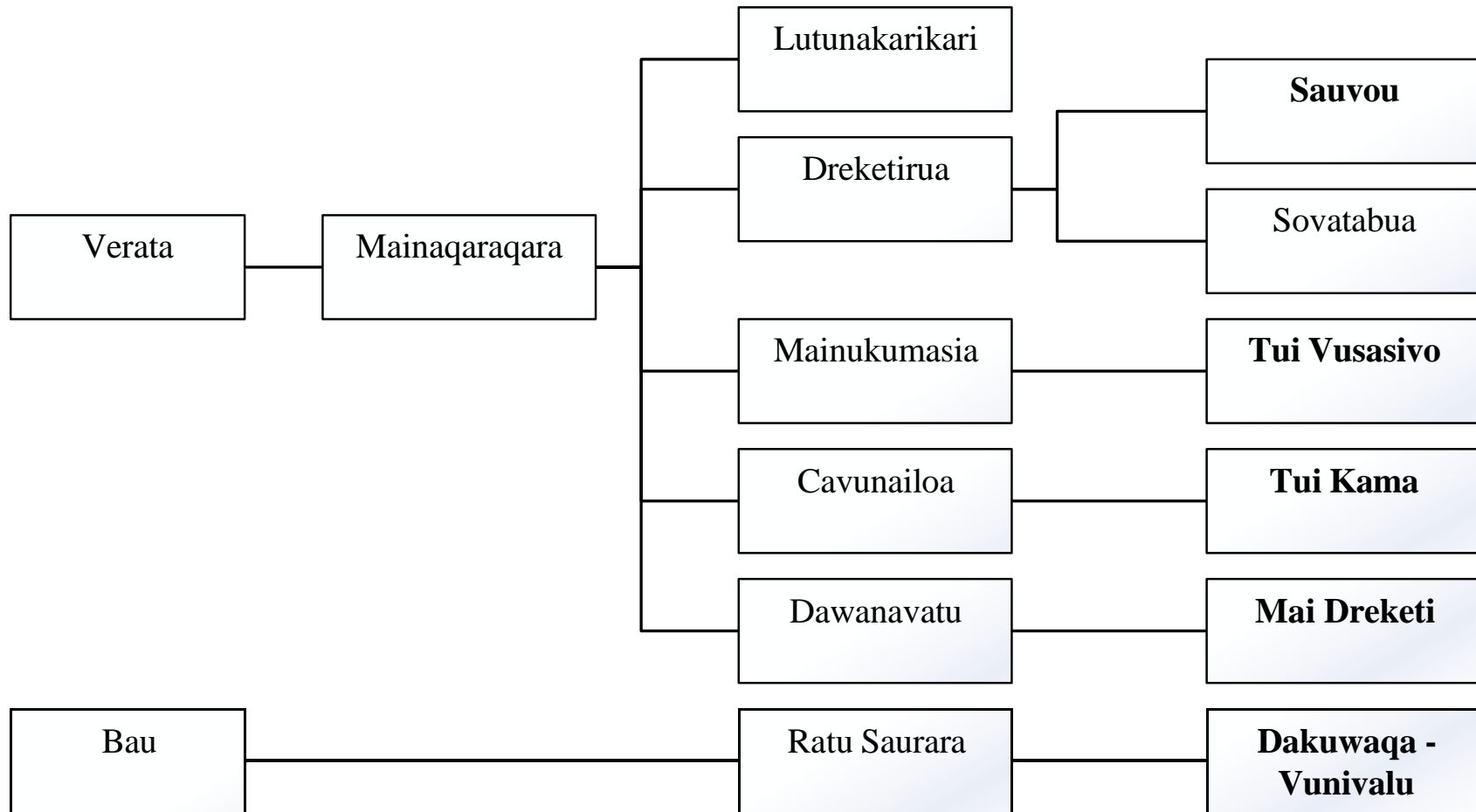
The Tukutuku Raraba states that after Dakuwaqa drank the cup of yaqona at his installation, the traditional herald was given the next cup of yaqona as “rabe” and he was then called Mai Dreketi. The second cup of yaqona was drunk by Mai-Vusasivo and his title was changed to Tui Vusasivo. He was also given the war club of the Vunivalu to signify Tui Vusasivo’s role as Bati Leka. The fourth cup of the yaqona was given to Mai-Kama and his title was changed to Tui Kama. The fifth cup of yaqona was given to Mai-Nalovotu, leader of the people who resided down the coast from Natewa village, and he was given the title of Tunauto. Then Ratu Duguavou drank the last bowl and gave himself the title ‘Sauvou’. After the installation Mai-Nakabuta, one of the people who had accompanied Ratu Saurara from Bau was given to Mai-Dreketi with the instruction that if Mai-Nakabuta was to be given a place to reside, that place was to be called Vusaratu.<sup>14</sup> So this became the second social and political configurations of Natewa.

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<sup>13</sup> Tukutuku Raraba, p.343.

<sup>14</sup> If this account is anything to go by then it is correct that it took place before 1841 when Jackson noted that he had visited a place called Vusaratu in that year – see John E Erskine, *A cruise among the islands of the Western Pacific*, London: John Murray (1853/1967) p.434. It is interesting that Jackson used the word Turagalevu to denote the high chief in Natewa. In our reading, Turagalevu appears as a generic term used by the Europeans to denote a high chief (See Deryck Scarr, *I, the very Bayonet: A Life of Sir John Bates Thurston*, Canberra: ANU Press (1973) p. 109. It has been used for Cakobau in Bau as well as for Ritova in Macuata. For a discussion on ‘Turagalevu’ see section 9.6 below.

The two waves of Migration to Natewa as recorded in 1928.



### Yavusa of Sovatabua after the second migration

Mataqali	Tokatoka
Valelevu <i>(Era Turaga)</i>	Valelevu
	Yautibi
	Valebuliti
Valenisau <i>(Era Turaga)</i>	Valenisau
	Matanibure
	Nacori
Dreketi <i>(Era Matanivanua)</i>	Dreketi
	Nukumasia
	Nakorowaiwai
Sovatabua	Malima
	Visora
	Valedabo
	Nubui
	Nauruuru

## 5.0 Succession of Vunivalu titleholder from first settlement

As the Tukutuku Raraba records, there were two successive political orders in Natewa. The first was established by migrants from Verata and the second by migrants from Bau. In the first paramount title was Tu Natewa and the second was the Vunivalu.

### 5.1 First political order: Paramount Title – Tu Natewa

1. Navua
2. Ratu Radolou

Ratu Radolou, the 2<sup>nd</sup> Tu Natewa, was ousted because the people were unhappy. This gave way to the second order.

### 5.2 Second political order: chiefly title – Vunivalu

1. Dakuwaqa
2. Ratu Veitoyaki
3. Ratu Raliku
4. Ratu Gasagasa
5. Ratu Rakuia

It was during Ratu Rakuia's time as Vunivalu that the Vunivalu of Dawato, the Tui Dokanaisuva and the Tui Vanua Levu pledged their people as subjects of the Vunivalu.

6. Ratu Tokainamena

It was at the time of Ratu Tokainamena was the Vunivalu that Natewa went to war with the combine forces of Bau and Cakaudrove under the leadership of Cakobau.

7. Ratu Rasiwa

Ratu Rasiwa was the Vunivalu and received a tabua from the Vunivalu of Bau for the people of Natewa to assist in a war against the people of Naweni in Watakala. The Tukutuku Raraba records that the Vunivalu of Bau was injured during this war. Another significant event that took place during Ratu Rasiwa's time was the killing of a sitting Tui Cakau, Ratu Naiqama Tawakecolati, by the Natewans. The death of Ratu Naiqama Tawakecolati was probably made possible by the involvement of the people of Korocau, normally warriors of the Tui Cakau.

8. Ratu Emosi Tila

The deed of cession was signed in 1874 when Ratu Emosi Tila was the Vunivalu.

9. Ratu Manoa Waibuta
10. Ratu Ame Rabelo

**11. Ratu Epeli Vakalalabure (1920s – 1970)**

The Tukumuku Raraba was recorded during Ratu Epeli time as Vunivalu and Buli.

**12. Ratu Lotaropate Saurara Rakuita (1973-1985)**

**13. Ratu Amenatape Rabelo (2010 – 2012)**

**14. Ratu Ifereimi Buaserau (2014 -)**

These are the successive paramount titleholders of Natewa starting from Navua the first Tu Natewa to Dakuwaqa the first Vunivalu up to Ratu Ifereimi Buaserau the current Vunivalu titleholder.

## 6.0 Important timelines – analysis of Tukutuku Raraba

Keeping in mind the often-tenuous links between oral and written history, what else can we learn from the recording of the Tukutuku Raraba? To shed more light on the events recorded in the Tukutuku Raraba, the team surveyed other sources to access major events that took place elsewhere in Fiji to illuminate the sparse recording in the Tukutuku Raraba.

### 6.1 The Tu Natewa title

The title of Tu Natewa is recorded in the Tukutuku Raraba as belonging to the yavu of Valenisau.<sup>15</sup> It was the original paramount title of Natewa. There is no known timeline for this title. However, tracing backwards from the established timeline, it is possible to date the reign of the Tu Natewa to as early as the first few decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

### 6.2 Ratu Duguavou the Mai Valenisau is retitled as ‘Sauvou.’

Ratu Duguavou is a central figure in the Tukutuku Raraba. He became the ‘kingmaker’ as *Mai Valenisau*, when the second Tu Natewa Ratu Radolou was deposed. In fact, he decided that Dakuwaqa was to be the next leader with a new designation, that of Vunivalu.<sup>16</sup>

A timeline for Ratu Duguavou could not be found. But judging from the central role he played in the new order after the removal of Radolou as the second Tu Natewa, he lived approximately around the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

It is noted that the term ‘Sauvou’ appears for the first time when the Tukutuku Raraba was recorded in 1928. Writing in 1911, the ethnographer Hocart notes the head of Valenisau is designated as the ‘Sau’ and lists six office holders.<sup>17</sup>

### 6.3 The origin of Saurara (18th Century)

According to the Tukutuku Raraba, Saurara was the leader of the migrants from Bau.<sup>18</sup> Saurara’s arrival in Natewa is approximately within the first few decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century.<sup>19</sup> He did not

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<sup>15</sup> Tukutuku Raraba, p.342. The team has decided to disregard the latest ‘Lewa’ of the TLFC on the matter of the Tu Natewa. This is because the chairman reaffirmed the authority of the Tukutuku Raraba on such matters at our meeting with the TLFC on the 13<sup>th</sup> of June 2019.

<sup>16</sup> Tukutuku Raraba, p.343.

<sup>17</sup> See section 10.5 for an extended discussion.

<sup>18</sup> See section on 9.0 on ‘Issues and concerns for further Discussions’ for an extended discussion.

<sup>19</sup> This is done by projecting from established timelines of other Vunivalu.

come from Bau Island as there is evidence that shows he left Viti Levu before Bau was settled by the Kubuna people in 1760s.<sup>20</sup> A full disclosure of this evidence is in section 9.0.

#### 6.4 The first Vunivalu: Ratu Dakuwaqa (1760s–1770s)

The Tukutuku Raraba states that Dakuwaqa, son of Ratu Saurara and Di Raura, became the first Vunivalu of Natewa.<sup>21</sup> His reign is estimated around the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century.

#### 6.5 The second Vunivalu: Ratu Veitoyaki (1780s–1790s)

Ratu Veitoyaki is the name of Dakuwaqa's successor and by projecting backward from the established timeline, his reign is estimated to be around the latter parts of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>22</sup>

#### 6.6 The third Vunivalu: Ratu Raliku (1800s–1810s).

The third Vunivalu was Ratu Raliku. In Natewa's oral history, the name of Raliku is an abbreviation of Ralikusuasua which means 'Wet Skirt'.<sup>23</sup> Using similar projections to the past like Veitoyaki, an estimated timeline for the reign of Raliku is early 19<sup>th</sup> century.

#### 6.7 The fourth Vunivalu: Ratu Gasagasa (1810s–1820s).

The fourth Vunivalu in the Tukutuku Raraba was Ratu Gasagasa.<sup>24</sup> His approximate reign lies between the second and third decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

#### 6.8 The fifth Vunivalu: Ratu Rakuita (1820s–1830s).

The fifth Vunivalu was Ratu Rakuita.<sup>25</sup> The Tukutuku Raraba records it was during his time that Natewa extended its arc of influence to include the other side of the Bay (see 5.1 above).

The Tukutuku Raraba states that the people of Dokanaisuva and Teiteiciva, both from the other side of the Bay, pledged their allegiance to the Vunivalu of Natewa due to Natewa's assistance in a battle against Ramoala from Naduru, Dogotuki.<sup>26</sup> Consequently Tui Dokanaisuva and his people pledged that they would be 'gonedau ni vonu' of the Vunivalu; that is, the Tui Dokanaisuva and his people would be turtle suppliers for the Vunivalu.

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<sup>20</sup> David Routledge, *Matanitu: The Struggle for Power in early Fiji*. Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies (1985) p. 39.

<sup>21</sup> Tukutuku Raraba, p.343. See sections 9 and 10 for an extended discussion.

<sup>22</sup> Hocart's field notes, taken 17 years earlier (in 1911) than the Tukutuku Raraba (1928) has another name for the second Vunivalu. See sections 10.1 and 10.2 below.

<sup>23</sup> Tukutuku Raraba, p.343. See section 10.2 for an extended discussion.

<sup>24</sup> Tukutuku Raraba, p. 314.

<sup>25</sup> Tukutuku Raraba, p.314.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, p. 315.



Tui Vanua Levu also pledged the Vanua of Teiteiciva would also be ‘gonedau’ (fishermen) to the Vunivalu of Natewa. They confirmed this by gifting a *buli qele* (mound of soil) to the Natewan people. This became a basis for a yavu on which a house was built in the village of Natewa.<sup>27</sup>

The people of Udu also became part of the *qusi ni loaloa* after the war in Dokanaisuva. It was during Ratu Rakuita’s time that a temporary alliance was formed with the Tui Cakau in a raid against Naio.

Based on the timeline and the events that took place within this period, Ratu Rakuita is reckoned to be the Vunivalu that the third Tui Cakau, Ratu Vakamino, had wanted Adi Talatoka, his granddaughter to marry.<sup>28</sup> Since Ratu Rakuita preceded Ratu Tokainamena, his reign has been tentatively placed to have ended in the 1830s.

## 6.9 The sixth Vunivalu: Ratu Tokainamena<sup>29</sup> (1830s–1846).

The sixth Vunivalu was Ratu Tokainamena.<sup>30</sup> It was during Tokainamena’s term as Vunivalu that Tuikilakila appealed to Cakobau to assist Somosomo in a war against Natewa. The war was conducted around the beginning of July 1846 and ended three weeks later. The Natewan warrior, Lebaivalu, was shot by Cakobau in this war as he tried to spear Cakobau.<sup>31</sup> Apart from Reverend Williams account, this particular incident is also recorded in the Tukutuku Raraba of the yavusa o Sovatabua and the yavusa o Kubuna.<sup>32</sup>

The 1846 war was precipitated by an earlier battle against Cakaudrove (Somosomo) resulting in the killing of the Cakaudrove warriors at Lasema.<sup>33</sup> Shelley Ann Sayes placed the earlier battle in the month of November 1842. She refers to that battle as a skirmish between an expeditionary force from Cakaudrove and the warriors of the Vunivalu of Natewa that ended in a massacre of the expedition force after a trap was set by the inhabitants of Buca village. Notable people who were slain in this war included Kubuabola, the younger brother of Yavala and Vakaruru.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> See Tukutuku Raraba of Yavusa Sovatabua, Tikina Natewa.

<sup>28</sup> Shelley Sayes, PhD, p. 143. Adi Talatoka eventually ended up firstly with Naulivou then, upon his death, Tanoa.

<sup>29</sup> See section 9.0 on ‘Issues and Discussions’ for an extended discussion.

<sup>30</sup> Tukutuku Raraba, p. 315.

<sup>31</sup> Thomas Williams quoted in Joseph Waterhouse, *The King and the People of Fiji*, London: Hayman Brothers (1864) p. 136. See also Tukutuku Raraba of Kubuna, Tikina o Bau.

<sup>32</sup> Tukutuku Raraba (Sovatabua), p. 346; Tukutuku Raraba (Kubuna), pp. 27–28.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Shelley Ann Sayes, PhD, (1982) p. 148 footnote 47 & p.243, footnote 108. Also see Rev. Richard B Lyth, Journal 1842–1844, 22 November 1842, 31–32.

Reverend Williams points out that there was yet another war that took place a year earlier in 1841 caused by a case of adultery.<sup>35</sup> This account by Williams is consistent with the account in the Tukutuku Raraba of the yavusa o Sovatabua, where Ratu Tibika, the Tui Tunuloa and a *Vasu* of Natewa, eloped with Adi Korodua, wife of the Tui Cakau.<sup>36</sup> For the Tukutuku Raraba to acknowledge Tuikilakila as the Tui Cakau at this stage of Yavala's reign reveals the identity of the real power behind Yavala.

It was also around this time that a gun runner by the name of Jackson accompanied Bonaveidogo to Natewa and met a 'Turagalevu'. Indeed, Jackson notes that the 'Turagalevu' that he met was quite harried and besieged by never ending conflicts.<sup>37</sup>

From the Tukutuku Raraba, it has been possible to trace Ratu Tokainamena's reign from the 1830s to his death in 1846 after the Bauan-Somosomo war with Natewa.

#### 6.10.1 The seventh Vunivalu: Ratu Rasiwa (1847–post 1862).

The 7<sup>th</sup> Vunivalu of Natewa, as recorded in the Tukutuku Raraba was Ratu Rasiwa. The name is an abbreviation of Rasiwatibau.<sup>38</sup> According to Hocart, Rasiwa was the 'Sau' when Tokainamena/Nakete was the Vunivalu.<sup>39</sup> He succeeded Tokainamena in 1847.

The Tukutuku Raraba notes that it was during the time of Rasiwa as Vunivalu that Cakobau sent a *tabua* (whale's tooth) on behalf of the Dewala people to the Vunivalu of Natewa for his help against the Naweni people. The Vunivalu of Natewa then amassed a force to help Cakobau subdue the Naweni people on behalf of the Dewala people. The Tukutuku Raraba further notes that Cakobau was evacuated in this war.<sup>40</sup> Shelley Ann Sayes concurs noting that 'Cakobau was wounded by a spear'.<sup>41</sup>

According to the Tukutuku Raraba, it was also during Rasiwa's reign that another *tabua* came from Korocau requesting the Natewans to kill Ratu Naiqama Tawakecolati, one of the two

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<sup>35</sup> See R A, Derrick, *A History of Fiji*, Suva: Government Press (1946/2001) p. 82, footnote 14.

<sup>36</sup> Tukutuku Raraba, p. 318. Sayes, *Cakaudrove*, (1982) p. 240 even named Adi Korodua, one of Tui Kilakila's wives, as the lady in question.

<sup>37</sup> See 'Jackson's Narrative' in John E Erskine, *Journal of cruise among the Islands of the Western Pacific: Including the Fejees and others inhabited by the Polynesian races, in her Majesty's ship Havannah*, London (1967) pp. 431–432.

<sup>38</sup> See discussion on Rasiwa in section 10.4 below.

<sup>39</sup> Hocart's field notes, p. 3470. Also see A M Hocart, *Northern States of Fiji, The Northern States of Fiji*, London: Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland (1952) p.122.

<sup>40</sup> Tukutuku Raraba, p.346.

<sup>41</sup> Sayes, *PhD*, (1982) p.249. See also 'Ai tukutuku kei Ratu Cakobau na Vunivalu mai Bau, *Na Mata* (August, 1912) p. 144.

claimants to the Tui Cakau title after the death of Ratu Vakamino – the third Tui Cakau and the last to reside in Vanualevu.<sup>42</sup> Ratu Naiqama's demise was at the instigation of the Vasu I Vuna.<sup>43</sup>

Shelly Ann Sayes also gives an account of the death of Naiqama. She notes that Ratu Naiqama Tawakecolati was killed at the instigation of the sons of Ratu Vakamino (third Tui Cakau) from a lady of Vuna by the name of Adi Tuivaturogo. The sons, Leleiveivono and Qerewaqa thought that the assassination of their father's archrival would make Yavala amenable to their offer for peace. Qerewaqa, therefore, went and asked the Korocau people to kill Ratu Naiqama which was what they did a short time later. This places Ratu Naiqama's death around the early 1840s after the death of the third Tui Cakau, Vakamino and before the death of Yavala in 1845.<sup>44</sup> This, given the timelines, makes the passing of Ratu Naiqama coincide with the reign of Ratu Tokainamena as Vunivalu in Natewa and NOT Ratu Rasiwa. There is no reason to doubt the Tukutuku Raraba in this instance.<sup>45</sup>

Rasiwa was also asserted to have been at the helm during the Macuata war in Raviravi and again at the war with Wainiqolo at Wairiki in 1862. It was after this war that Adi Takiveikata, a lady from Cakaudrove, was betrothed to Ratu Visawaqa of Natewa, the son of the then sitting Sauvou and leader of the Natewan contingent that fought Wainiqolo.<sup>46</sup> Rasiwa died sometimes after 1862.<sup>47</sup>

### 6.10.2 The eighth Vunivalu: Ratu Emosi Tila (mid-1860's–post 1874).

The Tukutuku Raraba noted Emosi Tila was the 8<sup>th</sup> Vunivalu<sup>48</sup> at cession on 10 October 1874.

### 6.10.3 The ninth Vunivalu: Ratu Manoa Waibuta - late 1870s– early 1890s.

The Tukutuku Raraba recorded Ratu Waibuta as the ninth Vunivalu. There is no time period mentioned although the Tukutuku Raraba of Yavusa Vunisaiki places him as a Vunivalu in 1882.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Tukutuku Raraba, p. 317.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Shelley Ann Sayes, *PhD*, (1982) p. 148.

<sup>45</sup> See section 9.1.3 below for our analysis.

<sup>46</sup> Tukutuku Raraba, p. 349.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> Tukutuku Raraba Yavusa Vunisaiki Tikina Natewa p. 358 (i.e., last page of their Tukutuku Raraba)

#### 6.10.4 The tenth Vunivalu: Ratu Ame Rabelo (late 1890s–1919).

The Tukutuku Raraba records that Ratu Rabelo succeeded Waibuta. Rabelo died in 1919 while riding on a horse.<sup>50</sup> His reign is placed from the latter part of the 1890s to 1919.<sup>51</sup>

#### 6.10.5 Eleventh Vunivalu: Ratu Epeli Vakalalabure (early 1920's–1970).

Ratu Epeli Vakalalabure of Valenisau succeeded Ratu Rabelo of Valelevu<sup>52</sup> and was the last Vunivalu in the colonial era. He was the father of Ratu Tevita Vakalalabure<sup>53</sup> whose younger brother, Ratu Aisea Kaitu, contested the title in 2012. Ratu Epeli was the grandfather of Rakuira Teariki Vakalalabure who contested the title in 2016.

#### 6.10.6 The twelfth Vunivalu: Ratu Lotaropate Rakuira (1973-1985)

Ratu Lotaropate Rakuira succeeded Ratu Epeli Vakalalabure in 1973. This was after Valelevu contested a claim by Ratu Tevita Vakalalabure to the then Native Lands Commission. Ratu Lotaropate Rakuira was installed as the first Vunivalu after Independence. Popularly known as Ratu Lota, he was the son of the tenth Vunivalu, Ratu Ame Rabelo.

#### 6.10.7 The thirteenth Vunivalu: Ratu Amenatape Rabelo (2010-2012)

Ratu Rabelo succeeded his father, Ratu Lotaropate Rakuira, in 2011.

#### 6.10.8 The fourteenth Vunivalu: Ratu Ifereimi Buaserau Rakuira (2014- )

Ratu Ifereimi is the current incumbent and son of Ratu Eroni Tawake, an older brother of the 13<sup>th</sup> Vunivalu -Ratu Amenatape Rabelo.

#### Note on Ratu Tevita Vakalalabure's claim to the Vunivalu title

During Ratu Tevita Vakalalabure's latter years in politics, the Suva-based media often referred to him as a Vunivalu of Natewa, a claim which Ratu Tevita never denied in public. In

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<sup>50</sup> Nawi (Tui) Rakuira was informed by his grandfather, Lotaropate Rakuira (around 1980) that, his father, Ratu Ame Rabelo died in 1919 when Lotaropate was 17 years old and was attending St John's college in Cawaci (personal communication). Thus, the name 'Baleinaose' (died on a horse) is synonymous with this Vunivalu.

<sup>51</sup> Rabelo was the son of the 9<sup>th</sup> Vunivalu's (Ratu Manoa Waibuta) younger brother. This is confirmed by the oral consensus surrounding Rabelo's genealogy. It is also backed up by Hocart's family tree in his field notes (p. 633).

<sup>52</sup> Tukutuku Raraba, p. 350.

<sup>53</sup> Ratu Tevita, who had himself installed in 1972, was disqualified by the then Native Lands Commission in 1973.

examining the claim, based on the observation of the Tribunal in 2016 and deliberation with the TLFC Chairman on 13 June 2019, the team could find no evidence to include Ratu Tevita in the list of bona fide Vunivalu of Natewa. According to the ruling of the Tribunal on the dispute between the incumbent Ratu Ifereimi Buaserau Rakuita and Ratu Rakuita Vakalalabure, there is no record that Ratu Tevita was a bona fide Vunivalu titleholder. Apart from unsubstantiated media references, the only reference that refers to him as such was in the form of a letter by a Mr. Daugunu from the then Native Lands Commission to the then Native Lands Trust Board.<sup>54</sup>

## 7.0 Issues concerning the Vunivalu title.

Over the past 50 years, the central issue over the title dispute concerns the claims by the two leading mataqali of Natewa, Valelevu and Valenisau. The main area of contention appears to revolve around competing interpretations on the order and procedure of installing a successor. The contentions from the two leading mataqali of Valelevu and Valenisau are summarised below:

### 7.1 Opinion from the Mataqali Valenisau

Valenisau is of the view that the title has always been passed from Valenisau to Valelevu and vice versa in an *alternate* fashion. The basis of their claim lies on their interpretation of the Tukutuku Raraba.<sup>55</sup>

Evidence from Hocart supports the idea that past holders of the title were picked from the mataqali Valelevu and Valenisau. He noted that although, '[T]he present holder belongs to Big House, and the second chief to the second chief's house a list of past Gods of War shows that at least three were from the second chiefs house'.<sup>56</sup> Accordingly, in the view of Valenisau, Ratu Rakuita's grandfather, Ratu Epeli Vakalalabure, became a Vunivalu because he was a bona fide member of the mataqali of Valenisau.

Ratu Rakuita Vakalalabure, the last claimant of the title from Valenisau, is of the view that the title should have come to him after the death of the late 13<sup>th</sup> Vunivalu, from Valelevu, Ratu

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<sup>54</sup> See the Judgement of the ITaukei Lands Appeals Tribunal, Natewa, Sovatabua, (2017) pp. 21–22.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid, p.ix/350 – 'E dau veidewayaki nai tutu oqo na vunivalu ena mataqali ruarua oqo ko Valelevu kei Valenisau' (The title, historically, has been held by Valelevu and Valenisau)

<sup>56</sup> A M Hocart, *The Northern States of Fiji*, London: Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland (1952) p.122. This fact is also widely accepted in Natewa.

Amenatape Rabelo.<sup>57</sup> The mataqali Valenisau is clearly of the opinion the title alternates between the two.

## 7.2 Opinion from Mataqali Valelevu

Ratu Ifereimi Buaserau of the mataqali of Valelevu does not dispute the claim that the title is passed down through *both* mataqali. However, in his view, this does not necessarily mean that the claim made by the current Valenisau claimants are valid.

In other words, the relevant passage in the Tukutuku Raraba that depicts the way the title is passed from one mataqali to the other throughout history does not necessarily validate the current claimants from Valenisau.

## 7.3 An assertion of process by tokatoka Yautibi of Mataqali Valelevu

Valelevu and Yautibi are names of two tokatoka within mataqali Valelevu. A member of Yautibi, Jone Dakuvula asserted in 2011 that the Vunivalu titleholder is installed by tokatoka Yautibi irrespective of the appointee's mataqali through *veivakagunuvi vakabutakoci*.<sup>58</sup> However, no evidence was available to corroborate the assertion and the Tukutuku Raraba is silent on the matter.

## 7.4 Judgement of the TLFC in 2016

In its adjudication (*Lewa*), the TLFC referred to the Tukutuku Raraba as irrefutable evidence on which their determination is based. In addition to a ruling, TLFC also introduced a process for the installation of a titleholder. This is summarized below:

1. The title is to pass between members of the two mataqali who can trace their lineage to Duguavou (Valenisau) and Dakuwaqa (Valelevu).

*Na mataveivaqai e vinakata me tukuna ni Tukutuku Raraba ni Yavusa Sovatabua e tukuna ni ra sega ni vinakati Radolou na vanua ka qai solia na itutu o Duguavou na Mai Valenisau ki vei Dakuwaqa me Vunivalu. Na vei solisoli ogo e sega ni tu kina e dua na kena vei yalayalati. E vakayacori ena vuku ni domodra na Vanua ni ra sega ni taleitaki Ratu Radolou. Na veisolisoli ogo e sega ni kauta tani na dina ni veiliutaki talega o Valenisau. Sa kena*

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<sup>57</sup> This is interesting as the last rift concerning the title, in 2012, was between Ratu Rakuita's own uncle, Ratu Kaitu Vakalalabure, and Ratu Amenatape Rabelo. The former's argument was that he (Ratu Kaitu) should be Vunivalu before Ratu Amenatape as the latter's late brother, Ratu Gasagasa, was recognized as the leading Natewan chief when he was alive although he died before he was formally installed.

<sup>58</sup> Dakuvula's claim was made during the Vunivalu title dispute, mediated by the ITLFC, between Ratu Amenatave Belo and Ratu Kaitu Vakalalabure.

*ibalebale ni solia o Duguavou kina kawa nei Dakuwaqa sa vakadeitakani rau dau veisoli na kawa nei Dakuwaqa e Valelevu kei Duguavou e Valenisau.*

It is the position of the ITLC in reference to the Tukutuku Raraba of Sovatabua that the people did not like Radolou and so Duguavou the Mai Valenisau gave the leadership position to Dakuwaqa who became the Vunivalu. There was no clear stated agreement or understanding about this change in leadership. It was done in response to the people of Natewa's dissatisfaction with Ratu Radolou as their chief. The giving of the title to Dakuwaqa does not change the fact that Valenisau is also entitled to hold the leadership position. So, when Duguavou gave the leadership position to Dakuwaqa and his descendants, it merely establishes the fact that the leadership position can be assumed by both Duguavou and Dakuwaqa's descendants.<sup>59</sup>

2. The tokatoka Yautibi and the Mai Dreketi are to consult with each other as to who is to be the Vunivalu.<sup>60</sup>
3. That the Vunivalu needs to be the head of his own mataqali prior to his installation.

While TLFC confirmed the general understanding between the two mataqali, they also recognized the role of the Vanua is ideally the final arbiter on disputes over succession.

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<sup>59</sup> Native Land Fisheries Commission (16<sup>th</sup> June 2016) *Lewa: Turaga ni Yavusa Sovatabua Ka Vunivalu e Natewa, Cakudrove*, p. 9.

<sup>60</sup> At a presentation to the TLFC in mid-2019, TLFC noted the Tukutuku Raraba was silent on this claim by Yautibi.

## 8.0 Research Findings

Given the nature of our study, the availability of the Tukutuku Raraba and related documents pertaining to the socio-political system of Natewa, it was deemed practical to adopt a coding strategy that is concept driven. This entails evaluating the data with predetermined codes to help organise data around the subject area. In our case, the codes were derived from the Tukutuku Raraba. But before this could be done, it was essential to establish the veracity of Tukutuku Raraba as a historical document.

Below is the coding of the data collected during fieldwork. This part took five weeks conducted over three consecutive visits to Natewa for interviews and other stakeholders to assess the authenticity the document.

### 8.1 CODING

#### 8.1.1 On the authenticity of the Tukutuku Raraba

The TLFC's stand on this score is very clear. It views the Tukutuku Raraba as sacrosanct, and it regards each statement in it at least in its official proclamations to be the truth. This has been explicitly affirmed by various Chairmen and Commissioners. This stance is linked to two related factors. The first is that the Tukutuku Raraba is a legal document. As such it viewed as a legitimate basis against which all truth claims are measured. The second is that the power of adjudication by TLFC is contingent on the continuing legitimacy of the document.

The degree of agreement on the document varies slightly among the different mataqali in Natewa. Yet the common thread running through these views is that ultimately the Tukutuku Raraba is a workable document for determining aspects of the political order.<sup>61</sup>

For instance, the common view from our respondents from the mataqali of Valenisau is that the Tukutuku Raraba is true as it states that the appointment of a Vunivalu can come from either Valelevu or Valenisau. This contention is shared widely among the different factions of the two clans. It is a widely shared view by the two mataqali elders that if stability is to be achieved the

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<sup>61</sup> The exception is Yautibi. The views of Dr Varani-Norton and our reply are appended (See Appendix B & B1).



title should alternate. One respondent from Valenisau claims there is a perceived division in the Vanua that is linked to the current monopoly by Valelevu on the title.<sup>62</sup>

For respondents from Valelevu, the Tukutuku Raraba contains sufficient evidence of the existing social order. However, in order to grasp Natewan reality and the way the TLFC has determined the appointment of titleholders, the Tukutuku Raraba needs to be understood in conjunction with how the people of Natewa perceive themselves within the existing social structure in the Vanua.

Within the mataqali of Valelevu, the attitude of tokatoka Yautibi on the Tukutuku Raraba differs radically from the tokatoka Valelevu. Yautibi's view is that the Tukutuku Raraba is a manufactured document that sought amongst other things to repress from memory the identity of their members as descendants of the Tu Natewa. While important, examining this view is beyond the remit of this research.

### 8.1.2 On the right blood line

As asserted by the Tukutuku Raraba, the Vunivalu title is passed from the mataqali of Valelevu to Valenisau in no particular order.<sup>63</sup> As it stands, the literal translation of the particular passage in the Tukutuku Raraba makes anyone registered in either of the two mataqali qualify as potential candidates. The closer perusal of customary practices relating to the selection of the title suggests otherwise. These are:

1. Agnatic Seniority – this means that the title is passed to the most senior member of the tokatoka on the male line. In the case of Valelevu, the tokatoka in question is also called Valelevu. The same applies for Valenisau.
2. Wedlock – that the incumbent should be the male offspring of a legitimate union.<sup>64</sup> In the case of an illegitimate son, he and his descendants are relegated below the 'legitimate' ones irrespective of seniority. Any male adoption who subsequently makes a claim for the title will be assessed according to his patrilineal line.

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<sup>62</sup> Interview with Pita Taleaua, in 2018 by Sevanaia Sakai.

<sup>63</sup> The Tukutuku Raraba on p. ix/350 states that '*E dau veidewayaki nai tutu oqo na Vunivalu ena mataqali ruarua ko Valelevu kei Valenisau.*' (The title or position of the Vunivalu can be passed between the mataqali of Valelevu and Valenisau). Hocart also made this point – see *The Northern States of Fiji*, (1952) p.122.

<sup>64</sup> E Vakavaletaki na tinana – 'his mother was brought into the house' (our translation) is a metaphor depicting the legitimization taking place between such unions.

3. Endorsement of the Vanua – The Vanua is the major stakeholder, and its endorsement of the candidate is critical for acceptances.<sup>65</sup> The Vanua comprises heads of other Mataqali in Natewa as well as senior members.

The genealogical line is confined to both bona fide members within the tokatoka Valelevu as well as a family in the tokatoka Valenisau that can trace their lineage to Dakuwaqa.<sup>66</sup> This is supported by names of former Vunivalu titleholders in the Tukutuku Raraba.<sup>67</sup> Certain names can be associated with a specific family indicating place of origin or ‘ownership’. Over time, these names find their way to other families usually through the marriage of females to outsiders. However, normal practice dictates the family name cannot be appropriated by outsiders.<sup>68</sup>

A concern was expressed by Isireli Taganekalou who claims to be a descendant of Dakuwaqa on the female line within Valenisau over the eligibility of some of their mataqali members in relation to the succession to the title. His concern is based on his belief the *Vola ni Kawa Bula* (Fijian Register of Births and Deaths) for their tokatoka may need reviewing.<sup>69</sup> When asked as to why they had not contested the title in recent years, his reply was that there were no longer any living male descendants.<sup>70</sup>

Two other respondents from Valenisau feel differently and believe this is a minor issue which tends to muddy the heart of the matter which is that the title is alternated between the two mataqali. They further claim that the title has been hogged by the mataqali of Valelevu in breach of the general understanding.<sup>71</sup> They continue to claim that the current holder of the title is not from the right genealogical line asserting his ancestors were brought in from Lasakau/Bau to be fishermen

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<sup>65</sup> Cakaudrove – Va’ataulala

<sup>66</sup> see Hocart’s field notes p. 3470. It is also confirmed by the tokatoka Valelevu during interviews in 2017-2019.

<sup>67</sup> In 2020, the TLFC recognizes fourteen Vunivalu titleholders. Out of 14, Ratu Epeli Vakalalabure is the exception in that his descent is not connected to any of the other thirteen titleholders through his paternal line. His accession to the title is widely acknowledged due of his exploits, non-combatant though it was, as a member of the Fiji Labour Corp in WW1 (– See Christine Liava’a, *Qaravi Na’I Tavi: They Did Their Duty*, Auckland: Polygraphia Ltd, (2009) p. 79.) and his position as Buli Tunuloa/Natewa. This claim mirrors the claim by 87-year-old Alipate Rarakula (VKB ref 21/322), who in his interview stated that Ratu Epeli Vakalalabure was ‘awarded’ the title because he went to war. Alipate stated: ‘Baleta nai tutu vakavunivalu, o koya e Vunivalu tu e liu e sega ni kena kawa dina, ya na I cocovi ni vanua! vua ena nona bole me lai vala I Varanise E sega ni kena kawa, ya na I covi ga ni vanua vua.’ (With reference to the title or position of the Vunivalu, one of the previous Vunivalu did not come from the right genealogy. The title was bestowed on him upon his return from fighting in the First World War. The vanua rewarded him as such in acknowledgement for his service. He was not from the right genealogy; this was just the vanua’s acknowledgement for his service.) Later in the interview he acknowledged the legitimacy of the current Vunivalu ‘baleta o ratou na kena kawa dina’ (because they are from the right genealogy).

<sup>68</sup> This general observation no longer holds in contemporary Fiji.

<sup>69</sup> Interviewed in 2018 by Sevanaia Sakai in Savusavu.

<sup>70</sup> Children may be registered on the mother’s side with the vanua’s consent and the same applies for children of non-marriage. While the latter may enjoy rights to land, the same cannot be said about the title.

<sup>71</sup> Pita Taleaua (VKB ref 297/107) and Gibert Ariki Ilaijia (VKB ref 297/130) interviewed by Sevanaia Sakai in 2018.

and pointed to the ‘Bi ni Vonu’ in the old yavu of Vatulawa, which is the yavu of the incumbent within the old village site. The Tukutuku Raraba suggests otherwise.

Ratu Ifereimi Buaserau Rakuita, the incumbent Vunivalu is descended from the fifth Vunivalu, Ratu Rakuita whose appointment was approximately from 1820s to 1830s. After helping the Tui Dokanaisuva defeat his enemies, the grateful Tui Dokanaisuva pledged the responsibility of supplying turtles to Ratu Rakuita, the Vunivalu, and hence the origin of the ‘bi ni vonu’.<sup>72</sup> This was confirmed by the current Mai Dreketi<sup>73</sup> and respondents from the mataqali of Sovatabua (not to be confused with the larger social unit Vanua of Sovatabua that Natewa is known in custom).

### 8.1.3 On the Tu Natewa

As noted above, the place of Tu Natewa in Natewa’s history is unchallenged.<sup>74</sup> Alipate Rakula related that the Tu Natewa title was the first title of the descendants of the people who migrated from Verata led by Mainabare.<sup>75</sup> The second Tu Natewa was Ratu Radolou who was ousted and replaced by Dakuwaqa, the first Vunivalu.<sup>76</sup>

### 8.1.4 On the installation process

One of the surprising revelations of our research was the discovery of a lack of knowledge among the Vanua pertaining to the installation process of the Vunivalu titleholder. This should not be so surprising since the Tukutuku Raraba is silent on it. While mataqali members were aware of their specific connections to the yavu of the Vunivalu and their place within the Vanua, there was a paucity of information on the specific role of each mataqali in the installation process and protocols of communicating the decision to all in the Vanua.<sup>77</sup>

While the Tukutuku Raraba is silent on the process, it does refer to the installation of the first Vunivalu titleholder where some of the main actions and key actors were revealed:

1. Dakuwaqa was installed as the first Vunivalu under the direction of Ratu Duguavou, the Mai Valenisau, and head of Valenisau at the time.
2. Mai Dreketi appears to have been the ‘Master of Ceremony’ at the installation at the behest of the Sauvou.

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<sup>72</sup> Tukutuku Raraba p.345.

<sup>73</sup> Interview with Pita Manamanivalu, Mai Dreketi in July 2020.

<sup>74</sup> Tukutuku Raraba pp. i/342–ii/343.

<sup>75</sup> Alipate Rarakula interviewed by Sevanaia Sakai in Vusasivo village, 2018.

<sup>76</sup> Tukutuku Raraba, p. ii/343.

<sup>77</sup> This emerged in our interviews.

3. The Mai Dreketi appeared to be the mediator between Mai Valenisau (Ratu Duguavou) and the Vunivalu-designate (Dakuwaqa).<sup>78</sup>

These statements are consistent with Hocart's observations in Natewa from 1910-1912<sup>79</sup> and reiterated by the Mai Dreketi in communications to the TLFC Chairman.<sup>80</sup>

The Valelevu respondents point out that the practice of selecting the next Vunivalu lies with the reigning Vunivalu and his tokatoka in the mataqali Valelevu.<sup>81</sup> In other words, a reigning Vunivalu, after consultation with senior members of his tokatoka, selects his successor, who is then designated as Mai Valebasaga. Custom dictates that the Mai Valebasaga:

1. Must be a male descendant of the founding Vunivalu, Dakuwaqa
2. Commands respect within his own tokatoka.

According to the members of the tokatoka Valelevu, at the death of a Vunivalu the tokatoka meets to confirm the Mai Valebasaga as the successor. Once done, the tokatoka then informs the mataqali of the appointment of the new head of the mataqali (Valelevu) and the Vunivalu-designate. After confirmation, Mai Dreketi is informed who then initiates the installation process.

In turns, Mai Dreketi consults with the Sauvou as head of the mataqali of Valenisau before notifying the people of Vusaratu. The Sauvou informs Tui Dawato across the Bay.<sup>82</sup> Mai Yautibi of the Tokatoka Yautibi informs the Tui Kama (Buca Village) who will then send his emissary to the Ravouvou (Tukavesi Village). The tokatoka of Valelevu informs Mai Malima, the head of the mataqali Sovatabua, the Tui Vusasivo (Vunisaiki) as well as Mai Dawa, the head of Dawa village. In this way, the whole of the Vanua is informed.<sup>83</sup>

At the same time, the mataqali of Valelevu will prepare the yaqona vakaturaga for the installation ceremony under the direction of the Mai Malima: head of the mataqali of Sovatabua. Once ready, the Mai Dreketi takes over from the Mai Malima and installs the title. The ceremony ends with a 'vuluvulu'- an exchange of gifts between Mai Dreketi and the newly installed Vunivalu titleholder.

The dual role of Mai Dreketi as matanivanua and master of ceremony was also interpreted by Ratu Rakuita Vakalalabure of Valenisau in a slightly different manner. In his submission to the

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<sup>78</sup> Tukutuku Raraba pp. iii/343–iv/344.

<sup>79</sup> See A C Hocart, *Northern States of Fiji*, London: Royal Anthropological Institute (1952) p. 124.

<sup>80</sup> Mai Dreketi to TLFC of 27 October 2015 and 9 September 2016 (See Appendix).

<sup>81</sup> Ratu Ifereimi Buaserau, current Vunivalu titleholder, see his statement in Appendix.

<sup>82</sup> Interview with Peni Delauca.

<sup>83</sup> This way of relaying information throughout the Vanua is well-known and accepted in Natewa.

TLFC in 2016, he claims Mai Dreketi can be either the matanivanua **or** presiding officer at the installation but not both.<sup>84</sup>

The existence of this dual position may be found in a note by Hocart who had done his research in Natewa in 1911. He points to the important historical influence from Bau. Under Bau, the customary practice at installations requires the Matanivanua to ‘rabe’ for the paramount titleholder. At the installation ceremony for the Vunivalu of Natewa, Mai Dreketi provides that ‘rabe’ on behalf of his mataqali. The person selected is normally from the tokatoka Nukumasia. Hocart noted that the role of matanivanua in the Natewan sense is that of a master of ceremony.<sup>85</sup> Thus, Mai Dreketi may perform both these roles for the Vanua of Natewa due to two distinct historical influences.

#### 8.1.5 On the notion of *veidewayaki* – to go from one to the other.

While the title can ‘go from one to the other’ of the two mataqali, the Tukutuku Raraba is silent on exactly how it is done. It provides a list of titleholders but no indication on order of precedence.

Up to Ratu Epeli Vakalalabure, the Valenisau has provided three out of ten titleholders.<sup>86</sup> Although Ratu Epeli Vakalalabure (11<sup>th</sup> Vunivalu) is from Valenisau, his genealogy is not connected to any of the three earlier Vunivalu titleholders from Valenisau. During the NLC hearing in 1928, the main respondent to the Commissioners was Tomasi Mara (a younger brother of Mai Dreketi) and Vakalalabure who was the reigning Vunivalu and highest-ranking government official (*Buli*) in Natewa. Mara was married to Vakalalabure’s sister, Di Nacika. While evidence is sparse, given that the statement<sup>87</sup> was made during Vakalalabure’s term as Vunivalu, a customary practice limited to specific families may have been invoked which legitimized the entry of a new family such as Vakalalabure into the line of succession. On the Valelevu’s part, while they agree with the *veidewayaki* of the title, they contend it is confined to the agnatic descendants of the union between Dakuwaqa and Di Raura.<sup>88</sup>

This claim is affirmed by a faction in Valenisau who declare that they originate from the senior line of the descendants of Dakuwaqa. They state that the names Dakuwaqa and Duguavou are associated exclusively with their family. A representative of this faction declared that according to his granduncle, the title was with his family until they deferred to the younger line in an effort

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<sup>84</sup> Rt Rakuita Vakalalabure’s submission to the ITLFC 2016.

<sup>85</sup> AM Hocart, *The Northern States of Fiji*, p. 122 and Note 2 of page 128.

<sup>86</sup> See Hocart’s field notes p. 3470 in 1911. This was before Ratu Epeli Vakalalabure was installed.

<sup>87</sup> See Tukutuku Raraba p. 350.

<sup>88</sup> Interview with Ratu Ifereimi Buaserau (Vunivalu)

to bequeath honour on them also. The younger line is now registered as the Tokatoka Valelevu in the mataqali Valelevu while they, the senior line, remain in the mataqali of Valenisau.<sup>89</sup>

Others within Valenisau do not subscribe to this view.<sup>90</sup> While the title is passed between the two, as members of Valenisau, they are entitled to the Vunivalu title also.

### 8.1.6 The role of Turaga na Sauvou in the installation

The first Sauvou was Ratu Duguavou and the name Sauvou was first assumed during the installation of the first Vunivalu. As Mai Valenisau, it is most probably that Duguavou wielded considerable influence. He changed the political order and he, as Mai Valenisau and later Sauvou, became head of the Valenisau. Recognising Valenisau as the origin of Tu Natewa and following the work of Hocart and Marshall Sahlins, it seems reasonable to suggest that Duguavou relinquished the Tu Natewa title and bestowed it on his sister's son, Dakuwaqa, the new title of Vunivalu.<sup>91</sup>

Since the customary leader of the mataqali Valenisau is the Sauvou, the leader in the modern times would have been Ratu Paula Tuilau who claimed the title through seniority of descent.<sup>92</sup> A dissenting opinion comes from Ratu Aisea Kaitu Vakalalabure of Valenisau. In answer to a question directed at him during the 2011 TLFC hearing, he denied the Sauvou was the head of the mataqali Valenisau and asserted the title was a noble one within Valenisau but was not the designated clan head.<sup>93</sup>

A third faction from within Valenisau claims the Sauvou is a new designation that was given by the then Native Land Commission in 1928. The original title was Mai Valenisau or Sau and was associated with the same family that claimed seniority of descent to the members of the tokatoka

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<sup>89</sup> See the interview of Isireli Taganekalou. This account is also shared by respondents in Valelevu and is corroborated by Hocart's field notes (see discussion on section 10.5 below) as well the Tukutuku Raraba in as the title was passed down between Valelevu and Valenisau. This seniority was acknowledged when the people of Teiteiciva, under the leadership of Tui Vanualevu brought soil to Ratu Rakuita, the 5<sup>th</sup> Vunivalu, in a show of allegiance. The soil was used to make a mound/yavu for the chief see A M Hocart, *The Northern States of Fiji*, p. 124. Instead of claiming the yavu for himself, Rt Rakuita deferred to the senior line of the agnatic descendants of Saurara. Today that yavu, Biaugunu, is associated with Ratu Sireli Tagane (6/297 VKB) and his family in Valenisau –This is the family that asserts their pedigree from Saurara/Dakuwaqa as well as Duguavou. Hocart noted this in 1911, Field notes (p. 3470).

<sup>90</sup> Ratu Rakuita Vakalalabure, Veitarogi Vanua 2016

<sup>91</sup> This supposition is based on A M Hocart 'Chieftainship and the Sister's son in the Pacific, *American Anthropologist*, New Series, Volume 17, No., 4 (October- December 1915) as well as Marshall Sahlins, 'The Stranger-King: or Duzmezil among the Fijians', *The Journal of Pacific History*, Volume 16, Number 3, (July, 1981) pp. 107–132.

<sup>92</sup> See Appendix for Ratu Paula Tuilau's letter to the TLFC dated 9<sup>th</sup> September 2016.

<sup>93</sup> While not recognized in Natewa as Sauvou, Ratu Aisea Kaitu Vakalalabure was recognized by the TLFC as the head of the mataqali Valenisau. This was possible through the state requirement that heads of social units can be confirmed provided they amass more than 50% of the signatures of the social unit endorsing the appointment.

Valelevu.<sup>94</sup> In 1912, Hocart did not once make a reference to the Sauvou as head of the Valenisau clan.<sup>95</sup>

### 8.1.7 On the roles of the Turaga na Mai Dreketi

As noted above on the installation process, the Tukutuku Raraba suggests that the Mai Dreketi, as head of the mataqali of Dreketi, installs the Vunivalu.<sup>96</sup> The first installation was conducted in accordance with the wishes of Mai Valenisau and later known as Sauvou. This is well known and accepted. In addition, the Mai Dreketi is the main master of ceremonies in the installation. In agreeing with this interpretation, Dreketi respondents noted that the Mai Dreketi supplies one of their members (from the tokatoka of Nukumasia) to be the ‘rabe’ of the Vunivalu. The Mai Dreketi is also entrusted with the protection of the Vanua’s customs and to corrects as needed. Respondents from Valelevu agree and note that as far as they can remember, Mai Dreketi has always played a major role in the installation of a Vunivalu.

This view is endorsed by two factions from Valenisau except for a third faction headed by Ratu Rakuita Vakalalabure who asserts that Mai Dreketi can perform only one role at the installation ceremony.<sup>97</sup>

### 8.1.8 On the roles of the Mai Malima

Within the mataqali of Sovatabua, the leader is Mai Malima. What is not clear from the Tukutuku Raraba is the role of Mai Malima as the mataqali head. He is considered to be a close confidante of the Vunivalu and entrusted with the Vunivalu’s personal welfare. There is no question over the Mai Malima’s role as the ‘master of ceremonies’ in rituals confined to the yavu of the Vunivalu. The Mai Malima is also known as Mataki, the emissary of the Vunivalu to Korocau – a neighbouring Vanua, and by extension to Cakaudrove.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> The oldest recorded member of this family goes by Ratu Sireli Taganekalou (Ratu Sireli Tagane 6/297 in the VKB). We speculate, with good reasons, that Ratu Sireli may have been the great grandson of Ratu Tokainamena who was deemed the high chief in Natewa in 1842. He had two daughters. This account is from John Elphinstone Erskine, *Journal of a Cruise among the Islands of the Western Pacific*, (London, 1853) pp. 430–434. It was during this time that Natewa was at its most vulnerable from surrounding warring tribes (see Erskine pp. 431–432) and so was involved in a lot of peacemaking/appeasement with its rivals to secure its autonomy. Jackson, the gunrunner talked about a besieged and harried looking ‘Turagalevu’.

<sup>95</sup> See Arthur Hocart, *The Northern States of Fiji*.

<sup>96</sup> For a further affirmation of this view, see A C Hocart, *The Northern States of Fiji*, London: Royal Anthropological Institute (1952) p. 124.

<sup>97</sup> See submission by Ratu Rakuita Vakalalabure on the first sitting of the ITLFC (2016) to adjudicate between his claim to the title against that of Ratu Ifereimi Buaserau.

<sup>98</sup> Reverend Thomas Williams notes that having these two roles entrusted in one person is not necessarily contradictory. He points out that, ‘In some parts there is one of the matas who is more immediately attached to the person of the king .... It is his business to be in attendance when tribute food is brought to the sovereign ... and to officiate at the yaqona ceremony’ – Thomas Williams, *Fiji and the Fijians*, Volume 1, Suva: Fiji Museum (1982/1858) p. 27.

Valelevu endorses the historical relationship between Sovatabua and the Vunivalu as outlined in the Tukutuku Raraba.<sup>99</sup>

The Valenisau faction led by Ratu Rakuita Vakalalabure disputes the historical relationship between Sovatabua and the Vunivalu, and all that it implies. They argue that the Sovatabua that was given to Dakuwaqa after his installation as the first Vunivalu of Natewa was a ‘Sova ni Tabua’ or basket of whales’ teeth’ by Mai Dreketi on the instructions of the Sauvou. This interpretation is primarily fueled by the expression ‘*na Sovatabua*’ (the Sovatabua) in the Tukutuku Raraba.<sup>100</sup>

For them, the use of the word ‘na’ indicates that Sovatabua is an object and not a people; that is, it was a Sova-ni-tabua (basket of whales’ tooth).

This became a matter that was hotly contested during the last Vunivalu dispute. The issue revolved around whether the expression ‘na Sovatabua’ in the Tukutuku Raraba was a reference to a basket of whales’ teeth OR a people.

The dilemma is solved by the Tukutuku Raraba of Vusaratu where the expression ‘na Sovatabua’ appears again but is specifically linked to a category of people and NOT a basket of whales’ teeth as is supposed by Ratu Rakuita and his followers.<sup>101</sup> Shelley Ann Sayes pointed out that the Sovatabua people originally came from Nakorotubu in Ra.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> Tukutuku Raraba, p. iii/344. See especially section 9.3 below.

<sup>100</sup> See Tukutuku Raraba (Sovatabua) p. iii/344.

<sup>101</sup> See Tukutuku Raraba (Vusaratu) p. 351.

<sup>102</sup> Shelley Ann Sayes, *Cakaudrove*, PhD, ANU, (1982) p. 55.



## 9.0 Issues and concerns for further discussion

This section documents contentious issues that emerged from our research.<sup>103</sup>

A number of counterclaims by different factions are listed in order to:

1. acknowledge the clear existence of differences, and
2. encourage a culture of healthy discussion within the vanua and young people,
3. thereby develop a more nuanced understanding of the Vanua.

For ease of discussion, each issue is evaluated on the basis of information available to the research team.

### 9.1 On the reliability of the Tukutuku Raraba as a historical document

In any dispute over a Vanua title such as the Vunivalu title of Natewa, it was inevitable that the Tukutuku Raraba as the principal and primary source of information needed to be scrutinized in terms of its reliability. Critical examination was essential because it has been deemed by the government to be infallible and beyond falsification. It also provides the basis for determination of disputes over titles and related land. While there are clear omissions of specific details in the Tukutuku Raraba, it is the shared opinion of the mataqali of Valenisau, Dreketi and Sovatabua that the content of the Tukutuku Raraba contains enough of the truth to be a viable document. This view is also shared by the tokatoka Valelevu of mataqali Valelevu.

What are some of the major differences over the Tukutuku Raraba?

On the other hand, the tokatoka Yautibi differs and view the Tukutuku Raraba as a fabricated account of Natewa's past. They claim the document is a product of a conspiracy and as such cannot be used to verify identities and attendant roles of those associated with the appointment and installation of the Vunivalu. Part of their claim is covered below and in discussions in section 8.

No less an authority on Fiji's colonial history, Peter France observed that the Tukutuku Raraba of each yavusa were 'subjected to critical examination and recorded in circumstances which encourage reliance on their substantial accuracy'.<sup>104</sup> In response to critics of the Lands Commissions, France argued that considerable preparation went into the work with advance

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<sup>103</sup> Issues of interest but not of immediate relevance are noted in so far as they have potential for further studies.

<sup>104</sup> Peter France, 1969. *The Charter of the Land: custom and Colonisation in Fiji*, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, pp.10, 180-181, note 34.

notices to landowners well before the Commissioners first appeared and where necessary, return visits were made for clarification.<sup>105</sup>

### 9.1.1 Differences over the Tukutuku Raraba.

The first documented political order of Natewa, as evinced by the Tukutuku Raraba, was one under Tu Natewa. His Yavu was Valenisau.<sup>106</sup> There were two other yavu that were created: Sovatabua and Dreketi.<sup>107</sup>

The Tukutuku Raraba states that a later migration arrived from Bau consisting of Ratu Saurara and a retinue. His son, Dakuwaqa, was from a union with a lady from the chiefly yavu of Valenisau. He became the first Vunivalu after the ousting of Ratu Radolou of Valenisau as Tu Natewa.<sup>108</sup>

The Tukutuku Raraba notes that Dakuwaqa, as the son of Saurara of Bau and Di Raura a noble woman of Natewa, would have been considered ‘visitors’ or vulagi on the Natewan scene. However, Marshall Sahlins notes that his elevation is not a novel development unique to Natewa but the passing of the baton of leadership to ‘Stranger Chiefs’ was a common occurrence in early Fiji<sup>109</sup> and also noted by Hocart.<sup>110</sup> Interestingly in Natewan dialect a uterine nephew or a grandson is captured by the term – *vuana* or *vuwai* - literally the fruit of.<sup>111</sup> Based on these evidence, the collective view is Dakuwaqa was a uterine nephew rather than a grandson of Ratu Duguavou.

At that time, Natewa consisted of Valenisau, Dreketi and Sovatabua. It seems the people of Sovatabua originally came from Nakorotubu in Ra as part of an expedition of warriors led by Naboutuiloma I, in pursuit of reestablishing the waning influence of Verata in the area.<sup>112</sup> This

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<sup>105</sup> Ibid. Especially endnote 34, p. 180-181.

<sup>106</sup> See Tukutuku Raraba p. i/342. It is possible that this yavu was known by another name as the household of the ‘Sauturaga’ (sacred chief) and presupposes that there is another household of secular chiefs. This is, of course, tempered by the fact that there are two sitting chiefs in Fiji that also used ‘sau’ as their designation. The Tui Nayau is also known as the Sau kei Lau, but the former designation is always used to establish his legitimacy over the Lau Group. Sau kei Mualevu is the chief of Mualevu and Mavana. He is also known as the Tui Mavana. However, in this case the ‘sau’ title seems to take precedence over the designation of ‘Tui’.

<sup>107</sup> Tukutuku Raraba, pp. i/342– ii/343. See discussion on Sovatabua’s origin in 9.1.1 above.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid, p. ii/343. The lady is known in the Tukutuku Raraba as Di Raura.

<sup>109</sup> Marshall Sahlins, The Stranger-King: or Dumezil among the Fijians, *The Journal of Pacific History*, Volume 1, Number 3, (July., 1981) pp. 107–132.

<sup>110</sup> Arthur M Hocart, (1915) ‘Chieftainship and the Sister’s son in the Pacific, *American Anthropologist*, New Series, Volume 17, No., 4 (October- December).

<sup>111</sup> See A C Hocart, ‘Chieftainship and the Sister’s son in the Pacific, *American Anthropologist*, New Series, Volume 17, No., 4 (October- December 1915) pp. 631–646. For another interesting discussion on the subject, see especially pp. 111–112, p.119 and footnote 24 of Marshall Sahlins, ‘The Stranger King: or Dumezil among the Fijians’, *The Journal of Pacific History*, Volume 16, No., 3 (July 1981) pp. 107–132. and Rusiate Nayacakalou who notes that in some places where he worked in, sitting chiefs were deemed to be outsiders by the people. See Rusiate Nayacakalou, *Leadership in Fiji*, New York: Oxford University Press, (1975).

<sup>112</sup> Shelley Ann Sayes, *Cakaudrove*, PhD, p.55 (especially footnote 36)

suggests the first migrants were the ancestors of people who were later subsequently associated with Valenisau and Dreketi. Sovatabua was incorporated into the chiefly yavu of Valenisau and, in that way, ultimately ended up serving the Tu Natewa.<sup>113</sup> They (the people of Sovatabua) were later given as a token of reciprocity to Dakuwaqa upon his installation as the first Vunivalu.<sup>114</sup>

Assuming this to be the case, then Saurara's (father of Dakuwaqa) most likely arrived after the first Nakorotubu expedition led by Naboutuiloma I but *before* the second expedition led by Naboutuiloma II. Sayes observed: 'The leading yavusa in the chiefdom of Natewa still retains the name Sovatabua, although the Sovatabua are no longer leaders.'<sup>115</sup> Sayes assumes that they were leaders, but this is not supported by the account in the Tukutuku Raraba.<sup>116</sup> At best they were integrated into the original settlers of Natewa and performed specific tasks for Tu Natewa.

They were later given over to Dakuwaqa at his installation. Dakuwaqa adopted Sovatabua as his yavusa ever since they were handed over by Mai Dreketi, on the orders of the Sauvou, to be the new Vunivalu's personal attendants.<sup>117</sup>

### 9.1.2 On the Bau-Somosomo/Natewa War

Bau's interference in Natewa's affairs, often in cahoots with another vanua, was regular and well known. Written documents suggest that the Bau-Somosomo vs Natewa 1846 war was by no means the first time Bau came into contact with Natewa. No less an authority than the Reverend John Hunt was quoted as saying:

It appears that the chiefs of Bau encourage the Natewa people to rebel against their chiefs, and are, in fact using them to pay some of their old debts to Somosomo. When they think they have done enough, they will go to Natewa with a large force and *pretend* to conquer it, and Somosomo will have to pay the price and bow its neck more willingly to the yoke of Bau.<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> Shelley Ann Sayes, *Cakaudrove*, PhD, p.55 notes that when the Sovatabua arrived in Natewa, the Tu Natewa was still at the helm. This has been independently confirmed by the Tukutuku Raraba of the Yavusa Dewala, Tikina Nasavusavu – See Tukutuku Raraba (Dewala) pp. i–iii.

<sup>114</sup> Oral tradition in Natewa associates Saurara's descendants with Vusaratu and not Vusasivo. Vusaratu of Roko Tui Bau (Nayavu) became the Vusaratu of Natewa while the old Vusaratu (Verata/Nakorotubu) were suppressed hence the name Vusasivo (lit. a yavusa that has been dismissed, suppressed, or deposed). Also see page 48 of Shelley Ann Sayes for an account of the relationship between Saurara and Dakuwaqa that supports the Tukutuku Raraba. Also see Hocart, *Northern States of Fiji*, p.129.

<sup>115</sup> Shelley Ann Sayes, *Cakaudrove*, PhD, p.55 footnote 36.

<sup>116</sup> Tukutuku Raraba (Sovatabua) p. 44.

<sup>117</sup> See discussion on the relationship between Sovatabua and Valelevu in (9.3) below.

<sup>118</sup> Quoted in Joseph Waterhouse, *The King and the People of Fiji*, Auckland: Pasifika Press (1997) pp. 87–88.

Interestingly Hunt made this observation while stationed on Viwa Island in 1845 – a full year before the war. This suggests that Bau was already influencing Natewa to resist Cakaudrove/Somosomo well before 1846. Indeed, the Natewan skirmishes and revolts against the supremacy of Cakaudrove in the early 1840s were done with the backing of Bau.

### 9.1.3 The Death of Naiqama Tawakecolati

The Tukutuku Raraba has been consistently accurate on many aspects of Natewa's shared history with Somosomo. Its statement that Ratu Naiqama Tawakecolati was killed during the reign of Ratu Rasiwa as Vunivalu is a little surprising since it is at odds with the evidence which suggests Tawakecolati was killed *before* Rasiwa became a Vunivalu. A possible explanation for this is that the tabua from Korocau for the killing was presented to Ratu Rasiwa in his former designation as 'Sau' before he became Vunivalu.<sup>119</sup> We infer that Ratu Rasiwa, the son of the Vunivalu before Tokainamena, was by this time, the real power behind the aging Tokainamena as could be seen in his role in the 1846 war.<sup>120</sup> Jackson in 1842, already noted that Tokainamena was an old man and was unusually detached from his people given his standing as 'Turagalevu'.<sup>121</sup> This is supported by Thomas Williams' observation of similar practices elsewhere as in the case of the aging Yavala and his son, Tuikilakila, as well as between the aging Tanoa and his son Seru Cakobau.<sup>122</sup>

Given the information above and section 6, we find an astounding correlation between the Tukutuku Raraba and historical events recorded in archival sources.

## 9.2 Dispute over origins

As many Tukutuku Raraba states, the oral history of 'places' in Vanua Levu such as Cakaudrove converges on the common view that it was peopled by different groups of migrants from formerly powerful chiefdoms in Viti Levu and other places in Vanua Levu.<sup>123</sup>

In the same vein, the Tukutuku Raraba states that the first migration to Natewa was from Verata who, after initially settling on the windward side of the Bay, subsequently split into two groups with one making its way down the Bay to what is now known as Natewa.<sup>124</sup> Apparently the name 'Natewa' stems from the actual word that describes the movement of people (tewa or dewa) as they made their way down from the village of Qaravutu to the old village site (Koro Makawa).

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<sup>119</sup> The evidence is from A.M. Hocart's Field notes, p. 3470.

<sup>120</sup> Joseph Waterhouse, *The King and People of Fiji*, Pasifika Press: Auckland (1997) p. 92.

<sup>121</sup> For a discussion on term 'Turagalevu' see section 9.6.

<sup>122</sup> Thomas Williams, *Fiji and the Fijians* Volume 1, p.134, (1982/1858) footnote 138.

<sup>123</sup> Shelley Ann Sayes, 'Changing Paths of the Land: Early Political Hierarchies in Cakaudrove, Fiji' *The Journal of Pacific History* vol. 19 No. 1 (Jan 1984) p8.

<sup>124</sup> Tukutuku Raraba p. i/342.

According to the Tukutuku Raraba, once settled in Natewa, they re-organized themselves as Valenisau, Sovatabua and Dreketi.<sup>125</sup>

The acknowledgement of this origin is well established in the customs that define the relationship between the neighbouring Vanua of Natewa and Tunuloa which includes the village of Qaravutu. For instance, if the Vanua of Tunuloa is to seek something from Natewa and neighbouring Vanua, Masivou from Qaravutu approaches Mai Dreketi with the request and once endorsed, the people of Tunuloa enters and/or assisted by Natewans without the traditional paraphernalia that accompany such endeavours.<sup>126</sup>

### 9.2.1 Valenisau

The Tukutuku Raraba list three tokatoka in the mataqali of Valenisau, namely Matanibure, Nacori and another of the same name. The first two have become extinct with tokatoka Valenisau as the only surviving tokatoka in the mataqali. The account of the Tukutuku Raraba is accepted by a clear majority and reinforced by the use of names associated with the Verata migration such as Radolou (2<sup>nd</sup> Tu Natewa) and Di Raura (the Natewan lady who married Saurara of Bau) by members of the Valenisau clan up to the present period.<sup>127</sup> While the Valenisau composition is generally understood from the Tukutuku Raraba, a member of tokatoka Yautibi maintain that the people of Valenisau were brought to be the Gonedau of the Tu Natewa, and peopoe from the other side of the Bay became Mataisau (craftsmen) of the Tu Natewa. These groups subsequently evolved into the present mataqali of Valenisau and the position of ‘Sauvou’, denoting a new ‘Sau’ came into existence after the Vunivalu title was installed in 1847.<sup>128</sup>

Some differences of opinion remain over the usage of the terms Sau and Sauvou. For instance, in 1912, Hocart referred to the head of Valenisau clan as Sau. Sixteen years later, in 1928, the Tukutuku Raraba states the head is the Sauvou. A claim by Isireli Taganekalou that the original people of the tokatoka Valenisau consist only of his family could not be substantiated.

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<sup>125</sup> We must remember that there was no ‘mataqali’ (as the term is understood today) in Natewa at this point in time.

<sup>126</sup> Tabuayadrena is a term that suggests that the people of Qaravutu are well known to the people of Natewa; that is, they can just show up in Natewa without formally asking for entry. Their face/forehead is enough.

<sup>127</sup> The exception is Isireli Taganekalou who insists his family is descended from Dakuwaqa and by extension Saurara of Bau. Personal communication, Sept. 2018 with Sevanaia Sakai.

<sup>128</sup> Dakuvula’s interview with Morgan Tuimalealiifano in March 2018.

### 9.2.2 Mataqali Dreketi

The Tukutuku Raraba's account of the origin of mataqali Dreketi from Verata is widely accepted by its mataqali members including mataqali of Valenisau and Tokatoka of Valelevu. However, there is one dissenting opinion from Jone Dakuvula.<sup>129</sup> He pointed out that the current Dreketi members are not descendants of the original members of that mataqali, except for one Susana Tukana<sup>130</sup> who is listed as a member of the tokatoka Korowaiwai. He believes that the current people in Dreketi did not come from Verata and instead from Navatu or Cakaudrove and were brought in by the Tu Natewa to help bolster the Nukumasia people due to their declining numbers.<sup>131</sup> The context of Dakuvula's argument goes back to the first TLFC hearing over the title dispute between Ratu Ifereimi Buaserau and Ratu Rakuita Vakalalabure during which Dr. Eta Varani-Norton claimed the original yavu of Mai Dreketi, known as Solevu actually belongs to Yautibi.<sup>132</sup>

In analyzing evidence from Hocart in 1912 and others, it would seem the 'order of things' as related by Tomasi Mara in the Tukutuku Raraba, while lacking specifics, is broadly accurate.<sup>133</sup>

Dakuvula does make a claim that is supported by general knowledge and evidence:

9.2.2(a). That the current members of the tokatoka Korowaiwai in the mataqali of Dreketi are descendants from one Apisai Cagilaba from Korocau and his wife Vilimaina Waqalailai from the tokatoka Valelevu, Mataqali Valelevu in Natewa.<sup>134</sup> Hocart provides a family tree that is in total agreement with the oral narratives concerning Apisai Cagilaba and Vilimaina Waqalailai, and widely accepted in Natewa.<sup>135</sup>

### 9.2.3 Mataqali Sovatabua

No one from the mataqali of Sovatabua disputes the Tukutuku Raraba's account on their origin except Dakuvula of tokatoka Yautibi in the mataqali of Valelevu who claims the people in the

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<sup>129</sup> VKB ref; 44/300

<sup>130</sup> VKB ref: 4/303

<sup>131</sup> Dakuvula Statement, see p.8 of appendix C. The claim is also made by Dr Eta Varani-Norton based on the accounts of her granduncle, Ratu Nemani Bukayaro—see Appendix B.

<sup>132</sup> The claim is presumably based on the connection to Susana Tukana, who married their great grandfather, and so they claim goes was the sole bona fide member of the Dreketi people.

<sup>133</sup> In Field notes, p. 3473, Hocart noted in 1912 that the Mai Dreketi installs the Vunivalu. He repeated this observation in his *Northern Sates of Fiji* published posthumously in 1952.

<sup>134</sup> VKB ref: 15/299

<sup>135</sup> See family tree in Hocart's field notes (1912) MS papers 60, Folder 36, Gen 138-215, p 632/855.

mataqali of Sovatabua originate from Nakorotubu in Ra. According to Dakuvula's version, their leader was Saurara and in time they became the warriors of the Tu Natewa and Saurara eventually became Vunivalu.<sup>136</sup> This matter is addressed in sections 9.1.1 above and 9.3 below.

#### 9.2.4 tokatoka Valelevu in the mataqali Valelevu

All respondents from the tokatoka of Valelevu accept the Tukutuku Raraba's account of their origin as well as by mataqali Dreketi, Sovatabua, and two factions from tokatoka/mataqali Valenisau. Some concerns have been raised by a faction from the tokatoka/mataqali of Valenisau and the tokatoka Yautibi in the mataqali Valelevu. According to some from Valenisau, Saurara and his current descendants in Valelevu hail from Lasakau in Bau and were brought in to be fishermen for Tu Natewa. They point to the existence of a 'Bi ni Vonu' or a pool where turtles are kept at the old Natewa village site as evidence of this role. The logical extension of this claim is that the current ancestors of the incumbent titleholder, who were brought as fishermen, in time usurped the position of Vunivalu.

In terms of available evidence, the presence of the Bi Ni vonu is insufficient to justify the claim from Valenisau for the following two reasons:

9.2.4(a). The presence of a 'Bi ni Vonu' next to the old yavu in the former village site could also indicate a chiefly residence and chiefs, in the maritime areas of Fiji and elsewhere have been known to have erected fishing ponds close to their residences.

9.2.4(b). That the Tukutuku Raraba explicitly supports the observation made above. As detailed above, it was during the reign of Ratu Rakuira that the people of Dokanaisuva professed themselves to be 'gonedau ni vonu' (providers of turtles) to the Vunivalu in Natewa.<sup>137</sup>

The current Vunivalu, Ratu Ifereimi reminded us that the crucial information in the Tukutuku Raraba regarding Ratu Rakuira's 'Bi ni vonu' was given by Tomasi Mara in 1928 with the knowledge and backing of the then Vunivalu Ratu Epeli Vakalalabure from Valenisau.<sup>138</sup>

Some members of Yautibi, on the other hand, made three specific statements about the origin of the members of the Tokatoka Valelevu.<sup>139</sup> First, that the ancestors of the current members of the tokatoka Valelevu, which they call 'Vatulawa' came not from Bau Island but from Bau Vanua.

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<sup>136</sup> Dakuvula Statement, pp.5–6 (Appendix C)

<sup>137</sup> Tukutuku Raraba, p. 345.

<sup>138</sup> TR and the Vunivalu's Personal communication, 2019.

<sup>139</sup> Transcript of a talanoa conducted by A. M. Tuimaleali'ifano with Dr Eta Varani-Norton, Jone Dakuvula on Friday 11 and Wednesday 16 May 2018, Holiday Inn, Suva.



Second, that the ancestors arrived in Natewa as part of Cakobau's warriors in 1846 and stayed. Third, that Cakobau had returned in 1847 to arrange the installation of a Vunivalu titleholder but once he left, the Natewans installed one of their own.

On Bau as the point of origin, there is consensus. The point of contention is exactly where in Bau. The Tukutuku Raraba states that Saurara, to whom the tokatoka Valelevu members trace their origins, came from Bau but does not specify whether it was Bau Island or Bau Vanua. Saurara and his people came to Natewa. Given the account in the Tukutuku Raraba, it is clear that Saurara, the ancestor of Valelevu did not come from Bau island.

The team pinpointed Saurara's origin by making the following observations:

1. The Matanitu of Bau emerged later in the 1800's after the Kubuna people, who settled in Bau Island around 1760, started extending their dominion over neighbouring tribes. We deem this option is implausible in terms of Saurara's origin from the established timeline referred to earlier.
2. That the movement down the Wainibuka river towards the coast was a movement synonymous with the people of the *Yavusa Ratu* (Kubuna) under the headship of Vueti, the Roko Tui Bau in the mid-eighteenth century (1760s).<sup>140</sup>

Based on the information available, Saurara's departure from the yavusa Ratu of the Roko Tui Bau took place sometime after they had left Nayavu (Tailevu) on their way to their final destination at Bau Island in the mid-eighteenth century. This observation is supported by the accounts about *Mai Nakabuta* in both the Tukutuku Raraba of the Yavusa Sovatabua (Natewa) and the Yavusa ko Vusaratu (Natewa).<sup>141</sup> The migration of Vueti, the Roko Tui Bau from Nayavu, to Kubuna (Tai o Bau) is well documented.<sup>142</sup>

The two accounts when read in tandem, and taken at face value, points to Saurara as part of the 'Bau' migration who then, subsequently, left the group after they (Bau) had left Nayavu (Tailevu) alongside the Wainibuka River but before they made Bau Island their home.<sup>143</sup>

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<sup>140</sup> Tukutuku Raraba (Kubuna) Tikina Ko Bau, pp 1–2.

<sup>141</sup> Tukutuku Raraba (Sovatabua) p. 344 & Tukutuku Raraba (Vusaratu) p. 351

<sup>142</sup> The three versions of the Tukutuku Raraba kei Bau (Kubuna) mentioned Nayavu as a 'pitstop' on their way down from Nakauvadra. Bau Island itself was only occupied by the Roko Tui Bau and his people around 1760 – see David Routledge, *Matanitu*, pp. 39–40.

<sup>143</sup> Hocart's field notes (p.3473) suggests that Saurara came from Nakauvadra in Ra and is a god known as Mai Nabare. The deification of Saurara, a newcomer to Natewa, could be attributed to the status that his descendants subsequently gained in the vanua.



### 9.2.5 tokatoka Yautibi in the mataqali Valelevu

A difference of opinion appears from Yautibi respondents on their origin as documented by the Tukutuku Raraba and the majority of the mataqali in Natewa.<sup>144</sup> They perceive the Tukutuku Raraba as a deliberate misrepresentation of their origin and an attempt to subjugate their identity. They attribute this to an alleged collusion between the then sitting Vunivalu, Ratu Epeli Vakalalabure and his brother-in-law, Tomasi Mara, who gave the tribal statement from the yavusa of Sovatabua that constitutes the Tukutuku Raraba of Natewa. The Tukutuku Raraba, as Yautibi rightly pointed out, makes no reference to Yautibi apart from the fact that it is a tokatoka in Valelevu.

Given that the Tukutuku Raraba has been generally consistent with the evidence uncovered so far, this would mean that, like the Tokatoka Valelevu, Yautibi appears as a late comer to Natewa. However, the two members disagree with this inference and has provided an alternative account to the events depicted in the Tukutuku Raraba. Their account can be summarized below<sup>145</sup>:

The tokatoka Yautibi are the descendants of the original chiefs of Natewa known by the title of Tu Natewa. The last person to hold the title from this family was Ratu Radolou, who is recorded in the Tukutuku Raraba as the second Tu Natewa. Their position, at the apex of the Natewan socio-political order was usurped by the internal machinations of a warrior-chief from Macuata (Bonaveidogo) who had married a woman from Natewa. This turn of events prompted Ratu Radolou (who Yautibi refers to as Rokodolou or Rokodulu) to leave Natewa for a while and eventually settling further down the coast in the village of Viani in Navadra. He eventually managed to return to Natewa between 1846 and 1847, in time to install the first Vunivalu of Natewa, for whom Yautibi claim was 'Baleicoqe'. They were, again, removed from their position of power after this installation. This was because of the conflict that was orchestrated by the Bauans who arrived as part of Cakobau's army in 1846 and stayed. Yet, in spite of all these attempts to suppress them, they were still able to continue with their task of choosing and installing the Vunivalu of Natewa – a practice that was continued by their great grandfather and their grandfather. They claim that the three Vunivalu, Ratu Ame Rabelo, Ratu Epeli Vakalalabure

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<sup>144</sup> Jone Dakuvula and Dr Eta Varani-Norton of tokatoka Yautibi, mataqali Valelevu (See Appendix).

<sup>145</sup> These are based on Interviews of March 2018 as well as their various submissions and emails on the subject.

and Ratu Lotaropate Rakuita were all chosen and installed by either their great grandfather, Ratu Naisa Nateteni or their grandfather, Ratu Meli Savubuliti.<sup>146</sup>

Dakuvula and Varani-Norton of Yautibi also question the current status quo of the Vanua of Natewa and their questions have been summarized and checked against available evidence. Their claim and our response follow.

*9.2.5(a). That they are the descendants of Ratu Radolou.*

Dakuvula and Varani-Norton maintain they are the descendants of Ratu Radolou, the second Tu Natewa.<sup>147</sup> Ratu Radolou was deposed and went and settled in Viani (Navadra).<sup>148</sup> They further claim that he returned to Natewa to install Baleicoqe in 1847.<sup>149</sup> In their estimation, the first Vunivalu was Baleicoqe.

*Response*

We express two concerns with this claim. The first is concerned with the timeline. Based on available evidence from the Tukutuku Raraba and Hocart, Ratu Rasiwa has been confirmed as the sitting Vunivalu in 1847. He was not the first but the seventh Vunivalu. The second concern relates to differences on sources. While Hocart records Baleicoqe as the second Vunivalu (not the first as claimed), the Tukutuku Raraba, on the other hand, records Veitoyaki as the second Vunivalu in its list of titleholders.<sup>150</sup>

### 9.3 Historical relationship between Sovatabua and mataqali of Valelevu

As noted, the relationship between the ‘mataqali’ Sovatabua and Valelevu today preceded the onset of the ‘mataqali system’.<sup>151</sup> The Tukutuku Raraba describes the exchange of people that took place in the immediate aftermath of Dakuwaqa’s installation as Vunivalu titleholder. It is

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<sup>146</sup> They are listed, respectively in the Fijian Register of Births and deaths as VKB ref: 1/300 and VKB ref: 3/300.

<sup>147</sup> This has also been made evident in the various submission they made (see Appendix)

<sup>148</sup> This was before Jackson, the gunrunner, accompanied the warrior-chief, Bonaveidogo to Natewa in 1842.

<sup>149</sup> As an aside, Shelley Anne Sayes acknowledged her informants, Ratu Meli Savubuliti and his son, Ratu Delauca as descendants of both Tu Natewa and Vunivalu – see Shelley Anne Sayes, *Ideology and Reality in a Fijian Confederation*, (unpublished PhD thesis). ANU (1982) p. i. The claims by Sayes could not be substantiated.

<sup>150</sup> Refer to the discussion in section 10, especially 10.1. Table 10.1 offers a comparison between the list of Vunivalu in the Tukutuku Raraba (Sovatabua) with the two lists drawn up by Hocart.

<sup>151</sup> Peter France, 1969. *The Charter of the Land*, pp. 110-112.

said that a man, Mai-Nakabuta, from Saurara's original entourage that came from Nayavu was given to Mai Dreketi with a request that if he was to be given a place to live, then the name of that place should be called Vusaratu<sup>152</sup>. When the Sauvou heard of this advice, he immediately instructed Mai Dreketi to hand the people of Sovatabua, who had been serving him, over to the new Vunivalu.

Contrary to Ratu Rakuita Vakalalabure's assertion during the Tribunal in 2017 that the 'Sovatabua' given to the Vunivalu was a basket of whale's teeth, the evidence in the Tukutuku Raraba of the Yavusa o Vusaratu infers that the 'Sovatabua' as per the Sauvou's instruction was a reference to people.<sup>153</sup>

The idea of the integration of the people of Sovatabua with the first Vunivalu appointee reveals something of human behavior common at the apex of power shifts; when Mai-Nakabuta from Saurara's entourage was given to Mai Dreketi, one ponders the position the new titleholder was thrown into. It seemed he was suddenly vulnerable without support with the Vusaratu given to Mai Dreketi. To restore balance, something had to be reciprocated to prop up and maintain the new power change. In return for Mai-Nakabuta the people of Sovatabua were appointed to go over to the new titleholder and over the generations, the Vunivalu and his household became synonymous with Sovatabua and in this way, it became the leading Yavusa in Natewa. It was only after the decree from the new colonial state, between 1890 to 1910, that people must regroup themselves along patrilineal lines (for mataqali purposes), that the mataqali of Valelevu was generated out of the Sovatabua people. The creation of mataqali Valelevu was primarily for the purpose of differentiating the genealogy of the Vunivalu from the rest of the people of Sovatabua.

Although the two mataqali, Valelevu and Sovatabua, are separate social entities today, during ceremonial functions, their shared history and customary practices continue to bind them together as a collective for joint contributions and/or presentations.

#### 9.4 Differences between the Tukutuku Raraba and contemporary practices on the appointment and installation of a Vunivalu titleholder

The Tukutuku Raraba's account has been analysed in sections 3 and 4 above and though not serious in nature, some expressions of concerns emerged on the role of each social unit in relation

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<sup>152</sup> Tukutuku Raraba, (Sovatabua), pp. ii–iii.

<sup>153</sup> Tukutuku Raraba, (Vusaratu), Tikina Natewa, P. 1

to the appointment and installation of a new Vunivalu titleholder. These are recorded for purpose of future research.

#### 9.4.1 Mataqali Dreketi

The mataqali Dreketi is widely acknowledged by the Vanua as playing a key role in the installation. The last two claimants, Ratu Rakuita Vakalalabure and Ratu Ifereimi Buaserau, both solicited Mai Dreketi's support for their respective claims. While their (Dreketi) role has been sketched out in 8.1.4 above, differences of opinion have emerged on the role of Mai Dreketi from tokatoka/Mataqali Valenisau and tokatoka Yautibi. These differences have been discussed in section 8 above and require no further comment.

#### 9.4.2 Mataqali Valenisau on the 'Sauvou'

A difference of opinion has emerged from the mataqali of Valenisau on the installation. The versions are restated before a response based on the evidence on the role of the Sauvou.

##### 9.4.2. (a) Vakalalabure version

The role of Mai Dreketi as matanivanua disqualifies the same unit from presiding over the installation. Their account is covered in section 8. They also claim their mataqali has the right to appoint a 'Sauvou'.

##### 9.4.2. (b) Paula Tuilau version

He is the Sauvou of the mataqali of Valenisau by virtue of being the eldest from the most senior line in that social unit <sup>154</sup>. This claim is uncontested by the rest of Natewa.

#### ***Team Response***

Some ambiguity surround the role of the 'Sauvou' in the mataqali Valenisau. The Tukutuku Raraba makes it clear that the head of the Mataqali Valenisau is known as the "Sauvou". This title is generally associated with the most senior line in Valenisau today. However, the new government policy of obtaining 60% of mataqali members to sign-off on their head has sidelined the customary practice of selection. For instance, the person who is widely recognized as 'Sauvou'

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<sup>154</sup> VKB ref: 70/297. See Appendix for letter.

in the Vanua of Natewa is NOT the same person the TLFC has registered as head of mataqali Valenisau.

The Fijian anthropologist, Rusiate Nayacakalou argues that leadership in social units follows a rule based on agnate seniority although this can be supplanted by other considerations.<sup>155</sup> This seems to be the case where a rival faction has allegedly displaced Tuilau as Sauvou.

In terms of the role of the Sauvou in an installation, the Tukutuku Raraba is very clear on the central function of the Sauvou, which has been re-stated in the following way:

The title of the Sauvou according to the Tukutuku Raraba was established at the installation of the first Vunivalu titleholder. The first holder of the Sauvou title, Ratu Duguavou, had been known as the Mai Valenisau prior to the installation. It is clear from the Tukutuku Raraba that Mai Valenisau was the main power broker in the removal of Ratu Radolou, as Tu Natewa, and the transfer of the leadership role to Bauan migrants in the person of Dakuwaqa, the son of Saurara. One very significant feature about the installation ceremony of the first Vunivalu was that this was more or less the establishment of a new political structure rather than the installation of just the leading chief, with the Mai Valenisau directing the process.

A reading of the installation ceremony in the Tukutuku Raraba highlighted a number of very subtle yet powerful impressions about the role that Duguavou, as Mai Valenisau, held in the power structure of the Vanua of Natewa at the time. The ceremony began with Dakuwaqa drinking the installation bowl of yaqona confirmed him as Vunivalu and leader of the vanua of Natewa. There then followed the installation of other attendant chiefs who pledged allegiance to the Vunivalu.

A notable feature of the collective installation was that as each sub-chief drank, his title was also changed. In this way Mai Vusasivo, became known as the Tui Vusasivo, Mai Kama became Tui Kama, Mai Nalovotu became Tu Nauto and Mai Valenisau (Duguavou) became known as the Sauvou.

The influence of Mai Valenisau was clearly evident in directing the order the sub chiefs drank and the bestowing of new titles. His influence was clear, both, at the beginning and the end of the installation process as is recorded in the Tukutuku Raraba.<sup>156</sup>

Towards the end of the installation ceremony, the Tukutuku Raraba noted that the last to drink was Ratu Duguavou who then proclaimed himself as Sauvou. That he was able to unilaterally

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<sup>155</sup> Rusiate Nayacakalou, *Leadership in Fiji* (1975) p.50.

<sup>156</sup> Tukutuku Raraba (Sovatabua), p.343.

decide on the new leaders and their new titles reaffirms the authority of the Mai Valenisau in the Vanua.

His drinking of the last yaqona bowl seemed to challenge conventional protocol. This practice dictates that the last bowl of yaqona is usually reserved for the least-ranked in an assembly of chiefs. In this instance, the drinking of that last bowl projects the idea that, as the presiding chief, his bowl of yaqona represents the end of the ceremony and, in a larger sense, stamps his legitimacy and authority on the proceedings.

It is easy to discern from above the significance of the role of the Mai Valenisau/Sauvou. This was first witnessed when the vanua of Natewa was faced with a leadership crisis. As the Mai Valenisau, Duguavou assumed authority and executed a number of decisions which saw the removal of a sitting leading chief and his replacement with a new title and dynasty. In the process he also established a new political configuration which has continued to this day.

There are other indications of his authority. Immediately after the installation ceremony, Mai Nakabuta, a member of Ratu Saurara's entourage was given to Mai-Dreketi. In response to this, the Sauvou instructed the Mai Dreketi to give the people of Sovatabua, who were with him, to the Vunivalu. This exchange, instigated by Dakuwaqa (Ratu Saurara's son), was reciprocated by Mai Dreketi on the instructions of the Sauvou. Furthermore, when the people of Natewa returned from Koroniyasaca after being displaced during the war between Bau/Cakaudrove and Natewa, the Sauvou's authority was again exercised in conjunction with that of the Vunivalu to oversee the return of the people of Natewa to their respective villages. The Sauvou also acted as the envoy of the Vunivalu in the reestablishment of peaceful relations with the Tui Tunuloa.

When Cakaudrove sought the assistance of Natewa in the war with Wainiqolo in 1862, the Cakaudrove envoy presented their request to Sauvou who then brought the matter to the Vunivalu. When assistance was rendered to the Cakaudrove people in this war, it was the Sauvou's son, Ratu Visawaqa, who led the warriors of Natewa to Cakaudrove. When on another occasion Natewa raised up against Somosomo, the decision was made by both the Vunivalu and the Sauvou.

All these references to the Sauvou's authority in the Tukutuku Raraba indicate the power of the position. This is clearly a position that performs the dual role of check and balance to the authority of the Vunivalu and, at the same time, corroborate the Vunivalu's authority when the latter requires additional support.

### 9.4.3 Mataqali Valelevu

There are two separate views in the mataqali Valelevu, one attributed to the tokatoka of Valelevu and the other to tokatoka of Yautibi.

#### 9.4.3. (a) Tokatoka Valelevu (Mataqali Valelevu)

The tokatoka Valelevu agrees the Vunivalu title is synonymous with the tokatoka of Valelevu and their view of the process of installation is covered in section 8.

#### 9.4.3. (b) Tokatoka Yautibi (Mataqali Valelevu)

The Tokatoka Yautibi makes much about their role as male descendants of the last Tu Natewa, Ratu Radolou, and as such they have the right to select and install a Vunivalu. They base this view on the ‘veivakabutakoci’, a kava ceremony that acts as a formal investiture of the Vunivalu title. In their view, **as descendants of the Tu Natewa**, they have the sole authority to do two things, conduct the ritual and do it to a person of their choice.

Yautibi’s view was supported by the TLFC in its judgement on a dispute between Ratu Ifereimi Buaserau and Ratu Rakuita Teariki Vakalalabure in June 2016. The support was based on a letter by Maikeli Livani from Korololo (outside Natewa) who is married into the tokatoka Yautibi.<sup>157</sup> However, the Tukutuku Raraba is silent on this matter.

#### *Team Response*

Yautibi’s argument in relation to the veivakabutakoci, rests on their claim that they are the descendants of the original chiefs of Natewa (Tu Natewa) and thus install the Vunivalu.<sup>158</sup> But the claim seems unpersuasive as the Tukutuku Raraba states that the Tu Natewa comes from Valenisau,<sup>159</sup> not Valelevu, to which Yautibi is a part. The Commission’s endorsement of Yautibi’s claim is not clearly borne out by the facts.

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<sup>157</sup> The letter was accepted by the TLFC in its judgement (Lewa) in 2016 on the dispute between Ratu Rakuita Vakalalabure and the incumbent Vunivalu Ratu Ifereimi Buaserau. There was no explanation from the TLFC of why they elected to accept the account given by Maikeli Livani.

<sup>158</sup> See Eta Norton’s discussion in Appendix B1 section 5.1 p.117. This follows similar practises around Fiji such as Bau and Rewa, where the Roko Tui Bau and the Roko Tui Dreketi installs their respective Vunivalu.

<sup>159</sup> See pages i & ii of the Tukutuku Raraba. On the first page, the yavu of Valenisau was associated with Navua (‘Navua, a nona yavu ko Valenisau’ ‘Navua, his yavu is Valenisau’). The second page established Navua as the Tu Natewa (‘E liutaki Natewa ko Navua; na yacana buli na “Tu Natewa”’ ‘Navua was the leading chief of Natewa; his title was Tu Natewa’).

In fact, in the preceding judgement on the Vunivalu dispute between Ratu Amenatape (Ra)belo<sup>160</sup> and Ratu Aisea Kaitu<sup>161</sup> delivered 8 February 2012, the TLFC questioned Yautibi's role: *Na taro a tarogi o cei o Yautibi se na cava ko Yautibi e Sovatabua?* (Who is Yautibi and what is its role in Sovatabua?) In other words, the commission could not derive any knowledge about Yautibi's identity from the Tukutuku Raraba apart from the fact that they are a tokatoka in the mataqali Valelevu.

Given the sparse information from the Tukutuku Raraba on the Tu Natewa, the TLFC consulted other sources. It quoted Ratu Ifereimi Delauca<sup>162</sup> and Suliano Dravurerega of Kama.<sup>163</sup> Looking at the judgement of the ITFLC closely, the team concludes that the TLFC seemed to have erred on this matter. Our reasoning is outlined below:

Ratu Ifereimi Delauca states on the second paragraph of page seven that the Mai Yautibi has always, since time immemorial, been the traditional emissary of the Vunivalu to Kama.<sup>164</sup> The TLFC then switches to the testimony of Suliano Dravurerega who said that the people of Kama were informed by the traditional emissary of the Tu Natewa to come and observe the installation of Ratu Saurara's son (Dakuwaqa) as the Vunivalu of Natewa.<sup>165</sup>

These two related extracts of sworn testimonies indicate the more plausible role of the Mai Yautibi. That is, given that the Tu Natewa is from Valenisau in accordance with the Tukutuku Raraba and the fact that Ratu Delauca conceded that Mai Yautibi is the traditional emissary of the Vunivalu, in line with custom, the information by Suliano Dravurerega provides grounds that Mai Yautibi or anyone from Yautibi cannot be the Tu Natewa.

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<sup>160</sup>VKB ref: 56/299.

<sup>161</sup>VKB ref: 54/297.

<sup>162</sup>VKB ref 7/300.

<sup>163</sup> See pp. 7—8 of the Lewa 2016.

<sup>164</sup> 'Na sala vaka vanua nei Tui Kama vua na Vunivalu na MaiYautibi. Oqo e sega ni ka vou, s aka makawa na kena vakayacori tiko, ka sara kila vaka vinaka tale tuga na Yavusa ko Kama kei na vanua raraba ko Natewa' (p. 7) ('The traditional pathway for Tui Kama to follow to get to the Vunivalu is through the Mai Yautibi. This is nothing new as this was part of our tradition from the olden days and is well known by the Yavusa Kama and the whole vanua of Natewa.')

<sup>165</sup> 'Ni ra tiko na neimami sa tadu yani na Mata nei Tu Natewa me keimami laki buli Dakuwaqa na luvei Ratu Saurara me Vunivalu mai Natewa' (p. 8) (and there we were when the Emissary of Tu Natewa arrived and told us to come and attend the installation of Dakuwaqa, the son of Ratu Saurara, as Vunivalu of Natewa')



In fact, the only logical inference one can reasonably deduce from the statements of Ratu Delauca and Dravurerega is that, if anything, Mai Yautibi was the traditional emissary of the Tu Natewa to Kama and continues to perform the same task for the Vunivalu.<sup>166</sup>

Furthermore, their role, depicted above, as traditional emissary of the Tu Natewa and then of the Vunivalu removes the possibility of them being ‘dau buli turaga’ or the presiding officer in the installation of the Vunivalu.<sup>167</sup> This leaves the Turaga na mai Dreketi as the sole person in that role (Veivakagunuvi) as stated by Hocart.<sup>168</sup> The team hopes that this task, assigned to the Mai Dreketi, is to be noted in conjunction with the statement by Duguavou, as Mai Valenisau, during the first installation as outlined in section 9.4.2 above.

We have consulted the Chairman of the TLFC on this inconsistency, in an effort not to insult anyone’s sensibilities, *before* we sent out PART A of the Draft Report. He had restated then, in no uncertain terms, that the Tukutuku Raraba is the final authority on the title of the Tu Natewa.<sup>169</sup>

## 9.5 The Yautibi claim.

The team notes that much of the basis of Yautibi’s claim on their role and identity in Natewa stems from a diary left in their possession by Ratu Meli Savubuliti and grandfather of Jone Dakuvula and Eta Varani-Norton.

Additionally, Dakuvula names Ratu Sukuna, a past Native Lands Commission chair, as the source of their claims in relation to the Tu Natewa. An exchange between Ratu Sukuna and Ratu Meli Savubuliti reportedly took place in the late 1950s when Ratu Sukuna was allegedly courting a woman from Yautibi.<sup>170</sup> The team was unable to verify the additional claim due to the absence of Ratu Sukuna’s source of information.

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<sup>166</sup> This is exactly akin to how mataqali Sovatabua has evolved from performing certain duties for the Tu Natewa into retaining the same duties for the Vunivalu.

<sup>167</sup> Lewa (16<sup>th</sup> June 2016), p. 7

<sup>168</sup> AM Hocart, *Northern States of Fiji*; See also his field notes p. 3470.

<sup>169</sup> The team has some information for further research on the descendants of the Tu Natewa. However, we will not be publishing any ‘new’ findings on this matter due to what is already stated in the Tukutuku Raraba and, more importantly, as prescribed by our own terms of reference.

<sup>170</sup> See section 7.3. There has been independent verification of the courtship. Unfortunately, the team has not been able to verify the other claim pertaining to the Tu Natewa title.

## 9.6 Turagalevu

The title ‘Turagalevu’ is another term that was referenced by many in Natewa. Jackson, as recorded in Erskine’s Journal noted, that the reigning chief of Natewa in 1842 referred to himself as ‘Turagalevu’.<sup>171</sup> Historical accounts around Fiji highlights that the term ‘Turagalevu;’ or ‘big chief’ is a common one, used by Europeans, to denote the chief with the most influence in a particular area. For instance, Mary Wallis used the term to refer to Cakobau, the Vunivalu of Bau.<sup>172</sup> Hocart used the term ‘Turagalevu’ to refer to the Vunivalu of Natewa.<sup>173</sup> Shelley Ann Sayes confirmed that the ‘Turagalevu’ that Jackson met in Natewa in 1842 was the Vunivalu of Natewa.<sup>174</sup>

## 9.7 Valebuliti

In passing, we note this tokatoka was in existence in 1912 as evinced by Hocart’s field notes. In 1928, the tokatoka was recorded as extinct by the Tukutuku Raraba of Natewa.

Members of Yautibi claim that Valebuliti was amalgamated with the tokatoka of Yautibi and further suggest that there was some collusion involved although the identity of the concerned parties have yet to be ascertained.<sup>175</sup>

## 9.8 Sovatabua

The relationship between the Mataqali Sovatabua and the Vunivalu has already been defined in 9.1.1 as well as 9.3 above. Suffice to note here that the head of mataqali Sovatabua, the *Mai Malima*, acts as the personal attendant of the Vunivalu and also its emissary to Korocau and, by extension, Cakaudrove.

In the absence of any contrasting views or evidence, there seems no reason to question this role.

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<sup>171</sup> Erskine, J. *A cruise among the islands of the Western Pacific* (Journal). London: John Murray. (1853/1967) p. 430.

<sup>172</sup> Mary Wallis, *Life in Feejee: Five years among the cannibals*, (Reprint) Suva: Fiji Museum (1851/1983) p. 58 & 61.

<sup>173</sup> Hocart, Field notes, p. 3444. See also Thomas Williams, *Fiji and the Fijians* Volume 1, edited by George S Rowe. London: Alexander Heylin, 28, Paternoster Row (1858) p. 23.

<sup>174</sup> Sayes, S A, PhD Thesis, (1982) p. 105.

<sup>175</sup> Tui Rakuia Interview with Salote Raikolo Qalo, 2019.



## 10.0 The List of Vunivalu and Sau/Sauvou titleholders

Apart from minor errors highlighted above, the validity of the Tukutuku Raraba has remained largely intact. If there is any place where the Tukutuku Raraba may appear vulnerable, it lies in the listings of Vunivalu. The main challenge is from Hocart in 1912.<sup>176</sup> However, the differences are confined to just three Vunivalu titleholders. They were the second, third and sixth titleholders. These listings follow below with explanations on the reasons for the differences.

### 10.1 A comparison of three lists of Vunivalu titleholders

<b>From the Tukutuku Raraba (Sovatabua)</b>	<b>From Hocart's 1<sup>st</sup> list (field notes, p. 3466)</b>	<b>From Hocart's 2<sup>nd</sup> list (field notes, p. 3470)</b>
1. Dakuwaqa		Ndakuwayga (Dakuwaqa)
2. Veitoyaki		Mbaleicoyge (Baleicoqe)
3. Raliku		Totovaygala (Totovakaqala)
4. Gasagasa		Gasagasa
5. Rakuita	Rakuita	Rakuita
6. Tokainamena	Tokainamena	Ratu Na 'ete
7. Rasiwa	Ratu Rasiwa	Rasiwa
8. Emosi Tila	Ratu Tila	Tila
9. Manoa Waibuta	Ratu Waimbuta	Waimbuta (Waibuta)
10. Amenatave Rabelo	Ratu Rayambelo	Ratu Rayambelo
11. Epeli Vakalalabure		

### 10.2 Veitoyaki/Baleicoqe

The second Vunivalu of Natewa, as recorded in the Tukutuku Raraba, is Veitoyaki. Hocart, in contrast, recorded the second Vunivalu of Natewa as Baleicoqe.<sup>177</sup>

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<sup>176</sup> Hocart did his study in 1911 – seventeen years before the Tukutuku Raraba.

<sup>177</sup> See sections 10.0 and 10.2.

Why are there different names in the two lists? Can the two names refer to the same person? Is Veitoyaki also known as Baleicoqe?

Hocart seems to suggest this is so. He gives an account of Baleicoqe becoming a Vunivalu and whose descendants then bestow the title to the younger line of Totovakaqala while they (Baleicoqe's descendants) became synonymous with the title of the 'Sau'.<sup>178</sup> The second Sau after Duguavou was Mainalumialevu, the son of Baleicoqe.

By inference, the move to establish the house of the 'Sau' may have been precipitated by the lack of male descendants in the original Mai Valenisau's or Duguavou's line. Following the same logic, we also infer that Di Raura was most likely to be Duguavou's sister. In other words, in light of Duguavou having no descendants himself, the line was dependent on his sister's children to continue the roles of their uncle as well as maintaining the Vunivalu inheritance. Hocart agrees with this view when he stated that the Sau and the Vunivalu were both descendants of Dakuwaqa:

It appears that Sau and Vunivalu = kawa of Nda'uwayga (sic). Rt Totovakaygala (sic) is younger. Why is younger vunivalu, odratou lewa na qase me gunu na gone, elder one to be sau ... Mbaleicoqe (sic) was vunivalu 1<sup>st</sup>, then Totovakaygala, then decided that kawa of Mbaleicoqe go & settle in part of village = valenisau. No one in vale ni sau (sic) before, sa qai kenatawase (sic) ma.<sup>179</sup>

In this way Veitoyaki could be a name, given retrospectively, to denote the fact that Baleicoqe's descendants had moved to continue the functions associated with Duguavou's social unit (Valenisau). *Veitoyaki* literally means to move from one side to the other and vice versa.<sup>180</sup> As such it could refer to the knowledge that Veitoyaki/Baleicoqe's descendants are associated with both the Sau and the Vunivalu titles.

### 10.3 Ralikusuasua/Totovakaqala

The third Vunivalu of Natewa is Ratu Ralikusuasua, abbreviated to Raliku. Yet again we find that Hocart has another name – Totovakanqala (sic).<sup>181</sup> No tangible evidence is available to reconcile the two names like 'Veitoyaki' and 'Baleicoqe'. In light of this, the names may be reconciled using semantic tools derived from Natewa itself. We know from oral tradition and customary usage that Raliku is a name associated with the Tokatoka Valelevu. Hocart also has a family tree

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<sup>178</sup> A M Hocart, Field Notes, pp. 3469–3470.

<sup>179</sup> A M Hocart, Field Notes, p. 3470.

<sup>180</sup> Andrew Arno, 'Personal Names as Narrative in Fiji: Politics of the Lauan Onomasticon.' *Ethnology*, Vol. 33, No.1 (Winter 1994) pp. 20–34

<sup>181</sup> See section 10.0 above.

that links Totovakaqala, the son of Dakuwaqa, to members of the tokatoka Valelevu.<sup>182</sup> He notes elsewhere that Totovakaqala is younger than Baleicoqe and that the decision to make Baleicoqe's descendants Sau and Totovakaqala's descendants Vunivalu was a decision made by the senior line of Dakuwaqa's descendants in Natewa.<sup>183</sup> This is corroborated by oral narratives from the tokatoka Valelevu as well as by a respondent from Valenisau.<sup>184</sup> Given this, it seems very likely that Raliku, in the Tukutuku Raraba, is the same person that Hocart referred to as Totovakaqala.

#### 10.4 Tokainamena/TuNa'ete

Hocart records two different names for the sixth Vunivalu in his field notes. On page 3466, he notes that Tokainamena succeeded Rakuita as Vunivalu. Yet two pages later, on page 3468, he lists Ratu Na'ete as Rakuita's successor. We note a linguistic affinity between the two names. We deduce that it refers to the same person since TuNa'ete and Tokainamena are associated with Valenisau.

There is evidence that Bonaveidogo, who was Ritova's emissary to the Tui Cakau in 1841, was married to one of Tokainamena's daughters. According to Jackson, Bonaveidogo left Natewa, where he was married, to Somosomo to solicit the help of the Tui Cakau for Ritova in Macuata.<sup>185</sup> Jackson further observed that Tokainamena/TuNa'ete had no male offspring. This may explain why the Vunivalu title did not revert to any of his living descendants in Valenisau today.

#### 10.5 Rasiwa

The name Rasiwatibau, or Rasiwa for short, is very suggestive. From a political viewpoint it means 'to persuade Bau'. We are of the view that this could only be a reference to the role played by this Vunivalu in the war of 1846 where Bau combined with Somosomo in the invasion of Natewa. Our timeline suggests that Rasiwa was, at this time, not a Vunivalu but was 'Sau'.<sup>186</sup>

As such Rasiwa (Rasiwatibau) is not a real name but a nickname that was given later to commemorate the achievement of that particular Vunivalu. Reverend Thomas Williams, for instance, noted how a Natewan man sought out Ratu Cakobau. This man's goal was to convince

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<sup>182</sup> AM Hocart, MS papers 60, Folder 36, Gen 138–215, p. 632 of 855.

<sup>183</sup> 'Why is the younger Vunivalu, odratou lewa na qase me gunu na gone, elder one to be sau' –A M Hocart, Field Notes, p. 3470. Also see the discussion in section 10.1 above.

<sup>184</sup> See Isireli Taganekalou's claim in section 9.2.1 as well the second point made by Ratu Ifereimi Buaserau in his appeal submission – see Appendix A in section 14.0.

<sup>185</sup> See Erskine's Journal pp. 422–42.

<sup>186</sup> Tukutuku Raraba (Sovatabua), p. v; Hocart's field notes p. 3470.

Cakobau that the people of Natewa, ‘wished to make atonement to Bau. He was told that it was good for them to do so.’<sup>187</sup> It is worth quoting Williams at length on this particular episode:

After the atonement was accepted, the Somosomo people amused themselves by throwing stones, and even firing, at the Koro-ni-yasaca fence; which coming to the ears of Thakombau (*sic*), caused him to send to know who it was that continued hostilities after he had said ‘Let there be peace. The people have submitted to Bau: and had they not done so, I should have finished them. I have said they shall live. They shall live’<sup>188</sup>

We believe that the person responsible for Cakobau’s benevolent attitude towards Natewa was Ratu Rasiwa. Naming people after events is a common occurrence in Fiji.<sup>189</sup>

## 10.6 List of Sau titleholders

Hocart’s field notes lists the names of past ‘Sau’ as:

1.	Nalumialevu
2.	Wailekutu
3.	Ratu Savou
4.	Ratu Koroi
5.	Ratu Rakesa
6.	Ratu Tevita Suasua

Hocart further notes an instance in history where a Vunivalu (Tokainamena/Tuna’ete) was succeeded by Rasiwa who had been the ‘Sau’ during the former’s reign.<sup>190</sup> The names Tokainamena and Tunakete are synonymous with Valenisau while Rasiwa is accepted in Natewa to be from Valelevu.<sup>191</sup>

<sup>187</sup> in Joseph Waterhouse, *The Kind and People of Fiji*, London: Hayman Brothers (1864) p. 137.

<sup>188</sup> in Joseph Waterhouse, *The Kind and People of Fiji*, London: Hayman Brothers (1864) p. 137.

<sup>189</sup>See for example Andrew Arno, ‘Personal Names as Narrative in Fiji: Politics of the Lauan Onomasticon.’ *Ethnology*, Vol. 33, No.1 (Winter 1994) pp. 20–34 or J W Turner, ‘Some Reflections on the Significance of names in Matailobau, Fiji,’ *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 100, No. 1, (1991) pp. 7–24.

<sup>190</sup> AM Hocart, Field Notes, p. 3470

<sup>191</sup> For a discussion on Rasiwa, see section 10.5 above.

The Tukutuku Raraba states that Ratu Duguavou, as Mai Valenisau, became Sauvou during Dakuwaqa's installation. Duguavou's acceptance of the fourth bowl of yaqona seems to suggest that the Sauvou position is the one that holds the title of Vunivalu *and* the Vanua of Natewa together.<sup>192</sup>

Yet Hocart's work in Natewa in 1912 reveals that there was no 'Sauvou' but a 'Sau' at the time who comes from the second house of nobles and is considered a chief in the same way as the Vunivalu or warrior-chief.<sup>193</sup> Hocart underline this by listing the house of the second chief (Sau) first before the Vunivalu.<sup>194</sup>

Oral narratives from Isireli Taganekalou and Ratu Ifereimi Buaserau indicate that the current membership of the Valenisau clan can be categorised into two groups. The first group can trace their genealogy, together with the Tokatoka Valelevu (Mataqali Valelevu) back to Saurara.<sup>195</sup> According to Taganekalou, his family can lay a direct claim to three Vunivalu, Dakuwaqa (1<sup>st</sup>), Veitoyaki (2<sup>nd</sup>) and Tokainamena (6<sup>th</sup>).<sup>196</sup> Indeed these names, together with the name 'Duguavou' are associated primarily with this family.<sup>197</sup>

The first Sau's name in Hocart's list, Mainalumealevu, is also synonymous with Isireli Taganekalou's family in Valenisau and adds credence to the story of Baleicoqe/Veitoyaki's descendants becoming 'Sau'.<sup>198</sup>

We were able to compile a more comprehensive list of Sau/Sauvou as well as their chronological order based on an analysis of the available data and from the Tukutuku Raraba:

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<sup>192</sup> This interpretation appears to be consistent with the relevant discussions in the Tukutuku Raraba. In other words, there are instances in the Tukutuku Raraba that suggest the Vunivalu title is not the sole reigning designation in Natewa as the title of Sauvou is also a powerful one. The Tukutuku Raraba also shows the consensual nature of leadership between the two titleholders. For example, in his quest to enlist Natewa's help in the battle against Wainiqolo, Ratu Golea, returning from helping Ritova (Tui Macuata) in a tribal war in Macuata (Raviravi), offered a Tabua to Sauvou who then took it to the Vunivalu – see Tukutuku Raraba (Sovatabua), p. vii.

<sup>193</sup> A C Hocart, *The Northern States of Fiji*, England: Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Occasional Publication, (1952), p. 122.

<sup>194</sup> It may be due to his informant's preference or his understanding of the relationship between Sau and Vunivalu from other parts of Fiji.

<sup>195</sup> See Appendix. Isireli Taganekalou was interviewed by Sevanaia Sakai in 2018 in Savusavu town.

<sup>196</sup> See Tukutuku Raraba (Sovatabua)

<sup>197</sup> Names that are exclusive to particular families are being applied indiscriminately by other families making it difficult to keep a track on who is who in the future.

<sup>198</sup> We have been able to ascertain though the *Vola ni kawa bula* (Registry of Births and Deaths) that there is a Dakuwaqa Mainalumealevu see VKB ref 96/2897. He is Isireli Taganekalou's first cousin.



## 10.7 Updated list of Sau in Natewa

Sau/Sauvou	Discussion Notes
1. Ratu Duguavou	Ratu Duguavou was the Mai Valenisau and first Sauvou recorded in the Tukutuku Raraba. From our research we have been able to posit that he was Di Raura's brother. This makes him Dakuwaqa's uncle.
2. Mainalumialevu	Mainalumialevu is the first Sau listed by Hocart in his filed notes. Hocart notes that this new Sau is a descendant of Veitoyaki/Baleicoqe, the 2 <sup>nd</sup> Vunivalu of Natewa. Indeed, it is certain, again from Hocart, that the reason Mainalumialevu became Sau was that Duguavou had no male offspring to carry on his legacy as Sauvou.
3. Wailekutu	Wailekutu is the 3 <sup>rd</sup> Sau listed in Hocart's list.
4. Rasiwa (Up to 1846)	Even though Rasiwa is missing from Hocart's list, the latter named him as Sau when Ratu Tokainamena/TuNa'ete was Vunivalu
5. Tevita Suasua (1847 – 1850s)	We have not been able to find any information about Tevita Suasua although his name is in Hocart's list. <sup>199</sup> The Tukutuku Raraba of Vunisaiki has a Ratu Suasua as the Sau during the 1840s. This would be around the same time that Ratu Rasiwa was the vunivalu.
6. Savou (1860s)	

<sup>199</sup> See Hocart's field notes, p. 3470.

	<p>Ratu Savou was the founding ancestor of a new line of Sau that is separate from the one started by Mainalumialevu.</p> <p>Our thinking is based on the informed opinion that the male descendants of Veitoyaki/Baleicoqe had ceased and another male line within the mataqali had taken over the position of Sau – hence ‘Sauvou or new Sau. However, in saying this we are mindful that the Tukutuku Raraba asserts that the title of Sauvou began with Duguavou himself.</p>
7. Koroi (Visawaqa) – post 1862 onwards	Koroi was a suffix given to Ratu Visawaqa in recognition of his contribution to the war against Wainiqolo in 1862. He is a son of Ratu Savou who was ‘Sau’ before him.
8. Rakesa (Sauvou at the turn of the 19 <sup>th</sup> century)	Rakesa was Ratu Visawaqa’s brother and became Sau after the death of his brother.
9. Ratu Saliote Waqawai	Ratu Saliote Waqawai was the son of Ratu Koroi Visawaqa
10. Ratu Viliame Savou	Ratu Savou was Ratu Waqawai’s son and succeeded his father.
11. Ratu Paula Tuilau	<p>Ratu Paula was Ratu Savou’s son.</p> <p>We have included Ratu Paula Tuilau’s name as the general consensus in Natewa and nearby villages dictates that he is the current Sauvou.</p> <p>However, the faction of Ratu Rakuita Vakalalabure has Pita Taleaua as ‘Sauvou’</p>

	although this is not recognized in the Bose Vanua or the Tikina of Natewa.
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## 10.8 List of Vunivalu and Sau/Sauvou titleholders

Using the sources in the List 10.5 above, Tukutuku Raraba, Hocart Fieldnotes (1912) p. 3470, and oral narratives from Natewa, a list of Vunivalu and Sau/Sauvou was compiled.

Names of Vunivalu and Mataqali <sup>200</sup>	Sau/Sauvou and Mataqali	Timeline
Dakuwaqa (Valelevu) <sup>201</sup>	Duguavou (Valenisau)	1760s – 1770s
Veitoyaki/Baleicoqe (descendants became Sau after his passing) <sup>202</sup>	Duguavou	1780 – 1790s
Raliku/Totovakaqala (Valelevu)	Nalumialevu (Valenisau) <sup>203</sup>	1800 – 1810 <sup>204</sup>
Gasagasa (Valelevu)	“	1810s – 1820s
Rakuita (Valelevu)	Wailekutu (Valenisau)	1820s – 1830s
Tokainamena/Tuna‘ete (Valenisau)	Ratu Rasiwa (Valelevu)	1830’s – 1846

<sup>200</sup> In light of the fact that mataqali as a social unit came into play at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, we have been able to put a mataqali against names of both Vunivalu and Sau/Sauvou that appeared prior to the 20<sup>th</sup> Century by cross-checking names against their specific associations with the contemporary mataqalis in Natewa. Note that in contrast to Valenisau which was a social unit that was there since the time of Duguavou, Valelevu as a social unit is of more recent origin. See origins of Valelevu in section 9.3.

<sup>201</sup> We have placed Valelevu against his name based on the Tukutuku Raraba which states that he is the son of Saurara. The mataqali of Valelevu claims the Vunivalu title in lieu of the fact that they associate themselves with Saurara from Bau.

<sup>202</sup> Hocart’s Field Notes, 1912, p. 3469–3470

<sup>203</sup> Nalumialevu is a name associated with Valenisau. We have been able to ascertain though the *Vola ni kawa bula* (Registry of Births and Deaths) that the name is still in use by one family in Valenisau. The person, who recently died, was known as Dakuwaqa Mainalumialevu (VKB ref 96/297).

<sup>204</sup> The Tukutuku Raraba of Vusaratu (Natewa), on p. 351, notes that it was around the time of Ratu Raliku that Naboutuiloma II and his army sailed into the Natewa Bay. Sayes notes that this was to investigate the death of Malodali from Navatu, at the hands of Matawalu.

Rasiwa (Siwatibau) Valelevu	Ratu Tevita Suasua Ratu Savou (Valenisau)	1847 – post 1862
Emosi Tila (Valelevu)	Koroi Visawaqa (Valenisau)	Mid 1860s – post 1874
Manoa Waibuta (Valelevu)	Koroi Visawaqa (Valenisau)	1880s – 1890s <sup>205</sup>
Ratu Rabelo (Valelevu)	Ratu Ra'esa (Valenisau)	1890s – 1919
Epeli Vakalalabure (Valenisau)	Saliote Waqawai (Valenisau) Viliame Savou (Valenisau)	1920s – 1970
Lotaropate Rakuira Saurara (Valelevu)	Paula Tuilau (Valenisau)	1973 – 1985
Amenatape Belo (Valelevu)	Paula Tuilau	2010 – 2012
Ifereimi Buaseru (Valelevu)	Paula Tuilau	2014 -

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<sup>205</sup> Ratu Manoa Waibuta was noted in the Tukutuku Raraba of Yavusa Vunisaiki, Tikina Natewa (p. 358) as a sitting Vunivalu in 1882.

## 11.0 Summary of Findings

The study uncovered a considerable amount of information concerning the history of succession to the Vunivalu title. There were also a lot of details on the respective roles of different groups in the installation process. The history of succession was dominated by the two leading mataqali, Valelevu and Valenisau, and the discussion focused on the historical relationship between these two clans. We discovered many areas where there was general agreement between public opinion and the Tukumuku Raraba and also areas where differences abound. We identified major points of contentions between the two mataqali in relation to their respective claims to the title and noted the claim by tokatoka Yautibi in relation to the installation process. Our discussions were framed by our TOR and our findings are summarized below.

### 11.1 On claims by mataqali Valenisau and tokatoka Valelevu

#### 11.1.1 Valenisau's claims

The claim that the Vunivalu title *alternates* between the mataqali Valelevu and mataqali Valenisau. While this may be a general understanding, it is not supported by the evidence.<sup>206</sup>

- The first five titleholders were from Valenisau/Valelevu.
- The sixth titleholder was from Valenisau.
- The seventh to tenth titleholders were from Valelevu.
- The eleventh was from Valenisau.
- The twelfth to fourteenth are from Valelevu.

In sum, of fourteen titleholders, twelve have been from Valelevu and two from Valenisau.

#### 11.1.2 Valelevu's Claims

The title passes between the mataqali Valelevu and mataqali Valenisau as long as it remains within Saurara's bloodline. With the exception of the eleventh titleholder (Rt Epeli Vakalalabure), this statement is largely confirmed by the bulk of the evidence.

- The first ten titleholders are male descendants of Saurara.
- The last three are also male descendants of Saurara.

### 11.2 Specific findings

1. the Tu Natewa was the original paramount title and chosen from Valenisau.
2. the title of Tu Natewa gave way to the Vunivalu title.
3. the first Vunivalu was installed around the middle of 18<sup>th</sup> century.

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<sup>206</sup> There is a difficulty in allocating which Vunivalu in Natewa belongs to what mataqali as the introduction of the *mataqali* came afterwards, i.e., during the colonial period.

4. the Sau and Vunivalu titleholders are descendants of Dakuwaqa<sup>207</sup>
5. the Vunivalu titleholder is chosen from either tokatoka Valelevu or tokatoka Valenisau.
6. Sauvou is the current designation of the head of the Mataqali Valenisau<sup>208</sup>
7. Mai Dreketi installed the first titleholder on the instructions of Mai Vale-ni-Sau.
8. the Vunivalu title has precedence over Sauvou as ‘first amongst equal’<sup>209</sup>
9. Yautibi is the emissary of the Vunivalu titleholder to the mataqali Kama.
10. the Vunivalu titleholders with the exception of Ratu Epeli Vakalalabure are male descendants of Saurara.
11. the people of Sovatabua are *structurally* associated with the Vunivalu titleholders who were descended from Saurara.
12. the emergence of tokatoka Valelevu and its separation from Sovatabua was a direct consequence of the colonial government’s attempt from 1888 to 1965 to impose an eastern Fiji landowning unit called *mataqali* across Fiji.
13. the tokatoka of Valelevu that emerged out of Sovatabua was established to delineate the genealogy of the first Vunivalu titleholder.

### 11.3 Strengthening the Veitarogivanua process.

The ‘Veitarogivanua’ processes of the TLFC may need strengthening in the following ways:

11.4.1 That the TLFC recognizes the independence of the Vanua to follow customary/traditional processes and practices in the selection and installation of a head of a Mataqali, Yavusa or Vanua.

11.4.2 That the TLFC, on its own or through the Provincial Council, monitors these selection and installation processes and ascertain for itself the authenticity of all submissions made to its office pertaining to the head of a mataqali, Yavusa or Vanua.

11.4.3 That the TLFC ensures that all its validation processes are aligned to that of the Vanua.

11.4.4 That in following 1,2 &3 above, the TLFC should ensure that its process of recognizing and confirming all Vanua chiefly titles must be strictly based on the three steps outline below:

(i) the recognition, acceptance, support and endorsement of an individual by the Vanua as their chief AND the verification of these (recognition, support and endorsement by the Vanua) by the TLFC through the appropriate State organs (Provincial Offices etc.)

(ii) the installation of this individual as titleholder by the Vanua

(iii) the registration of the installed titleholder by TLFC based on a (submission/form from the office of the relevant Province)

11.4.5 That the TLFC should have a research arm whose aim to ‘map out’ the Tukutuku Raraba for effective adjudicative outcomes

<sup>207</sup> See Hocart’s field notes p.3470. Confirmed by Valelevu and Isireli Taganekalou of Valenisau.

<sup>208</sup> The original designation may have been ‘Sau’ and is associated with a family in the mataqali of Valenisau.

<sup>209</sup> ‘Sau is the title of the chief who “ranks with, but after” – A M Hocart, *Northern States of Fiji*, p. 37.

- 11.4.6 That the TLFC should retrain the Ministry of I Taukei Affairs ‘Cultural Mapping’ group so that it becomes a research group for the TLFC.
- 11.4.7 That in cases of title dispute, the TLFC should follow the template set by the Fijian Judicial Courts by limiting itself strictly to the primary issue and should, if the need arises, set another time to look at other concomitant issues that might emerge in the course of the proceeding.

## 12.0 Concluding remarks and further lines of inquiry.

Given the centrality of the Tukutuku Raraba as the baseline narrative of Vanua governance and of TLFC determination of title and installation disputes, the narrative needed to be verified as a viable document of history. The document was subjected to rigorous analysis and apart from some gaps, the Tukutuku Raraba was in the main an important and viable source of history for Natewa.

As is common with oral submissions, gaps are inevitable in the Tukutuku Raraba. These include origins, migration and settlement of the other nine mataqali that were not sufficiently covered in our Report. After an exhaustive survey of available sources and evidence in relation to the history of succession of Vunivalu titleholders and process of installation, we are satisfied these gaps are insufficient to doubt the overall reliability of the document. Where gaps exist in the Report, they have been identified with the hope that they provide a platform for fresh lines of enquiry by Natewans and others.

Once we were satisfied with the Tukutuku Raraba as a baseline narrative for Vanua governance, our overall aim was to develop a fuller narrative from which future claims can be critically evaluated and resolved quickly and safeguard the Vanua from divisive factionalism bitter discord.

### 12.1 Limitations of the study

A study of this nature has its limitations due largely to its subject matter. Vanua title disputes constitute conflicts between descent groups and ultimately individuals. While data should be readily available to resolve conflicts, bringing people together to share viewpoints and thereby analyse the various points of differences has not been easy due to distances and competing demands on time and energy.

Another limitation encountered is related to the paucity of general knowledge among Natewans concerning the Vunivalu title and its installation process. As many migrate out of Natewa for formal employment and education, lives are defined and influenced by the orientation and requirements of employment and education curriculum. Teaching Vanua governance and the role of customary titles and descent groups in the school curriculums would empower local children and enhance opportunities to stay in villages to develop and cultivate their only asset, the land.



## 12.2 Identifying areas of application in Fiji and beyond.

Our TOR limited our study to analyzing the Tukutuku Raraba as a historical document in relation to the history of succession and the installation process. Numerous and interesting leads emerged in our research such as origins, settlement patterns and leadership of other nine mataqali provide exciting lines of inquiry for Natewan students and researchers.

This endeavour marks a first attempt at creating a much more nuanced historical baseline for the adjudication process. Without being presumptuous, the findings of this investigation may resonate with other jurisdictions in neighbouring Pacific societies.

The research team set out with three main purposes:

1. To bridge and heal the division that has pitted family against each other and weakened the kinship system and social coherence in the Vanua.
2. To help create a template from which other vanua disputes can be examined and interrogated with a view towards reconciling differences and in cases where differences remain, to document them for further investigation by future researchers.
3. By appropriate modification, extend the template to communities in Oceania facing similar social disharmony due to disputes over customary titles and attendant resources.

We are excited by the potential of this study to other areas in Fiji which may also be experiencing social disunity due to gaps in and divided interpretations on their Tukutuku Raraba. This conviction is based on the exhaustive search collecting material evidence to illuminate and interpret the Tukutuku Raraba in a way that was not possible before.

Vinaka Vakalevu!

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- *Lewa (Natewa) I Taukei lands Appeals Tribunal 18/01/2017*
- *Tukutuku Raraba Yavusa Sovatabua, Tikina Natewa (Cakaudrove)*
- *Tukutuku Raraba Yavusa Vunisaiki, Tikina Natewa (Cakaudrove)*
- *Tukutuku Raraba Yavusa Kama Tikina, Natewa (Cakaudrove)*
- *Tukutuku Raraba Yavusa Vusaratu, Tikina Natewa (Cakaudrove)*
- *Tukutuku Raraba Yavusa Dawato, Tikina Saqani (Cakaudrove)*
- *Tukutuku Raraba Yavusa Navadra, Tikina Navatu (Cakaudrove)*

- *Tukutuku Raraba of the Yavusa Dewala, Tikina Nasavusavu (Cakaudrove)*
- *Tukutuku Raraba Yavusa ko Bau, Tikina ko Nayavu (Tailevu)*
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# The Appeals Tribunal

Ministry of I Taukei Affairs

**An Appeal against the ‘Lewa’ of the I Taukei  
Lands and Fisheries Commission on the 16<sup>th</sup> of  
June 2016**



**Name:** Ratu Ifereimi Buaserau Rakuita  
(160/299)

**Current Title:** Vunivalu of Natewa, Sovatabua

**Date:** 13<sup>th</sup> /September/ 2016

Natewa

13th September 2016,

**Native Lands Appeals Tribunal**

Re: **Reconsideration of the contents of the latest 'Lewa' pertaining to the Vunivalu of Sovatabua (Natewa).**

Dear Sir/Madam,

I hereby submit my appeal, on behalf of my mataqali, on the judgement rendered by the Native Lands Commission (hereafter will be known as **Commission**), on the 16<sup>th</sup> of June, pertaining to the Vunivalu of Sovatabua (Natewa).

The judgment, as you might be aware, was in my favour hence this appeal would be a bit unusual. I am however forced to lodge this appeal in the hope of correcting some failures, misconceptions, omissions, judgmental errors and overreaching on the part of the **Commission** in its adjudication.

The aim of the submission is *not to dispute* the **Commission's** judgment *but to strengthen* its findings in my favour. Thus I am providing grounds that should be relooked at that will, when re-considered in their proper contexts, provide more than reasonable grounds of all our *written* and *oral* claims that the other party has *no legitimate claim at all to the title of Vunivalu*.

The appeal is premised on a four-thronged approach that synthesizes facts, evidence, logic and reasonable speculation. In approaching the issues that form a core part of our appeal this way highlights my, and my mataqali's, conviction that the elective affinities that run through the four factors offer a more holistic understanding of our truth-claim about who we are in the village and, by extension, the vanua of Natewa.

***This appeal is submitted within the 90-days timeframe that began from the 16<sup>th</sup> of June.***

The grounds for our appeal are:

1. *That the **Commission** willfully disregards the sworn evidence in the Tukutuku Raraba by alleging that there was no such pact made by Rt Saurara's descendants and the original inhabitants of Natewa (from Verata) that places the title firmly in the hands of the first Vunivalu, Dakuwaqa, and his agnate descendants.*<sup>210</sup>

One of the major contentions put forward by my mataqali, Valelevu, during the last **Commission** hearing was that there was a pact forged between the original inhabitants of Natewa with Saurara's descendants from Bau. This understanding and the acts of reciprocity that followed legitimised the installation of the first Vunivalu – Dakuwaqa – as well as singling out his blood line to be the rightful holders of the Vunivalu title in Natewa (**E ra kena kawa dina**). To be more

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<sup>210</sup> Na mataveivaqai e vinakata me tukuna ni Tukutuku Raraba ni Yavusa Sovatabua e tukuna ni ira sega ni vinakati Radolou na vanua ka qai solia na itutu o Duguavou na Maivalenisau ki vei Dakuwaqa me Vunivalu.

Na vei solisoli oqo e sega ni tu kina e dua na kena vei yalayalati. E vakayacori ena vuku ni domodra na Vanua ni ira sega ni taleitaki Ratu Radolou. Na veisolisoli oqo e sega ni kauta tani na dina ni veiliutaki talega o Valenisau. Sa kena ibalebale ni solia o Duguavou kina kawa nei Dakuwaqa sa vakadeitakani rau dau veisoli na kawa nei Dakuwaqa e Valelevu kei Duguavou e Valenisau. (p. 9 [my emphases])

specific, the point that we tried to establish at the time was that the agreement marked out Saurara's agnate descendants to be the sole legitimate line of the Vunivalu of Natewa. As such Rt Rakuita's claim cannot be entertained as he is outside this line.

In this way the observation by Tomasi Mara in the Tukutuku Raraba on how the Vunivalu title is passed between the two mataqalis of Valelevu and Valenisau needs to be put in its proper context as it cannot be understood literally!

The **Commission** ruled that there was no such pact. The absence of such a pact, in its views, means that the title of Vunivalu may be passed from my line to Rt Rakuita's line or from Dakuwaqa's line to Duguavou's.

Yet the Tukutuku Raraba (pages 2-3) states in no uncertain terms **that such a pact indeed took place**<sup>211</sup>. I have taken the liberty of quoting the relevant passage, written in the vernacular, in footnote 2 below. To summarise:

When Ratu Radolou, the last TuNatewa, was summarily dismissed from his position, Duguavou, who was the head of the unit from which the TuNatewa was chosen decided to make a new chief altogether. In his position as Mai Valenisau, the head of the most senior line that came together from Verata, Duguavou decided that the new chief ought to be Ratu Saurara's son, Dakuwaqa.

As pages 2-3 indicate, after the installation, Mai-Nakabuta who was a member of the entourage that accompanied Rt Saurara (Rt Dakuwaqa's father) from Bau was given to Mai Dreketi as a token of appreciation. Duguavou then instructed Mai-Dreketi to take the people of Sovatabua, who were performing specific Vanua duties for the TuNatewa, over to the new Vunivalu. Their new role was to serve the Vunivalu (Dakuwaqa) as they used to serve the TuNatewa.

The members of the mataqali of *Sovatabua* are still performing their assigned tasks in Natewa today. Their traditional duties include the personal well-being of the Vunivalu. The head of Sovatabua is also the emissary of the Vunivalu to Korocau (Mata-ki-Korocau). A member of that mataqali, Amenatape Toranibau (51/304) reaffirmed their traditional role relating to the Vunivalu in the last hearing.

It is important to note that the shifting of the title from Ratu Radolou, as the last TuNatewa, to Dakuwaqa – the first Vunivalu – was cemented by an act of reciprocity that still is evident today. For instance, the people of Vusaratu are still with Mai Dreketi while the people of Sovatabua are still associated with any Vunivalu who is a direct male descendant of Rt Saurara. This includes the incumbent.

2. That the **Commission** willfully rejected the distinction between what is and what ought to be in its ill-informed judgement that the senior line of Rt Saurara's living descendants cannot, as a matter of a categorical principle, be found in the mataqali valenisau.

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<sup>211</sup> 'Ni oti na veibuli sa qai soli ko Mai-Nakabuta, e dua na lewe ni waqa nei Ratu Saurara, me tiko vei Mai Dreketi, ka tukuna vua, ke dua na vanua e soli vei Mai-Nakabuta me tiko kina, me yacana ko "Vusaratu". Oti oqo sa qai tukuna na Sauvou me solia ko Mai Dreketi na Sovatabua ka tu vua me taura na Vunivalu.'



To fully understand our narrative from Valelevu, one needs to go a little into history. Rt Saurara eventually married a lady from Valenisau – Di Raura. There is ample evidence to suggest that Di Raura was closely related to Duguavou. The fact that she could have been his last remaining blood relative would explain two things:

- (a) Why the title of Sauvou (head of the mataqali Valenisau) is no longer with Duguavou's direct descendants or associated with Duguavou's yavu – Valenisau or, as it was later known — Biyaugunu.

In paternalistic societies, titles are generally passed down the male line with the most senior line having the most legitimate claim. It is only when there is no male member to continue the legacy that the title is passed down to another *separate* lineage within the same social formation or mataqali.

We still have Duguavou's direct descendants in Natewa, via Di Raura, but there is no male line. This is ascertained by the fact that although they historically associate the title of Mai-Valenisau or Sauvou with their Yavu, the title, in fact, has been passed on to another family within the same mataqali.

To be sure the name Duguavou is still exclusively associated with the yavu of Biyaugunu today. **The fact that Ratu Rakuia Teariki, his claim notwithstanding, does NOT come from this yavu casts doubt on his claim to the title of Vunivalu.**

- (b) The existence of a branch of the agnate descendants of Rt Saurara in Valenisau via their association with Duguavou's yavu — Biyaugunu.

Currently, the senior line of Rt Saurara's descendants still reside on Duguavou's yavu (Biaugunu as it is now known). The name that is synonymous with this line is Ratu Sireli Taganekalou (6/297). The last male descendant was Ropate Bolauga (10/297).

Supposing that Di Raura was Duguavou's daughter, it stands to reason that the current Vunivalu (Ratu Ifereimi Buaserau) is a direct descendant of BOTH Ratu Saurara and Ratu Duguavou (Mai-Valenisau or Sauvou) even though it is his (current Vunivalu) link to the former (Ratu Saurara) that legitimizes his claim to the Vunivalu title.<sup>212</sup>

I raise this up to show the spuriousness of Rt Rakuia Teariki's claim that he is a descendant of Ratu Duguavou. **He could not simply be!** Indeed Ratu Rakuia cannot show any tangible evidence that this is so. **The acknowledged descendants of Ratu Duguavou, in Valenisau, do not recognize Ratu Rakuia's claim.**

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<sup>212</sup> If Di Raura was Ratu Duguavou's sister, that would still make Dakuwaqa, the first Vunivalu, a blood relative of Ratu Duguavou (a nephew in this case).

As such Ratu Rakuita Teariki's claim to be a direct descendant of Ratu Duguavou was based on the erroneous assumption that, in so doing, his aspirations to the Vunivalu title would be recognized by the authorities.

I am of the view that one needs to, in light of (1) above, trace one's lineage (male) back to Rt Saurara in order to confirm one's bona fides as a Vunivalu (E kena kawa dina).

To sum up, the **Commission** erred in basing its ruling on a categorical principle that closely follows that of the English Common Law Doctrine of native title: that is, that everybody are in their 'rightful' places as far as mataqali membership is concerned.<sup>213</sup> In this way, the **Commission** glosses over the specificity of our historical trajectory that culminated in the existence of the same line in two mataqali. Relying exclusively on this categorical principle, the **Commission** went as far as saying that it is improbable that one single lineage could be in two mataqali. I respectfully submit that the **Commission's** view would have been more accurate if it did not:

- (a) Stopped Rt Saurara's descendants in the mataqali Valenisau from giving their testimonies. This was what actually happened in the last NLC hearing. In this way the anecdotal evidence, via family narratives, and anthropological/ sociological evidence via the links between the yavus of Biyaugunu and Vatulawa are ignored in favour of the categorical principle.
- (b) Turn a blind eye to similar cases in Fiji where people of the same lineage can be found in another mataqali for various reasons.

Given these factors, the **Commission** denied itself crucial evidence that would have shed light into the peculiar historical developments that culminated in the existence of the same bloodline in two mataqalis (Valelevu and Valenisau).

The link between Vatulawa, from Valelevu, and Biyaugunu, from Valenisau is well known in Natewa. In fact members of BOTH yavus share a single narrative about who they are and where did they come from. Additionally they share the same narrative as to WHY there are more Vunivalu from Valelevu. It is rather unfortunate that these links were not allowed to be aired out by the **Commission**.

There are also written accounts that affirm the oral narrative above. Hocart points out that the yavu of Biyaugunu was built by the people of the said place as a sign of fealty to the Vunivalu of Natewa.<sup>214</sup> The Tukutuku Raraba also makes reference to this further noting that this was during Ratu Rakuita's reign as Vunivalu.<sup>215</sup>

The fact that Rt Rakuita directed the people of Biaugunu to erect a yavu that is associated with Duguavou's descendants suggest that the former recognized and valued the existence of Ratu Saurara's senior line outside Valelevu. Why else would a reigning Vunivalu do this? The only

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<sup>213</sup> 'Na taro e taroga na Mataveiqaqai na cava e laki tiko kina e Valenisau e dua na kawa ni qase mai Valelevu. Nai Tukutuku Raraba e tukuna ni o Duguavou na Mai Valenisau e solia na I tutu vei Dakuwaqa me Vunivalu. O Dakuwaqa kei na nona kawa era sa volai tiko e Valelevu'. (p. 9)

<sup>214</sup> A M Hocart, *The Northern States of Fiji*, Great Britain: The Royal Anthropological Institute (1952) p. 1244.

<sup>215</sup> 'Ni ra tiko mai Natewa sa ra qai yaco maina kai Teiteiciva ni ra kauta yani e dua nai buli qele, ka cabo vei ira na neimami ka tara kina e dua na vale, ka yacana ko Biyaugunu; oqo nai kuri ni qusi ni loaloa mai Dokanaisuva (p. iv).

reasonable explanation points to the existence of the same line in ONE mataqali – a fact that was appreciated then as it is now. Ratu Rakuita Teariki is NOT part of this lineage.

The litmus test, of course, is to ask Ratu Rakuita Teariki as to HOW he is related to the past Vunivalu of Valenisau excluding his own grandfather.

3. *That the **Commission** erred in admitting and, subsequently, basing its judgement as to the rightful role of the Mai Yautibi on the strength of a written account submitted by one Maikeli Livani.*

The inclusion of Maikeli Livani's sworn account (in a letter to the NLC) perhaps throws clarity on the flaws in the procedures used by the **Commission** to adjudicate on the Vunivalu title and is therefore highly prejudicial against our case. This prejudice is highlighted by the fact that:

- (a) Maikeli Livani is NOT written in the Vola ni Kawa Bula of Natewa. The **Commission**, in all its proceedings always insist on one's inclusion in the Vola Ni Kawa Bula as a basic pre-requisite to one's testimony being accepted. The fact that it allows Maikeli Livani's written testimony to be factored into its final decision contravenes the NLC practice that was apparent throughout the first and second proceeding (veivakaqai) of allowing only bona fide members of a yavusa in Natewa (as registered in the VKB to give evidence.
- (b) The oral cross examination, conducted by Amenatape Toranibau (51/304) established the personal attachment that links Maikeli Livani to another unit that is involved in this dispute – Yautibi (see 4,5 and 6 below): a social proximity that, given Yautibi's aspirations, could have led to the outright manipulation of Maikeli Livani's written testimony for specific purposes.
- (c) That the inclusion of Maikeli Livani's written account given the fact that he is NOT from Natewa throws into sharp relief the injustice rendered to the inhabitants of the yavu of Biyaugunu who were stopped from giving their testimonies due to a technicality.<sup>216</sup> **No doubt that if they had been allowed to speak, it would have gone a long way in confirming our tokatoka narrative about how we are ONE lineage in TWO mataqali.**

4. *That the **Commission's** decision to award the title of Tu Natewa to Yautibi is in direct contrast to what is explicitly stated in the Tukutuku Raraba as well as its own evidence from the last NLC hearing in 1973. Therefore the Commission erred on this point as well.*

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<sup>216</sup> They were deemed to be in the process of 'transiting' to another Yavusa. This process started in 1986 and is still NOT completed. This in effect would still make them bona fide members of the mataqali Valenisau and thus should have been allowed to speak.

The Tukutuku Raraba explicitly states that the TuNatewa comes from Valenisau.<sup>217</sup> Given the infallibility of this sworn account, it is hard to understand the **Commission's** decision that Yautibi, a tokatoka within Valelevu, are the rightful holders of the TuNatewa.

It became obvious, given what the Tukutuku Raraba has on the TuNatewa, that the **Commission** consulted some other source in order to reach its bizarre conclusions. Indeed it quoted Ratu Ifereimi Delauca (7/300) and Suliano Dravurerega of Kama as the basis for its judgement that the TuNatewa comes from Yautibi.<sup>218</sup> Let us look at the evidence closely:

Ratu Ifereimi Delauca states on the second paragraph of page seven that the Mai Yautibi has always, since time immemorial, been the traditional emissary of the Vunivalu to Kama.<sup>219</sup> The **Commission** then switches to the testimony of Suliano Dravurerega who said that the people of Kama were informed by the traditional emissary of the TuNatewa to come and observe the installation of Ratu Saurara's son (Dakuwaqa) as the Vunivalu of Natewa.<sup>220</sup>

These two related extracts of sworn testimonies indicate the true role of the Mai Yautibi. That is, given that the TuNatewa is from Valenisau in accordance with the Tukutuku Raraba and the fact that Ratu Delauca conceded that Mai Yautibi is the traditional emissary of the Vunivalu, in line with our customary ways; the final information provided by Suliano Dravurerega provides grounds beyond reasonable doubt that Mai Yautibi or anybody from Yautibi can never be the TuNatewa given the traditional roles assigned to the social unit.

I therefore fail to understand the conclusion reached by the **Commission** given these snippets of information. In fact the only logical inference one can reasonably deduce through these correspondences referred to by the **Commission** is that Yautibi were the traditional emissary (to Kama) of the TuNatewa and are performing the same task for the Vunivalu now.<sup>221</sup>

5. *That the **Commission** went beyond its brief in reviving a title (TuNatewa) that has been, historically, superseded by the Vunivalu title and is, therefore, no longer a title of contemporary relevance.*

Apart from 4 above, I find it hard to comprehend the reasoning behind resurrecting a chiefly position that has been effectively replaced by the Vunivalu title.

Given the current context in Natewa, is it to create and perpetuate the competing value spheres that is at the heart of the instability in my Vanua? Is it to undermine the title of Vunivalu?

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<sup>217</sup> See pages 1 & 2. On the first page, the yavu of Valenisau was associated with Navua ('Navua, a nona yavu ko Valenisau'). The second page established Navua as the TuNatewa ('E liutaki Natewa ko Navua; na yacana buli na "Tunatewa"').

<sup>218</sup> See pp. 7–8 of the Lewa.

<sup>219</sup> 'Na sala vaka vanua nei Tui Kama vua na Vunivalu na MaiYautibi. Oqo e sega ni ka vou, saka makawa na kena vakayacori tiko, ka sara kila vaka vinaka tale tuga na Yavusa ko Kama kei na vanua raraba ko Natewa' (p. 7)

<sup>220</sup> 'ni ra tiko na neimami ka tadu yani na Mata nei TuNatewa me keimami laki buli Dakuwaqa na luvei Ratu Saurara me Vunivalu mai Natewa' (p. 8)

<sup>221</sup> This is exactly akin to how mataqali Sovatabua has evolved from performing certain duties for the TuNatewa into retaining the same duties for the Vunivalu.

Indeed what would happen if Yautibi, armed with a new title (although wrongfully in my estimation) decides to install a TuNatewa?

Wouldn't that give rise to a cacophony of competing voices that will, in the end, mean the demise of my Vanua?

**The crux of the matter, of course, is that it is my humble view that the Commission went way beyond the parametres of its own authority in bringing back a title that has been replaced by mine (Vunivalu).**

6. *That Yautibi's claim in determining and validating, albeit with others, all Vunivalu installations is effectively negated by 3, 4 and 5 above.*

The **Commission** seemed to have placed undue emphasis on Ratu Ifereimi Delauca's sworn statement indicating that they do take part in the installation of a Vunivalu.

The way their role is understood by everyone, bar Ratu Delauca's extended family, in Natewa village is as follows:

- (a) They prepare the yaqona ni veivakabutakoci after being informed that the Tokatoka Valelevu has decided on who is to be the head of their mataqali.

Usually this involves the straightforward confirmation of the Mai Valebasaga into the head of the mataqali (Turaga ni mataqali Valelevu). This ceremony happens, presumably, after a Vunivalu passes on.

The head of the mataqali, after this initial ceremony then instructs Mai Yautibi to take the message to Mai Dreketi so that the latter may prepare the installation of the next Vunivalu. From the evidence (anecdotal, historical and anthropological) that is available, it is highly probable that Mai Dreketi performs this task all by himself. For example A M Hocart points out that the Mai Dreketi – and no other – installs the Vunivalu of Natewa.<sup>222</sup>

In fact the whole process is really between the head of the Mataqali Valelevu and the Mai Dreketi with the Mai Yautibi carrying messages to and fro. This is, in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, what Delauca actually meant when he said '**ni dau buli Turaga ko koya na Mai Yautibi kei na Mai Dreketi**'.

7. *That the **Commission**, in its judgement, disregards the prima facie evidence that was presented to it in the last two hearings—evidence that points unequivocally to Rt Epeli Vakalalabure's ascension to the title as an anomaly or an exception to the norm.*

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<sup>222</sup> A M Hocart, 1952, p. 124.

In its second hearing, the **Commission** enquire into the lineage of past Vunivalus. **We pointed out to them that ALL Vunivalus, from both Valelevu and Valenisau, with the exception of Ratu Epeli Vakalalabure, were all agnate descendants of Ratu Saurara.**

This fact is borne out of the itaukei customary practice of name owning and name giving (patents). Indeed, names unique to Natewa are associated with specific Yavu (and tokatoka) on the village green. For instance, Ratu Rakuita, is a name that is associated with members of the tokatoka Valelevu. **As such one can easily infer that Ratu Rakuita Teariki must have been named after somebody in Valelevu.**<sup>223</sup>

**Duguavou, by the same token, is a name that is associated with the yavu called Biyaugunu and its current inhabitants.** The fact that Ratu Rakuita Teariki stridently claims that he is a direct descendant of Duguavou **is yet to be proven** in light of the customary way that Fijians use and adopt specific names!

By raising the above I had hoped to establish beyond any doubt that Ratu Rakuita Teariki's claim of being Duguavou's descendant is without a legitimate basis. Hence my hope of bringing Ratu Epeli Vakalalabure's supposed ascension to the title under public scrutiny.

In a nutshell I propose that Ratu Rakuita Teariki, together with the **Commission**, provide justifiable grounds that, **despite** the fact that there have been TEN (10) Vunivalu from the same line before Epeli Vakalalabure, the sole event of his grandfather becoming a Vunivalu creates a precedence from which to launch his claim. In order to do this, Ratu Rakuita Teariki, and the **Commission**, must show evidence that the pact done so many moons ago was, in actual fact, a myth.

8. *That the **Commission** did not address our (Valelevu) contention that Ratu Rakuita Teariki does not belong to the lineage (agnate descendants) that customary holds the Vunivalu title and, as a consequence, failed to register the fact that his grandfather's ascension to the title is to be treated as an exception to the rule.*

Following from 7 above, **I humbly request the tribunal to draw out the implications of the agreement or veisolisoli made my Duguavou of Valenisau (representing the old order) and Dakuwaqa (the first chief [Vunivalu] of the new order).**

A holistic understanding of this as well as grounds 1, 2, and 4 above points to the justifiable proposition that Ratu Epeli Vakalalabure (Ratu Rakuita Teariki's grandfather) ascension was an exception to the rule. I put forward the following grounds that lend weight to my contention on the exceptional circumstances (as opposed to customary norm) surrounding the elevation of Ratu Epeli Vakalalabure to the Vunivalu title:

- (a) Ratu Epeli Vakalalabure can neither trace himself to Ratu Saurara nor Ratu Duguavou as a basis of his elevation to the title. The implications of this are succinctly summed up by grounds 1, 2 and 7 above.

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<sup>223</sup> He was in fact named after Ratu Lotaropate Rakuita.

(b) That he was NOT a Maivalebasaga (see ground no. 11 below). As such he was not chosen by a sitting Vunivalu (in this case Ratu Ame Rabelo) to be his successor.

(c) That he was not a Sauvou, the traditional head of his mataqali. He actually comes from a younger line.<sup>224</sup>

This is supported by the fact that, customarily, the head of the mataqali Valenisau of which Ratu Rakuita is a member is NOT from his immediate family (see Ground 13 below).

9. That the **Commission** erred in establishing a new orthodoxy of Vunivalu title holders beginning from Rt Epeli Vakalalabure and that, in so doing, denied us (Valelevu) the validating function of our own history.

The **Commission**, in its ruling, is of the view that the only appropriate way to start a new orthodoxy of choosing Vunivalus is to start from Ratu Epeli. It assumed that we do not have any historical knowledge of where our Vunivalus came from. This erroneous assumption led them to unequivocally aggregate the power to create a template of succession that is out of sync with our own understanding of our history.

The family tree provided in the appendix 1 shows that, in direct contrast to the assumption that fueled the **Commission's** decision, we do have a very clear idea of who were our Vunivalus before Ratu Epeli and, more importantly, how they were related to each other. This family tree shows that there have been NINE Vunivalu's whose relationship to each other is clearly remembered. Indeed, it is used as a validating tool to adjudicate between validity or truth claims pertaining to the Vunivalu.

If we are to include Dakuwaga by virtue of the fact that he is Ratu Saurara's son, then we will have TEN Vunivalus from the agnate descendants of Rt Saurara. The name of Raliku, which is an abbreviated form of Ralikusuasua is associated with my mataqali. In fact there is a line in my extended family (tokatoka) that is acknowledged to be the 'owner' of that name. This sociological fact more than suggests that Ratu Raliku, from Valelevu, was also an agnate descendant of Ratu Saurara. Taking this into account, it turns out that there are ELEVEN (11) Vunivalus from Valelevu out of a total of 14 that includes the incumbent Ratu Ifereimi Buaseru Rakuita (160/299).

Furthermore, the other TWO Vunivalu (excluding Ratu Epeli Vakalalabure) which cannot be accounted by my mataqali is accounted for by the yavu of Biyaugunu in the mataqali of Valenisau. These are Ratu Veitoyaki (2<sup>nd</sup> Vunivalu) and Ratu Tokainamena (6<sup>th</sup> Vunivalu).<sup>225</sup> Thus there are

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<sup>224</sup> Please refer to the submission by Ratu Paula Tuilau to this tribunal pertaining to the rightful head of the mataqali Valenisau as dictated by custom.

<sup>225</sup> For instance, Rabelo Tokainamena (no. 127 of Valenisau) is the son of Jekope Dugavou (no. 86 of Valenisau). The latter is written into his mother's mataqali of Valenisau and the yavu of Biyaugunu. The association of Vunivalu name of Tokainamena and the Yavu of Biyaugunu is quite telling. A M Hocart, 1952, p. 122, notes that order of Vunivalu from the yavu of Vatulawa (Valelevu) to Biyaugunu (Valenisau) follows no regular pattern of alternation.

two yavus (Valenisau/Biyaugunu and Valebuliti/Vatulawa) that can account for THIRTEEN of the FOURTEEN legitimate Vunivalus. Moreover, these two yavus are linked by the fact that they can trace themselves back to Ratu Saurara.

This sociological truth does point to the need of a more holistic approach based on our specific contexts in the **Commission's** dealings with us.

The prima facie evidence provided by the fact that Thirteen out of Fourteen Vunivalus are agnate descendants of Ratu Saurara would have placed Ratu Epeli Vakalalabure's ascension to the title in its proper context; that is, as an exception to the rule.

Finally, it would have provided the context from which we can have a more nuanced and authentic understanding of Tomasi Mara's contention that Vunivalus come from BOTH mataqalis (Valelevu and Valenisau).

10. That the **Commission** erred in recognizing Ratu Tevita Vakalalabure as a bona fide Vunivalu (see page 3 of the Lewa). In its summing up the **Commission** observes that Ratu Tevita Vakalalabure was the 13<sup>th</sup> Vunivalu of Sovatabua. This runs contrary to our historical knowledge as well as customary practice.

Ratu Tevita was NOT installed formally by the Vanua. By this I mean that the Mai Dreketi did not install him. In fact he, with the support of his own mataqali, concocted an installation ceremony to make him the Vunivalu without the customary consent and practices of the Vanua. It was AFTER his so-called installation that the Vanua, after an NLC hearing, came together to install Ratu Lotaropate Rakuita as the 12<sup>th</sup> Vunivalu.<sup>226</sup> Needless to say that the ceremony was presided by the Mai Dreketi as dictated by custom.

The fact that Ratu Lotaropate Rakuita was, with the consent of the Vanua, installed after Ratu Tevita would, in itself, negate Ratu Tevita's installation ceremony. The fact that Mai Dreketi presided in Ratu Lotaropate Rakuita's installation and NOT in Ratu Tevita lends further credence to that fact that Ratu Tevita was never a bona fide Vunivalu.

Additionally Ratu Tevita was not a Mai Valebasaga as this position was assigned to Ratu Lotaropate Rakuita (3/299) by Ratu Tevita's own father (Ratu Epeli Vakalalabure). In light of this, Ratu Tevita's supposed installation can be nothing more than an act of usurpation that, ultimately, failed.

For the **Commission** to ignore these glaring facts, which would have been in its records, borders on the mischievous and smack of a disingenuous attempt at reinventing Natewan history.

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<sup>226</sup> The Commission itself recognized the validity of Ratu Lotaropate's installation on page 6 of the Lewa: 'Nala mataveivaqai e vakadeitaka ni o Ratu Lotaropate Rakuita e vakadeitaki koya na Mataveivaqai ni Veitarogivanua ena 1973'. This recognition would have effectively nullify Ratu Tevita's installation that took place before this!



11. That the **Commission** did not, in its judgement, address the issue and significance of the Mai Valebasaga title.

The Mai Valebasaga title is one that is recognized by BOTH mataqalis. This is a title reserved for the Vunivalu-designate and is bestowed by a sitting Vunivalu in collaboration with members of his tokatoka. The **Commission** did not address this title and its significance in the succession plan of the Vunivalu title.

**This title of Mai valebasaga, and how it is bestowed, forms and intrinsic part of my claim that the customary holder of the Vunivalu title always holds the title of Mai Valebasaga before that.**

**The fact that BOTH Ratu Epeli and Ratu Rakuita Teariki were not Mai Valebasaga suggests the unusualness of their claim pertaining to the Vunivalu title.<sup>227</sup>**

12. That the **Commission** blatantly ignores the legitimizing role of the Mai Dreketi in the making of a Vunivalu.

**It is a taken for granted fact that the Mai Dreketi installs the Vunivalu of Natewa — Nobody else.** This practice goes back into the mists of our own history. **As such, the absence of the Mai Dreketi in Ratu Rakuita Teariki's so-called installation takes away any legitimacy from Ratu Rakuita Teariki.**

The fact that the **Commission** deemed it appropriate to call for an inquiry even though it had received correspondence from Mai Dreketi deploring Ratu Rakuita's attempt to make himself the Vunivalu, in total disregard to conventions, suggests that the **Commission** may not have grasped the full significance of the Mai Dreketi's role.

13. That the **Commission** ignores the legitimacy of the Sauvou as head of the Valenisau clan as well as the customary practice of appointing one.

The head of the Valenisau clan is the Sauvou. This practice can be traced back to Ratu Duguavou who was the Mai-Valenisau at the time of Ratu Radolou (TuNatewa). The demise of Ratu Radolou spurred Ratu Duguavou in appointing a successor (Dakuwaqa) from **outside** Valenisau to be known as the Vunivalu.<sup>228</sup>

Duguavou as Mai-Valenisau changed his designation to Sauvou in that installation that made Dakuwaqa the first Vunivalu of Natewa. However the fact remains clear that only the designation changed – not the substance of what it means (head of the mataqali Valenisau)

The person who is customarily acknowledged as the Sauvou is Ratu Paula Tuilau (70/297) as he comes from the legitimate senior line of the Valenisau clan in Natewa. In fact Ratu Aisea Kaitu

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<sup>227</sup> The same can be said about Ratu Tevita Vakalalabure. It is important to note though that Ratu Epeli Vakalalabure was allowed by the Vanua to bypass the Mai Valebasaga title. This was in recognition to his own specific achievements in WWI, as a member of the British Labour Corp, and his subsequent work in the Fijian Administration, as a Buli, in the postwar period.

<sup>228</sup> See page ii of the Tukutuku Raraba.

who is deemed by the **Commission** to be the legitimate head of the mataqali Valenisau is NOT the Sauvou! How can he therefore be accepted by the **Commission** as head of mataqali Valenisau?

**Ultimately this suggests that there is a need for the Commission to reevaluate its procedures of information gathering and legitimation processes in light of our customary practices of appointing a Turaga ni Mataqali.**

14. *That the **Commission** overstepped the parameters of its good offices in unilaterally deciding on who is to be the next Vunivalu after the incumbent passes on.*<sup>229</sup>

The step that the **Commission** took in appointing the *next* Vunivalu that is to be installed after the incumbent is unheard of in the annals of chiefly disputes and settlements in Fiji. On the contrary, custom dictates that the prerogative of the making of a chief lies within the Vanua and not the state. The latter is only called in to adjudicate when there is no consensus in the Vanua as to who has the legitimate claim in any particular case. In short, the **Commission** cannot extend its ruling *beyond* the current dispute.

### **Executive Summary**

In light of the above grounds and their justifications, I hereby request the Tribunal to relook at the following:

- (a) That there was a pact that symbolized the passing of the baton of leadership from Ratu Radolou of Valenisau (TuNatewa) to Dakuwaqa the son of Ratu Saurara
- (b) That the existence of this pact falsifies the argument of the **Commission** that there was NO such pact
- (c) That as a consequence, the pact would have meant that Vunivalu title was given to Ratu Saurara's agnate descendants in BOTH the mataqali of Valelevu and Valenisau
- (d) That the claim by Ratu Rakuita Teariki is spurious in that he is not a member of Ratu Saurara's agnate descendants
- (e) That he, Ratu Rakuita Teariki, cannot be a legitimate Vunivalu based solely on the fact that his grandfather, Ratu Epli Vakalalabure, was one
- (f) That Ratu Epli Vakalalabure's tenure as Vunivalu was a 'stand-alone' event and, as such, cannot be used as a basis from which to launch a legitimate claim to the Vunivalu title

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<sup>229</sup> 'Ni oti o Ifereimi Buaserau me digitaki o koya esa cabeta na itutu ni Turaga ni Mataqali Valenisau me Vunivalu' (Lewa, p. 18).

- (g) That the Mai Dreketi installs the Vunivalu and, consequently, the absence of the Mai Dreketi in any installation renders that event null and void
- (h) That MaiYautibi CANNOT be from the TuNatewa lineage given (4) above
- (i) That the **Commission** contradicts itself by ruling that the MaiYautibi can choose a Vunivalu, with the agreement of MaiDreketi<sup>230</sup> only to retract this position later on<sup>231</sup>
- (j) That the Sauvou is the traditional head of the mataqali of Valenisau
- (k) That the tribunal make a final decision as to whether it is permissible to allow Ratu Aisea Vakalalabure to be the head of his mataqali (Valenisau) when our customary ways dictate otherwise
- (l) That the title of TuNatewa has been effectively superseded by the Vunivalu title and as such holds no relevance anymore
- (m) That the Mai-Yautibi is the traditional emissary of the Vunivalu to Kama and that he is also the emissary from the Turaga ni Mataqali of Valelevu to Mai Dreketi in the lead up to the installation of the Vunivalu of Natewa
- (n) That the Tribunal declare that the **Commission's** decision as to who is to be the next Vunivalu of Natewa as unconstitutional and runs contrary to their (**Commission**) own contention that they cannot adjudicate on who is to be the next Vunivalu as that is the prerogative of the relevant stakeholders in the Vanua of Sovatabua.

Vinaka Saka Vakalevu

Ifereimi Buaserau (Vunivalu)

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<sup>230</sup> See p. 16 of the Lewa section 1 (ii).

<sup>231</sup> See p 16 (4) and p. 17 (8 & 9) of the Lewa.

## **References**

1. Native Land Fisheries Commission (16<sup>th</sup> June 2016) *Lewa: Turaga ni Yavusa Sovatabua Ka Vunivalu e Natewa, Cakudrove*.
2. Native Land and Fisheries Commission (1928), *Tukutuku Raraba, Tikina ko Natewa, Yavusa ko Sovatabua*.
3. Hocart A. M (1952) *The Northern States of Fiji*, Great Britain: The Royal Anthropological Institute.

## 15.0 Appendix B Dr Eta Varani Norton's (Yautibi) Position Statement

### **CRITIQUE: A HISTORY OF GOVERNANCE IN THE VANUA OF NATEWA, SOVATABUA REPORT**

Dr Eta Varani-Norton

#### **PART A**

This critique is divided into two parts: Part I will critique the paper point by point as it is presented, beginning from point 3.2, *The original settling of Natewa according to the Tukutuku Raraba*. Part II is an explanation of Yautibi's identity which includes their origin and settlement around the area. At the end of Part II, is a discourse analysis of Hocart's Fieldnotes on his informants' contributions and the contradictory nature of their statements. I am hoping that the analysis will highlight the events unfolding at that time and how much of what was being expressed became part of the *Tukutuku Raraba* (TR) narrative sixteen year later. Part II will also summarise what may have transpired during this period and its consequences that resulted in the TR narrative. Towards the end are recommendations that the team may want to consider.

My comments below will include a brief outline of my personal concerns, having read this paper and, in light of your objectives to bring together members of the community, to *collectively define and confirm common understanding of the issues and acknowledge the difference and the right of individual family to maintain their own version of history*, whether it would help heal the wounds that have splintered the community for decades, or, will it exacerbate the problem. It is critical that the project should pave the way towards a spirit of reconciliation (*veisorosorovi*).

This critique will attempt to comment on major issues and there be parts of the report that will not be analysed if they have already been addressed. There may also be aspects of the report where I feel I need to highlight and elaborate if the issue needs to be linked to a previous discussion. I want to say at the outset that it would have greatly helped if the research had started with the origins of the different groups in Natewa because that framework would clarify and tease out the complexity of issues to get to the gist of the problem that has clouded Natewa for almost two centuries.

#### **General Issues**

I want to begin by expressing my disappointment with the method your team has chosen to conduct this research: questionnaire, a western construct. Your team is researching an Indigenous group that has a very different worldview from the Western worldview and the need to be cognisant of how data should be collected. Data collection should be gathered in a holistic fashion aimed at strengthening relationships between the researcher and informants with a long term aim of achieving reconciliation, sorely needed in Natewa. The more structured the interview, the less flexibility and power the research participant has in sharing his or her story. The team may become more aware as the critique of this report unfolds how important it is to interpret the findings from the cultural understanding and the worldview of Indigenous Fijians because it highlights what they valued highly in those days. One of those values, which is still emphasised today, although

much weakened, is community bonding of intra and inter relationships. Let me quote from Battiste:

A postcolonial framework cannot be constructed without Indigenous people renewing and reconstructing the principles underlying their own worldview, environment, languages, communication forms, and how these construct their humanity. In addition, the fragmenting tendencies and universalising pretensions of current technologies need to be effectively countered by renewed investment in holistic and sustainable ways of thinking, communicating, and acting together (2008: 508).

A research scholar examining any documents must hold them up to the light to scrutinise and filter every statement to seek clarity and arrive at the 'truth' even if the authority considers it 'sacrosanct'. The (*Tukutuku Raraba* is full of contradictions and text analysis would certainly help. In analysing the TR the team seems to avoid digging deep into the root of iTaukei identities, the nub of the problem in Natewa. The research did not attempt to resolve the issues of origin and why and how each group arrived at Natewa. Establishing their origin helps to discern the motivation behind the statements and the claims they make. This in my view was the first mistake made by the team. To do justice to the team's analysis, the TR narrative should have been thoroughly examined and critically scrutinised rather than accepting it as the truth. It is as if the team selectively analysed parts of the TR that seemed to agree with their views and information from respondents without an in-depth analysis of discourses and contradictions between the discourses and the TR and, more importantly, contradictions within the TR narrative to get to the 'truth'. The team is selective in the information it analyses, at times making 'oversight' on facts that could have instigated a different outcome to your findings. The method chosen was not reliable because it restricted the kind of data that could be gathered and also limited the scope of the field study. A qualitative method would have been more valid and reliable.

## Historical Background

### 3.2 *The original settling of Natewa according to the Tukutuku Raraba*

The report claimed that Qaravutu was first settled by two groups, presumably Dreketi and the unit that is now called Valenisau, before they moved (tewa) down the coast. Their move was caused by a dispute over a turtle net, so the father and his younger sons left. They settled at a spot which the group called (Na)'tewa.' I need to raise several issues.

- a. It is unusual for the father and the rest of the family to leave when it should be the other way round. The *yavutu* (old village fort/foundation) cannot be abandoned by the family, especially by the father and the rest of the family members. The *yavutu* is the **ancestral identity** of the group and the family cannot abandon it unless there is a natural calamity. When there is a quarrel, the most likely thing to happen would be for the culprit to move. Take the famous tale of the Verata race in which the youngest won the race and was given the title. He remained with the father while the rest left for other parts of Fiji. This is the first contradiction that the team should have recognised and I refer particularly to Indigenous Fijians researchers who should be better informed.

- b. The second conflictual situation is the naming of the *yavutu*. Usually when a group or tribe settles at their new abode, the new *yavutu* is named after their old *yavutu*. Why was Qaravutu name not adopted as their new *yavutu*? Is there a *yavu* in Natewa or any piece of land named Qaravutu to identify who they were and their links to the old *yavutu*. Nor is there a continuity of their identity existing in Natewa to link to Mainaqaraqara, their *vu*. The usual customary practice dictates that the name of the old *yavutu* and their god, Mainaqaraqara should also be the name of their *yavusa* and *yavu* or a piece of land respectively. In Natewa, Yautibi has the *tokatoka* name brought from Viani, and so is Udu brought from Udu, or Cikobia, the name the carpenter clan adopted for their *yavu*, before it became Valenisau. This raises the questions as to why their *yavu* was not called Valenisau in their initial settlement at Natewa but called it Cikobia, if they say they have moved from Qaravutu. Or, why not call their *yavu* Qaravutu? It also questions the Vatulawa clan and why they did not adopt their initial settlement name as their *yavu* name. Names of *yavutu*, *yavusa* and *yavu* are **footprints** of Indigenous Fijians.
- c. There is also the issue of the location of Qaravutu in relation to the location of Natewa Matua (old) which has been completely ignored in this report (see Part B).
- d. The word ‘tewa,’ as the TR witness Tomasi Mara explained, means ‘to move or shift’. In Fijian traditional practice, **naming** is an important feature of remembering, connecting to the past and/or explaining the contemporary situation (Roth, 1953). For example, Yautibi was a name adopted by an ancestor of mine after moving back to Natewa because it was his old *yavu* and *kanakana* (land to sustain him) in Viani to connect to his past and a reminder of his blood links. But naming must always **connect to land** (read Ravuvu, 1988: 6-14; Laluk, 2017) which means that the initial naming must be grounded on land. This requires not just grounding the name on land. The meaning and the context of the word must also be connected to land. When you consider the meaning of ‘tewa’ in the Qaravutu case, it is not connected to land. It only explains the act of moving (meaning) but the context is delinked from the meaning itself. The context (quarrel over the net) does not explain the action that occurred. For that reason, the meaning and the context together do not extrapolate the newly adopted name (Na)tewa (see Part B for further discussion).

### 3.3 Natewa the first political configuration

The TR named Mainaqaraqara is the *vu* (god) of the group that moved from Qaravutu and presumably a descendant of Mai Nawiri, the *Vu Kalou* (ancestral god). Yet there are no landmarks or *yavu* named after him, unlike (Mai) Nawiri which is the name of the current Yautibi graveyard (further explanation in Part B). So, I question the truth on the connection of Mainaqaraqara as a *vu* and as a descendant of Mai Nawiri. I also question the link between Vusasivo and Navaki (better known as Ai Le’utu-from the woods, *Tukutuku Raraba*: 342) because the name Ai Le’utu attests to their identify as coming from Korocau, the neighbouring *vanua* that shares a border with Natewa along the mountain on the southern end (refer to Part B for more). The Korocau were also referred to as Ai Le’utu [refer to Part B]. Moreover, if the Kama people are descendant of Mai Nawiri and their original *vu* is Cavunailoa in the TR, the Kama (Buca) *vu* has a different name, Mai Nakabakaba. This study should have examined the links in the genealogy to check the truth of claims.

Even the social divisions in the TR are already divided into *mataqali* and *tokatoka* when these changes were only introduced during the colonial days (TR: 243). One of Dreketirua's sons is Navua who later formed the *mataqali* Valenisau. There were three *mataqali* with *tokatoka* already when the area was first settled. There was no *mataqali* unit in Natewa nor in Vanua Levu as a whole. In Vanua Levu social divisions consisted only of two units: *yavusa turaga* and *batinilovo* which your report has noted. Yet the TR has recorded that *mataqali* existed in Natewa since time immemorial, a contradiction your team has failed to see. Linked to this TR claim is the existence of Valenisau as a *mataqali* which is another fallacy not picked up by the team. In Hocart's fieldnote, one of his witnesses, Draveisau, had this to say:

...no one in Valenisau before, sa qai kena tawase ma  
[that's when they divided]. Vunivalu oti eke, lako ima,  
oti ma lako mai i'e. (after Vunivalu here, it goes there,  
after that come here) (MS Papers, 2012: 3470).

This informant was explaining to Hocart, sixteen years before the first NLC inquiry on Natewa that Valenisau was only formed when the first Vunivalu was installed, not before. So when did the separation of the combined social units, that is, Vatulawa/Valelevu and Valenisau occur? I will come to this later. What social units were they before the unit *mataqali* was formed by the colonial government? Were they *batinilovo* units in 1912 or *yavusa turaga* in the making? If they were *batinilovo* units before the *mataqali* unit was formed by the colonial administration, how did they become *mataqali* units while the indigenous groups become subjected under them? Who made that decision and were the indigenous groups such as Valebuliti, Yautibi, Sovatabua and Nauruuru consulted?

I mentioned earlier that the team failed to see the contradiction between the TR social divisions which had already formed into *mataqali* well before the colonial government introduced the new unit into parts of Fiji that only had two, *yavusa turaga* and *batinilovo*.

These inconsistencies need to be questioned to ascertain the veracity of the TR narrative and to establish the truth. These inconsistencies also focuses our attention on the validity and reliability of the narrative sworn on oath by the witness, Tomasi Mara, and his 'confidante', Ratu Epeli Vakalalabure who was the Buli Natewa at that time. In fact, both were Buli, Mara during WWI while Vakalalabure was part of the regiment that went to Europe, according to my grandfather's diary (Savubuliti Diary). According to MacNaught the Buli is:

at the apex of a self-sufficient little world that provided its own rewards: style, the power of keeping peace, the dignity of presiding over eternal flow of goods and services, and perhaps the satisfaction of knowing that as long as the old *tikinas* were in evidence, Fijians [iTaukei] would be able to chance the goals of the colonial government along 'the paths of the land' and in the process, modify them to fit in with their own [Buli] goals (MacNaught, 1974:19).

As your report disclosed, they were also brothers-in-law. They both had a shared knowledge of the inner workings of the NLC machinery and the opportunities to know in advance the kind of



information to ‘filter’ down to the people, or up to the colonial office, according to their wishes. Returning to the issue of ‘batinilovo’, Wailevu (Hocart, 1952: 115), a neighbouring *vanua* in the district of Tunuloa, was still referring to their social units as *batinilovo* even after they had their NLC inquiry in 1911, one year before Hocart visited them and Natewa. Yet, Natewa, was already divided into *mataqali* and *tokatoka* 16 years before the NLC inquiry in Drekeniwai. The TR narrative given by Mara seemed to imply that the *mataqali* division has always been part of the tradition. The team failed to detect this fabrication.

I have reservation about the genealogy tree on page 8 and I will comment on that later. My comment on **Nauruuru** will come with my discussion on Yautibi in Part B.

So far I have critiqued 3.2 on the migration from Qaravutu, the claimants connection to Qaravutu and their new abode, Natewa, and their footprints do not add up. The first political configuration and the comment on how “the configuration appeared to have continued with very little changes down the years until the present day” makes me wonder how the team could arrive at that conclusion.

#### **4.0 The second migration to Natewa: the emergence of the Vunivalu**

The team has again uncritically accepted the first two paragraphs on page 11 of your report. Saurara is a title from Ra (see Cato, 1951; Hocart, 1952: 129) who later turned into a *vu* after he died. If Saurara is from Ra and the leader of the Sovatabua, the team has failed to see the contradiction here and to ask tough questions which would alert them to other conflicting claims in the TR. It makes sense that Saurara and his Sovatabua warriors were left behind by Naboutuiloma as vanguards of the Tu Natewa (Sayes, 1984; *Nai Lalakai* correspondent, A. Malani, June 13, 2013: 07, *Veivakadodonutaki*). Sayes’ reference to Sovatabua warriors left behind by Naboutuiloma occurred at the behest of the Tu Natewa seeking military aid from Verata. Sayes has independently verified this link between Sovatabua and the Tu Natewa, yet this report ignored this fact. Establishing this link will help to ascertain the settlement of Natewa and the timeline of the Tu Natewa (more details in Part II). Sayes is quite clear about this link yet your report seems to have played it down, only indicating to follow it up. The reader can now see that Saurara is a title from Ra, associated with the Sovatabua people who came to Natewa at the behest of the Tu Natewa. In the TR however, the name (Saurara) is now claimed to be from Bau. This begs more questions.

I have already discussed the origin of the Valenisau name, vis-a-vis, Mai Valenisau with more details addressed below. The claim that Dakuwaqa is the son of Saurara will be countered in Part II. Saurara came from Ra during the Tu Natewa period who is now claimed to come from Bau in 1846 and the father of Dakuwaqa. The reader should be confused by now with these colliding claims. These claims will be addressed in Part II which will also refute the claim of Taganekalou of Valenisau that they are the sole proprietor of the Dakuwaqa name. In fact, the name exists in both the informants’ clan and Yautibi today.

#### **4.1 The installation of the Vunivalu and the second political configuration**

According to Maikeli Livani's submission in October 13, 2015, the installation of the Vunivalu resides with Yautibi alone, and if 'outsiders' are involved, they must have blood relations with Yautibi. He outlined the ritual, who drinks after who and all those who participated in the rituals. He was one of the participants in the rituals of the 1973 installation. This description contradicts the TR version (refer to Dakuvula's response to the 1973 installation) (Savubuliti Diary). It is interesting to note that the Tui Vusaratu was not included in the TR ritual, yet, was included in the 1973 installation (Savubuliti Diary, 1973) because of the strong blood link with Yautibi. Instead the Tunauto (village of Dawa) is recorded in the TR as a participant in the installation. In the 1973 event, Irimaia (son of the Mai Dawa) was a participant and that is due to a more recent blood relation with Yautibi. Maikeli Livani also asserts that the Vakabutakoci, a ritual preceding the installation to privately declare the Vunivalu candidate, follows this procedure:

**NA VAKABUTAKOCI:** Veitarataravi ni Kena Gunuvi na Yaqona

- a. Mai Yautibi/Valebuliti
- b. Rabeti (Yautibi/Valebuliti)
- c. Mai Valebasaga- title bestowed to the Vatulawa title contender
- d. Rabeti (Valelevu)
- e. Tui Kama
- f. Rabeti (Kama)

This was his observation in the Vakabutakoci and installation ceremonies in 1973. So both rituals are performed by the Mai Yautibi and his *tokatoka*. Note also that even Hocart's informants at Wailevu, Tunuloa (page: 3464) recognised this ritual which is equivalent to theirs where they "hold !st yaqona privately" (ibid). These are basis for some serious questions about the TR record informants' claims, and the report's conclusions.

There are two problems in the report's paragraph 3 (p. 11) that need to be addressed. The first is the statement that Duguavou installs himself as a Sauvou. Who installs Duguavou as a Sauvou? Is it the vanua or a higher chief or Duguavou's clan? Unless the title is taken by force, someone, a clan or a form of authority must give the consent. This is not considered or questioned by the team. Indigenous people always decide or function or attend rituals as a group – everything is consensually done as a group. The installation of Duguavou must be authorised by an authority which the group has failed to discern.

Further to this fallacy, the Sauvou title was only created, as this report has noted, when "there [were] no longer any agnatic descendants" (pg. 32), an explanation also given by a senior member of the family in the 1973 NLC inquiry (Ropate Taganekalou). This also corroborates with Cannibal Jack's experience in Natewa. The Turagalevu chief had only two daughters, one of them was married to Bonaveidogo. I believe that the Sauvou position was created (this was also an explanation by Taganekalou) after the death of chief Turagalevu or Ratu Dabe in 1847. There would have been a gap of time before the Sauvou position was passed to the family next in line. The list of Sauvou shows there were two Sau before the Sauvou appeared. In the TR, the Sauvou position is implied to have existed when Natewa *vanua* was first settled. According to Cannibal Jack, Ratu Dabe was about 60 years old which gives a time frame to events that unfolded between 1842 when Cannibal Jack arrived, and 1846 when the Bau group arrived. This observation by

Cannibal Jack and Thomas Williams' records during this period help to put a time frame on important events in Natewa at this time. I will discuss this further below. The second problem are the claims made by Tomasi Mara about the role of the Mai Dreketi in the TR and his responsibilities on the ground. On p. 344 of the TR, he claims that:

1. He was asked to give a piece of land for Mai Nakabuta and his group
2. To name the new settlement of Mai Naikabuta, Vusaratu
3. To give the 'basket of tabua' (symbolic meaning) in his possession to the Vunivalu

These statements are mere self-aggrandisement because, as Hocart (1952) defines the role of the *matanivanua*, "he is the chief's very own face of the land, his private chieftain, part of himself as it were, and so drinking a cup that is counted as his cup" (p. 15). The claims above by Mara contradict Hocart's definition of what a *matanivanua*'s role constitute which has not been critically scrutinized by the report (ibid, p. 16-18). Roth's definition is useful:

... the mouthpiece of the chief, on behalf of other social unit, and he was also the repository of information on custom, not only on the local practices but... the duty of conducting the principal customary ceremonies on behalf of his chief and the social unit (1953: 60).

Land is owned by the indigenous chief who allows or offers his people to use it for sustenance (Sahlins, 1981). According to Sahlins, land 'belonged' to the *tamata dina* or the indigenous people. The rituals of the installation of the Stranger-King does not make:

the chief invested with the 'rule' or authority (*lewa*) over the land, the land itself is not conveyed to him. The soil (*qe**le*) is specifically identified with the indigenous 'owners' (*i taukei*), a bond that cannot be abrogated (Sahlins, 1985: 95).

The statement by Sahlins does not even mention the *matanivanua* as having the authority to *lewa* the land. On the second claim above, Vusaratu existed well before the Bau group arrived in 1846; Cannibal Jack recounted how he visited the village and threatened to kill their eel god. So Vusaratu was not created in 1847 as the TR claims. The original Vusaratu people are from Verata.

The third statement will be countered below. The Master of Ceremony by the *matanivanua* is not disputed here but the role is wrongly interpreted in the report. The *matanivanua* certainly has an important role in ceremonies but he attends to his duties and responsibilities on behalf of the chief and the *vanua* itself (see Hocart Fieldnotes: 3470). The team needs to read the role of the Mai Dreketi in the neighbouring *vanua* of Wailevu, Tunuloa, because there is very little difference. It is as if the research leader is in cahoot with the Mai Dreketi clan members for a reason. This is a very important role because in a situation where there are two rival parties vying for the chiefly position, the Mai Dreketi and the Mai Yautibi's independence must remain neutral at all times, constantly consulting each other. The Savubuliti diary portrayed a very close relationship between the Mai Dreketi and Mai Yautibi who were constantly consulting each other about *vanua* issues, but which has now been compromised. Take this example from my grandfather's diary he recorded after the installation of the Tui Vusaratu in 1969:

Oti oqo au sa tucake sara kau kauta vua o koya me gunu me  
mena na yaqona ka solia vua na bilo kei na dua nai vakaro

lekaleka... ka vakayacora sara na kena vosataki vakaveibuli  
ni yaqona ko koya na turaga na Mai Dreketi...

This quote clearly explains who gives the ‘cup’ of yaqona which symbolises the then authorisation for bestowing the chiefly position which is followed by a sacred speech, and then by the Mai Dreketi’s role to endorse the chiefly ritual and speech. This is no different from the installation of the Tui Korocau by the Tui Cakau who gives the sacred ‘cup’:

The cup is brought, the sacred cup which the Lord of the Reef  
gives. They begin to make the kava...” (Hocart, 1952: 97).

The current Mai Dreketi, Pita Manamanaivalu, wrote in his letter to the NLC Chairman that he installs the chief (September 09, 2016). It seems to me that the word ‘install’ has been confused with ‘title bestower’ or to ‘lewa’ which is what your report is alluding to (p.32, fn 65). There is no dispute about the installation by the Mai Yautibi and Mai Dreketi who endorses it. But the order of who actually gives the cup is the one who holds the position of authority as it is his role to ‘bulia’ which is consistent with the word ‘install’, “to formally place in an office or rank” (English Dictionary). ‘Bulia’ in the Fijian dictionary means, ‘cakava e ligana’ (Tabacakacaka iTaukei, 2014). So both ‘bulia’ and ‘vakatikora’ are consistent with ‘install’ because they are active verbs. ‘Bulia’ also involves the Mai Dreketi in the chanting of the yaqona, and as the master of ceremony he ensures the ritual is strictly observed. After the Mai Yautibi gives the sacred ‘cup’ and a consecrated speech, Mai Dreketi reinforces the message. This is called “veitabani” according to Hocart (ibid).

Manamanaivalu’s letter seems to imply that he alone makes the decision and ‘bulia’ the Vunivalu: *au sega ni cakacaka vata tale kei na dua ena vuku ni vagunuvi se buli e dua na Vunivalu e Natewa* (I do not work with anyone else regarding the giving of sacred cup or installing the Vunivalu of Natewa). In fact, according to my grandfather’s diary, in the 1973 installation ceremony the ritual of *veiqaraqaravi tanoa ko Pita na luvei Mai Dreketi* (facing the tanoa (bowl of yaqona) was Pita the son of Mai Dreketi) who should remember the role he played and his older brother who endorsed my father’s consecration speech. It is a deliberate ‘oversight’ on Manamanaivalu’s part because he has a different view of what his role should be judging by his claims in his letter. Any iTaukei who knows his customs will very quickly see the contradictions in Manamanaivalu’s statement. And it is surprising that not one in the team has questioned the claims made by Mai Dreketi which the report has endorsed. It also makes a mockery of indigenous Fijian researchers who should know their customs and culture. Or is this a feigned ignorance?

On page 13 are social divisions in Natewa since 1928 and to highlight Sovatabua as a *yavusa* and *mataqali* name. Here is another conflicting information that the team has failed to analyse. The Sovatabua name has been adopted as two very important social units, one that unites several *tokatoka* units and the other the general name that represents the whole village of Natewa. Yet, Sovatabua *mataqali* in rank is the lowest. Tradition dictates that the name of the *yavutu*, *yavusa* and the chiefly *yavu* should have the same name because they represent the chiefly position (assuming there is no change with the structure) since time immemorial. Why has Natewa adopted the Sovatabua name as a *yavusa* when it is the name of a unit of a lower social status? This will be explained in the conclusion.

Section 4 discusses issues such as the name Sovatuabua from Ra and their leader Saurara who are now both transferred as part of the Bau identity which have not been examined by the team. The notion about the second political configuration needs to be reviewed in a new light because the team fails to recognise and consider what is actually occurring on the ground, given Livani's testament and Hocart's informants from Walevu, Tunuloa. The conflicting statements by Manamanaivalu as a matanivanua should be seriously considered by the team given that his role is crucial to the stability of the *vanua* and strengthening of personal relations in Natewa.

### **5.0 Succession of chiefs of Natewa from first settlement to the present**

This part of the report is the most important because it 'clasps' together all other parts of the report. Once the timeline of the arrival of the Bau group to Natewa is correctly established the rest of the report should be corrected to align with other events. On page 5 above I raised the issue of establishing the proper timeline of the arrival of the Bau group and the creation of the Vunivalu and Sau positions as a result. This crucial period is linked to events preceding the arrival of the Bau group and/or subsequent development and their effects, not just on the interpretation on how these events panned out, but the authenticity of the *Tukutuku Raraba* should also engage the team's attention. Yet this report has failed to make a close examination on this period of about 7 years. It makes the unsubstantiated claim, that the Bau group left for Natewa during Naulivou's time. It is disappointing that the Vunivalu list given to Hocart and in the TR are not even questioned. The team seems to have just accepted the lists of Vunivalu as a 'given' and tried to fit it into the already established history to fit their interpretation.

The report claims that the Bau group probably came to Natewa during Naulivou's time, the late 1700s. According to Capell and Lester (1941), internal migration would have occurred in the 1600s. This would not be a period of strife as your report intimated because the focus of the migrants was to find a vacant land to settle. So tribal wars would only happen after a long period of settlement before they become familiar with their neighbours. I would suggest that there is normally a peaceful period before tribes declare wars against each other. The report that the Kubuna people settled in Bau in the 1760s and that the subsequent strife may have pushed a group to leave and settle in Natewa is illogical and unfounded. It makes more sense to consider that the group must have focused on establishing its power base in the neighbouring area as it happened during Banuve's time (Routledge, 1985: 42). It was during Naulivou's period that the Vunivalu power base rose to eminence through the introduction of guns, which consolidated the leadership position during Cakobau's reign. Nowhere did Routledge say that Banuve and Naulivou showed interest in Natewa. Naulivou was interested in the southern part of Vanua Levu and Taveuni, a rising seat of power and a possible threat to Bau. Natewa was outside his interest but it was of interest to Tui Cakau. So, the notion that the Bau group left for Natewa in the 1600 or early to mid-1700 is unfounded. Moreover, how can a warrior group who are usually composed of diverse origins settle in a new area unless they were left there by their leader? There is strong evidence however, that the Bau group came to Natewa in 1846 as the report has noted Waterhouse quoting Thomas Williams whose diary recorded in detail Cakobau's movement from Somosomo to Natewa and back. The report cited Derrick (1946) yet, it has failed to acknowledge his assertion that Cakobau made two trips to Natewa in 1846, during the Natewa war, and in 1847. Derrick says the reason is not clear but he suspects that in 1847 it is most probably a political move (ibid: 88). The report has failed to acknowledge Derrick's assertion but is 'wooly' about the arrival of

the Bau group in Natewa. If both Vunivalu lists are aligned to that time frame, the report will have to be readjusted to fit it. Correcting the time frame will raise questions about the Vunivalu lists and whether they have been exaggerated, and the alignment of other events in the TR to the period of each Vunivalu's reign. In fact, the team should question the authenticity of the whole TR narrative. The research team cannot avoid asking the question: what was the main witness's motivation in presenting such a narrative. The team must dig deeper to come to a satisfactory conclusion.

### 5.1 *First political Order: Chiefly title – Tu Natewa*

According to oral history passed down from our forefathers, there was a take-over, the 'bilo' was suddenly grabbed by someone sitting beside the Tu Natewa candidate (possibly Rokodolou), so he left for Viani but came back later and named his *yavu* Yautibi. It was called Valebuliti before (Adi Cakau, September, 1999 - claimed her source was Jone Setani<sup>232</sup> of Viani). There is a gap between Navua and Rokodolou. My great, great grandfather's name was Dakuvula, the one before him was Dakuvula and preceding him was Delauca and before that was Maiyaroi, which is more than 100 years if we work backwards (grandfather's diary, given to him by a Draveisau of Valenisau in 1916). There is no name by Navua in our tree but the rest of the names are, although my grandfather has included two names, Dakuwaqa and another as Navuā in his diary. Ratu Radolou or Rokodolou (Rokodulu) still exists in our family today although this has been appropriated by the Vatulawa clan and just recently by the Vakalalabure family. Also, when reading Cannibal Jack's observation on the Turagalevu chief, it is quite telling how pathetic a chief he was in terms of subjects serving under him. His daughter and son-in-law had to leave Macuata to come and look after him when his subjects could have done that, as a chief. People who prepared his food had to come from afar when usually a chief has a 'tamata ni valenikuro' (Hand of Food Bearers) living beside him to prepare his meals. *E kilai ga na turaga ni vakatamata*, is a common iTaukei saying which means, chiefs are only recognised if they have subjects. So these claims are questionable. The list of Vunivalu from Dakuwaqa to Ratu Rasiwa, as I have argued above, will only synchronise with some events in the TR.

The first seven Vunivalu analysis will be discussed later (see pgs. 12 and 28).

Section 5 argues that the aligning of the Bau migration to Natewa with timeline given in other sources such as Derrick needs serious consideration to links with the Vunivalu list and the events associated with each Vunivalu as described in the TR. There is also the problem of Rokodulu and Navua compressed into a time period as if they were the only Tu Natewa that existed. We were not asked if we had a genealogical record and although it was orally given by someone else, it was a record that one could work from to tease out other complicated issues. Further, if Yautibi claims to be the original group that settled in Natewa, then the team is looking at about the settlement of the area in the 1600s or before. That should hint that there should be more than two Tu Natewa designates.

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<sup>232</sup> Two years later I retold the story to an uncle, Jo Rokodulu. Before I could finish the first sentence, he nodded his head as if he was familiar with the story. His version was no different from Adi Cakau's story. When I questioned his source, he named Jone Setani.

## 6.0 Important notes and timelines – Analysing the Tukutuku Raraba as a historical document

### 6.1 *The Tu Natewa*

The first sentence: “The title of Tu Natewa is recorded in the Tukutuku Raraba as belonging to the *yavu* of Valenisau” needs to be scrutinised. I have already questioned the veracity of the Tukutuku Raraba. Now I want to quote Hocart (1951) regarding the statement above and the contradiction between the statement and information given by his informants: Amenatape Rabelo, Mai Dreketi, Ratu Jaoji Draveisau from Valenisau. Draveisau had this to say: ... *no one in Valenisau before, sa qai kena tawase ma* ... (refer to p.4 above). The informant is saying here that the Valenisau clan was only created in 1847 when Cakobau intervened with his warriors, who later resided in Vusaratu, (TR p. 344). If an installation is about to occur and a strange party intervenes and insist to install its own candidate instead, a friction would naturally develop. In other words, a tension developed in the first Vunivalu installation when Cakobau interfered, so my ancestors had to make a quick decision to resolve the situation and to maintain peace. Hence, the Sau position was created but they decided to alternate the two positions, Vunivalu and Sau, between the two clans. When Hocart questioned why the younger of the two candidates, Totovakaugala[la] is the Vunivalu, while the ‘elder’ became the Sau (executive position), Draveisau responded: *nodratou lewa na qase me gunu na gone, me keitou lewa na ka me ca’a* (it’s the elders’ decision to install the younger one, so we can make decision on what is to be done). Then Hocart recorded, *Baleicoqe was Vunivalu 1<sup>st</sup>* before Totovakaugala[la] (ibid: 3469). Not one of the other two informants objected to these claims. What is clear here is Baleicoqe is not Dakuwaqa as the report is trying to conflate. They are two separate people. However, in the TR Baleicoqe’s name is dropped from the list, and so is Totovakaugala[la]’s name in Hocart’s list. Instead, of Totovakaugala[la] the name Veitoyaki is given in the TR. The team will have to ask why was Baleicoqe’s name dropped in the TR and why was Totovakaugala[la] name given to Hocart yet, in the TR, Veitoyaki was recorded? What is the meaning of Totovakaugala[la] and does it describe the context? Are Hocart’s informants trying to suppress something here?

I noted that the report is again trying to conflate Ralikusuasua and Totovakaugala[la] (p. 59)) when they are separate people. This is clearly indicated by Hocart and the name is spelt Totovakaugala[la] – new addition to give meaning. The dropping of the name Baleicoqe and changing the name Totovakaugala[la] to Veitoyaki in the TR are linked and the team will have to decipher the changing and dropping of names. This mysterious unfolding of events is also linked to the name Dakuwaqa, highlighted below. The team must also be aware that the statement by Draveisau is giving the impression that they, Baleicoqe and Totovakaugala[la] come from the same descent line. They do not. One comes from the Bau group (Totovakaugala[la]) and Baleicoqe from the Cikobia clan, that is, Valenisau.

Several issues have to be closely examined here. One, there is a conflict between the analysis made by your team and Hocart’s records regarding the creation of the Sau position and therefore the name of the clan Valenisau. Two, the identity of the true Tu Natewa. And three, the timeline of the Tu Natewa discussed in Part B. If Baleicoqe was Vunivalu first before Totovakaugala[la] according to Hocart, then they are two separate people and so are Ralikusuasua and Totovakaugala[la]. Ralikusuasua is not a moniker because the name still survives in the clan today but Totovakaugala[la] is, as I have already explained. In the TR: ... *me sa buli ko Dakuwaqa, na*

*luvei Ratu Saurara me sa nodrai liuliu me sa yacana na “Vunivalu”* (p:343) (to install Dakuwaqa, the son of Ratu Saurara as their leader and give the title “Vunivalu”) is quoted. If Dakuwaqa was the son of Saurara, the supposed leader of the Bau group who only arrived in 1846 and the first Vunivalu was installed in 1847, how can one reconcile these conflicting assertions? This is like putting the horse before the cart. Saurara who has just arrived becomes the father of Dakuwaqa, a long-time resident of Valenisau. It is obvious that in order to fuse Valenisau and Vatulawa/Valelevu into the same descent line, the informants tried to obfuscate the ‘artificial genealogy tree’ but not everyone is fooled. If the statements above have little merit, is this information believable?

This is the sequence of events from 1841 to 1847: Cannibal Jack observed that the chief, Ratu Dabe, titled, Turagalevu, was between 50 and 60; his son-in-law, Bonaveidogo was the Turaganivalu (Lieutenant), an ambitious man who made a name as a fierce warrior and son of the Tui Macuata at that time. He was also the emissary of the Tui Macuata, seeking military assistance from Tui Cakau to attack his enemies particularly in Macuata. He disappeared from Natewa in the 1840s, most probably in 1846 before the Natewa War. Dakuvula and I believe that it was sometime in the late 1830s or early 40s that Bonaveidogo usurped the position of Turaganivalu (which is the role of the Sovatabua). For several reasons, he needed traditional material for prestation to the Tui Cakau if Macuata wanted military assistance. Hence, he had to be in a position of influence to be able to get traditional material for prestation. Also his position had to be in perpetuity to be able to continue with his role as an emissary at the same time attend to his elderly father-in-law. It was probably important that he maintained the position of privilege he used to enjoy before he came to Natewa. So, he used his father-in-law as a puppet chief so he could store traditional raw materials for prestation eg. tapa at his residence.

If Turagalevu was 60, he is most likely to be Dakuwaqa who died in 1847. It was important for the ‘constructors’ of the TR narrative to include him to give some explanation as to why there was a change in the creation of dual chiefship. This change in the TR record did not include the presence of Bonaveidogo and its outcome. Both Hocart’s informants and the ‘constructors’ of the 1928 TR were not able to conceal the gaps in the information they gave to both Hocart and the NLC inquiry. Hocart’s informants did not explain why there was a dual chiefship was created but only to say that it was the decision of the elders. Why was dual chiefship created? If Baleicoqe was installed in 1847 after the death of Dakuwaqa and the sudden arrival of Cakobau with his warriors just before Baleicoqe was installed, it makes sense that there would be tensions between the two opposing parties, particularly if the candidate from the Bau group who was hoping to be installed missed out. Even the information about the arrival of the Bau group was not mentioned by Hocart’s informants. They suppressed it but by mentioning Totovakaugala[la’s] name, Draveisau was trying to hint at something which Hocart failed to decipher. This tension can also be explained by the name of Rasiwatibau. Names in Fijian tradition must have meanings and it also gives the context of why/how the name was created. Both names appeared just after the presiding Vunivalu who are both from Valenisau. ‘Toto’, in Natewan dialect means annoyed or upset, ‘vakaugalala’ means belligerent or uncooperative. Siwatibau means ‘to bait Bau. So why was Totovakaugala[la] dropped in the TR Vunivalu list and recorded Veitoyaki instead? Can this behaviour also explain why there were more Vunivalu from the Valelevu clan after Rasiwatibau?



The Vunivalu lists (Hocart and TR) It also begs the question of how Natewa can have 7 Vunivalu (Hocart's list) between Baleicoqe and Tila within 13 years. In Bau there were only 3 Vunivalu between 1760s and 1829 (about 60 years). What explanation can be given on the difference between Bau and Natewa and the number of Vunivalu in the time given. There was no epidemic and, although guns were around, tribal wars escalated but it did not have much impact on the population. If the position is supposed to alternate between the two parties, and the elders reneged on their decision, what would have caused this? These are serious questions that the team should have posed to get to the nub of the problem. The following quote from my grandfather's diary would enlighten the reader. In 1926 he took leave from work and went to Natewa and in a conversation with some men he queried as to why Ratu Epeli Vakalalabure was installed as a Vunivalu in 1925. A man by the name of Ratu Golea, from Valelevu responded:

...ena yalo ka vosataka vakacudru mai ka kaya, "ni ko tamamu ga e a vakagunuvi koya"...(with a hostile tone he replied, 'it is your father who let him drink the cup'...)

This quote illustrates that the respect for the initial decision by the elders when the first Vunivalu was installed to alternate the positions (Vunivalu and Sau, see pgs. 9 and 10) continues to be disregarded and disrespected by the Vatulawa/Valelevu group today with little consideration about the impact of the dispute on the already vulnerable community. Almost 100 years later since the above quote, that attitude has not changed nor have they deduced that to 'alternate' the position is probably the only way to build harmonious relations, critical for the social health of the village. Healthy community relation is the woof and weft of any indigenous community. The information on the discrepancy between the number of Vunivalu in Bau and Natewa was not raised and examined by your team as an important piece of evidence to your analysis.

Section 6 raised the title of Tu Natewa as belonging to Valenisau which will be explained in Part II. I noted however, that the team for some unexplained reason is trying to conflate Baleicoqe and Veitoyaki (9.4.1 pg. 58) at one point and at another Ralikusuasua and Totovakaugala[la] (9.4.2 pg. 59) Hocart's list is quite distinct about these individuals and conflating the names seems to be an attempt to suppress the context. The fusion of social units from different origins into one descent line is accepted uncritically by the team and failed to 'tease' out how the combination is possible when Sayes (1982) has claimed that the composition of any *vanua* is made up of different groups of people who settled at different times.

Because I have questioned the list of the Vunivalu, its timeline and authenticity, while at the same time raising some serious questions, this critique will now continue its analysis from page 24 (7.0) of the report.

## **7.0 The issue surrounding the dispute concerning the Vunivalu title**

### **7.1 *The opinion of the mataqali Valenisau***

I have already discussed the issue of alternating the Vunivalu position. Ratu Epeli Vakalalabure was not only a bonafide member of the Valenisau mataqali, he also has maternal links to Vatulawa/Valelevu. According to my grandfather's diary, his mother is from Tukavesi, Iva whose mother is Ulamila, a woman from Valelevu/Vatulawa. That was one reason he was installed as a Vunivalu. In the 1970s I asked my grandfather how Vakalalabure was installed as the Vunivalu and he responded, 'baleta o 'ea e vasu i Vatulawa' (he has maternal links to Vatulawa). I found it

surprising that both disputants Rakuita and the research leader of the team, including his brother, the Vunivalu, did not bring up this link in 2016 when the question was posed by the Appeals Tribunal arbitrator whether there is any blood link between the two families. Both parties kept stressing their link to Dakuwaqa, the supposed descendant of the Tu Natewa.

### *7.2 Opinion from mataqali Valelevu*

This has already been discussed above. The claim by the Valenisau members appears to be valid given Hocart's information from Draveisau. I might add that the other two informants, the Mai Dreketi and the then Vunivalu, Ratu Amenatape Rabelo did not object to his claims. There was another informant whose name is not clearly written and mainly quiet. It is interesting to note that this report presents evidence from various sources indicating that the position alternates, yet, the report makes a very weak argument that Valelevu has the right to 'hog' the position on the basis of their high number in the list (read pgs 17-23).

### *7.3 Claims from Yautibi*

See p. 6 regarding Maikeli's observation in 1973 before the installation of the Maivalebasaga as the Vunivalu. The leading researcher has neglected, regarding fn 45, to mention that the last Vakabutakoci Yautibi performed was to Ratu Gasagasa in 2005/6. With regard to the direct line of the Tu Natewa, see quotes in Dakuvula's response to the report and comments from grandfather's informants (Savubuliti Diary). **The research leader should also remember during the 2016 iTLFC inquiry, the Commissioner raised the question whether there was anyone in the audience who knew the descendants of the Tu Natewa. The Tui Vusasivo and the Tui Kama raised their hands. When the Tui Vusasivo pointed at Mr. Dakuvula as the direct descendant, he informed the Commissioner that his father and grandfather told him** (see also Colchester, 2001). Can the research team explain the discrepancy in the TR and the 2016 claims by the witnesses?

Ratu Sukuna was the Acting Chairman, NLC Commissioner in December, 1927 to 30 August , 1928, 1930 and 1931 (Scarr, 1983). So he was in a position to know the history of the *vanua* in question. Also my grandfather and Ratu Sukuna have a somewhat close relationship – my grandfather mentioned in his diary that he (Ratu Meli) left the Natewa church fund with Ratu Sukuna for safekeeping when Ratu Sukuna was the Acting NLC Commissioner.

For information on our origin, see Part II of the report. The Viani link is clear. Whether your informants from Viani do not know where we came from is immaterial. In the 1990s a man from Vusaratu, Te Loa, unsolicited, told me that we were the descendants of the Tu Natewa. He is the son of Jone Setani of Viani, the same source named by Adi Cakau (see p.11). All my siblings and cousins have beautiful memories of our experiences in Vunitavotavo, a land leased by my grandfather since the 1930s, close to Viani, because of this strong blood link. My grandfather's diaries are full of our collective experience in Vunitavotavo/Viani. The lease has not been renewed but the relationship is still strong. We have never claimed to originate from Viani. The people of Navatu came from Verata (which includes Viani) to provide service to the Tu Natewa (Hocart, 1952) who was already in existence by then. This information confirms that an ancestor of ours did go to Viani as we have always claimed.

The identity of the Vatulawa/Valelevu group will be discussed below (see p. 25, 9.1). The sentence (last line, pg25/26) however has been wrongly interpreted: the sub-clan of Valelevu, better known as Vatulawa, are from the *vanua* o Bau, not from Bau island itself. The group of warriors of Nakorotubu in Ra, called the Sovatabua clan (because that is their name and identity), took their name to Natewa and settled there. This simply means that the group from Bau has appropriated the Sovatabua name, and claimed Saurara's name, the Sovatabua leader, vis-à-vis god, as theirs (see Hocart Fieldnotes: 3473). Why have they done this? Don't they have a traditional identity of their own? What was their motive? What were they hoping to achieve by claiming the identity of another clan when that group became extinct?

#### 7.4 *The judgement of the iTLFC*

I have stressed the importance of scholarship in any research project irrespective of what the funding body or any form of authority believes in. That this team was encouraged to conduct this research by the iTLFC points to the fact that there are underlying problems with the TR narratives, thus the increase in disputes and counter claims. Yet this report seems to uncritically agree with the TR narrative of Natewa. I believe that the NLC team is aware of the claims against the TR narratives by various *vanua* that are constantly in strife over chiefly positions or land ownership. Park (2014), for example, was approached by the NLC Commissioner in the 1990s to conduct research in the Nadi area because its oral history and the TR narrative were in conflict. Toren (1999) and Young (2001) have conducted similar research and questioned the authenticity of the TR of the *vanua* they studied. I have already quoted Hocart regarding the alternation of the Vunivalu and Sau positions, *lako ima, oti ma lako mai i'e*. There is no dispute about that. But the suggestion to have certain criteria for the selection of a Vunivalu based on the 'common practice' is baseless and unsubstantiated. For example, the previous Vunivalu, Ratu Amenatape Rabelo had Ratu Ilisoni to deputise his decisions to others, yet he was not even considered in the selection. Traditionally, it is often the understanding that the incumbent is next in line to the Vunivalu position and most trusted by the chief. Yet, this tradition was overlooked. After all the villagers know him as 'second in command,' living in the village and an active participant in *vanua* functions. All these would have put him in good stead, but they were overlooked.

The report mentions the Va'ataulala in Cakaudrove is no different from the Vakabutakoci (pg. 25) in the report, like the Vakamasikacutaka (Hocart, 1952: 117) in Wailevu, Tunuloa. They are all precedents that 'appoint someone in an acting role' before the candidate is installed. The last Vakabutakoci in 2005/2006 performed by Yautibi on Ratu Gasagasa who died before he could be installed. Agnatic seniority cannot be gauged in any of the two mataqali, Valenisau or Valelevu because they do not share the same descent line. This will be explained later. But what can work is the traditional process of self-reflexivity, as described by my father. When the most likely candidate for the chiefly position recognises that he may have shortcomings and thinks a younger or another person is more suitable, he would say to the clan, 'sa to'a mada ga i bure o 'a... baleta niu tamata malumalumu'. In other words, they assess themselves on their merit. Whether this reflexivity is expected to work amongst the Vunivalu aspirants is another question. With all the available evidence on the traditional role of Yautibi, the team asserts that we are a *tokatoka* of no significance.

The current village site of Natewa was first occupied by the following groups: Valenisau on the side facing the sea, Valebuliti facing the east (sun rise), Yautibi facing the mountains (school), and facing the west (Vusaratu) is Sovatabua. Meanwhile Dreketi and Vatulawa remained at Nasoga because the village green was packed until the Sovatabua clan died out. Then the Vatulawa clan moved in and occupied the side that has now been settled by the current Sovatabua members who replaced the extinct Sovatabua clan. Dreketi then moved in to occupy half of Yautibi side and a space on the Valensau side. Because Dreketi and Vatulawa moved in after everyone, they had to make do with the little space left, squeezed from all sides. So what happened to the Valebuliti side that is now occupied by the Vakalalabure family? This will be explained below.

The notion of ‘alternating’ the Vunivalu position between Vatulawa/Valelevu clans are very clear from Hocart’s informants which has not changed since. What is changing is how both clans now dispute the Vunivalu title every time it became vacant, paying little respect to the initial decision made by my ancestors. The team also failed to see the ‘conflict of interest’ in the role of the Mai Valenisau who is also entitled to the Vunivalu title. Because both parties do not respect the decision made by the Yautibi clan as the Title Bestower, they are now trying to downplay Yautibi’s role especially when this report is insisting that the TR record is right.

## **PART B**

### **8.1.2 *On the right genealogical line***

This issue of the Vunivalu contender, the Vakabutakoci ritual before the actual installation and who bestows the cup have been covered (see pg. 5,6,10 and 17). The team also needs to consider the list of Vunivalu and Sau that was given to Hocart. The Sau ideally should take over after a Vunivalu dies which means it alternates and as I have argued before, one reason why my ancestors reneged in their decision was due to the behaviour of the Vatulawa/Valelevu candidates. It stands to reason why there were more Vunivalu installed from Vatulawa/Valelevu side. The third suggestion, endorsement of the *Vanua* can never be achieved because the *vanua* is already divided. They cannot agree on a candidate if it is already splintered? However, it makes more sense to follow a path of reconciliation to heal and reconnect, before people can see beyond their prejudices and biased loyalty.

### **8.1.3 *On the Tu Natewa***

Since the report has conjectured about the arrival of the Bau group, their settlement, and every subsequent events, the timeline needs to be reviewed. One example is the report declaring that there were only two Tu Natewa before the Vunivalu took over without substantiating this piece of information. The team could have asked for a family tree or look for original settlement or family oral history etc. to validate their interpretation (see Part II). But this was not done. If the historical existence of the Tu Natewa has not been challenged as the report indicated, this can mean several things. That we are still performing our role such as the Vakabutakoci ritual and the installation ceremony. Secondly, the rank and file know and recognise that we are the descendants of the Tu Natewa but are quiet about it because like many iTaukei, and for many reasons, they do not want to express their views to avoid ‘upsetting the cart,’ too fearful they may say something that is not mainstream. It is also the question of method and power relation in exchanging

information, a reason why it is important to employ indigenous method. This will be further discussed at in the conclusion. The report claims that the Tu Natewa and the original people of the place, headed by Mai Nabare is again unsubstantiated. Who are the 'original people' is the interesting question that needs to be answered. Although the report noted Rarakula's interview script, it did not elaborate on the subject of discussion.

The informant Rarakula (p. 33) has not given an explanation as to why or how there are two different parties, one appointing the other and where did the Tu Natewa group come from? I have already questioned the origins of Valenisau (pg. 2,3) The idea that they are the Tu Natewa people migrating from Verata will be disputed later (see 9.1, pgs. 25 and 26). Where is the evidence that Mai Nabare headed the group and again it is not supported. The migrant group should be headed by the Ancestral *Vu* like Mai Nawiri. You will find that all TR narratives name their ancestral *vu* as the first information they declare. Other gods like Mai Nabare are secondary. Hocart referred to Mainabare as a god of Natewa, the same god shared with the Cakaudrove people but with a different name. According to Hocart, Mai Nabare is the name in Natewa but Mainatavasara in Cakaudrove (Wame of Korocau, 1987, Talanoa session). One god, different names. Mai Nabare is not from Nakauvadra and therefore he is an indigenous god, and also a god of war. If he is the god of war, he should descend from the *Vu Kalou* which the research team should have clarified from the start. Is there a relationship here with Cakaudrove and what does this connection mean traditionally? On the other hand, the migrant god Hocart referred to is Saurara. The team should ask why Hocart's informants are conflating the two gods. In other words, what is their motive in conflating an indigenous and an immigrant god when they are two different gods?

Returning to page 32, the issue of Bi ni Vonu, fn 63 on titular rights and fn 65 on the Mai Dreketi interview are elaborated below. The team will find that once the Vunivalu list is adjusted as suggested earlier, it will have to conclude that the 'bi ni vonu' existed for the Tu Natewa (Read Part II). On a different issue, I have explained on 7.1 page 13 that Epeli Vakalalabure is an example of a *vasu* right to the titular head and therefore it is possible to have a *vasu* entitlement to the Vunivalu position. It is interesting to note that there is no acknowledgement of the Vatulawa/Valelevu families and the Vakalalabure family link in this report. Both families have names that exist on both sides and a good example is Rakuita, yet that is suppressed. A comment on the Mai Dreketi interview; it seems to contradict his statement in his letter and his earlier utterances. If 'keitou' (we) implies that Dreketi alone deals with the installation, this has been challenged elsewhere (pgs 7-9).

#### **8.1.4** *On the installation process*

The TR was not available until recently. Before its availability, most customary practices in Natewa, such as the installation of the Vunivalu and other rituals, continued to be observed unchallenged until now. Many were not aware of the contents of the narrative until it became available to ordinary folks quite recently. I have given evidence to substantiate the role of Yautibi and its significance in maintaining its neutrality to ensure a harmonious well-connected and vibrant community is maintained, which is not the case today in Natewa. I have also retold oral history passed down by my grandfather (also in his diary) and father on how the Tu Natewa was 'pushed aside.' My ancestors worked with this change for the sake of maintaining peace in the vanua. The installation of the first Vunivalu (Baleicoqe), was challenged by the new immigrant

group, Vatulawa, who are now Valelevu. My forefathers created a new position, Sau, so that both positions alternate when the Vunivalu positions became vacant. This is another way of compromising for the sake of maintaining peace.

The team uses the word ‘presides’ in their deliberation over the role of the Mai Dreketi in the Vunivalu installation. The report, without explaining how the team arrived at its conclusion, should study the general pattern of the role of the *matanivanua* in the surrounding *vanua* such as Tunuloa, or Cakaudrove *Vanua* or -Wai to gauge if there is any difference. Dakuvula’s response to this report should have my grandfather’s record on the 1973 installation and the order of yaqona ritual which is confirmed by Maikeli Livani and the installation of the Tui Vusaratu (Savubuliti Diary).

The emissary role of Yautibi needs clarification using an autoethnographic experience. When my parents were teaching at Tukavesi in the 1970s, an old lady, Boila, was pointed out by my father as a survivor of the Yautibi clan but she was ‘kawa ga ni yalewa’ (descendant of the matrilineal line). That was when I learnt for the first time that we were the Valebuliti clan. There are other Yautibi matrilineal descendants living in Tukavesi, Waimacamaca (Tunuloa) and possibly in Loa. So there was a unit called Yautibi, whose patrilineal descendant died out since the 1919 epidemic. When I questioned my father how we had become Yautibi, he explained that an epidemic wiped many out with only two Valebuliti ancestors remaining. This is confirmed by my grandfather when recording in his diary his father’s advice for not observing Sundays:

...keirau qai vo ga na 2, koi au kei na tamamu  
lailai, Aminiasi Kato, na talatala vakacegu.  
Keirau qai bula ga ena lotu.  
(there were only two of us left, I and your younger  
father (uncle), Aminiasi Kato, the retired minister.  
We were saved by the *lotu*).

So there was a Yautibi clan who were the *katuba* (door) to the Tu Natewa. But the important question to raise is, since we claim to be the Valebuliti clan (read Part II), why did we not retain the name but changed it to Yautibi, especially when the name and *yavu* are important identities to the iTaukei? <sup>233</sup> By the time my father became registered in the VKB after the 1928 NLC hearing, Valebuliti was no longer existing as our *tokatoka*. He was registered as a Yautibi member. Indigenous Fijians cannot just change their identity without a fight, unless there is a very good reason. Although my great grandfather was still alive, his *tokatoka* name had now been claimed by the Vatulawa/Vunivalu unit. The *tokatoka* name is in the TR but the ownership has changed.

Valebuliti unit was not given to Hocart in 1912 as social division (Hocart, 1952: 121) although Yautibi was in the list (see pg. 44). A close study of the social organisation of Natewa given to Hocart (ibid), recorded several contradictions which later became the TR narrative. The first

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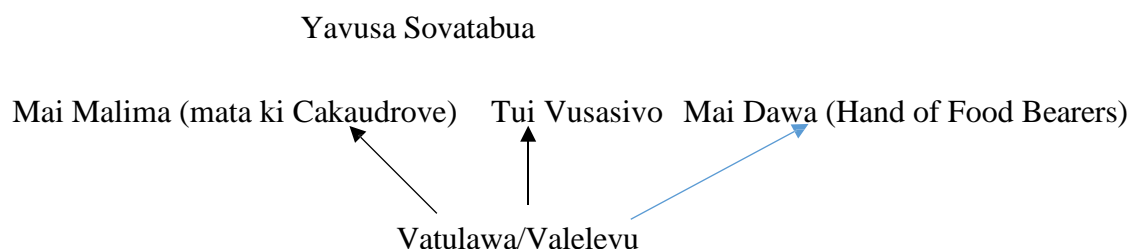
<sup>233</sup> My father related to me when he was 12 year old, they were living on a *yavu* called Solevu (the Valebuliti side of the green (facing the sun) when they were moved to the *yavu* called Yautibi. That was about 1930 when my great grandfather was still alive. My father did not get registered in the VKB until after the 1928 NLC inquiry as a Yautibi member. If the Valebuliti members were still alive, registered as Yautibi members in 1930, were they told about the change?

division in Hocart's list was Valenisau, second, Valelevu when traditionally one should expect Valelevu as first before Valenisau. Of the six, the last in the list was Yautibi even though the unit is considered a pedigree. Valenisau appears first to stress that the clan is eldest in the line. The second contradiction, Valebuliti is not in the list although they refer to the name with reference to other matters such as 'envoy to Koroloaloa' (Hocart Fieldnote: 3473). *Nauruuru are Yautibi men* (Hocart, *ibid*: 121), yet, in the TR, Nauruuru is now part of Sovatabua *mataqali*. These contradictions will be explored further in Part II.

Another interesting issue is how Valebuliti is obscured in Hocart's list. Yet 16 years later, it appeared in the TR, claimed by the Valelevu/Vatulawa clan. According to the TR, the first occupants of Valebuliti *yavu* at Nasoga were Saurara and his wife Adi Raura.<sup>234</sup> Hocart's information and what appears in the TR should have been closely examined by the team to assess the credibility and validity of the TR narrative.

The location of the original Valebuliti *yavutu* and *yavu* can be validated by the maps (NLC 248, 84.5793; 252, 250.5803), opposite direction from Nasoga which was mentioned in the TR. Yautibi still occupies that land today. With the shifting of Valebuliti unit members to amalgamate with Yautibi, my ancestors have now been relegated to a lower position. In that position they played dual roles for both units in their attempt to keep the peace and solidity of the *vanua*. The more important question is, what was behind this change of *yavu* ownership by Vatulawa/Valelevu and who was behind it? What was their motive? Were my forefathers consulted and requested to forego their true identity? These are questions the team needs to answer.

On page 36, your report claims that for any important decision, the *tokatoka* of Vatulawa/Valelevu will inform Mai Malima, the head of *mataqali* Sovatabua, the Tui Vusasivo, and Mai Dawa. This is quite an unusual topsy-turvy arrangement. It is something like this:



The chiefly clan takes messages to those who provide them with traditional services (see pg. 42 regarding chiefs and sending of messages). This is unusual. On the same page of the report, Tui Kama, upon receiving the message, "would relay it to the Yavusa of Navaki [in Tukavesi], lower in rank, through Mai Dromuninuku" which is Tui Kama's traditional channel. The above diagram of Vatulawa/Valelevu is the reverse. Is there an explanation for this? Further, a claim by the Tui Dawato that the 'word' comes directly from the Vunivalu designate to him. On the next page Tui

<sup>234</sup> The old *yavutu* of the Vatulawa/Valelevu is in Nasoga. This clan did not move to the current village site round about the late 1920s, at about the same time the Valebuliti clan were moved to occupy the Yautibi *yavu*.

Dawato also claims that his *mata ni katuba* to Natewa village is Vatulawa. The Mai Dreketi is the *mata ni katuba* for Koroalau and Navatu (Hocart, 1952: 123). *Mata ni katuba* means they are the ‘door’ to the chief. They wait at the ‘door’ until the chief is ready to meet them. I am pointing out the remnants of customary practices that may not be clear to informants in the team’s study. Therefore:

1. The tumultuous period when ‘outsiders’ established themselves through treachery, force or coercion has left roles unattended and so the Vatulawa/Valelevu clan had little choice but to attend to them. Or perhaps it had always been their role when they were still a *batinilovo* social unit, before the unit *mataqali* was introduced by the colonial administration.
2. The ‘door’ is being misinterpreted such as the ‘katuba’ to the chief which means they take the group to the chief proper, if there was a different chief before the current one. This probably means that over time people still know their ‘katuba’ but is not quite interpreted that way by the incumbent because of the changing social structure of the iTaukei since people started to congregate at certain spot.
3. Informants may partially know the traditional roles of their *tokatoka*, (depending on their age) and therefore the likelihood of getting everything correct can be unreliable. It will be interesting to know the process of recruiting informants and interviewers; how many women are informants in this study because they do know a lot about history. It is also crucial to engage women as interviewers.
4. Informants come across as ‘grabbing’ an opportunity to jostle for positions with very little interest in mending and melding the community together.

A more curious phenomenon is the name of the *mataqali* Sovatabua which is also the name of the *yavusa* (biggest social unit). On pages 8, 9, 12 and 13 of the report, the tree shows Sovatabua as the younger brother of Navua who was later relegated to a lower position, now a *mataki* (envoy to Cakaudrove)<sup>235</sup>. Yet, the name Sovatabua is now adopted as the name of the *yavusa*. Traditionally, names represent identities such as *yavutu*, *yavusa*, *yavu* (or *mataqali*) because they are the footprints for the newly settled group. For example, the mataisau (traditional carpenter) and gonedau (traditional fishermen) clans named their *yavu* from where they came from: Cikobia and Udu respectively. Both these units are jostling for the Vunivalu position although their *yavu* names say otherwise. In other words, their *yavu* name should indicate their chiefly position from whence they came which is not the case here. Sovatabua, however, was occupied by the ‘true’ Sovatabua people of Ra until they died out. Their replacement is now occupying the *yavu* Malima. In the TR, Sovatabua is ranked lower yet the name is adopted as a chiefly identity. There is a contradiction between the minor clan name, Sovatabua and the usual traditional practice of adopting chiefly name as a *yavusa* name. For example, Valenisau and Vatulawa were not adopted as *yavutu* name since they claim to be chiefs. Vatulawa was not adopted as the name of the *yavusa* or *yavu* nor did Valenisau name their *yavutu*, *yavusa*, (*mataqali*) and *yavu* after them since they claim to be chiefly families or original settlers. In other words, the name Valenisau cannot be traced back to their original *yavutu* for unexplained reasons. Adopting Sovatabua as a *yavusa*

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<sup>235</sup> The ‘true’ Sovatabua clan probably played many roles. A major one would be *bati* (warriors) and other roles which is now reduced to *mataki* or *mata ki Cakaudrove*.



name goes against the grain of tradition. This unusual development will be further discussed in Part II.

#### 8.1.7 *On the roles of the Turaga na Mai Dreketi*

This critique has already commented on these roles. A comment about the Mai Nukumasia<sup>236</sup>, is relevant, the indigenous *matanivanua* who were replaced by the current *matanivanua* (Hocart, 1952: 24; Fieldnote: 3473). I have already discussed the meaning of ‘install’ which seems to be misinterpreted here by Vatulawa/Valelevu, Valenisau and Dreketi. The current Mai Dreketi came with the Navatu people, according to oral history (Ratu Nemani Bukayaro, 1980s), a later migratory group to consolidate the Veratan power base and give aid and services to the Tu Natewa. There is also a Dreketi *matanivanua* in Wailevu (Tunulua) and they communicate as envoys for their chiefs. So the notion that the Nukumasia *tokatoka* ‘rabe’ the Vunivalu’s cup is illogical if there is an official Mai Dreketi, he ‘rabe’ the cup as the usual practice<sup>237</sup> whether he is from Nukumasia or another *tokatoka*. The installation of the Vunivalu has already been addressed (see p.7-9). A note about fn 93. Yautibi did not agree to install Rakuita Vakalalabure because he has a tainted past and learning that, the Vakalalabure family decided to approach Mai Dreketi to ‘install’ him. This a repeat of what his father, Tevita Vakalalabure, did in 1973 when he realised that he was not supported by the Mai Yautibi, he appointed Paula Tuilau, the Sauvou to ‘install’ him. Approaching the Mai Dreketi does not mean that he has the authority to ‘designate’ such titles. A more important observation I make here is how both the Vakalalabure and Vatulawa/Valelevu families **use weak people to support them either through coercion or to ingratiate them to support them**. The team should be aware of this aspect.

#### 8.1.8 *On the role of the Mai Malima*<sup>238</sup>

There is a contradiction here that the team has failed to decipher. I have already addressed and identified the ‘true’ Sovatabua people and their leader Saurara whose identity has been appropriated by the Bau group after Sovatabua proper died out. Hocart recorded that by 1912 there was only one Sovatabua person left, so the number would have been much more when the Bau group arrived in 1846. If the role of the original Sovatabua people as warriors was forcefully taken, would a close relationship develop?

The Bau group appropriated their identity and changed the *yavusa* name to Sovatabua as a way of colonising Natewa. Unfortunately, whether intentional or unintentional, the TR recorded Sovatabua as a *mataqali*, separated itself from Vatulawa/Valelevu, which created a topsy-turvy relationship as a result.

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<sup>236</sup> The Mai Nukumasia people were thought to have died out so the forefathers of the current Mai Dreketi took over. It was only in early 1990s that the remnants of the Mai Nukumasia came to traditionally present themselves in Natewa. An ancestor of theirs went to Navulua to train as a catechist, most probably during the late 1800s, then went to Ra and his descendants have remained there since, according to my father.

<sup>237</sup> Dreketi today is made up of people from Korocau who were left behind during the colonial days when others were asked to go back to their original village/settlement because it was believed then that the current Mai Dreketi clan may die out, told by my father (read Part II).

<sup>238</sup> The Malima replaced the extinct Sovatabua group (Hocart Fieldnotes: 3473)

Section 8 raises several issues about the Tu Natewa position. The number of Tu Natewa has not been substantiated. It is as if the first settlers of Natewa and their chief were not long present before the Vunivalu position was created. Their origin and the claim by Yautibi to the title of Tu Natewa is contradicted by the Valenisau claim which is recorded in the TR. Then there is Mai Nabare the indigenous god who is claimed to be the leader of the indigenous people of Natewa instead of their Vu Kalou, Mai Nawiri. This contradicts general tradition in which the Vu Kalou is the 'root' according to Hocart (1952). The immigrant god Saurara, is not only appropriated together with the Sovatabua identity by the Vatulawa/Valelevu unit, but Saurara is now conflated with Mai Nabare for some mysterious reasons.

A problem with the analysis in this report is the compression of time or making conclusion without considering the context. For example, if there were only two Tu Natewa, how is this explained if there were already settled areas like the Korocau people who had close relations with the Natewa people. How did the Korocau people moved down from the other side of the mountain range to live in Natewa. Is there a traditional relation here? Why and how do they have the same war god? (see Sayes, 1982) Would the Tu Natewa and the Korocau people come together? These are questions the team should be asking because it helps to give a time frame. Did they come in the 1600s or before that? The *bi-ni-vonu* is another example. Before the Bau group arrived, who owned that Bi-ni-vonu? If the team looked at the *yavutu* of Natewa Sawana, who lived there and the social roles their play? Would the *bi-ni-vonu* have an association with the people of Natewa Sawana? Who were they and what service were they providing and to what chief? Finally, the emissary role of the Yautibi came about because of epidemics that killed many. The fusion and fission of clans due to population decline brought changes to the roles. The change also instigated other decisions that worked to the advantage of certain groups who were mainly 'late arrivals' and ambitious. This will be explained in the conclusion.

## 9.0 Issues and Items for further discussions

### 9.1 Disputes of Origin

I mentioned above that residents of Natewa do not share a descent line because we come from different origins. Let me begin with Valenisau. This *mataqali* is made up of 3 groups who come from different places and arrived at Natewa at different times. The first group came from Cikobia as *mataisau*, traditional carpenters. They named their *yavu* Cikobia and changed it to Valenisau in 1973 during the Vunivalu dispute. There was internal jostling within the *mataqali* and as a result the clan changed their *yavu* name to Valenisau probably based on the fact that they have the right to the name because their forbears first occupied the Vunivalu position. They did their cutting and carving at a creek in Nasoga, called (Na)vesitatoga<sup>239</sup> (see map NLC 248.209) 'Vesi' is a native timber which is good for carving canoes etc, 'ta' means to cut and 'toga' is where they came from originally. On the same map is a piece of land above Vusaratu called 'lali(na)toga, lali means wooden gong and 'toga' is their origin. They were brought to be the traditional carpenters of the Tu Natewa. It is also this group that has blood links to Yautibi, adopting many of the names that exist in both clans today. This group are descendants of the Turagalevu line and their first settlement was at Natewa Sawana.

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<sup>239</sup> This creek is close to Nasoga. It is now dry but as a kid, village children used to swim there with Tu Peni and Qio's ducks, the two Chinese men who owned a store close by.

The second group came from Udu and they have a *yavu* in Nagasauva of the same name (Dralimaki, S. quoting the late Tui Udu, Tu Waqa of Nagasauva, 2011). They were brought to be the *gonedau* (traditional fishermen) of the Tu Natewa. My grandfather remembered when he was a young boy seeing nets hung up to be dried in the vicinity of Udu *yavu*.

The rest of the Valenisau clan came to Natewa during the colonial days. They mainly came from the village of Loa. In 1843, Tuikilakila came across to Vanua Levu to attack the tribal garrison of Natewa Matua, Buca and Loa (read Part II), defeated both garrisons and left behind his 'se ni valu' (remnants of tribal warriors) as vanguards (Henderson, 1931). The 'se ni valu' were made up of Tongans, Futunans, Samoans, and people of Korocau, Tunulua and Taveuni, left behind in the two villages (Colchester, 2000). Those who left later for Natewa are Tongans, Futunans and possibly Samoans.

The Valelevu/Vatulawa group came from Burenitu, Dravo, Levuka, Maumi, Mokani, Namara, Namata and Ovea (*Na Mata*, 1891: 6). If these warriors came from eight different villages, it disputes the claim that they are a homogenous group coming from one location and pushed out due to an instability in Bau.

For the origins of Yautibi, read Part II. A question we Yautibi *tokatoka* have often raised is, why haven't the ancestors of Valenisau, Vatulawa/Valelevu and Mai Dreketi clans passed down their oral history when our ancestors have always told us who we were and where we came from. These groups have remained ignorant about their history as your report has found out. Their ancestors have remained quiet leaving their descendants wondering how and why they came to Natewa to settle. Is it because they are 'late arrivals' and prefer to bury their past? Or, do their status matter much that their true identity should stay suppressed?

On page 43, your report mentions the *vanua* of Tunulua is represented by the Masivou of Qaravutu which needs to be corrected. The power base of Tunulua was originally Wailevu and not Qaravutu and therefore the Tui Tunulua proper will send the Mai Dreketi, its *matanivanua*, or another *tokatoka* to Natewa. Qaravutu may send its Masivou but if it concerns the *vanua* of Tunulua, protocol dictates that it has to go through Wailevu.

On page 50, fn 124, the team claims that Sayes sources, Ratu Meli and Ratu Delauca claimed they are descendants of the Tu Natewa and Vunivalu. We would like to categorically deny here that we are not descendants of the Vunivalu. We have always been told that we are descendants of the Tu Natewa.

On page 51 the team associated Radolou as a father or grandfather of our great grandfather, Naisa Neketeni (born in 1859). In our family tree, Neketeni's father and grandfather's name is Dakuvula, taken from the family tree given by a Draveisau from Valenisau. So perhaps Rokodolou or Radolou/Rokodulu was the most senior member in the Valebuliti clan to take the title at that time. Or he could be one of the Dakuvulas with another name as Rokodolou. Delauca however, who is the father of the second Dakuvula was a Tu Natewa, according to my grandfather (Savubuliti diary). I have also heard Adi Vuloko of Valenisau referred to him as a Tu Natewa

whose reputation my grandfather was not happy about in his diary. The tree would look something like this:

Maiyaroi  
Korodua  
Delauca  
Dakuvula  
Dakuvula  
Atu(Naisa) Neketeni  
Meli Savubuliti – sourced from Draveisau June 17, 1916  
Delauca  
Dakuvula

Yautibi's relationship with Vusaratu chiefly family is very close, ingrained in us from childhood. In fact, the family has several family names such as Dakuvula and Naisa etc. My great grandfather's mother came from Malima, whether it is Malima from the true Sovatabua clan or the current Malima as part of Mai Dreketi clan, I cannot establish. Her name is Nanise Disikeci. My great grandfather married a Tukana from Dreketi and brought her unmarried sister Tamarisi, who were both looked after by my grandfather in their old age. For our identity, refer to Part II.

On page 52, the report asserts that there is 'a high degree of accuracy in Tomasi Mara's statements in the TR, cannot be supported by places and names alone. What are the sources because your page reference to 9.4, fn 126 does not mention anything about names.

On the same pg (52), the report argues that Adi Talatoka was earmarked to marry the Vunivalu of Natewa and asserts that such crucial information is evidence to the claim that the "institution of the Vunivalu was in existence *some twenty years before 1847.*" This report has taken this information without critiquing the statements by Sayes for several reasons:

1. It has to be remembered that Sayes' focus is on Cakaudrove and Natewa is on the periphery. She may therefore take for granted information without really checking the accuracy of the chiefly position and its timeline. Natewa is outside her ambit but would only take interest in order to clarify issues with Cakaudrove.
2. Adi Talatoka is the sister of Tuikilakila who by 1839 was already well known for his prowess in war. If Talatoka was 25 when Naulivou died in 1829 and then betrothed to Tanoa after that, by the time she was betrothed to the chief of Natewa, she would be about 50. Tanoa died in early 1850s so which chief was she earmarked for? Tokainamena or Siwatibau? Talatoka was not available then for any of the two chiefs. The team has also failed to see the contradiction between two chiefs and two warlords who would be at logger heads during this period, assuming the report is accurate. The period between 1839 to 1846 is important to re-examine because it was a time when Bonaveidogo was living in Natewa as a Turaganivalu (Lieutenant), while Cannibal Jack lived there between 1842-44. The Turagalevu was a chief then. The team suggested that Tokainamena was Turagalevu without any evidence to substantiate this claim. There are also several conflictual situations that need to be teased out here. One, is this report suggesting that Bonaveidogo propped Tokainamena up as a Turagalevu while Rakuita sits idly by? How can Bonaveidogo operate as a Turaganivalu if the Vunivalu was 'holding the fort'? Both titles play the same role. Three, Talatoka was not available at his time because Tanoa, her

second husband did not die until early 1850s. So was she earmarked for Siwatibau? According to my proposed timeline, Siwatibau did not become a Sau/Vunivalu until the mid-1850s. But even if one has to go by the team's timeline between 1846 and 1850, Talatoka would still be married then. These events and the timeline do not add up. The report has just assumed that Turagalevu is Tokainamena and Vunivalu at the same time with no evidence to support this assumption. Cannibal Jack would have certainly recorded the unusual situation in his journal but he hasn't. The time frame is inconsistent with the events.

I have already addressed the Radolou and Neketeni gaps (p. 26). If Radolou installed the Vunivalu and Neketeni was born in 1859, is it possible that Radolou is one generation up from Neketeni as an uncle perhaps or granduncle?

## 9.2 Dispute on social roles in relation to the Vunivalu title

### 9.2.1 *Mataqali Mai Dreketi*

I have already commented on this issue (p.7-9 and 23). What comes across in this section is that when both Valenisau and Vatulawa/Valelevu are not happy when their candidates are rejected by the Mai Yautibi, they usually solicit the Mai Dreketi's support in the hope that he will install the candidate of their choice. Mai Dreketi's support does not qualify him as having the authority to *lewa* or to install. But this kind of behaviour has also given the Mai Dreketi ideas to make false claims and usurp position such as Title Bestower. This report helps little in regaining trust and building a cohesive community.

#### 9.2.2.1 *Tokatoka Valelevu*

These issues have been covered on pages 5 and 6. Point 6.1, pages 8 and 12 are specific about alternating both positions which was explained to Hocart in front of approximately 26 people which included the three main informants, one of them was the Vunivalu then, Amenatape Rabelo (the composition of the informants is discussed on pgs. 41-2). **Mai Valenisau has never performed any installation except when Paula Tuilau (the same Tuilau in the report) 'installed' Tevita Vakalalabure because my grandfather refused to install him.** Instead, my grandfather installed Ratu Rakuita in 1973. This is supported by Maikeli Livani's statement because he was a participant in the ritual ceremony. **What is recorded in the TR is not what occurs on the ground.** I have already identified the origin of Valenisau, Vatulawa/Valelevu and Dreketi (p. 25). To import traditional carpenters and fishermen means that their services are needed by a chief and so is the matanivanua or warrior, yet your statement contradicts the TR statement that the Tu Natewa comes from Valenisau when the unit was only formed in 1847 (see Hocart's comment, pg. 45). Yautibi's role has already been extrapolated (p. 6, 8, 15 and 19). The quote from Suliana Dravurerega (fn 136) "buli Dakuwaqa na luvei Ratu Saurara" have already been disputed (p.13) and his source would have been the TR, which, is under scrutiny right now. There is no dispute about the installation of the first two Vunivalu but the question is, did the Vunivalu have the power then, because as Sayes argues, "...newcomers did not necessarily take over the leadership of the local people" (1984: 94) or was it part of the grand plan to work their way up?

### 9.2.3.2 Paula Tuilau faction

Paula Tuilau's claim as the eldest from the most senior line is discounted on the basis of their origin. Since everyone in Natewa have different origins, the important step is to establish the timeline as to who were the first to settle because every group who came later, would be given a role to play to contribute to the bonding of the community.

Recalling an incident in 1973 when Tevita Vakalalabure wanted to get installed as the Vunivalu and Mai Yautibi (grandfather) refused his wish, he decided to do it with the help of Paula Tuilau. **He was the Sauvou then, and if there is any truth to the TR claim, why wasn't he approached if it was the traditional channel, but instead my grandfather's consent was sought?**

### 9.3 Disputes – the authenticity of the TR as a historical document

Yautibi still stands by its claim that the TR “is a product of conspiracy” (read pgs. 41-47). Because the TR is not viewed as a document full of contradictions, and the selective nature employed by this project in the choice of method and its restrictions on the scope and breadth of the data collected, it limits what the research can cover. That also affects the results and its analysis. It cannot therefore make a general claim that “it is consistent with the general view all around Fiji in terms of the reliability of the TR” when this is only a case study. It is not a representative of *vanua*(s) in Fiji with chiefly disputes. This case study is idiosyncratic of Natewa and it cannot be used to generalise it to every problematic *vanua* in Fiji. Besides, it is the first study to be made with the consent of the NLC, aside from Park's study, and it cannot make a generalised statement as such particularly when the method and its analysis are in question. It lacks validity and reliability. The very fact that there is an increase in disputes on chiefly titles and landownership means that something is not quite right with the TR narratives. If we go by France's argument, then there should not be any or very few disputes (read Cato, 1951).

But France's evaluation, and/or Nayacakalou's for that matter, is based on the results of the inquiry which had not been tested (it is now, with the rising disputes). Their summation on the quality of the TR narratives is not based on the method adopted to collect data. France (1969) admitted there was no doubt that there were false information given to the NLC inquiry, although he was confident that attempts to conceal certain facts or conspiracies were uncovered. He did admit that some “no doubt were successful (1969: 180, fn 34). Let me give an example. In the presentation of the TR during the NLC sitting in 1928 at Drekeniwai, there was no one from Natewa to counter or dissent the narrative presented by Mara. Only Mara and Vakalalabure were present, according to my father. This was an open forum and given the nature of what is being sworn, it should attract the Natewa people, as it did in other parts of Fiji (read Toren, 1999: Young, 2001), especially when it is to do with their identity, titles and land division. Not one attended except for the two representatives. Land division had already been divided by Vakalalabure in 1920 (Colchester, 2001). Was there a collusion? Either the Natewa people were not told anything about the open forum which is unbelievable because colonial officials visited every village to brief them on what will be discussed and the nature of the topic. They would have been told that it is an open forum. Were they given an assurance that there was no need to attend but place their trust on their representatives? Who



occurred on the first Vunivalu dispute in 1847. It makes sense that the elders had to create a new position (Sau) to keep both parties happy and maintain peace in the community. The creation of the Sau(vou-new) position would have occurred later. There would have been a gap in time between the Sau position in 1847 and the creation of Sauvou position because, we can safely assume that there would be senior elders in Duguavou/Dakuwaqa's line before the Sau position is passed to another line. The issue on alternating the two positions and passing down the Sau(vou) position to Paula Tuilau's ancestors has already been discussed (p. 3-5). The claim that iTaukei can move from one *yavu* to another is illogical given that *yavu* represents one's identity, and sharing or giving one's *yavu* to a rival party of different origin is absurd. It is similar to giving away your traditional heritage. Given that this title dispute was just after the Bau team arrived, who in his right mind would be willing to give his *yavu* to his rival? This proposal is unacceptable. The issue of different origins throws up this suggestion that Baleicoqe and Veitoyaki come from the same descent line.

The list of Vunivalu given to Hocart is specific about names from the Vatulawa/Valelevu unit and the Sauturaga list. Veitoyaki (aka Totovakaugala[la]) therefore, is from Vatulawa/Valelevu and not from Valenisau. This is speculation on the part of the writer. The assumption that Veitoyaki, because of the meaning of his name (constant changing of sides) "moved from the *yavu* of the Sau to the *yavu* of the Vunivalu (p. 54) is traditionally considered profane, showing lack of respect. In Fijian tradition, one cannot move from one *yavu* to another if it belongs to another social unit because it is part of one's identity. This is strictly observed even today unless the owners authorise it (read Part II for an example).

#### **9.4.2 *Ralikusuasua/Totovaqala* (note the spelling)**

Here is another attempt to conflate. Names must have meanings and a context. Totovakaugala(la) with a new addition gives its meaning and what may have happened (refer to p. 9 - understandably Hocart missed out the last two letters because it is not his first language).

It seems the team is conflating the two names to avoid the interpretation of the context of the names which includes Siwatibau. Cakobau's name is a good example, 'Bau is bad' because of his behaviour. Hocart would not figure out the meaning of the names, although fluent in Fijian, he may not be nuanced in local dialects.

#### **9.4.3 *Tokainamena/Tuna'ete***

Using the two names above as referring to the same person cannot be used to support your argument on 9.4.1 and 9.4.2. Tokainamena has earned the name Tuna'ete because it refers to his pouch, like Ratu Dabe (sit) the Turagalevu, because that's all he did due to his weight. One right cannot make the preceding two examples right. By combining Baleicoqe and Veitoyaki, and Ralikusuasua and Totovakaugala[la], the team is trying to sweep the problem under the carpet: to minimise the significance of the meaning of the Totovakaugala[la] name and its context because the event is a precedent to subsequent events on the list of Vunivalu. Totovakaugala[la]'s behaviour sets a precedent to Rasiwatibau's belligerence when he realised that the title will go to Tokainamena of Valenisau. The belligerence of these two men may have also triggered fear amongst my ancestors to renege in their decision to alternate the Vunivalu and Sau positions which continues today.



Note that the constructors of the TR narrative has Veitoyaki's name as the first Vunivalu while Hocart has Totovakaugala[la]'s name. I suspect that Hocart's informants were not quite organised to avoid moniker names in the list of Vunivalu and Sau to avoid revelation of the past. They overlooked what names to use such as Totovakaugalal[la] and Rasiwatibau because they can explain the contexts. What comes out with the revelation of Totovakaugala[la]'s name is to hint that something did happen when the first Vunivalu was created. Draveisau, the informant from Valenisau was giving this information and it is obvious that Valenisau has not quite got over the decision to share the Vunuvalu title with the newcomer in 1847. They are still bitter about it (more discussion in Part II). So when we look at the TR and the name Veitoyaki instead of Totovakaugala[la], one has to ask who benefits from this 'change' of name?

#### **9.4.5** *On the Bau-Somosomo/Natewa war*

If the Bau group came to settle in Natewa in 1846 this would make Siwatibau's time as Sau and Vunivalu sometime in mid/late 1850s. Again your timeline is incorrect for the following reasons. In the TR, Siwatibau was associated with Tawakecolati who became Tui Cakau before Yavala. Yavala became the Tui Cakau in early 1843 so Tawakecolati would have lived only for a short while because he was installed in the same year before being killed. So the TR record is wrong and so is the team's analysis in Rasiwatibau's time frame. It should be expected that inaccuracies of timeline and events can be wrong because it is almost 80 years between the actual event of Somosomo/Natewa war and the 1928 NLC inquiry. If Siwatibau ruled in mid 1850s, it is more than a decade when Tawakecolati died. However, this should not be an excuse for the report to fail to make the timeline right. Siwatibau's timeline is wrong and so is the TR claim.

The last paragraph admits that Siwatibau's name is a moniker because of his behaviour when he was not given the Vunivalu title, so he threatened to get Bau to intervene again into the installation. The moniker explains the context. In Fijian wars, warriors who are recognised for their prowess and high achievement are awarded titles that begin with Koroī – tamana/lagi/qaqa/nivalu or 'oli', 'vueti', 'seru' (Hocart Fieldnotes: 3482) etc. but never Rasiwa. The team claims that Rasiwa was awarded the 'title' because of his emissary role between Bau and Natewa but this is another speculation that is unsubstantiated. Warriors are awarded titles for their bravery in action during the war. Derrick's account of the 'mocked war' in Natewa is succinct:

The Natewa campaign of 1846 is a good example of native warfare... .  
On the first day...two or three of each party had been killed, and that was enough for one day... . The following morning the town was empty. The Natewa people had retired to safety in the night (as, indeed, Cakobau had Intended they should), taking their property with them. ...Then overtures of peace were made to Cakobau; and Tui Kilakila...was passed by – again as Cakobau had intended (1946: 50).

There is nothing to be achieved because it was all set up. Nor is it an achievement by Siwatibau because his Vunivalu period was in the 1850s. Thomas (1986) described this arrangement between Bau and Natewa as a 'covert alliance'.

#### 9.4.6 *The death of Naiqama Tawakecolati*

I have already disputed Tokainamena's timeline. The team has assumed that Tokainamena is Turagalevu and Siwatibau as a Sau assisting him. How then do you explain Bonaveidogo's presence at this time as a Turaganivalu? That is the first conflictual situation. How has Tokainamena become Turagalevu as a title and not Vunivalu, if we are to go by Hocart's informants? That is the second conflicting scenario. There is no similarity between Tokainamena/Siwatibau and Yavala/Tuikilakila – Tanoa/Cakobau relationships because the former are drawn together through their roles/appointment, but there is no blood link compared to the latter two pairs. After all the relationship of the former pair are based on rivalry and the titles which were created on that ground and most probably shrouded with bitterness. There is reciprocal relation in all but the former can be tenuous, while relations of the latter two pairs would be much stronger and closer as father-son relationship. On paragraph two the report assumes that Turagalevu is Tokainamena with no evidence provided. Cannibal Jack only recorded his title Turagalevu and name, Ratu Dabe but not Tokainamena. So if tenuous relations can become problematic between the two rivals Tokainamena and Siwatibau, how much more can Bonaveidogo and Siwatibau live and exist at the same time, given what their names implied and strong personalities. Cannibal Jack would have certainly recorded the unusual situation.

#### 9.4.8 *List of Sau in Natewa*

We have already accounted for the installation ceremonies in Natewa (Dakuvula critique) and in Vusaratu (p.8). A note however on the report's last paragraph (p. 62) on Hocart listing of the second *mataqali* appearing first before the God of War. One of the requirements of the colonial administration is to draw up a genealogy tree on the assumption that everyone descends from the same line. So in the TR it was important to separate the two representatives' *mataqali* from the Bau group, including Yautibi/Valebuliti. Hence, Valenisau began by putting them as **first** social unit before Valelevu because that will overtly 'prove' that they were the first settlers and therefore they were senior and by drawing the genealogy tree, they had to put themselves as the eldest in the tree. For these reasons, they had to separate themselves from everyone else, originating from Verata and settled in Qaravutu, putting themselves as first in the genealogy and in Hocart's record (1952). This is a way of reclaiming their privilege position before the Bau group arrived. This order also appeared in the genealogy tree given to my grandfather by Draveisau in 1916 (more discussion on Part II).

For someone who had always been told my history, the first question I raised was how is it possible to come from the same descent line if our origins are different. I have discounted most of these issues before. The team should have picked this out if it took a more critical approach to the TR. I will now recount an experience of my grandfather to highlight the contradictions in the TR text and the problem it can create on the ground. This is a conversation between my grandfather and other elders before the Vusasivo installation in August 1969:

...keimami sa veivosaki sara kei ira na turaga ni Vuanisaiki  
me baleta na medratou yaqona...ni ratou sa tuva tu me  
gunu na Tui Vusasivo ka tabani ni yaqona ko Tui Nakaulau  
...Ia e kau cake tiko mai na gunu yaqona oqo ni a raici  
vakaivola na Veitarogi Vanua ka me keitou mai lewa yani  
me vaka ni ratou viavia kila tiko mai [na] kenai lakolako

e liu ni ko Tuibala ga e nona na *ucu ni rara* ka dau kenai balebale ni ka 2 ni yaqona sei tabani ni yaqona. Keitou a vakamacalataka vakadodonu ni dina ni ko Tuibala ga ei tabani ni yaqona se yaqona vou ena ilakolako dina vakavanua mai liu... (we discussed with the elders of Vuanisaiki about their yaqona ceremony...that they have arranged for the Tui Vusasivo to drink and *tabani* [followed] by Tui Nakaulau... .But it was brought up because it was sighted in the *Tukutuku Raraba*, for us to decide that they seemed to think that traditionally it was Tuibala who was the *ucu ni rara* [edge of the rara] which means 2 [second] in yaqona or *tabani*. We explained that it is true that Tuibala is the *tabani* or new yaqona in the true traditional vakavanua way... (Savubuliti Diary).

This quote questions the record in the TR which must be held up to scrutiny. The team may also be interested in Hocart's record on the TR of Wailevu, Tunuloa, and how disappointed the informants were to learn that their leadership position has been manipulated. The quote above also shows the *itabani* ritual. One drinks first before it is *tabani*, Mai Dreketi's role in Natewa.

The origins of the Valenisau and Valelevu have already been discussed (p.25-26). The claim by Taganekalou that their *tokatoka* is the sole proprietor of the Dakuwaqa name will be discounted in Part II. Veitoyaki is from Vatulawa/Valelevu as I have explained before with another name Totovakaugala[la].

#### 9.4.9. On Yautibi claim

The question of Ratu Sukuna's relation with my grandfather has already been explained (p. 16). The amalgamation of Yautibi and Valebuliti has been addressed on pgs. 20-21.

However, the word **collusion** is apt. Given that Valebuliti existed in 1912 (Hocart,1952), yet by 1928 the TR has shifted the *yavu* name and is now claimed by Vatulawa/Valelevu. My father, born in 1919, was not registered in the VKB until after the 1928 NLC inquiry by which time he was registered as a Yautibi member. It was round about this time too that my great grandfather, Naisa Neketeni, was made to shift from his *yavu* Solevu to the Yautibi *yavu*.

Can the team explain why he did not retain his *yavu* name Valebulti nor his title in the TR? This is a mysterious and bizarre development given that a *yavu* is the only traditional heritage that is family owned and only the family can use it or allow someone else to use it. Every Fijian must have a *yavu* in the village and that *yavu* holds the history of the family. Without a *yavu*, the person's identity is questioned. Who is behind the move to remove the Valebuliti owners from their *yavu* and transfer its ownership to another unit? Who would gain from that *yavu* claim? Who would gain from the convenience of shifting my great grandfather to the Yautibi *yavu* so that the Valebuliti *yavu* could be claimed by another? These are questions that the team needs to answer.

A more important question is the subjection of Yautibi and Valebuliti *tokatoka* under the *mataqali* Valelevu. If Yautibi/Valebuiti have now been subjected under the Vunivalu's tutelage, given their traditional status and their current role now to remain independent from the two rival *mataqali*, who was behind this move? Who stood to gain from this subjugation? Is this a way of snuffing

Yautibi/Valebuiti out? When Hocart interviewed some people in Natewa whether Yautibi/Valebuiti eat together as a *mataqali* (the Baun meaning), with Vatulawa/Valelevu, the Natewans were confused. Hocart was trying to establish who Yautibi/Valebuiti were in relation to Vatulawa/Valelevu. When he learnt that *mataqali* in Natewan dialect meant inferior, he was able to establish that my ancestors were not inferior. But he also realised that we do not feast/eat together with Vatulawa/Valelevu in the Baun sense. Eating together means that there is some traditional relationship in the group, whether it is through blood link or ties or shared roles. I believe that it was the time he spent questioning his informants to clarify issues concerning my great grandfather that their statements gave the answers. It is critical that the *Tukutuku Raraba* must be held up to scrutiny and filter every statement if the team is to get to the truth. Solving such questions will partially pave the way to a more holistic approach, and a clearer picture of the complexity of the situation in Natewa. It also exposes the convoluted and sometimes twisted nature of the *Tukutuku Raraba* narratives.

## PART II

### The Yautibi Profile

On pages 2 and 3 of Part A, I argued against the TR claim that Valenisau and Dreketi came from Verata, settled at Qaravutu and then ‘tewa’ down after a quarrel. I provided four reasons. One of them was the application of the word ‘tewa’ as a name, which should explain the meaning and the context of the word and these should connect to land. I will discuss the meaning of ‘tewa’ and its context in the case below, how it connects to the land, as well as other Yautibi ‘footprints’:

1. One of the facts that this report has failed to register are the names of the original fortress connected to my ancestral *yavutu* when Cannibal Jack (Erskine, 1853) visited the two settlements, Natewa Matua (old) and Natewa Sawana (coast). Natewa Matua where my ancestors once lived is located in the mountainous terrain, now called Delai Kama. Natewa Sawana was thirty minutes away from the coast and this was where Cannibal Jack, Bonaveidogo, Turagalevu and his clan lived<sup>241</sup>. This settlement would most probably include the *mataisau* (carpenters) and *gonedau*, (fishermen) so they could be close to their

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<sup>241</sup> This *yavutu* is in between Dela, Kama, Nakura and Lemuru lands where currently Sabako gardens.

office to attend to their duties. Natewa Matua had about 50 houses, according to Cannibal Jack. (Na) *tewa* means ‘move’ or shift around in this case because it was a way of protecting my ancestors from their enemies during tribal wars. Their prominent enemies at that time was Cakaudrove when the Tui Cakau dynasty was still stationed at Vunisavisavi. This meaning describes their movement around the terrain and why they had to move around which is directly connected to land. It also explains the context. This meaning of ‘*tewa*’ contrasts with the explanation given by the TR witness and their reason for moving which is just one direction whereas the one above is constant movement. Natewa Sawana, as I have explained above, consisted of the traditional fishermen and carpenters who had to be close to the little creek in Nasoga, Navesitatoga, for the carpenters to build canoes and for the fishermen to fish. It was also used as a resting place for those who come from Natewa Matua to fetch salt and seafood from the coast (Diaper, 1928). So how did my ancestors end up at the mountain terrain of Delai Kama? I believe that they may have settled on the other side of the mountains (Nakobo area) with the Korocau people who came from Verata.

2. According to Milner (1952), when a village becomes overpopulated due to a chief having many off-spring, one or two may want to settle elsewhere and this may have been the fate of our ancestors, leaving their original place to look for vacant land. So where did they come from? **My ancestors originally came from Verata Ucunivanua.** I will now recount some personal experience and those of other relatives to support our claim.

When I was 12-13 years old, my father recounted to me his experience as a young man teaching at various schools, one of them Fulton College. One Saturday he went to Korovou to shop and a lady greeted him with kisses and hugs<sup>242</sup>. She was from Verata Ucunivanua. He also recounted canoes supplying loads of food from Verata Ucunivanua coming to school to visit him. There was an uncle (Ratu Apisai Daveta), an Education Officer in Nausori in the 1980s, went on an official visit to the school in Verata and presented his *sevusevu*. Upon learning where he came from, the elders pointed out our *yavu*<sup>243</sup> to him. We have always known we have a *yavu* there and this tie was strengthened when a man went to present a *tabua* to an uncle who lived in Visari between 2009/10, the late Ratu Semisi Lalavolivoli, to traditionally request to build his house on our *yavu*. This man, originally from Nakobo, *vasu* to Verata, had asked the Ratu of Verata for a place to build his land and he was instructed to seek permission from my uncle who was the Mai Yautibi at that time. The house on our *yavu* is called Burenicagi. This information should give the team a timeline of the settlement of my ancestors in the vicinity of Natewa.

3. So what is our relationship with Korocau? According to a historical record given to Milner (1952) by the ancestors of the Na Kalevu of Nadroga, when children of chiefs leave their original *yavutu* to settle elsewhere, their Bati Balavu (Long Warriors), Bati Leka, (Short Warriors), the descendants of heralds and Hand of Food Bearers accompany him. This probably explains the very close relationship between the Korocau people and my ancestors. They were the warriors of my ancestors (although this history has faded since

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<sup>242</sup> My first question to him was who was she, and whether they were related. His response was, ‘Io, o ira a tubuqu mai Verata’ ( Yes, my ancestors are from Verata). That was the first time I heard of Verata and that we originated from there.

<sup>243</sup> A cousin who went to Verata Ucunivanua as a member of the MYF for a camp, got sick the first evening which prompted villagers to visit her to enquire where she is from. The evening ended with a *i-soro* presentation to the Ratu of Verata. They pointed out the *yavu* to her the next day.

they are now Tui Cakau's Long Warriors). They came together and settled on the other side of the mountains. It also explains why they have the same Warrior God but with different names, Mai Nabare and Mai Natavasara. They may have separated when the two communities multiplied and decided to part and so Korocau became independent enough to install their own chief. However, they had to ensure that my ancestors were well protected before they 'parted'. I will come back to this later. I believe that they (my ancestors and Korocau people) settled on the other side of the shoreline and as other groups came to settle (Sayes, 1982), they were pushed up the mountains<sup>244</sup>. The warriors settled at the foot of the mountains while my ancestors lived on the mountainous terrain. They were called the Ai Le'utulevu (From the deep Woods) while the Korocau people were referred to as Ai Le'utu (From the Woods). The original people of Korocau still occupy their land on the Navonu area. When my ancestors decided to move down to the shore (Natewa Bay side), many Korocau people moved down with them, according to my father<sup>245</sup>, until a colonial policy required them to move back to their original settlement. When that happened, my ancestors decided to retain some people of Korocau to take up some traditional positions. A case in point was the Mai Dreketi clan, whose members it was feared might die out, – so we have the Dama people living in Natewa today. Another group, 'Hand of Food Bearers' was also asked to remain and they now live in Dawa. The Nauruuru people who were originally from Korocau were the *mata* of Natewa to Korocau and to Cakaudrove. By the time the Tui Cakau had established his power base at Cakaudrove-i-Wai, my ancestors were now their arch enemies. But the two *vanua* also had traditional ties through relationship with the people of Korocau<sup>246</sup> and marriages. I will now address my ancestors' movement, as Ai Le'utulevu, wandering on the terrain.

4. The origin of Dakuwaqa the shark god varies depending on the sources. Most do not dwell on Dakuwaqa's origin. The only version that claims its origin and connection to Natewa, describes a couple. The man was a chief of Natewa (Wall, 1917; Sayes, 1982: 49) and although Wall did not mention where his wife was from, in the *Nai Lalakai* version, his wife is named as coming from Cakaudrove-i-Wai (the Tui Cakau dynasty)<sup>247</sup>. The legend described how the couple ventured down from the mountains and upon crossing a creek, the woman slipped and gave birth to a still born/fetus. The body was buried in a shallow grave which was washed down by a flood and the foetus was turned into a shark, now called Dakuwaqa. In the *Nai Lalakai*, the couple was at the vicinity of Lekutelevu when the woman gave birth (March 28; April 25, 2013: 5). So Wall and the *Nai Lalakai* version from Korocau both confirm that the name Dakuwaqa originated from the Ai Le'utulevu who lived in their old fortress, Natewa Matua. This information contradicts Taganekalou's claim that they have the proprietary rights to the name Dakuwaqa. In fact, it stands to reason that if Taganekalou's clan, were brought as traditional carpenters to serve the Tu Natewa, and were the first 'outside' group to settle in the vicinity, they would naturally marry into the chiefly family and adopt names, one being Dakuwaqa. That suggests that

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<sup>244</sup> This is a universal trend.

<sup>245</sup> Some of their *yavu* were pointed out to me but they have all gone now. There were also *yavu* of the Drekeniwai people which have now been taken up by the Valenisau people.

<sup>246</sup> Korocau must not be mixed up with Cakaudrove Vanua who had strong allegiance with Cakaudrove-i-Wai although changes in boundaries, government administration and other development have weakened the demarcation.

<sup>247</sup> There was a confusion about the origin of Dakuwaqa's parents but this was corrected on the *Nai Lalakai* copy of April 25, 2013: 05.

there may have been a Tu Natewa called Dakuwaqa (Savubuliti Diary), not a Vunivalu as the TR has claimed,<sup>248</sup> nor the son of Saurara from Bau. Compression of time has occurred in both the TR and in the information given to Hocart.

5. The location of Natewa Matua and Natewa Sawana are directly opposite from the location of Qaravutu. Most original settlers settled in areas where they can be protected eg. Natewa Matua. Those who live closer to the coast became tribal garrisons for the original settlers and their chief. So Qaravutu is closer to the coast and they are part of the garrison, as you will find in the TR. The people of Kama (Buca) were living on the Natewa Bay side (see p.35, fn 10), quite close to Natewa Sawana, but were instructed to move to the Buca Bay side to protect the people of Natewa Matua. The people of Loa moved from Navatu to the Buca Bay side to also act as tribal garrisons for the Natewa Matua people. So were the Navaki people or Ai Le'utu (Tukavesi) and Ai Le'utu of Kanakana, who are now extinct. They were there to guard against attacks from warrior tribes of Tui Cakau. And the Ai Le'utu people, I believe, were originally from Korocau. On the western side of Natewa Matua was 'Oroniyasaca who are now living in Drekeniwai with the people of Navatu. These people were originally from Korocau, sent there (just above Valavala Estate) to protect my forefathers. They moved to Drekeniwai due to a colonial administration policy and called their *mataqali* Vuniwi, after the chiefly social unit of Tui Korocau. Other *bati leka* on the side of the bay are Vusasivo, Dawa and Vusaratu.
6. While the people of Natewa Matua remained at their fortress, groups of late arrivals began to settle in and around the vicinity of Natewa Sawana. For example, the traditional fishermen lived with the traditional carpenters and would naturally have a 'Bi ni vonu' close by since that was the purpose of their being imported, to provide a service. However, when the Bau group arrived, they settled close by and called their *yavu* Vatulawa. The 'Bi ni Vonu' became associated with them when in reality its location is due to the presence of the *gonedau* in Natewa Sawana. The Mai Dreketi clan that came from Navatu also settled close by. So one can say that all the late arrivals congregated around Natewa Sawana where the challenge to the chiefly position may have been instigated. First from Bonaveidogo and Turagalevu. When the Bau group arrived, it not only created a tussle between the 'new' arrivals and the traditional carpenters with the support of the *gonedau*, the Tu Natewa position also became an irritant to all of them. The friction often became intense when the Vunivalu position was the target. At its zenith, the attention is turned on us the descendants of the Tu Natewa who by tradition decide on who is to be installed, thus an irritant to both sides of the Vunivalu aspirants.
7. One can even say that the close proximity of the late arrivals to each other gave them a measure of confidence to think of alternative ideas that concern the chiefly position. By the time my ancestors moved down to the coast, they were beginning to feel the pressure.
8. My forefathers relocated to the coast, where we remain today, built their new *yavutu*, and instead of naming it Natewa, called it Valebuluti (today the name is Valebuliti). On the maps (NLC 248, 84.5793; 252, 250.5803) both the *yavutu* and *yavu* are spelt Valebuluti and its context is important to note. 'Vale' means house and 'buluti' means 'to bury'. One

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<sup>248</sup> There is also a lot of time compression in the *Nai Lalakai* articles on the history of Cakaudrove Vanua and Benau-i-Wai. The narrative often refers to the history of the area from time immemorial and associates it with the Vunivalu as the chief of Natewa then, yet this title only emerged in the 1840s. These are two different epochs compressed into one. This is the kind of historical narrative that needs deconstruction.

can therefore understand why they have not called their new *yavutu* and *yavu* Natewa because they are beginning to feel the ‘heat’ from the groups of late arrivals. However, my ancestors named the creek beside their new *yavutu* Natewa (refer to maps above). They also named their *yavusa* (village name) Natewa. The social unit name did not retain Natewa but instead the name Sovatabua was recorded in the TR (*yavusa* represents the village name and the largest social unit). During the colonial period, a policy was introduced where small settlements were encouraged to congregate as one village for ease of access by the colonial officials, besides other reasons (Thomas, 1990). As a result, my great grandfather moved to the new (current) location, built his *yavu* on the edge of the *rara* (village green) facing the sun and called it Solevu. By the early 1930s, my great grandfather was asked to move to the *yavu* called Yautibi.

9. So what proofs are there that Valebuliti/Yautibi ancestors are linked to Verata? On pg 4, I gave an explanation of my clan’s claim to Mai Nawiri as the name of our current burial ground. Mai Nawiri is the Ancestral *Vu* of the Yautibi/Valebuliti *tokatoka*, now claimed as the ancestral *vu* of all social units in Natewa. That is the first statement in the TR on which the team should have started its analysis and the truth behind it. According to Sahlins, the spirits of the original chiefs and/or sources (*vu*) of the indigenous lineages, belonged to the native land people or the deposed ruler (1985: 88).

Mai (Na) Wiri in the Fijian Dictionary (Tabacakacaka iTaukei, 2014) means ‘to sit’ which has a ‘chiefly’ connotation. Another word ‘mau,’ equivalent to ‘wiri’ means ‘to sit’ or ‘to stand’ which in traditional Fijian context refers to one remaining standing while the other sits. In the Veratan context, ‘wiri’ also means ‘to stand’ (ibid). This sits well with the Tu Natewa title because ‘tu’ means to stand. As Roth (1953) explains, *(T)u means “to stand” as it was customary for Fijians to sit cross-legged in the presence of a chief, who alone had by custom the right to stand* (1953: 69).

## Contradiction in Statements in Hocart

My intention in this section is to highlight Hocart’s record given by his informants and some contradictions in their statements (Fieldnotes, 1912). At the end of this section I will explain why it is necessary to highlight these conflicting statements.

Hocart’s Fieldnotes (1912) included his 3 main informants, the Vunivalu, Ratu Amenatape Rabelo of Vatulawa/Valelevu, Mai Dreketi, Paula (Tuivanuayalewa) and Jaoti Draveisau of Valenisau. There were twenty-three others who were mainly listeners. Two other informants who also participated but with minimal contribution: Mata-ki-Cakaudrove and Vurai (obscure). Matakibau’s contribution and those of two others were monosyllabic and therefore of little significance. Hocart spent four days in Natewa from August 18 to 21, 1912. Of all the names listed<sup>249</sup>, there was not a name from Valebuliti/Yautibi – my great-grandfather who was certainly older than the Vunivalu, was not invited. Bearing this in mind, I shall now discuss the conflicting statements of the four main informants: Mata-ki-Cakaudrove, Vurai (name not very clear), Mai

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<sup>249</sup> I was able to cross-check the list with the genealogy given by Draveisau (Savubuliti Diary). Not all names in Hocart’s fieldnotes could be cross-checked, some were not recorded in the family tree given by Draveisau particularly women’s names. But of the 26/8, excluding Matakibau and others (minimal participants), 8 from Vatulawa/Valelevu, 8 from Valenisau and the rest may come either from Dreketi or Malima (Mata-ki-Cakaudrove).



Dreketi, and Ratu Amenatape Rabelo from Vatulawa/Valelevu. Jaoti Draveisau of Valenisau in Hocart's notes will be referred to intermittently if his contributions are relevant and acknowledged when necessary. Matakibau and others are not included because their contributions are insignificant.

Vurai and Mata-ki-Cakaudrove will be first discussed.

#### *Mata-ki-Cakaudrove*

He claimed to have been born close to the times of the Somosomo/Natewa war which means he would have been about 60-70 years old at the time of Hocart's visit. This means that he should be aware of the arrival of the Bau group and what transpired after that, but he kept quiet about it. There was no mention of Bonaveidogo and his father-in-law, Turagalevu, nor was there any information on Cakobau's intervention in 1846/7. He mentioned that he was born around the time of the war which means he would certainly have been told about this important period. He talked about the god Mai Nabare, but put more emphasis on Saurara the *vu* (p. 3468). By this time the then current Sovatabua who replaced the previous true Sovatabua people were playing their new role of envoy to Cakaudrove. It is understandable if the informant felt subdued in the presence of the Vunivalu.

*Vurai* (name not clear in Hocart's notes)

His testament is mainly about envoys (*mataki*) to Natewa or from Natewa to other *vanua* subjects (ibid: 3473). He named the subjects and their envoys to the Vunivalu or vice versa (understandably because of the presence of the Vunivalu). For example, he explained the relationship between the Vunivalu and Dawato whose envoy from Natewa is Narausere (now extinct). But when *Vurai* explained Valebuliti and Solevu's role, he was vague. Recall that Valebuliti is the name of the *tokatoka* and Solevu is the name of the *yavu* (house foundation) of the head of Valebuliti. They are one and the same thing. *Vurai* names Valebuliti as the envoy of Koroloaloa of Saqani. Then further down the page, he explains that Wainibu, a place across the bay, gave land to Natewa because of the military aid they received, and that since then the "turaga here" goes to *va'aunuma* (install) the Tui there called Tui Vanua Levu. Then *Vurai* adds that when Tui Vanua Levu comes to Natewa, he goes to Solevu. There is the conflict in meanings between Valebuliti as envoy and the statement, the "turaga here" goes to install the Tui Vanua Levu. While one statement refers to Solevu/Valebuliti as envoy which contradicts the traditional belief that chiefs do not act as envoys but others do for him (see below), the second meaning actually identifies the chief, his role and *yavu*. Hocart picked up the conflictual message so he asked another question.

When Hocart asked if Valelevu also acts as an envoy, *Vurai* responded, "ko ira na turaga era tiko walega" (the chiefs just stay put). However, when questioned if Mai Nawiri the ancestral god has a priest, *Vurai* explains: Mai Nawiri has no *bete* (priest)... sa basika sara mai kina na turaga, sa bete ga na turaga; sa tiko na kalou sa qai lako mai ko Saurara from Ra, Nakauvadra" (the priest conceives of the turaga, chief, the priest is the chief; the god was already here when Saurara from Ra, Nakauvadra, arrived). So *Vurai* is saying here that the chief is god incarnated and needs no mediating priest. In other words, the priest, the chief and (ancestral) god are the one and the same thing (pg. 3474; see quote pg. 30 and 31 above). *Vurai* was not prepared to identify who he is describing. But the conflicting message in the sentences above and *Vurai*'s direct answers to Hocart's question on the priest confirmed to Hocart that there is an undercurrent that is preventing some of his informants to be truthful.

### *Mai Dreketi*

Mai Dreketi is the oldest informant, between 70 and 80 years. He would have been born in the 1830s before the Somosomo/Natewa war. He was present throughout the interviews with the Vunivalu, Ratu Rabelo. His discussion is based mostly on his various roles as a Tui Rara, the Dele ceremony which involves awarding bravery acts, feasting, and his role as agent of Saurara, the god of war. Hocart noted how the term '*mataqali*' created a lot of discussion because informants were confused with the Baun and the Natewan (lower status) meanings. This discussion also raised the question of whether Valenisau was a *mataqali* in the Bauan sense or in the Natewan sense (p. 3468). Paula, the Mai Dreketi, argued strongly for Valenisau as a *mataqali* in the Bauan sense, a social unit and not an inferior. Valenisau, according to Mai Dreketi, is a *mataqali* social unit and therefore a pedigree. To validate that statement, Jaoti Draveisau asserted that Valenisau has a *bati-ni-lovo* or *tamata talai*, (for the purpose of errands). When Hocart questioned Mai Dreketi about *burenisa*, he explained that it is no different from *bure kalou*, where their war god (Saurara) is worshipped. This is where the 'vakacici valu' (war – cry performance to the war god) is performed. Then he added, "dau dua ga called Solevu" (there is one called Solevu) ... e dua nai taba (tamata ko Solevu) (p. 3482), meaning the 'vakacici valu' is also performed to the chief in Solevu. He used the Tunuloa people as an example when they perform war-cry. Mai Dreketi was not prepared to identify who is Solevu and its chief.

### *Vunivalu*

He is the main informant who contributed the most and was present in all interviews. I will outline the contradictory statements he gave Hocart on each page as they appear. On the first interview day he outlined his kinship relations. The first name he identified was Va'alalabure, his nephew and he referred to him as his *osi* (an affectionate reference, p. 3464 – see p. 19 above for more information). On page 3466 the informant stated that in Natewa there were "no canoes of old. Kai Navatu (the Navatu people) became *kaiwai* (water/fisher/men) because they brought boats" (canoes). Here he is referring to the Natewa Matua people who were living in the deep forest and had no knowledge or skills in sailing canoes or fishing and so the people of Navatu were sent for that purpose. In providing this information, however, he is implying that his ancestors were part of Natewa Matua.

On August 18, 2012 (page: 3466), he gave four important pieces information which I will also refute. The first is a list of Vunivalu given to Hocart: Rakuita, Tokainamena, Ratu Rasiwa, Ratu Waibuta and Ratu Rabelo (I will elaborate on this point later). Second, he claimed there are two people of Natewa: Valelevu and Dreketi. Third, related to the previous matter, the two units were already divided as *mataqali* by then (this will be explained further, below). The fourth claim is about Dakuwaqa as an ancestor of theirs who came from Cakaudrove and had 100 wives whose descendants dispersed to other *vanua* subjects of Natewa. The second point is refuted on pages 25-6 on the Bau group, and pg. 29 on Dreketi. The fourth claim, the Dakuwaqa ancestry, is refuted on page 39 above because Dakuwaqa is directly connected only to the Yautibi line. I will now elaborate on the Vunivalu list (first point) and social divisions (third point). After the first day of interviews, Hocart spoke with other informants the next day, August 19: Vurai; Mai Dreketi; Mata-ki-Cakaudrove and a short conversation with contributions from Mata-ki-bau, Kolodio and Ratu Yaya. Hocart even had time to take notes on the structure of the church building before the Vunivalu and Jaoji Draveisau, the Sau, joined them with a new list of Vunivalu (pg. 3469 – 72).

Back to the first point on the Vunivalu list, Hocart made a comment on page 3469 (Check This!). This was recorded after the Vunivalu, and the Sau, Jaoti Draveisau gave another list of Vunivalu. By comparing the first list given by the Vunivalu and the second list, Hocart wrote and underlined:

Whole new plan of Vunivalu. This time the new list was: 1. Dakuwaqa 2. Baleicoqe 3. Totovakaugala[la] 4. Gasagasa 5. Raliku 6. Rakuita 7. Ratu Na'ete 8. Rasiwa 9. Tila 10. Waibuta 11. Rabelo. He wrote:

Pedigree of Sau where it appears that Sau and Vunivalu = kawa of Dakuwaqa and Ratu Totovakaugala[la] younger. Why the younger one Vunivalu and the older Sau [executive]. *Nodratou lewa na qase* [it is the elders' decision].

Hocart seemed cynical about this new list. In the Vunivalu's first list (p. 3466), there was no mention of the Sau position nor was there any mention of shared patrilineal descent between his clan and another. The informant consulted Draveisau and the result was the second list. The two would have had some time to construct this. They are rivals but it is also in their interest to work together for a list of Vunivalu and Sau. And the list had to incorporate the merging of the two in the one descent line through Dakuwaqa. Secondly, they must also have agreed on the social divisions which the Vunivalu had outlined the day before: Valelevu and Dreketi (see next page). Hocart's cynicism would have been partially addressed if he was able to understand the meaning of the name Totovakaugala[la]. That would have invited a litany of questions so it's best to cover it up. As Sayes remarks:

The 'truth' is arrived at in a 'consensual and synthetic manner ... . It is possible, therefore, that sensitive socio-political information is forgotten in this process because, as well as being embarrassing for people who often wield the power, its unsuitability for public performance means it is easily lost.

(1982: xxv)

So in this regard it is convenient to both the Vunivalu and Jaoti Draveisau that their history be suppressed. On page 3470, having sorted out which social unit is a *mataqali* in the Natewan sense (inferior), the Vunivalu rejected the idea of amalgamating Valenisau and Vatulawa/Valelevu. So the social divisions appeared thus:

Valenisau, Valelevu, Dreketi, Sovatabua, Nauruuru and Yautibi.

The position of Valenisau before Valelevu has already been explained (see pg. 34, 9.4.8). The order of the social unit was given by the Sau, Jaoti Draveisau. There was no dissension from the Vunivalu nor the Mai Dreketi on this issue. Then the Vunivalu gave contradictory statements:

Yautibi = Vunivalu. Nauruuru is nona tamata ko Yautibi;  
Yautibi lako mai vei keirau (Vunivalu and other). Sovatabua lako mai vei keirau.

What he meant by Yautibi being equal to Vunivalu and lako mai vei keirau (come to the two of us) is not made clear. What does he mean by being 'equal' and who is his 'second'? He is evasive. The statement above by the Vunivalu is confirming that both Valelevu and Yautibi have subjects (*tamata*) to qualify their pedigree status, and to show up Valenisau as not (as Hocart suspects from the question: if Valenisau has a *batinilovo*). The Vunivalu makes a claim that even though Yautibi is pedigree, Valelevu is still above it because Yautibi takes his subjects to him, Valelevu. This confusion may have caused Hocart to make the statement on pages 30 and 31 above. The *mataqali* division of the first three social units above by now were already in their plan, 16 years before the 1928 NLC inquiry. This was later confirmed in the TR: Valenisau, Valelevu and Dreketi. The last two, Nauruuru and Yautibi became *tokatoka*. Sovatabua, which should have

been a *tokatoka* due to its role as a mata-ki-Cakaudrove, remained a *mataqali*. Hocart's interview confirmed the fate of the last two units, Yautibi and Nauruuru. There is also another conflict. If Nauruuru is Yautibi's subject, that means Yautibi is of higher rank. but in the TR they are of the same level. And Yautibi identified as a *tokatoka* in the TR contradicts the Vunivalu's statement above as sharing his pedigree.

Hocart saw another contradiction. Despite Valenisau's position as the first in the social division, Hocart wrote down: ***yaqona vou Valenisau (Valenisau is a new yaqona, unit)***. Informants had not forgotten Valenisau's old roles (traditional carpenters and fishermen) which may have confused them on the question of *mataqali* in the Natewan sense. When Hocart asked if Valenisau had a *bati-ni-lovo* or *tamata talai*, Draveisau replied: they are in our household. This is a fabrication. This question invited a lot of discussion amongst the informants so Draveisau made this statement without identifying the unit name. By now the Vunivalu was already contemplating subjecting Yautibi under Vatulawa/Valelevu, although the Valebuliti/Yautibi household was then still living at Solevu, attending to both the chiefly role of Tu Natewa and the role of Yautibi (pg. 39, 9.4.9). I also surmised that the Vatulawa/Valelevu and Valenisau units were by now also entertaining the idea of removing Valebuliti members from the Solevu *yavu*, claim the Valebuliti *yavu* and subordinate Valebuliti and Yautibi by combining them and turning them into a *tokatoka* as Yautibi.

The unit Sovatabua is an interesting one. Elsewhere I have explained that the Sovatabua name has been appropriated by Vatulawa/Valelevu as a *yavusa* name when the role of this unit is a minor one, lower in rank. The traditional practice is to adopt the name of the chiefly *yavutu*. I have also stated that the god of the true Sovatabua people, Saurara, has also been appropriated by the Vatulawa/Valelevu unit and conflated with the indigenous god Mai Nabare. So by adopting Sovatabua as *yavusa* name, the name becomes chiefly, since they see themselves now as chief, and this is confirmed by the god Saurara who has been conflated with Mai Nabare. The adoptions of these two names are tactics to 'colonise' and conceal gaps that may reveal their past and true origin. But the Sovatabua name did not successfully conceal everything. The lower rank Sovatabua on the TR, is of the same level as Vatulawa/Valelevu who should in fact be superior of the two. Furthermore, by merging Valenisau and Vatulawa/Valelevu as one descent line, the narrative should be complete. However, the concealment had cracks.

On page 3471, Hocart noted that there was a lot of discussion about Natewa's connection to Verata. There was a mention of Navatu people from Verata but none of the informants professed to be from Verata. Yet in the TR, Valenisau and Dreketi claimed to be from Verata. Hocart's question may have prompted Valenisau and Dreketi, given that they had 16 years to think about it, to claim Verata to be their land of origin. That would seal their claims as being the eldest and the first to settle in Natewa, and their ownership of land. Then the Vunivalu gave another conflicting statement:

Volivoli of Natewa = vosa of Vunivalu goes to Dreketi and  
thence [to] baravi oqo...(Volivoli of Natewa [a forum of  
*vanua* subjects to show their allegiance to Verata] = the  
word of the Vunivalu goes to Dreketi and thence along  
the coast...).

The Verata kingdom became weakened in the early 1800s, almost fifty years before the Bau group arrived in Natewa. The Vunivalu's allegiance is to Bau, not Verata. By not revealing his origin and impressing to Hocart that his connection to Verata has a long history, is fabricating his past.

On the next page, 3472, the Vunivalu added that there are many children of Dakuwaqa and named both Delauca and Naisa who was still alive then, living in Solevu. That statement presented Valenisau, Vatulawa/Valelevu and Yautibi as one descent line and this showed up in the TR. By 1912, the social units at Natewa were already divided into *mataqali* which is reflected by the first three social divisions on the previous page. The Vunivalu and Draveisau were not quite sure about the other three, Sovatabua, Nauruuru and Yautibi. Valebuliti was not mentioned at all nor did it then exist as a social unit. They had other plans in the pipeline which showed up in the *Tukutuku Raraba*. Yautibi and Valebuliti's fate was already sealed 16 years before the NLC inquiry at Drekeniwai.

To summarise, the colonial administration introduced changes in the social organisation of Indigenous Fijians in the belief that it would help in governance and to also prepare the iTaukei people for modern sophistry and its values. However, the changes they introduced helped some to manipulate the system and cultivate their own narrative to suit their interests. In Natewa, this move started in 1902, 1907 and 1909. A diary, found amongst my grandfather's diaries, had already recorded several family trees<sup>250</sup> of Valenisau, as the writer attempted to combine them, seven (or more) households and their extended families. This action may have conceived other creative ideas. A good example is the genealogy tree given to my grandfather by Draveisau on June 17, 1916. There was ample time since 1912 to build on the idea of merging the different clans in Natewa based on the information the Vunivalu and Draveisau had given Hocart, and to confirm what they wanted to appear in the *Tukutuku Raraba*.

So how has the information discussed above influenced the narrative in the *Tukutuku Raraba*? That narrative is the result of the following:

- i. Identity Theft:
  - The shifting of the Valebuliti yavu to Nasoga and its being claimed as Saurara and Raura's yavu to establish Vatulawa/Valelevu's pedigree
  - Claiming the name Sovatabua and adopting it as yavusa name to confirm Vatulawa/Valelevu's primordality and pedigree
  - Vatulawa/Valelevu's claim on Saurara as their god and conflating him with the indigenous god, Mai Nabare to conceal their true origin
  - Valenisau claiming the Tu Natewa position
- ii. Usurpers of Chiefly Position:
  - Tu Natewa claimed by Valenisau
  - promoted themselves, Valenisau and Vatulawa/Valelevu as a *mataqali* unit and superior positions
  - Placed Vatulawa/Valelevu and Valenisau as original landowners
- iii. Subjugation:

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<sup>250</sup> It is not known how this diary ended up amongst my grandfather's diaries. We suspect that it may have gone into my grandfather's hands during the 1973 Vunivalu dispute when the owner of the diary, Ropate, sought refuge at our side of the village because his family was being pilloried by other members of Valenisau *mataqali* provoked by his claims. The diary, probably brought by Ropate Taganekalou, belonged to his grandfather, Jaoti Draveisau.

- Of all indigenous iTaukei social units into *tokatoka*: Yautibi/Valebuliti and Nauruuru to weaken them
  - Of Yautibi/Valebuliti to manipulate and control them
- iv. Suppression of the truth:
- Concealing the Bonaveidogo saga and the change of leadership by the informants
  - Concealing the arrival of the Bau group and their demand by the informants
  - Claiming achievements preceding Bau's arrival as theirs by the Vunivalu
  - Converting *batinilovo* social units into superior units
  - Merging all 'pedigree' units into one descent line
  - Amalgamating Valebuliti and Yautibi – shift them to Yautibi *yavu* to give Vatulawa/Valelevu and Vakalalabure chiefly prominence on the village green
  - Groups do not have a shared identity – they differ in origins and settled at different times in Natewa
- v. Usurping of responsibilities:
- Valenisau's claim as Tu Natewa and the right to 'lewa' and install the Vunivalu
  - Dreketi to bestow power on the Vunivalu
  - Valenisau and Dreketi as 'first settlers' of Natewa who had the initial power to allocate land
- vi. Other Imposition:
- Sharing of the leadership position has given both *mataqali* Vatulawa/Valelevu and Valenisau an impetus to push their position to the top.

These actions are a testament that the above groups attempted to change the history of Natewa by creating a new narrative. This history has not born out any coherence or bonding in the community up until today. In fact, the situation has worsened. Importantly, the most significant aspect of the *Tukutuku Raraba* overlooked by the team is the contradictory statement on land ownership and division by the witness, Tomasi Mara. While Mara told the Commissioners that land is not *vasuti*, *ai yau ga kei na magiti* (p. 350 – land is not *vasuti* (given through female line), only traditional materials and food [are presented], much of the land is owned through matrilineal connections. The *vasu* right to land in Natewa is only recognised on the paternal side. Yet, much of the land ownership in Natewa is *vasuti*.

### **Conclusion**

For the team to refer to the TR as having the "overall reliability of the document" and that the TR "contains enough of the truth to be a workable document" (p. 57) defies logic given the comments and claims I have provided above. Below are the recommendations arising from critiquing the report:

- a. The timeline must be corrected to ensure that other historical events are aligned with the estimated time. For example, if the arrival of the Bau group is corrected, alignment

with other events in the TR for example minimises clashes. Aligning the timeline will also help raise questions about possible gaps in the TR narrative.

- b. If it decides to continue with this project, the team should begin with the origins of the different groups because this will give a framework to base the research on.
- c. The method of this study is critical. If you are dealing with an indigenous group, the research must employ several methods. Western methods are limited as the team can see from my critique, which highlights the line of reasoning one has to follow and apply to get to the truth. The understanding of the culture, the traditional practices and what was highly valued during that period is crucial to help to discern what is most important, which may not be considered significant to a modern educated Indigenous Fijian. In this critique I have applied text analysis and discourse analysis of Hocart's fieldnotes because they help uncover the likely motivation behind the informants' statements. It is also important to include women, not just as informants but also as interviewers because they bring different perspectives. Relationship is valued by women and that often becomes the basis of their rapport with informants. They also pay much attention to details which can indicate the overall climate of how the interview is being received.
- d. The report has the following:
  - i. Sweeping statements that are often not supported.
  - ii. Making assumptions or conclusions that describe incidents or quotes that have sketchy or hypothetical evidence.
  - iii. Misinterpretation of quotes or events.
  - iv. Fails to look at the general pattern particularly if the team needs to understand the responsibility or role of a rank, eg. the Mai Dreketi role. Any difference will be minor.
  - v. The team seems reluctant to dig deeper into conflicting statements or contradictory accounts as if it feared to discover the 'truth.'
  - vi. Statements and contradictions are acknowledged in the report but the interpretations are shallow and conclusions 'loose'.

If the team is using the *Tukutuku Raraba* as the basis of its research on the general understanding by all parties that the TR is the fundamental problem that underpins the chiefly or land disputes, the onus is on the researchers to look at the narratives critically and scrutinise each statement, their contexts and meanings on the lives of Indigenous Fijians at that particular epoch. The team needs to seriously consider its methodology and method(s), the worldviews of Indigenous Fijians that should underpin the approach it takes. Without that scrutiny, the project will achieve unsatisfactory results.

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## 15.1 Appendix B1 Our (Research Team) Reply to Dr Eta Varani Norton's (Yautibi) Position Statement

Bula Eta,

Thank you very much for your useful critical response received on 1 October 2019 which is highly appreciated for the extent of coverage and analysis. Jone's response was also received in relation to Part A and last month, we were going to discuss over coffee Part B. Truly, all of us have been involved in so many projects running in parallel that often we were just grateful that we survived each day as it comes.

While we wanted to respond as quickly as possible, we also wanted to complete the report before we finalize a response to you. In the course of reading your response, it became clear that our respective purposes were worlds apart. While there is obvious merit in deconstructing and reconstructing the past for the purposes of the present from your point of view, and while our interests converge in many areas, our TOR made it clear that our approaches would be very different. Our approach was circumscribed and confined to the dispute over succession to the Vunivalu title in Natewa and this meant focusing on the Tukutuku Raraba as the baseline narrative of Natewan history and subjecting it to the process of falsification.

Yours on the other hand, is a much broader and ambitious scope of study and in order to achieve its stated aims, required a deconstruction of the Tukutuku Raraba as a history of Natewa and reconstruct to convey an alternative narrative that, to you, would appear more 'authentic'. This interesting line of inquiry unfortunately extends well beyond the ambit of our current project.

Our basic premise is the Tukutuku Raraba provides the baseline narrative which needs to be subjected to analytical rigor. We take as a given that different approaches to the study of the past can be accommodated by viewing the Tukutuku Raraba as baseline narrative which is subjected to rigorous testing against the laws of evidence. We find that despite deep gaps in timeline and paucity of information relating to the transition between titleholders, given the context and resources available to our people at the time these traditions were first recorded, the sworn testament of 1928 in our humble opinion contains sufficient elements of historical 'truth' to provide a working document for contemporary post-colonial approaches.

Our research is not about unearthing the meaning of 'authenticity' but obtaining a general consensus from all available versions of family histories, genealogies and other narratives of origins as we can possibly marshal. To paraphrase a research maxim, the personal lives of historical figures in any society are often bound inextricably with the historical evolution of their societies.<sup>251</sup>

Our project explored the limits to which the Tukutuku Raraba can be accepted as a *historical document*; a document that is more than just a simple narrative given by person at a certain time in history. As you will know, this approach is in vogue with societies moored in oral traditions and whose own people are determined to represent themselves in ways that are subtler, nuanced and holistic than the often simplistic ways they have been represented in texts written by others about them. Thus, the Tukutuku Raraba is an important starting point in our research.

We are grateful for the detail notes and time you have taken to address issues in our project, issues which you naturally and equally feel passionate about even if viewed from divergent ends of academic posturing if not family spectrum. In saying this, we attempted to respond to certain

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<sup>251</sup> C Wright Mills' *The Sociological Imagination*.

points you raised, even if briefly given their importance. In so doing, our response is circumscribed by our TOR and partnership with the Ministry of iTaukei Affairs.

### **General Issues:**

You mentioned that you were disappointed ‘with the method our team has chosen to conduct this research: questionnaire, a western construct’.

We noted the relevant points to structure and this formed the basis of our Talanoa with all the different stakeholders using the local language and English for non-local researchers. A questionnaire is a western construct but so is the research and development enterprise which continues to be adapted by locals to suit needs as indigenous people engage and seek some equity in the research agenda.

### **Historical Background**

While your responses as outlined in 3.2 (a-d) are insightful, we believe that you may have glossed over an important dimension of the Tukutuku Raraba; that is, its mythical or symbolic dimension. This is part and parcel of all oral traditions and should be handled with care. One cannot begin to deconstruct something using techniques of analysis if the facticity - impossibility of proving the ultimate grounds of the existence of something handed down - of what one is trying to analyse has not been established using accepted canons of research. This, in a nutshell, is what confronted us with that tale of origin. We could neither prove nor disprove it with any ‘hard’ evidence, discourse analysis notwithstanding. Given this, it would be pointless to start poking holes at it. Discourse analysis is fine if we are trying to excavate ‘truth’ at any given point in history. However, if used heedlessly this kind of interrogation would only result in a kind of deconstruction that usually ends up in fragments or even mayhem.

You have followed, pretty much, the technique of enquiry you used in 3.2 with 3.3. The only thing to note is that, contrary to what is being alleged, we are aware that the notion of mataqali was a social construct that made its appearance outside eastern Fiji between 1890 (Wilkinson) and 1910 (Maxwell). A cursory glance at the works of Peter France, Nayacakalou and others are enough to wrest away the notion that Mataqali’s are eternal Platonic forms. So we understood that when Tomasi Mara started defining social units in Natewa in terms of mataqali, he was using a taxonomy that was available to him at that *given point in time*. We agree that if you want to get to the ‘truth’ of what was there before that, then one has to look past the mataqali construct.

Your point on the buli and the roles they occupy is well taken. We agree also that their relationship may have given rise to collusion. But if there was any collusion, the traces of this would have been evident in the *shared* memory of the people of Natewa. Based on this assumption, we also tried to ascertain the veracity of that claim.

### **4.0 The second migration to Natewa: the emergence of the Vunivalu**

The team has good reason to believe that Saurara was part of the Roko Tui Bau people who identified themselves as Bauan. He may not be from Ra as you have alleged. This is based on new information that may not have been integrated in our earlier report sent to you. We have outlined the specifics concerning this in the second part of our report. Suffice to say at this point that all your concerns about Naboutuiloma as articulated by Sayes and others were taken on board by the

team. However, what we did with it was to subject it to the oral narrative concerning origins to find out if one or the other can be further illuminated. We are mindful of the fact that the narrative of Naboutuiloma is primarily based on oral evidence too.

Our findings suggest Saurara did not arrive in 1846 but much earlier and our evidence suggests reviewing current timelines.

#### 4.1 *The installation of the Vunivalu and the second political configuration*

We have nothing much to say on Maikeli Livani's testimony. We note however the parallels between Maikeli Livani and Yautibi with Tomasi Mara and Valenisau. That is, the very claims that you alleged to have happened between Tomasi Mara and Epeli Vakalalabure could have happened between Maikeli Livani and Mai Yautibi. In light of this, we went with the available evidence.

The issues surrounding the Sauvou is also known to the team. In this case, as in others, we have been diligently following the trail of evidence. We have tried to rein in our natural tendency for conjecture and allow the evidence speak for itself.

As to your observations about important timelines in Natewa, we have been able to establish who was Vunivalu in Natewa during those early skirmishes with Cakaudrove. Again the trail of evidence speaks for itself. As to the origins of the Vusaratu, we have evidence that they came with Saurara of Bau way before the Bauan/ Somosomo war against Natewa in 1846.

On the issues you highlighted on Sovatabua, our response is in Part B of our report. What is interesting is your observation that 'Tradition dictates that the name of the *yavutu*, *yavusa* and the chiefly *yavu* should have the same name because they represent the chiefly position (assuming there is no change with the structure) since time immemorial. Why has Natewa adopted the Sovatabua name as a *yavusa* when it is the name of a unit of a lower social status?' We, like you, have an answer to this from written sources and oral narratives in Natewa. The general history of Fiji highlights accounts where your 'rule' may not necessarily hold.

#### 5.0 Succession of chiefs of Natewa from first settlement to the present

##### Timeline of arrival of the Bauans

You correctly observed that our initial timeline is wrong. It actually stemmed from an erroneous assumption on our part that we had not been able to correct when that Report was sent. We apologise for that. Our revised timeline is the result of rigorous interrogation of hand-me-down knowledge coupled with the Tukutuku Raraba of nearby yavusas.

We disagree with the 1846 date as this cannot be reconciled with other written accounts by missionaries such as Waterhouse, Lythe, and Hunt together with Sayes. Oral traditions and narratives also played a part in our informed assessment.

#### 5.1 *First political Order: Chiefly title – Tu Natewa*

Our position on Ratu Radolou moving to Viani and back is problematic in a number of ways. These are clearly outlined in Part B of our report. We also feel that your account of Turagalevu is slightly skewed. We agree that the two daughters were looking after him but that did not mean, at least for Jackson, that he was pathetic. We read that passage and came to, what we hope, is a more balanced and nuanced conclusion.

In terms of the appropriation of names by different social units in Natewa, the Vola Ni kawa Bula, for us has been enlightening. It is perhaps suitable to say at this point that neither Vatulawa nor the Vakalalabure family have ever adopted Ratu Radolou or Rokodolou or Rokodulu from Yautibi. This is based on an investigation of the Vola Ni Kawa Bula.

## 6.0 Important notes and timelines – Analysing the Tukutuku Raraba as a historical document

### 6.1 *The Tu Natewa*

We query your analysis of Draveisau's statement: *Draveisau had this to say: ... no one in Valenisau before, sa qai kena tawase ma ... (refer to p.4 above). The informant is saying here that the Valenisau clan was only created in 1847 when Cakobau intervened with his warriors, who later resided in Vusaratu, (TR p. 344).*

One can only say this if one has no other recourse but to take the statement at face-value. This is where oral narratives that exist and tenaciously defended by groups/families can cast a new light to illuminate what is being said in a more holistic fashion. We have taken this into account.

We also note that Baleicoqe was not conflated with Dakuwaqa in our report. If anything, we believe, with good reason, that Baleicoqe is also Veitoyaki. In fact, we have tried to relook at Hocart's list as well as the list in the Tukutuku Raraba in light of genealogies as well as events of historical importance in Natewa. In so doing, we have been able to answer some of the questions that you are posing in this section.

You are correct in our view that Totovaqala and Raliku are one and the same. This is informed by accepted Natewan etiquette in relation to names.

We, again, differ with your view as to the origins of Baleicoqe and Totovaqala given our current understanding from our research.

We respectfully disagree with your and Dakuvula's speculations on the machinations of Bonaveidogo in Natewa. *The evidence did not in any way support that conclusion.*

The current dilemma that you faced with 13 Vunivalu's in Natewa as opposed to only 3 from Bau during the same period is because of the erroneous timeline starting in 1846.

Savubuliti's Diary

We note that you have been getting personal information from a diary allegedly written by your grandfather. Unfortunately, as we do not have access to that, we have been examining the parameters of specific historical/anecdotal accounts in Natewa and could not find any meaningful intersection between the information conveyed from that diary and the general consensus from sources in Natewa during our research. We humbly suggest the diary information be subjected to rigorous scrutiny to establish its veracity.

## 7.0 The issue surrounding the dispute concerning the Vunivalu title

### 7.3 Claims from Yautibi

See p. 6 regarding Maikeli's observation in 1973 before the installation of the Maivalebasaga as the Vunivalu. The leading researcher has neglected, regarding fn 45, to mention that the last Vakabutakoci Yautibi performed was to Ratu Gasagasa in 2005/6. With regard to the direct line of the Tu Natewa, see quotes in Dakuvula's response to the report and comments from grandfather's informants (Savubuliti Diary). The research leader should also remember during the 2016 iTLFC inquiry, the Commissioner raised the question whether there was anyone in the audience who knew the descendants of the Tu Natewa. The Tui Vusasivo and the Tui Kama raised their hands. When the Tui Vusasivo pointed at Mr. Dakuvula as the direct descendant, he informed the Commissioner that his father and grandfather told him (see also Colchester, 2001). Can the research team explain the discrepancy in the TR and the 2016 claims by the witnesses?

Response: The veivakabutakoci has always been performed by Yautibi, as part of the Valelevu social unit. But its import is understood differently by the two existing tokatokas of Valelevu (1. Valelevu 2. Yautibi). We have taken into considerations both accounts.

We did not, at any point in time, question the Viani link in the way that it has been portrayed in this sentence:

*Eta: For information on our origin, see Part II of the report. The Viani link is clear. Whether your informants from Viani do not know where we came from is immaterial. In the 1990s a man from Vusaratu, Te Loa, unsolicited, told me that we were the descendants of the Tu Natewa. He is the son of Jone Setani of Viani, the same source named by Adi Cakau (see p.11). All my siblings and cousins have beautiful memories of our experiences in Vunitavotavo, a land leased by my grandfather since the 1930s, close to Viani, because of this strong blood link. My grandfather's diaries are full of our collective experience in Vunitavotavo/Viani. The lease has not been renewed but the relationship is still strong. We have never claimed to originate from Viani.*

Response: We have highlighted the second sentence because it is not a true account of what transpired. What is in the report was that the people in Viani could not remember Yautibi's arrival there. They always thought that the Yautibi was always established there and later moved to Natewa. This impression corroborates the collective memory of Yautibi's origins in Natewa.

As to your claim that the tokatoka Valelevu is NOT from Bau Island – we agree. That is part of the evidence that Saurara left Bau much earlier. According to Deve Toganivalu’s manuscript, Bau Island was inhabited by the Bau people in 1760.

#### 8.1.7

We disagree on your interpretation on the role of Mai Dreketi based on our reading of Tukutuku Raraba as well as general consensus of custom in Natewa.

#### 8.1.8

The respondents from the Bau group identified themselves differently from Sovatabua. This has to do with the way the two social units identified themselves in Natewa. All in all, we were trying to answer to specific questions raised in the course of our interview/Talanoa. For example the existence of the ‘Bi ni Vonu’ was used by respondents from Valenisau as evidence that Valelevu were originally brought in from Bau to be fishermen of the Tu Natewa. We identified an alternative account in the Tukutuku Raraba that throws into question that claim. We avoided unbridled speculations at all costs.

### 9.0 Issues and Items for further discussions

#### 9.1 Disputes over Origin

We have issues with some of your statements and a few examples will suffice.

The claim and evidence to justify the claim does not naturally/necessarily fit the purpose. These are outlined below. We are going to continue to use your name alongside passages that are copied and pasted from your rejoinder and we have continued to provide answers to each of these under the designated ‘response’.

*Eta: The Valelevu/Vatulawa group came from Burenitu, Dravo, Levuka, Maumi, Mokani, Namara, Namata and Ovea (Na Mata, 1891: 6). If these warriors came from eight different villages, it questions/disputes the claim that they are a homogenous group coming from one location and pushed out due to an instability in Bau.*

Response: This is an assertion based on the war of 1846. Then it is further used to justify a group of people who came to Natewa much earlier.

*Eta: On page 43, your report mentions the vanua of Tunuloa is represented by the Masivou of Qaravutu which needs to be corrected. The power base of Tunuloa was originally Wailevu and not Qaravutu and therefore the Tui Tunuloa proper will send the Mai Dreketi, its matanivanua, or another tokatoka to Natewa. Qaravutu may send its Masivou but if it concerns the vanua of Tunuloa, protocol dictates that it has to go through Wailevu.*

Response: What we said is that the emissary of the Vanua of Tunulua to Natewa is the Masivou of Qaravutu.

*Eta: On page 50, fn 124, the team claims that Sayes sources, Ratu Meli and Ratu Delauca claimed they are descendants of the Tu Natewa and Vunivalu. We would like to categorically deny here that we are not descendants of the Vunivalu. We have always been told that we are descendants of the Tu Natewa.*

Response: This is stated in the acknowledgment page by Sayes.

*Eta: On page 51 the team associated Radolou as a father or grandfather of our great grandfather, Naisa Neketeni (born in 1859). In our family tree, Neketeni's father and grandfather's name is Dakuvula, taken from the family tree given by a Draveisau from Valenisau. So perhaps Rokodolou or Radolou/Rokodulu was the most senior member in the Valebuliti clan to take the title at that time. Or he could be one of the Dakuvulas with another name as Rokodolou. Delauca however, who is the father of the second Dakuvula was a Tu Natewa, according to my grandfather (Savubuliti diary).*

Response: we did not in any way associate Radolou with Naisa Naketeni. We problematized it in the sense that there is no clear relationship established between the two by Yautibi given the proximities of their life-spans.

*Eta: On page 52, the report asserts that there is 'a high degree of accuracy in Tomasi Mara's statements in the TR, cannot be supported by places and names alone. What are the sources because your page reference to 9.4, fn 126 does not mention anything about names.*

Response: This is as far as we have been able to vindicate the Tukutuku Raraba as a historical document by referring to sources such as Lythe, Waterhouse, Williams, Sayes, Derrick etc.

*Eta: Adi Talatoka is the sister of Tuikilakila who by 1839 was already well known for his prowess in war. If Talatoka was 25 when Naulivou died in 1829 and then betrothed to Tanoa after that, by the time she was betrothed to the chief of Natewa, she would be about 50.*

Response: Sayes is clear on this – Talatoka was earmarked by her grandfather Vakamino to be the Vunivalu of Natewa's wife before Tuikilakila took her across to Vuna. Sayes then goes on to say that later on she was taken to Bau. In other words Talatoka was earmarked for the Vunivalu of Natewa before she got married to Naulivou

*Eta: The team suggested that Tokainamena was Turagalevu without any evidence to substantiate this claim. There are also several conflictual situations that need to be teased out here. One, is this report suggesting that Bonaveidogo propped Tokainamena up as a Turagalevu while Rakuita sits idly by?*

Response: The evidence comes from a critical examination of genealogies as well as a reassessment of the timeline. The report firmly states that Tokainamena was Vunivalu AFTER Rakuita. There is no conflict.



*Eta: According to my proposed timeline, Siwatibau did not become a Sau/Vunivalu until the mid-1850s. But even if one has to go by the team's timeline between 1846 and 1850, Talatoka would still be married then. These events and the timeline do not add up. The report has just assumed that Turagalevu is Tokainamena and Vunivalu at the same time with no evidence to support this assumption. Cannibal Jack would have certainly recorded the unusual situation in his journal but he hasn't. The time frame is inconsistent with the events.*

Response: Siwatibau became Vunivalu around 1847 AFTER the Bauan/ Somosomo/Natewa war. As for Talatoka: see above.

*Eta: I have already addressed the Radolou and Neketeni gaps (p. 26). If Radolou installed the Vunivalu and Neketeni was born in 1859, is it possible that Radolou is one generation up from Neketeni as an uncle perhaps or granduncle?*

Response: This is conjecture and could not be backed up by evidence. It could also be as easy to speculate that perhaps they are NOT related at all. In fact, oral evidence points to this.

*Eta: 9.4.9. On Yautibi claim*

*The question of Ratu Sukuna's relation with my grandfather has already been explained (p. 16). The amalgamation of Yautibi and Valebuliti has been addressed on pgs. 20-21.*

Response: That is, no answer at all. The question we posed was how Ratu Sukuna would know something specific about the Tu Natewa given the narratives and information available. To venture out of these is to speculate without evidence.

*Eta: However, the word collusion is apt. Given that Valebuliti existed in 1912 (Hocart, 1952), yet by 1928 the TR has shifted the yavu name and is now claimed by Vatulawa/Valelevu. My father, born in 1919, was not registered in the VKB until after the 1928 NLC inquiry by which time he was registered as a Yautibi member. It was round about this time too that my great grandfather, Naisa Neketeni, was made to shift from his yavu Solevu to the Yautibi yavu.*

Response: This is again speculation as it is not corroborated by any available evidence apart from the claim itself. In fact, according to our sources, Naisa was at Solevu due to his kinship with Varitema Yaganameke, the then Mai Dreketi's wife.

*Eta: Can the team explain why he did not retain his yavu name Valebuliti nor his title in the TR? This is a mysterious and bizarre development given that a yavu is the only traditional heritage that is family owned and only the family can use it or allow someone else to use it.*

Response: The team could not find any evidence to confirm that Naisa's yavu was Valebuliti. In fact, we have oral evidence to the contrary.

*Eta: When Hocart interviewed some people in Natewa whether Yautibi/Valebuliti eat together as a mataqali (the Baun meaning), with Vatulawa/Valelevu, the Natewans were confused. Hocart was trying to establish who Yautibi/Valebuliti were in relation to Vatulawa/Valelevu. When he learnt that the word mataqali in Natewan dialect meant inferior, he was able to establish that my ancestors were not inferior.*

Response: This is a case of misrepresentation as we could not find any evidence in Hocart about this.

*Eta: I believe that it was the time he spent questioning his informants to clarify issues concerning my great grandfather that their statements gave the answers. It is critical that the Tukutuku Raraba must be held up to scrutiny and every statement be filtered if the team is to get to the truth. Solving such questions will partially pave the way to a more holistic approach, and a clearer picture of the complexity of the situation in Natewa. It also exposes the convoluted and sometimes twisted nature of the Tukutuku Raraba narratives.*

Response: The only reference to Naisa in Hocart's field notes, that we have been able to isolate was the doubtful claim that he was a descendant of Dakuwaqa the first Vunivalu as well as a family tree that in our considered view has been falsified.

In summary, your response has had the effect of reducing the history of succession to the Vunivalu title between Valenisau and Valelevu, which is in fact the focus of our TOR, to the place of Tu Natewa and Yautibi. In our view, the heirs of Tu Natewa and Yautibi occupies a legitimate place in the history of Natewa, and is readily acknowledged by all. What remains would seem to be identifying its rightful place in the current order under the post-colonial Vunivalu era. The discussion that this project, on the succession over the Vunivalu title, has generated will hopefully stimulate more discussion among disparate members of the vanua of Natewa, and prayerfully lead to the realization of our common purpose – bringing the warring descendants/families together and heal the vanua.

Vinaka Vakalevu.

Sincerely

Morgan Tuimaleali'ifano  
Sevanaia Sakai  
Nawi Rakuia  
Eroni Rakuia

Vers. 7 December 2019

## 16.0 Appendix C Response to Jone Dakuvula's Memo of 13<sup>th</sup> January 2020

13<sup>th</sup> January 2020

13<sup>th</sup> January 2020

**MEMO TO: Ratu Vananalagi Vesikula**

**Chairman of iTaukei Land & Fisheries Commission**

**CC Morgan Tuimalielefano, Professor Pal Ahluwalia, Tui Rakuita, E Rakuita, Eta Norton, S Sakai**

**RESPONSE TO THE USP STUDY GROUP REPORT: "BRIDGING THE DEVIDE AND HEALING THE VANUA"**

**MEMO TO: Ratu Vananalagi Vesikula**

**Jone Dakuvula**

**Chairman of iTaukei Land & Fisheries Commission**

Thank you for sending me this Report, Dr Morgan Tuimalielefano, responding

**CC Morgan Tuimalielefano, Professor Pal Ahluwalia, Tui Rakuita,**

**E Rakuita, Eta Norton, S Sakai**

The above new title of the USP Study Group Report, inspired and led by Dr Tuinawi Rakuita, is hypocritical in words and new "objectives," given Tuinawi and Eroni Rakuita's, family history of dividing the Vanua and causing deep unhealed wounds with their unilateral actions in installing their three Vunivalu without support of the "Masi Ni Vanua" Chiefs and most people in Natewa

**RESPONSE TO THE USP STUDY GROUP REPORT: "BRIDGING THE DEVIDE AND HEALING THE VANUA"**

the misinterpretations, lack of understanding, distortions and outright lies contained in this Report submitted to the iTaukei Lands Commission. I just read quickly last night since returning from Vanua Levu.

*Here I express a more serious concern about the basic corruption and illegality of the Study of the Natewa Title Dispute. This view will come as a shock to the Study Group. I am shocked too because I had not expected this.*

**Jone Dakuvula**

I note in the Appendix of the Report, an Appeal Letter dated 25<sup>th</sup> September 2019 by David Dugan, the Vunivalu against the ruling of the ILC on 20<sup>th</sup>

Thank you for sending me this Report, Dr Morgan Tuimalielefano, responding to requests from Dr Eta Norton and me since last year.

The above new title of the USP Study Group Report, inspired and led by Dr Tuinawi Rakuita, is hypocritical in words and new "objectives," given Tuinawi and Eroni Rakuita's, family history of dividing the Vanua and causing deep unhealed wounds with their unilateral actions in installing their three Vunivalu without support of the "Masi Ni Vanua" Chiefs and most people in Natewa

The above new title of the USP Study Group Report, inspired and led by Dr Tuinawi Rakuita, is hypocritical in words and new "objectives," given Tuinawi and Eroni Rakuita's, family history of dividing the Vanua and causing deep unhealed wounds with their unilateral actions in installing their three Vunivalu without support of the "Masi Ni Vanua" Chiefs and most people in Natewa Vanua in the last 16 years. This is just a brief Note before I will refute in detail the misinterpretations, lack of understanding, distortions and outright lies contained in this Report submitted to the iTaukei Lands Commission. I just read quickly last night since returning from Vanua Levu.

***Here I express a more serious concern about the basic corruption and illegality of the Study of the Natewa Title Dispute. This view will come as a shock to the Study Group. I am shocked too because I had not expected this.***

I note in the Appendix of the Report, an Appeal Letter dated 13<sup>th</sup> September 2016 by Iferemi Buaserau, the Vunivalu against the ruling of the NLC on 16<sup>th</sup> June 2016 with respect to Rakuita Teariki Vakalalabure's traditional status and right as claimant to the Title of Vunivalu. This Appeal is still to be decided by the Lands Commission Tribunal. Tuinawi Rakuita had made the point in this Report about the legal status of the Tukutuku Raraba and its procedural process. ***Yet he has involved the USP and his study group in advising on the "process of adjudicating on the competing claims" {Objective 1 of the Report.}***

In other words, he and Eroni Rakuita are advising the Commission on the Appeal of their older brother Ifereimi Buaserau, on **how the Tribunal could best decide on the appeal in favour of the Appellant. This is not only illegal; it is completely UNETHICAL from standpoint of academic research ethics.** This renders Tuinawi's claim of "research integrity" so viciously wrong and contemptible. This Study should not have been taken in terms of its new objective. The Research Committee, should not have approved it. It made me wonder what Tuinawi and Eroni are teaching at USP in their programme of Development and Governance. Such obvious lack of scholarship and empiricism (more on this later)

The iTLC Tribunal and the Native Lands Commission have shown bad judgement and legal naivety in agreeing to this study and in providing highly confidential Tukumuku Raraba documents to the USP Study Group for the purpose of this illegal study. **The Commission should never have accepted Tuinawi's proposed Study in the first place, because its responsibility is to preserve the legal integrity and independence of the Commission and the Appeal Tribunal.**

This iTLC Commission should throw out this Report. The USP Research Committee also must immediately review its approval and disavow its support of this illegal Report. This means the monies spent on this Report should be reimbursed to the University because it damages credibility of the public interest and at the very least Dr Tuinawi Eroni Rakuita should be disciplined if not expelled from USP.

They have misled everyone about their real intention.

I have also noted that whilst Dr Eta Norton's critique of the first PART A of the Report has been attached as Appendix, my own first 35 pages Critique has not been appended even though there are substantive references to it in the Report. This too is unethical and unfair. I am attaching a copy here for you to read.

It is obvious that my critique will be embarrassing to the NLC because I have raised substantive issues about the failures of the first PART A Report to

address the questions and issues that this kind of Report should be addressing as a professional and potentially "independent" and objective Study Group. This is not what this Report is now. It is obvious from the difference between the initial Part A Report sent to me and Dr Eta Norton that Tuinawi had later

defined the specific objectives of this Report without letting us, the main commentators, know these objectives. I believe these were also not determined by the iTLC and I doubt the USP Research Committee, whose support was sought for funds, approved these hidden objectives.

Furthermore, the Report was submitted even though I and Dr Eta Norton had been again invited to provide further comments. I had warned the Study Group there was still more to come from me about the issues they were concerned with. They have submitted their Report anyway. There was no need to submit this Report urgently to you because I doubt that you had asked for it the first place.

I ask, has the respondent to this Appeal, Ratu Rakuita Vakalalabure, been notified of the Appeal and provided with the Appeal documents? This Report and other relevant papers? Under the law, he has a right to be given ample opportunity to respond, especially at a public hearing of the Appeal. I as the head of Yautibi Tokatoka, believe we have legal standing and will ask to be heard too at this hearing. I am seeking legal advice on this matter.

The Chairman of the Tribunal, Aminiasi Katonivualiku, had advised me, when I first asked to appeal the case in 2016 by letter, that I had no standing. But two years later in an unsolicited and unofficial Facebook Message, Aminiasi Katonivualiku, informed me I could have appealed! It was well past the date of appeal. I did not know that Ifereimi Buaserau has appealed the case. His brother, Dr Tuinawi Rakuita, has misled me and Dr Eta Norton about the objective of his study and he and Eroni Rakuita had never met us to clarify their objective.

They told Dr Tuimalielefano they were afraid to meet me, yet used what I had confidentially told him as material for attacking my credibility and integrity. I will deal with this in my response to them about this Report. It is clear from reading Ifereimi Buaserau appeal ground that his desire is not only to reverse the Commissions lawful decision regarding Rakuita Vakalalabure's human right (and that of other members of the Valenisau Mataqali), he also wants to deprive Yautibi of our legal and traditional right to decide who can be installed as Vunivalu. Both the NLC and the Tribunal had confirmed this.

Behind all this is Dr Rakuita Tuinawi' s illegal and immoral manoeuvre to achieve for his brother and himself and members of their families. What they



want is complete dictatorship over the Vanua of Natewa. This had been obvious in their actions for a long time. They seem unaware (or probably are ignoring this) of the growing unpopularity in Natewa village and the Vanua of their brother Buaserau and his reluctant side kick, Mai Dreketi, Pita Manamanaivalu. Evident in the Bose Vanua that they convene. Defending a child molester in the villages, lack of accountability for Vanua funds they have received. Gossip are rife all round Natewa Bay villages and Tunuloa Tikina and this had spread to Somosomo, Taveuni, Laucala and Qamea islands, the Vanua of Vuna, about the illegitimacy of their claim on the Vunivalu Title. I do not mention Macuata, Bua and indeed most parts of Fiji, including overseas living Fijians. This evidence can be obtained from Facebook and Internet conversations. In Verata, Bau, and Rewa, the Chiefs know of the illegitimacy of the Vatulawa claim on the Vunivalu Title. No amount of manoeuvring by Tuinawi and Eroni Rakuita can take away what is already widely known.

I had avoided asking to meet you since the Tribunal decision in June 2016 out of respect of the independence and legal integrity of the Commission. These others you have met from USP have no sensitivity and no such respect. / ***am concerned that the iTLC Commission is in danger of losing integrity and respect, hence this letter requesting an urgent meeting with you.***

We in Yautibi, immediately after the ruling of the NLC Tribunal in June 2016, met in Natewa and Suva and agreed to accept and respect the ruling even though we believed that it was wrong in a number of respects. We decided to explore the option of appealing it but I was advised by the Chairman Aminiasi Katonivualiku, that we did not have standing. I met the Tui Kama, Ratu Seru Taqali and advised him to support and help Buaserau because he was the oldest and most knowledgeable Masi ni Vanua in the whole of Cakaudrove Province, still alive. And this is what we got from Vatulawa, unrelenting hatred!!

My phone numbers are 9469446 (mobile) or 3370765 (Home). I will call your office anyway after you have time to read this Memo. You will note that I am copying this to the Vice Chancellor of the USP and Dr Tuinawi and his academic colleagues.

Yours Sincerely,

My phone numbers are 9469446 (mobile) or 3370765 (Home). I will call your office anyway after you have time to read this Memo. You will note that I am copying this to the Vice Chancellor of the USP and Dr Tuinawi and his academic colleagues.

Jone Dakuvula

Turaga ni! Walewale Vasa!

Yours Sincerely,

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Jone Dakuvula

Turaga ni i Tokatoka Yautibi

## 16.0 Appendix C1 Response to Jone Dakuvala's Memo of 13<sup>th</sup> January 2020

Dear Jone,

Thank you for your memo dated 13<sup>th</sup> January 2020. First, let me assure you that I am the team leader of the Research team although, as you rightly pointed out, Dr Tui Rakuita first mooted the idea of doing a research on the Vunivalu disputes in Natewa.

The report, as its heading suggests, is not meant as a divisive tool to prop up a certain agenda but to reexamine the Tukutuku Raraba using approaches that have been proven to be of immeasurable value in academia.

The team has read the memo you sent to Ratu Vananalagi, Professor Pal and I, on the 13<sup>th</sup> of January 2020, and, in turn, endeavoured to reply to each allegation that you have put across. For greater clarity, we have numbered each allegation that you made against the team. This is followed immediately by our response.

On the first page of the memo, you made a number of allegations. Most of these, however, do not directly relate to the research project but are aimed at the family of two of our research members who, in your view, have had a divisive impact on the Vanua of Natewa. This is outside the scope of this research and we would urge you to take the matter up with them or, even better, the I Taukei Lands and Fisheries Commission.

The allegation that has a direct bearing on the team and the project is listed in the bottom half of that page; that is:

1. *You allege that the current report has been used to support an appeal by the current Vunivalu, Rt Buaserau against Rt Rakuita Vakalalabure. This allegation is based on the inclusion of an appeal document dated, 13<sup>th</sup> September 2016 by the current Vunivalu against the ruling of the ITLFC in 2016 (June)*

### **Team Response:**

There is no appeal by the current Vunivalu nor anyone else after the I Taukei Tribunal ruling. The document that you saw was submitted by the Vunivalu to the I Taukei Appeals Tribunal against the ITLFC ruling of 2016. This submission, as you well know, was thrown out by the Appeals Tribunal on the grounds that they were there to only hear Ratu Rakuita's appeal against the ruling of the ITLFC. Ratu Rakuita, was seeking redress in light of the ruling against his contention that he is the more legitimate claimant to the Vunivalu title. After the ruling, Ratu Rakuita sought redress with the I Taukei Appeals Tribunal. This, in the eyes of the Tribunal, makes him the only true appellant.

We believe that your written submission was also dismissed by the Chair of the Tribunal but with a difference. The basis of the ruling against the Vunivalu's (Rt Buaserau) submission was that the Tribunal

was there to only assess the merits of the appeal by Ratu Rakuita against an earlier ruling of the ITLFC. Your submission, on the other hand, was dismissed because you are not a claimant to the title.

The inclusion of the 'appeal' document was not so much as to suggest a new appeal as to outline the point of view of the Vunivalu and his tokatoka in relation to the title dispute. We have taken the liberty of asking the ITLFC to provide us with Ratu Rakuita Vakalalabure's submission so that we may add that too to the appendix. It is in this vein that we have decided to include Dr Eta Norton's response to a draft copy of our report in the appendix as well. These documents, then, become references as readers sift through the different claims contained in the report itself.

2. *On the second page of your memo, you questioned the integrity of the University of the South Pacific in allowing what in your view is a biased research programme with prejudicial intent.*

**Response:**

You might not be aware of the fact that our research proposal was vetted by the Research committee at the University. At no time did we hide the fact that Eroni and Dr Tui were 'insiders'. A rudimentary understanding of Max Weber's work is enough to dispel the myth that there is such a thing as a value-free science. In our context, this means that the view that only outsiders can be objective in research projects like this becomes untenable.

Weber reminded us that 'objectivity' and 'subjectivity' in social research are closely intertwined. In this way, the presence of 'insiders' in a research like this does not make the research any less objective. In our view the 'insider' viewpoint is critical. That is why we also engaged with you, as insiders, during the entire course of our field work. The report itself is not illegal or unethical as it has neither infringed on any law nor circumvented any ethical issue pertaining to research as defined by the Research Committee of the University.

3. *You have also urged the ITLFC to throw out the report.*

**Response:**

The research team has always understood that the ITLFC has the prerogative to do whatever it wants with the report.

4. *You questioned why your submission has not been appended even though there are substantive references to it in the report.*

**Response:**

The submission that we used in the report was not the one you have just submitted but an older one that you tried to submit to the I Taukei Appeals Tribunal in 2017 but was informed that the appeal was only sitting to hear out Ratu Rakuira Vakalalabure's claims for judicial redress (see response to allegation 1 above).

WE had no time to read your response to the draft report as it came in way too late for us to be able to do anything with it. This is the sole reason why it has not been appended yet. The primary reason why your old report referred to above has not been appended either is because it is in a pdf format and is not a Word document. Nevertheless, our intention is to print it out and append it to the final report. There are other pdf documents in our possession that will be handled in the same way.

5. *You alleged, on the third page of your memo, that we had fiddled around with the main objectives of the report in a non-transparent manner*

**Response:**

The objectives of the research have remained unchanged. There is no hidden agenda.

6. *You alleged that the group went ahead and submitted the report even though we had asked you and Dr Eta Norton to provide further comments.*

**Response:**

We have not submitted the report yet. It is still being edited as we speak. We received Dr Eta Norton's critique in time to reassess some of the arguments we initially made. Your response came AFTER we had completed the report. Be rest assured however that we will take time to read it and respond to it. We will reserve the right, however, whether to include it as part of the appendix as Dr Eta's critique is already there.

7. *You asked if Ratu Rakuira has been notified of the appeal*

**Response:**

This is not an appeal but an attempt to fill in the blanks inherent in the Tukutuku Raraba. We have tried to get in touch with Ratu Rakuira, who lives and works in the Cook Islands, in order to get a response to our PART A. We failed. However, we have been able to submit the report to the chairman of his mataqali in Suva to review it and get back to us.

8. *You alleged that certain team members were 'afraid' to meet with you.*

Response:

We have no recollection of that. In fact, Dr Tui Rakuita accompanied Dr Tuimalealiifano when he first came to interview you but was asked to leave as you preferred to talk only with the latter. This is completely understandable in situations like this.

The rest of the allegations are of a personal nature and we deem it improper to address them here as they ultimately do not have any impact on the conclusions we made in the report.

### **Conclusion:**

We feel that, like Dr Eta Norton, your report attempts to reduce the dispute on the Vunivalu title, between Valelevu and Valenisau, to the issue of the Tu Natewa which your family has claimed for itself. Unfortunately, that is outside the ambit of the current work. We started from the assumption that the Tukutuku Raraba, for all its faults, still has enough traces of the truth to base our current research on. We have not deviated from this basic supposition.

At no time have we tried to engage in a less honourable manner. We realise the gravity of the situation as chiefly disputes are also, by definition, disputes about group identities.

**Morgan Tuimaleali'ifano**

(Research Team Leader)

Via email 17 July 2020

Yandra Jone

This is to confirm personal delivery of Natewa report to you at Pacific Dialogue this morning. It also included the team's follow up response to your email of 14 July. Looking forward to our next talanoa soon.

With Best wishes  
sMorgan for Natewa Team

c.c. Dr Eta Varani-Norton, VCP Professor Ahluwalia and ITLFC Chair,  
Ratu Vana Vesikula for information.

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Response to Jone Dakuvula's email of 14 July 2020.

**Jone. Our responses below.**

JD: Morgan and Natewa team.

I had asked for a printed copy of the paper to be delivered to me last Friday or this last weekend but none has arrived. Why ? I do not have the facility to print it nor the funds to do so ,As i had NOT been involved any further in following your work since my last response in February ( which by the way criticised and disagreed with the assumption, central objective and methodology of the study) I need time to read it to see how you have incorporated any of my criticisms and information.. I do not read and study thick reports on the computer screen. i get them printed as it is more convenient. You said you had money to do this for me but you have not delivered on your promise. There is no point in inviting me to accompany you to Natewa when you have not given me the opportunity to decide if it is the right thing to do ,to go with you.And that can only be decided after I have read your final Report'.

NT: My apologies. I am also getting old and will personally print out a copy for you and deliver before end of this week.

JD: As I have said right from the beginning, the objective of this divisive (sic) as there is no need to try and examine the existence of the Tui Natewa in the iTukutuku Raraba.and try to discredit our claim as descendants.of that line.

NT: Any history of Natewa needs to acknowledge that the position of Tu Natewa is a key figure in Natewa's ancestral line and history. We will dispute any claim that we are attempting to discredit Natewa's ancestors.

JD: This issue had been resolved for us by the late Ratu Sir lala Sukuna who told my grand father that the iTukutuku Raraba of Natewa was fraudulent and that he was descendant of the real traditional chief of Natewa. Ratu Sukuna had been a friend of my grandfather throughout his days as they had worked together in the NLC before he went to study at Oxford before world war One.

NT: The team has no issue with your statements. For history's sake, we seek Ratu Sukuna's sources of his knowledge about this specific aspect of Natewan history for later generations to pursue it for themselves.



JD: If you have read Peter France's *Charter of the Land* he said the work of the NLC was very contentious and there was a lot of disagreement and objection from the i taukei when it was being done by Europeans right from the 19th Century. So there was a lot of fraudulent information given usually to prop up certain claims and positions and dismiss others, Natewa was one of those frauds.

NT: We note that Peter France in his seminal work *The Charter of the Land: custom and colonization in Fiji* (1969) observed that the submissions given to the NLC commissioners as the tribal statements (Tukutuku Raraba aka as the charter of the land) of each yavusa were 'subjected to critical examination and recorded in circumstances which encourage reliance on their substantial accuracy'.<sup>252</sup>

In p. 11, he clarifies the reality of the *itukutuku raraba*.

It is not suggested that the *tukutuku raraba* are entirely historical in content. They were presented as charters to justify the tribe's position in relation to its neighbours, both in social prestige and in the ownership of land. The opening statements, which link the tribe with its ancestor-gods, and the closing lists of acceptable land tenure practices are clearly formulated, in Malinowski's phrase, as 'codifications of belief'. But the rambling narrative between serves no apparent function; it contains, as it were, the *obiter dicta* [Law: an observation by a judge on some point of law not directly in issue in the case before him/her, or any comment or remark made in passing; or something said in passing, CCOD 1988:781] of the charter and there is no motive for falsification here. These oral traditions have been recorded in all parts of Fiji and it is possible to cross-check many of the details in the narratives.

In note 34 pp.180-181, France provides a summary of the criticism of the work of the Native Lands Commission. A major critic was contained in an article by A. C. Cato, 1951. Malolo Island and Viseisei Village, western Fiji, *Oceania* xxii, 101-115. France highlights Cato's reservations about the veracity of the *itukutuku raraba* and backgrounds the work of the Lands Commission from 1880 to 1965, which include Ratu

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<sup>252</sup> Peter France, 1969. *The Charter of the Land: custom and colonization in Fiji*, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 10ff. The critical endnote No. 34 in pp. 180-181 provides one of the most eloquent explanation on the numerous criticism of the *itukutuku raraba*. Unfortunately it is often missed by researchers.

Sukuna's period. The Commission's work began before Sukuna was born in 1888 and well after he died in 1958.

And in the critical task of cross-referencing, Dr Rakuita obtained the charters for all of Fiji (including Hocart's field notes) from a thorough search of known centres around the world and corroborated Natewa's itukutuku raraba with neighbouring vanua and others to ascertain possible sources of origin.

JD: The renowned social Anthropologist Arthur Hocart also smelt this out on his visit to Natewa and this is clear from his publication and field notes.

NT: Again, we have all of Hocart's fieldnotes and after a thorough search, we could not find any evidence for this claim.

JD: Ratu Sukuna's story told to my grandfather was known not just by me as a child but by all my grandfather's brother Ratu Nemani Bukayaro and their cousins (Ratu Oti and Nemani Katonivualiku and their father Ratu Aminiasi Katonivualiku) and my father's brothers and their cousins.

NT: We have no issue with your family's contentions.

JD: We had all kept his secret because we did not want to cause divisions in the Vanua. I had even told Ratu Vana in my earlier meetings with him before the hearings in Natewa not to raise the contentious issue of the Tu Natewa at the hearing but he did.

NT: We have no issue with your contention.

JD: Ratu Vana knows very well our family's link with Verata and it is known by all the descendants of the Yavusa Ratu Mai Verata right from the colonial period when my father was teaching in Fulton College near Verata.

NT: We have no issue with your contention.

JD: Did your study team ever visit Verata to interview people there?

NT: No.

JD: Dr Eta tells me it is claimed in your Report that you had visited Viani to talk to the Tui Navadra,

My cousin has been there twice and he was told the team did not visit to find out the truth about our relationship with the Tui Navadra, who according to Hocart's study is the traditional envoy of the Tu Natewa or Yavusa Ratu Natewa to Verata.

NT: We made no such claim in the Report. We however talked to others. These are the ones in Suva (Apaitia Waqaniboro) and his brother from Viani village who were at our home for a funeral two years ago (2018).

Apaitia noted that Dakuvula is a close relation. When pressed, he could not recollect whether they originated from Natewa. He thought they originated from Viani.

Other people from Viani in Dawa village also agree that Dakuvula et al originate from Viani.

So the conclusion in our report was that the people of Viani could NOT remember Dakuvula's family being from Natewa. They have recollections passed down of the family moving out of Viani to Natewa.

The same with the Natewan families: They remember Yautibi arriving in Natewa and NOT leaving Natewa as family members of a deposed Tu Natewa.

Indeed, the Tukutuku Raraba of Navadra has Tokatoka Yautibi in the Mataqali Rukuna. It states that by 1928 the tokatoka had no registered members. On the other hand, the Tukutuku Raraba of Natewa as recorded in 1928 has Tokatoka Yautibi in the mataqali Valelevu. Given your family's connections in Navadra, the logical inference is that Yautibi had moved in time to be recorded as a social unit in Natewa.

JD: So this is a critical falsehood in your Report'.

NT: We make the following observation in the Report on p.64. fn. 152.

The difficulty we find in this claim is based on the observation that even though Yautibi claims its lineage from the Tu Natewa lineage, and Ratu Radolou in particular, both our respondents from Yautibi could not provide a direct link between themselves and the same Ratu Radolou who they supposed returned from Navadra in time to install the first Vunivalu of Natewa. We say that this claim is difficult to verify due to the fact that no clear explanation is available on the

relationship between our respondents' grandfather Ratu Naisa Nateteni and Ratu Radolou. We note that Ratu Naisa Nateteni was born just twelve (12) years after the installation of Ratu Radolou, the first Vunivalu over which his descendants claim their grandfather had presided. As an aside, Shelley Anne Sayes acknowledged her informants, Ratu Meli Savubuliti and his son, Ratu Delauca as descendants of both Tu Natewa and Vunivalu. The team, however, could not verify Sayes claims.

JD: I do not know why you have to go to present your Report to the Vunivalu and the people of Natewa at this time given the current restrictions on public meetings,

NT: The current restrictions have been relaxed and a gathering is permitted up to 100 people with social distancing. Our investigation began in 2017 (with you and Eta firmly as collaborators) and we are now into the third year. Chiefs and elders who kindly consented to this work and helped along the way are not getting younger and some have passed on including the Turaga na Sauvou. It is important to reciprocate their considerable investment in this work before more disappear.

JD: As I have not had opportunity to read a hard copy of your final report and because of certain commitments i have made to other organisations this week i will not be able to accept your invitation.

NT: Again, my apologies on behalf of the team. I will ensure one is with you before end of the week. As for our invite, we hope you will reconsider in the foreseeable future.

Jone/ Natewa Team (16 July 2020).

## 17.0 Appendix D Our (Research Team) Reply to Dr Eta Varani Norton's (Yautibi) Position Statement

Bula Eta,

Thank you very much for your useful critical response received on 1 October 2019 which is highly appreciated for the extent of coverage and analysis. Jone's response was also received in relation to Part A and last month, we were going to discuss over coffee Part B. Truly, all of us have been involved in so many projects running in parallel that often we were just grateful that we survived each day as it comes.

While we wanted to respond as quickly as possible, we also wanted to complete the report before we finalize a response to you. In the course of reading your response, it became clear that our respective purposes were worlds apart. While there is obvious merit in deconstructing and reconstructing the past for the purposes of the present from your point of view, and while our interests converge in many areas, our TOR made it clear that our approaches would be very different. Our approach was circumscribed and confined to the dispute over succession to the Vunivalu title in Natewa and this meant focusing on the Tukutuku Raraba as the baseline narrative of Natewan history and subjecting it to the process of falsification.

Yours on the other hand, is a much broader and ambitious scope of study and in order to achieve its stated aims, required a deconstruction of the Tukutuku Raraba as a history of Natewa and reconstruct to convey an alternative narrative that, to you, would appear more 'authentic'. This interesting line of inquiry unfortunately extends well beyond the ambit of our current project.

Our basic premise is the Tukutuku Raraba provides the baseline narrative which needs to be subjected to analytical rigor. We take as a given that different approaches to the study of the past can be accommodated by viewing the Tukutuku Raraba as baseline narrative which is subjected to rigorous testing against the laws of evidence. We find that despite deep gaps in timeline and paucity of information relating to the transition between titleholders, given the context and resources available to our people at the time these traditions were first recorded, the sworn testament of 1928 in our humble opinion contains sufficient elements of historical 'truth' to provide a working document for contemporary post-colonial approaches.

Our research is not about unearthing the meaning of 'authenticity' but obtaining a general consensus from all available versions of family histories, genealogies and other narratives of origins as we can possibly marshal. To paraphrase a research maxim, the personal lives of historical figures in any society are often bound inextricably with the historical evolution of their societies.<sup>253</sup>

Our project explored the limits to which the Tukutuku Raraba can be accepted as a *historical document*; a document that is more than just a simple narrative given by person at a certain time in history. As you will know, this approach is in vogue with societies moored in oral traditions and whose own people are determined to represent themselves in ways that are subtler, nuanced and

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<sup>253</sup> C Wright Mills' *The Sociological Imagination*.

holistic than the often simplistic ways they have been represented in texts written by others about them. Thus, the Tukutuku Raraba is an important starting point in our research.

We are grateful for the detail notes and time you have taken to address issues in our project, issues which you naturally and equally feel passionate about even if viewed from divergent ends of academic posturing if not family spectrum. In saying this, we attempted to respond to certain points you raised, even if briefly given their importance. In so doing, our response is circumscribed by our TOR and partnership with the Ministry of iTaukei Affairs.

### **General Issues:**

You mentioned that you were disappointed ‘with the method our team has chosen to conduct this research: questionnaire, a western construct’.

We noted the relevant points to structure and this formed the basis of our Talanoa with all the different stakeholders using the local language and English for non-local researchers. A questionnaire is a western construct but so is the research and development enterprise which continues to be adapted by locals to suit needs as indigenous people engage and seek some equity in the research agenda.

### **Historical Background**

While your responses as outlined in 3.2 (a-d) are insightful, we believe that you may have glossed over an important dimension of the Tukutuku Raraba; that is, its mythical or symbolic dimension. This is part and parcel of all oral traditions and should be handled with care. One cannot begin to deconstruct something using techniques of analysis if the facticity - impossibility of proving the ultimate grounds of the existence of something handed down - of what one is trying to analyse has not been established using accepted canons of research. This, in a nutshell, is what confronted us with that tale of origin. We could neither prove nor disprove it with any ‘hard’ evidence, discourse analysis notwithstanding. Given this, it would be pointless to start poking holes at it. Discourse analysis is fine if we are trying to excavate ‘truth’ at any given point in history. However, if used heedlessly this kind of interrogation would only result in a kind of deconstruction that usually ends up in fragments or even mayhem.

You have followed, pretty much, the technique of enquiry you used in 3.2 with 3.3. The only thing to note is that, contrary to what is being alleged, we are aware that the notion of mataqali was a social construct that made its appearance outside eastern Fiji between 1890 (Wilkinson) and 1910 (Maxwell). A cursory glance at the works of Peter France, Nayacakalou and others are enough to wrest away the notion that Mataqali’s are eternal Platonic forms. So we understood that when Tomasi Mara started defining social units in Natewa in terms of mataqali, he was using a taxonomy that was available to him at that *given point in time*. We agree that if you want to get to the ‘truth’ of what was there before that, then one has to look past the mataqali construct.

Your point on the buli and the roles they occupy is well taken. We agree also that their relationship may have given rise to collusion. But if there was any collusion, the traces of this would have been

evident in the *shared* memory of the people of Natewa. Based on this assumption, we also tried to ascertain the veracity of that claim.

#### 4.0 The second migration to Natewa: the emergence of the Vunivalu

The team has good reason to believe that Saurara was part of the Roko Tui Bau people who identified themselves as Bauan. He may not be from Ra as you have alleged. This is based on new information that may not have been integrated in our earlier report sent to you. We have outlined the specifics concerning this in the second part of our report. Suffice to say at this point that all your concerns about Naboutuiloma as articulated by Sayes and others were taken on board by the team. However, what we did with it was to subject it to the oral narrative concerning origins to find out if one or the other can be further illuminated. We are mindful of the fact that the narrative of Naboutuiloma is primarily based on oral evidence too.

Our findings suggest Saurara did not arrive in 1846 but much earlier and our evidence suggests reviewing current timelines.

#### 4.1 *The installation of the Vunivalu and the second political configuration*

We have nothing much to say on Maikeli Livani's testimony. We note however the parallels between Maikeli Livani and Yautibi with Tomasi Mara and Valenisau. That is, the very claims that you alleged to have happened between Tomasi Mara and Epeli Vakalalabure could have happened between Maikeli Livani and Mai Yautibi. In light of this, we went with the available evidence.

The issues surrounding the Sauvou is also known to the team. In this case, as in others, we have been diligently following the trail of evidence. We have tried to rein in our natural tendency for conjecture and allow the evidence speak for itself.

As to your observations about important timelines in Natewa, we have been able to establish who was Vunivalu in Natewa during those early skirmishes with Cakaudrove. Again the trail of evidence speaks for itself. As to the origins of the Vusaratu, we have evidence that they came with Saurara of Bau way before the Bauan/ Somosomo war against Natewa in 1846.

On the issues you highlighted on Sovatabua, our response is in Part B of our report. What is interesting is your observation that 'Tradition dictates that the name of the *yavutu*, *yavusa* and the chiefly *yavu* should have the same name because they represent the chiefly position (assuming there is no change with the structure) since time immemorial. Why has Natewa adopted the Sovatabua name as a *yavusa* when it is the name of a unit of a lower social status?' We, like you, have an answer to this from written sources and oral narratives in Natewa. The general history of Fiji highlights accounts where your 'rule' may not necessarily hold.

## 5.0 Succession of chiefs of Natewa from first settlement to the present

### Timeline of arrival of the Bauans

Your correctly observed that our initial timeline is wrong. It actually stemmed from an erroneous assumption on our part that we had not been able to correct when that Report was sent. We apologise for that. Our revised timeline is the result of rigorous interrogation of hand-me-down knowledge coupled with the Tukutuku Raraba of nearby yavusas.

We disagree with the 1846 date as this cannot be reconciled with other written accounts by missionaries such as Waterhouse, Lyth, and Hunt together with Sayes. Oral traditions and narratives also played a part in our informed assessment.

### 5.1 *First political Order: Chiefly title – Tu Natewa*

Our position on Ratu Radolou moving to Viani and back is problematic in a number of ways. These are clearly outlined in Part B of our report. We also feel that your account of Turagalevu is slightly skewed. We agree that the two daughters were looking after him but that did not mean, at least for Jackson, that he was pathetic. We read that passage and came to, what we hope, is a more balanced and nuanced conclusion.

In terms of the appropriation of names by different social units in Natewa, the Vola Ni kawa Bula, for us has been enlightening. It is perhaps suitable to say at this point that neither Vatulawa nor the Vakalalabure family have ever adopted Ratu Radolou or Rokodolou or Rokodulu from Yautibi. This is based on an investigation of the Vola Ni Kawa Bula.

## 6.0 Important notes and timelines – Analysing the Tukutuku Raraba as a historical document

### 6.1 *The Tu Natewa*

We query your analysis of Draveisau's statement: *Draveisau had this to say: ... no one in Valenisau before, sa qai kena tawase ma ... (refer to p.4 above). The informant is saying here that the Valenisau clan was only created in 1847 when Cakobau intervened with his warriors, who later resided in Vusaratu, (TR p. 344).*

One can only say this if one has no other recourse but to take the statement at face-value. This is where oral narratives that exist and tenaciously defended by groups/families can cast a new light to illuminate what is being said in a more holistic fashion. We have taken this into account.

We also note that Baleicoqe was not conflated with Dakuwaqa in our report. If anything, we believe, with good reason, that Baleicoqe is also Veitoyaki. In fact, we have tried to relook at Hocart's list as well as the list in the Tukutuku Raraba in light of genealogies as well as events of



historical importance in Natewa. In so doing, we have been able to answer some of the questions that you are posing in this section.

You are correct in our view that Totovaqala and Raliku are one and the same. This is informed by accepted Natewan etiquette in relation to names.

We, again, differ with your view as to the origins of Baleicoqe and Totovaqala given our current understanding from our research.

We respectfully disagree with your and Dakuvula's speculations on the machinations of Bonaveidogo in Natewa. *The evidence did not in any way support that conclusion.*

The current dilemma that you faced with 13 Vunivalu's in Natewa as opposed to only 3 from Bau during the same period is because of the erroneous timeline starting in 1846.

#### Savubuliti's Diary

We note that you have been getting personal information from a diary allegedly written by your grandfather. Unfortunately, as we do not have access to that, we have been examining the parameters of specific historical/anecdotal accounts in Natewa and could not find any meaningful intersection between the information conveyed from that diary and the general consensus from sources in Natewa during our research. We humbly suggest the diary information be subjected to rigorous scrutiny to establish its veracity.

#### 7.0 The issue surrounding the dispute concerning the Vunivalu title

##### 7.3 *Claims from Yautibi*

See p. 6 regarding Maikeli's observation in 1973 before the installation of the Maivalebasaga as the Vunivalu. The leading researcher has neglected, regarding fn 45, to mention that the last Vakabutakoci Yautibi performed was to Ratu Gasagasa in 2005/6. With regard to the direct line of the Tu Natewa, see quotes in Dakuvula's response to the report and comments from grandfather's informants (Savubuliti Diary). The research leader should also remember during the 2016 iTLFC inquiry, the Commissioner raised the question whether there was anyone in the audience who knew the descendants of the Tu Natewa. The Tui Vusasivo and the Tui Kama raised their hands. When the Tui Vusasivo pointed at Mr. Dakuvula as the direct descendant, he informed the Commissioner that his father and grandfather told him (see also Colchester, 2001). Can the research team explain the discrepancy in the TR and the 2016 claims by the witnesses?

Response: The veivakabutakoci has always been performed by Yautibi, as part of the Valelevu social unit. But its import is understood differently by the two existing tokatokas of Valelevu (1. Valelevu 2. Yautibi). We have taken into considerations both accounts.

We did not, at any point in time, question the Viani link in the way that it has been portrayed in this sentence:

*Eta: For information on our origin, see Part II of the report. The Viani link is clear. Whether your informants from Viani do not know where we came from is immaterial. In the 1990s a man from Vusaratu, Te Loa, unsolicited, told me that we were the descendants of the Tu Natewa. He is the son of Jone Setani of Viani, the same source named by Adi Cakau (see p.11). All my siblings and cousins have beautiful memories of our experiences in Vunitavotavo, a land leased by my grandfather since the 1930s, close to Viani, because of this strong blood link. My grandfather's diaries are full of our collective experience in Vunitavotavo/Viani. The lease has not been renewed but the relationship is still strong. We have never claimed to originate from Viani.*

Response: We have highlighted the second sentence because it is not a true account of what transpired. What is in the report was that the people in Viani could not remember Yautibi's arrival there. They always thought that the Yautibi was always established there and later moved to Natewa. This impression corroborates the collective memory of Yautibi's origins in Natewa.

As to your claim that the tokatoka Valelevu is NOT from Bau Island – we agree. That is part of the evidence that Saurara left Bau much earlier. According to Deve Toganivalu's manuscript, Bau Island was inhabited by the Bau people in 1760.

#### 8.1.7

We disagree on your interpretation on the role of Mai Dreketi based on our reading of Tukutuku Raraba as well as general consensus of custom in Natewa.

#### 8.1.8

The respondents from the Bau group identified themselves differently from Sovatabua. This has to do with the way the two social units identified themselves in Natewa. All in all, we were trying to answer to specific questions raised in the course of our interview/Talanoa. For example the existence of the 'Bi ni Vonu' was used by respondents from Valenisau as evidence that Valelevu were originally brought in from Bau to be fishermen of the Tu Natewa. We identified an alternative account in the Tukutuku Raraba that throws that questions that claim. We avoided unbridled speculations at all costs.

## 9.0 Issues and Items for further discussions

### 9.1 Disputes over Origin

We have issues with some of your statements and a few examples will suffice.

The claim and evidence to justify the claim does not naturally/necessarily fit the purpose. These are outlined below. We are going to continue to use your name alongside passages that are copied and pasted from your rejoinder and we have continued to provide answers to each of these under the designated 'response'.

*Eta: The Valelevu/Vatulawa group came from Burenitu, Dravo, Levuka, Maumi, Mokani, Namara, Namata and Ovea (Na Mata, 1891: 6). If these warriors came from eight different villages, it questions/disputes the claim that they are a homogenous group coming from one location and pushed out due to an instability in Bau.*

Response: This is an assertion based on the war of 1846. Then it is further used to justify a group of people who came to Natewa much earlier.

*Eta: On page 43, your report mentions the vanua of Tunuloa is represented by the Masivou of Qaravutu which needs to be corrected. The power base of Tunuloa was originally Wailevu and not Qaravutu and therefore the Tui Tunuloa proper will send the Mai Dreketi, its matanivanua, or another tokatoka to Natewa. Qaravutu may send its Masivou but if it concerns the vanua of Tunuloa, protocol dictates that it has to go through Wailevu.*

Response: What we said is that the emissary of the Vanua of Tunuloa to Natewa is the Masivou of Qaravutu.

*Eta: On page 50, fn 124, the team claims that Sayes sources, Ratu Meli and Ratu Delauca claimed they are descendants of the Tu Natewa and Vunivalu. We would like to categorically deny here that we are not descendants of the Vunivalu. We have always been told that we are descendants of the Tu Natewa.*

Response: This is stated in the acknowledgment page by Sayes.

*Eta: On page 51 the team associated Radolou as a father or grandfather of our great grandfather, Naisa Neketeni (born in 1859). In our family tree, Neketeni's father and grandfather's name is Dakuvula, taken from the family tree given by a Draveisau from Valenisau. So perhaps Rokodolou or Radolou/Rokodulu was the most senior member in the Valebuliti clan to take the title at that time. Or he could be one of the Dakuvulas with another name as Rokodolou. Delauca however,*

*who is the father of the second Dakuvula was a Tu Natewa, according to my grandfather (Savubuliti diary).*

Response: we did not in any way associate Radolou with Naisa Naketeni. We problematized it in the sense that there is no clear relationship established between the two by Yautibi given the proximities of their life-spans.

*Eta: On page 52, the report asserts that there is 'a high degree of accuracy in Tomasi Mara's statements in the TR, cannot be supported by places and names alone. What are the sources because your page reference to 9.4, fn 126 does not mention anything about names.*

Response: This is as far as we have been able to vindicate the Tukutuku Raraba as a historical document by referring to sources such as Lythe, Waterhouse, Williams, Sayes, Derrick etc.

*Eta: Adi Talatoka is the sister of Tuikilakila who by 1839 was already well known for his prowess in war. If Talatoka was 25 when Naulivou died in 1829 and then betrothed to Tanoa after that, by the time she was betrothed to the chief of Natewa, she would be about 50.*

Response: Sayes is clear on this – Talatoka was earmarked by her grandfather Vakamino to be the Vunivalu of Natewa's wife before Tuikilakila took her across to Vuna. Sayes then goes on to say that later on she was taken to Bau. In other words Talatoka was earmarked for the Vunivalu of Natewa before she got married to Naulivou

*Eta: The team suggested that Tokainamena was Turagalevu without any evidence to substantiate this claim. There are also several conflictual situations that need to be teased out here. One, is this report suggesting that Bonaveidogo propped Tokainamena up as a Turagalevu while Rakuita sits idly by?*

Response: The evidence comes from a critical examination of genealogies as well as a reassessment of the timeline. The report firmly states that Tokainamena was Vunivalu AFTER Rakuita. There is no conflict.

*Eta: According to my proposed timeline, Siwatibau did not become a Sau/Vunivalu until the mid-1850s. But even if one has to go by the team's timeline between 1846 and 1850, Talatoka would still be married then. These events and the timeline do not add up. The report has just assumed that Turagalevu is Tokainamena and Vunivalu at the same time with no evidence to support this assumption. Cannibal Jack would have certainly recorded the unusual situation in his journal but he hasn't. The time frame is inconsistent with the events.*

Response: Siwatibau became Vunivalu around 1847 AFTER the Bauan/ Somosomo/Natewa war. As for Talatoka: see above.

*Eta: I have already addressed the Radolou and Neketeni gaps (p. 26). If Radolou installed the Vunivalu and Neketeni was born in 1859, is it possible that Radolou is one generation up from Neketeni as an uncle perhaps or granduncle?*

Response: This is conjecture and could not be backed up by evidence. It could also be as easy to speculate that perhaps they are NOT related at all. In fact, oral evidence points to this.

*Eta: 9.4.9. On Yautibi claim*

*The question of Ratu Sukuna's relation with my grandfather has already been explained (p. 16). The amalgamation of Yautibi and Valebuliti has been addressed on pgs. 20-21.*

Response: That is, no answer at all. The question we posed was how Ratu Sukuna would know something specific about the Tu Natewa given the narratives and information available. To venture out of these is to speculate without evidence.

*Eta: However, the word collusion is apt. Given that Valebuliti existed in 1912 (Hocart, 1952), yet by 1928 the TR has shifted the yavu name and is now claimed by Vatulawa/Valelevu. My father, born in 1919, was not registered in the VKB until after the 1928 NLC inquiry by which time he was registered as a Yautibi member. It was round about this time too that my great grandfather, Naisa Neketeni, was made to shift from his yavu Solevu to the Yautibi yavu.*

Response: This is again speculation as it is not corroborated by any available evidence apart from the claim itself. In fact, according to our sources, Naisa was at Solevu due to his kinship with Varitema Yaganameke, the then Mai Dreketi's wife.

*Eta: Can the team explain why he did not retain his yavu name Valebulti nor his title in the TR? This is a mysterious and bizarre development given that a yavu is the only traditional heritage that is family owned and only the family can use it or allow someone else to use it.*

Response: The team could not find any evidence to confirm that Naisa's yavu was Valebuliti. In fact, we have oral evidence to the contrary.

*Eta: When Hocart interviewed some people in Natewa whether Yautibi/Valebuliti eat together as a mataqali (the Baun meaning), with Vatulawa/Valelevu, the Natewans were confused. Hocart was trying to establish who Yautibi/Valebuliti were in relation to Vatulawa/Valelevu. When he learnt*

*that the word mataqali in Natewan dialect meant inferior, he was able to establish that my ancestors were not inferior.*

Response: This is a case of misrepresentation as we could not find any evidence in Hocart about this.

*Eta: I believe that it was the time he spent questioning his informants to clarify issues concerning my great grandfather that their statements gave the answers. It is critical that the Tukutuku Raraba must be held up to scrutiny and every statement be filtered if the team is to get to the truth. Solving such questions will partially pave the way to a more holistic approach, and a clearer picture of the complexity of the situation in Natewa. It also exposes the convoluted and sometimes twisted nature of the Tukutuku Raraba narratives.*

Response: The only reference to Naisa in Hocart's field notes, that we have been able to isolate was the doubtful claim that he was a descendant of Dakuwaqa the first Vunivalu as well as a family tree that in our considered view has been falsified.

In summary, your response has had the effect of reducing the history of succession to the Vunivalu title between Valenisau and Valelevu, which is in fact the focus of our TOR, to the place of Tu Natewa and Yautibi. In our view, the heirs of Tu Natewa and Yautibi occupies a legitimate place in the history of Natewa, and is readily acknowledged by all. What remains would seem to be identifying its rightful place in the current order under the post-colonial Vunivalu era. The discussion that this project, on the succession over the Vunivalu title, has generated will hopefully stimulate more discussion among disparate members of the vanua of Natewa, and prayerfully lead to the realization of our common purpose – bringing the warring descendants/families together and heal the vanua.

Vinaka Vakalevu.

Sincerely

Morgan Tuimaleali'ifano  
Sevanaia Sakai  
Nawi Rakuita  
Eroni Rakuita

Vers. 7 December 2019

## 18.0 Appendix D Paula Tuilau and Pita Manamanivalu's letter to ITLFC Chair

Natewa Koro,

9<sup>th</sup> September, 2016.

Nai Liuliu ni Veitarogi Vanua,

Tabacakacaka l' Taukei kei na Qoligoli,

Suva.

Ia saka,

ME DIKEVI LESU NA LEWA NI MATA VEIQAQAI ENA 1 TUTU NI VUNIVALU E NATEWA.

I . Au sega ni duavata e nai tukutuku ka volai tiko ena lewa ni veiletitaki ni tutu vaka Vunivalu, ka veiletitaka tiko o Ifereimi Bauserau kei Rakuira Vakalalabure ka volai ena drauni pepa naba 13 .

.. [page13], 7[iii] Kacivi Maidreketi o Maivautibi me loku na si<sup>a</sup> ni vaaunu.

Ena drauni pepa vata tikoga CIO 13

- [page 13] 7[iv] Ena rawa ga ni vakadeitaki tikoga kina dua na Mataqali me veitaravi na itutu ni Vunivalu ena nodrau lewa vata na Maivautibi kei na Maidreketi.

Ena noqu i tutu vaka Maidreketi au sega ni cakacaka vata tale kei na dua ena vuku ni vagunuvi se buli e dua na Vunivalu e Natewa. Dua na kena vakadinadina me vaka au toqa toka ena yatu vosa e ra na ka e vola o A.M.Hogart baleti Maidreketi

- Ndreketi installs the War of God of Natewa.

[The Northern state of Fiji, by A.M.Hogart, page 124:

Au sega talega ni duavata e nai tukutuku ena drau ni pepa 16 [page 16] 9.0, I of i and ii.

2. Ena drau ni pepa tikoga e 131page 13] e sega ni dodonu me ciqoma na Veitarogi Vanua nai tukutuku nei Maikeli Livani.

Nomuni tamata varorogo,



Pita Manamanaivalu [Mr.]

Maidreketi.

Natewa Koro,

9<sup>th</sup> September, 2016.

Nai Liuliu ni Veitarogi Vanua,

Tabacakacaka I' Taukei kei na Qoliqoli,

Suva.

Ia saka,

AU KERIA KE RAWA NI DIKEVI LESU NA LEWA NI MATA VEIQAQAI ENA VICA NA  
TIKINA QO:

Drau ni pepa 17 [page 17] 9.0 [13] E vakadeitaki tu ena Turaga ni Mataqali Valenisau o Ratu Aisea Kaitu  
ka sega ni bolea na itutu vaka Vunivalu.

1. Na yacaku o Paula Tuilau na noqui tutu vakavanua na Sauvou ka'u Turaga ni Mataqali o  
Valenisau ena vanua o Sovatabua. Au via kila se a tokitaki vakacava nai tutu oqo vei Aisea  
Kaitu, baleta e kilai tu ena vanua o Sovatabua ni noqu tiko nai tutu oqo me yacova mai na siga  
nikua.
2. Na vuna au vatataro tiko kina ena vuku ni tutu oqo, baleta au kawa tiko ni qase ena mataqali o  
Valenisau o ya e dua na vuna levua e noqu tiko kina nai tutu vaka Sauvou se Turaga ni Mataqali  
o Valenisau.

Nomuni tamata vakarorogo



Rt. Paula Tuilau

Sauvou [Turaga ni Mataqali o Valenisau]



LEWA.

ITAUKEI LAND APPEALS TRIBUNAL.

NA LEWA NI MATAVEILEWAI OQO ME BALETA NA VEILETITAKI NI  
TUTU NI TURAGA NI MATAQALI, KA TURAGA NI YAVUSA a  
SOVATABUA KA VUNIVALU ENA KORO KO NATEWA, TIKINA KO  
NATEWAZ ENA YASANA KO CAKAUDROVE, SA MAI VAKATAUCI OQO  
ENA 10 NA KALOKO ENA MATAKA LAILAI NI SIGA VUKELULU NA I  
KA 18 NI SIGA NI VULA KO JANUERI, 2017.

A. NA KAUKAUWA VAKALAWA NI MATAVEILEWAI OQO.

1. Na Lawa ni Qele ni iTaukei [iTaukei Lands Act Cap. 133], ena wase 7 (1), e solia tu na kaukauwa vua na Turaga Paraiminisita ka ra Minisita ni Veika Vakaitaukei me ra digitaka na lewe ni Mataveilewai oqo na iTaukei Land Appeals Tribunal.
2. Ena vuku ni Lawa ka cavuti tiko oqori ena parakaravu dua (1) e cake, sa mai digitaki keitou ena i ka 17/07/2016 me keitou Turaga ni Lewa oqo na iTaukei Land Appeals Tribunal, sa vakatokai eke me lewe ni "Mataveilewai"

Aminiasi Katonivualiku — Liuliu ni Mataveilewai

Ratu Inoke Seru	–	Lewe ni Mataveilewai
Ratu Inoke Tuidelaibatiki	–	Lewe ni Mataveilewai

3. Keitou a digitaki me keitou mai rogoca ka qai vakatulewataka vou tale na veileti oqo. E a sega ni duavata ko Ratu Rakuita Teariki Saurara (VKB 50/297) me sa Turaga ni Yavusa Sovatabua ka Vunivalu ko Ifereimi Buaserau Rakuita (VKB 160/299), me vaka na nodratou Lewa na Veitarogivanua kei na Wai ni Qoliqoli (iTaukei Lands and Fisheries Commission) sa na vakatokai eke me "Mataveivaqaqal".
4. E dau kena lawa talega me tabaki na kena notisi me vaka e laurai ena Government of Fiji Gazette, Volume 17, Naba 62, ena i ka 12/08/2016 kei na Fiji Sun ena i ka 12/08/2016 talega.
5. Keitou gadreva na Mataveilewai oqo me keitou vakaraitaka raraba mo ni kila na neitou kaukauwa virikotori ena Wase e vitu (7) ni iTaukei Lands Act (Cap 133), me keitou rogoca ka vakatulewataka vou tale edua na kisi ni I veileti kevaka e sega ni dua na lewe ni Tokatoka/Mataqali ena loma ni Yavusa ka vu tiko mai kina na veileti e sega ni duavata kei na nodratou Lewa na Mataveivaqaqai, sa tu vua na dodonu me vola mai na nona kudru ena loma ni gauna yalataki e ciwasagavulu (90) na siga mai na siga a vakatauci kina na Lewa. Ena sega ni rawa me kauta sara na nodra kudru kina Mataveilwai Levu(High Court Judicial Review), kevaka e se sega ni kauta mai na nona bolea na Lewa ni Mataveivaqaqai kivei keitou na Mataveilewai oqo. Oqori e tukuni tiko ena parakaravu 17 ena kisi ni Judicial Review No.HBJ 002 ni 2012, ena Mataveilewai Levu e cake e Lautoka.
6. Na kaukauwa ni Mataveilewai oqo a vu mai na kena veisautaki (amend) na Lawa Levu ni iTaukei Lands Act (Cap 133) ena 1989. Na wase e vitu (7) (Section 7), a veisautaki ena iTaukei Lands (Amendment) (Appeals Tribunal)

Act 1989, me vakacurumi mai kina wase lailai e lima (subsection 5) me wase 7(5). Na wase lailai e lima (5), e tukuni tiko kina ni neitou vakatulewa na Mataveilewai oqo ena dei tu ga, ena sega ni rawa me veisautaka tale edua na Mataveilewai. Ena rawa walega ni dikevi na gaunisala keitou a muria(procedures) me yacova sara na neitou Lewa, ni keitou a sega ni veitotaki keitou a muria sara tikoga na gaunisala dina, dodonu ka savasava ena neitou a rogoca na ile se itukutuku mai na yasana taucoko. Oqo a vakadeitaka sara talega na Mataveilewai Levu e cake (Court of Appeal) Fiji kisi nei RATU AKUILA KUBOU (Appellant) vs THE STATE, THE ATTORNEY GENERAL OF FIJI, ena Civil Appeal No. ABU 0110 ena 2006S (ena lewa taumada ni High Court Civil Action No. HBJ 006 ena 20061). Ia, kevaka e laurai ni keitou veitotaki se sivia na neitou lewa mai na kaukauwa e solia tu vei keitou na lawa (bias or out of our jurisdiction), ena vakarota na Mataveilewai Levu (High Court) vua na Minisita ni Veika Vakaitaukei me digia tale e dua na lewe ni Tribunal se Mataveilewai.

B. NA ITUKUTUKU LEKALEKA KEITOU GADREVA ME KILAI TAUMADA ME BALETA NA VEILETI OQO.

1. E ratou a mai dabe na Mataveivaqai eke ena i ka 12/05/2016 kei na i ka 30/05/2016, me ratou mai rogoca ka vaqaqa na veileti oqo. E ratou a qai mai vakatauca na nodratou Lewa ena i ka 16/06/2016 me sa Turaga ni Yavusa Sovatabua ka Vunivalu e Natewa ko Ifereimi Buaseru Rakuita.
2. E a vola sara talega yani na nona ivola ko Ratu Rakuita Saurara kina neitou Valenivolavola na Mataveilewai oqo ena i ka 16/06/2016. A kerea me keitou dikeva tale mada na Lewa ni Mataveivaqai ena vuku ni veika oqo:

- a) a ciqomi eso na i tukutuku sega ni dodonu;
- b) a vakalutumi na itukutuku nei Aisea Kaitu ni sa solia na nona veivakadonui me gunu o Ratu Rakuita;
- c) ni saqata na lewa sa tau oti ena 2012 ni dodonu me tokitaki kina Mataqali Valenisau ni oti ko Ratu Amenatave Rabelo, kei
- d) ena soli tale eso na yavu ni kerekere oqo ena gauna ena qai dabe kina na Appeals Tribunal.

A ciqomi ena neitou valenivolavola e dua na i lavelave ni i vola nei Roko Tui Cakaudrove ni sa bole ni lewa ni i tutu vaka Vunivalu e Natewa ena i ka 05/07/2016, a sa vakaraitaka sara na neitou Vunivola vua na Vunivola Tudei ni Minisitiri ni Veika Vakaitaukei ena i ka 27/06/2016. Ena i ka 05/07/2016 sauma lesu na neitou Vunivola vei Ratu Rakuita ni sa ciqomi na nona kudru. A vakau na kena lavelave vei Roko Tui Cakaudrove, Liuliu ni Veitarogivanua kei na Wai ni Qoliqoli kei Ifereimi Buaserau. Ena tiki ni siga vata ga oqori, a vola yani vei keitou kece na Turaga ni Lewa na neitou Vunivola, ni sa na mai dabe eke (Natewa) na Mataveilewai oqo ena i ka 09/09/2016 me mai rogoca na veileti oqo.

Ena vuku ni rua na leqa tubu koso, a mani vakadaroi vakarua na dabe ni Mataveilewai ena ika 09/09/2016 kei na 28/09/2016. A qai lokuci me mai dabe na Mataveilewai eke ena i ka 14/12/2016.

c. NA I TUKUTUKU LEKALEKA (SUMMARY) A SOLI KINA MATAVEIVAQAQAI KEI NA NODRATOU LEWA.

1. Eratou a rogoca taumada na Mataveivaqaqai na i tukutuku bubuluitaki ne i Ifereimi Buaserau. A kerea o koya me qai vakatarogi mai vei ira na

via taro ni rau sa soli itukutuku kece ena veitokoni ena vukuna ko Eroni Tawake (VKB 159/299) kei Nawi Rakuita (VKB 147/299).

2. Ni sa oti na nodratou soli itukutuku tolutolu, eratou a qai vakatarogi mai na Mataveivaqai. Era a qai veitarataravi yani ena taro ko Gilbert Ariki Iaitia (VKB 130/297), Emele Radinirua (VKB 48/300), Jone Dakuvula (VKB144/300), Karalaini Late, Rupeni Waqanitoga (VKB 57/297), Pita Taleaua (VKB 107/297), Ratu Rakuita Vakalalabure (VKB 150/297).
3. E a tarava sara mai na nona mai bubului ka solia sara na nona itukutuku ko Ratu Rakuita Teariki Saurara (VKB 150/297). E a soli tukutuku bubuluitaki ena veitokoni ko Rupeni Waqanitoga, ka rau vakatarogi mai na Mataveivaqai, Nawi Rakuita, Eroni Tawake, Tomasi Mara (VKB 30/301), Jone Dakuvula, Ifereimi Buaserau.
4. Ko Maidreketi- Pita Manamanaivalu (VKB 13/301) kei Jone Dakuvula erau a kerei mai na Mataveivaqai me rau soli i tukutuku. Oqo e baleta ni vinakati me rau vakararamataka na i tukutuku baleta na i tutu vaka Vunivalu e Natewa. Ko Maidreketi me tukuna na nona i tavi vaka Matanivanua kei na cava e kila baleta na i tutu vaka Vunivalu. Ko Jone Dakuvula me tukuna na ka baleta na i tikotiko vakaturaga e Valelevu, kei na veika e kila baleta na i tutu vaka Vunivalu ni lewe sara tale tikoga na Mataqali Valelevu.
5. Rau a vakatarogi mai na Mataveivaqai, Rupeni Waqanitoga, Gilbert Iaitia, Nawi Rakuita, Ifereimi Buaserau kei Tomasi Mara. Eratou a qai mai soli i tukutuku talega ko Josese Rea (VKB 21/321), na mata mai

Vunisaiki, Seru Taqali na Turaga ni Yavusa ka Tui Kama (VKB 27/331), Amenatape Toronibau (VKB 04/304) mai na i Tokatoka Malima, Mataqali Sovatabua, kei Ernele Ranadirua (VKB 48/300) ena i Tokatoka Yautibi, Mataqali Valelevu. Era a vakatarogi mai na Mataveivaqai kei na ito ruarua.

6. A rube na veivaqai me qai tau na nodratou Lewa ena i ka 30/05/2016. Ia, a mani nanuma na i Liuliu ni Mataveivaqai me taura tale eso na i tukutuku. Na i matai ni soli i tukutuku ko Maikeli Livani. A tukuna na i tuvatuva ni veika e vinakati kevaka e dua ena vagunuvi. E tukuna na veitarataravi ni kena gunuvi na yaqona ni "Vakabutakoci", na vakagunu kei na veitarataravi ni ka e dau yaco ena vagunu, na soli ni bilo kei na toni na vosa vakaturaga. A vakatarogi sara vakalevu mai na Mataveivaqai, Rupeni Waqanitoga, Eroni Tawake, Jone Dakuvula, Gilbert Ilaitia, Pita Nareba, Nawi Rakuita. Eratou a soli i tukutuku talega e vica na Turaga ni Yavusa, eso era matataki ga mai, me ra vukea na Mataveivaqai.
7. Eratou qai mai vakatauca na nodratou Lewa ena i ka 16/06/2016. E tukuni nai tukutuku baleti rau sa veileti tiko oqo, na nodratou dui i Tokatoka kei na Mataqali, ka vaka kina na siga rau a vagunuvi kina kei na kena ciqomi na kena ivola ena valenivolavola ni Mataveivaqai. Eratou tukuna na veitarataravi ni Vunivalu, Tu Natewa, kei na i vakarau ni nona digitaki na Vunivalu. E vakamacalataki 'o cei ko Yautibi kei na nona i tavi, ka ratou vakadeitaka sara talega ni i tutu ni Vunivalu e Natewa e dau veitokiyaki. E vakamacalataki na i vakarau ni veivagunuvi vua na Vunivalu ni bera na nodratou veitataunaki kei na taro se ko cei me taura na

Veiliutaki. Me vaka ni se sega ni cabeta taumada na i tutu ni Turaga ni Mataqali ko Rakuita Teariki Saurara, sa lewa na Mataveivaqakai me sa Turaga ni Yavusa Sovatabua ka Vunivalu e Natewa ko Ifereimi Buaserau Rakuita ni sa cabeta oti ko koya na i tutu ni Turaga ni Mataqali Valelevu.

D. NA I TUKUTUKU LEKALEKA (SUMMARY) A BUBULUITAKA KO RATU RAKUITA TEARIKI SAURARA KEI NA NONA VEITOKONI.

1. E tinikarua (12) taucoko na veika e a vola i tukutuku ka wilika sara talega kina Mataveilewai. Vakacaca e rauta e ono (6) na turaga ni vanua ko Natewa era duavata se tokoni koya. Ko Buaserau a vagunuvi ena i ka 07/03/2014, ka qai vakatura cake na yacana kina valenivolavola ni Yasana ena i ka 06/07/2015.
2. Na nona vakaturi cake na yacai Buaserau mai na valenivolavola ni Yasana, a vuna levu na nona qiri yani na Minisita ni Qele ena gauna koya. E tukuna talega ni se bera ni vagunuvi ko Buaserau, a laki tukuni yani na i vakaro mai na Veitarogivanua kei na Wai ni Qoliqoli ni cala na i vakarau e vakayacori me kua ni dua e vakaitavi kina.
3. A sa vakasuka na i tutu ni Turaga ni Mataqali Valenisau ko Aisea Kaitu sa vakadeitaka ka ciqoma mai na Mataqali me rawa ni cabeta na Turaga ni Yavusa Sovatabua ka Vunivalu kevaka esa soli vua na i tutu. Oqo e baleta na nodra lewa na Mataveivaqakai ena parakaravu 9 ena tabana 17. A vakaraitaka talega ko Rupeni ena vukudrau kei Aisea Kaitu ena Mataveivaqakai na nona sa vakasuka ko Aisea Kaitu na i tutu ni Turaga ni Mataqali Valenisau. E a soli i tukutuku ko Rupeni ena vukudratou na tamaqu sa vo tiko ni sa vakadonuya ko Aisea Kaitu me sa taura na i tutu



in nodratou Mataqali. E tomana ka tukuna ni a sega mada ga ni ratou a bau taroga ena gauna taucoko ni veivaqakai na Mataveivaqakai. E sega ni dua na kena yavu ena lawa ni veika vakaitaukei, lawa ni qele se i valavala vakavanua e Natewa. E rau sa qase ruarau na tamaqu lailai, ka rau sa vinakata meu taura.

4. Na Lewa e saqata na dau veitokiyaki ni Vunivalu me vaka na Lewa ni Mataveivaqakai ena 2012. Na yavu ni Vakavulewa ni Matanitu Tugalala ko Viti e vakadeitaka na tu galala ni tamata yadua me vakaitavitaki koya ena ka e nanuma me kakua ni vakasaurarataki. Na nodratou Lewa na Mataveivaqakai sa mai tau oti e sa saqata na Lewa ni Veitarogivanua ni 2012. Sa ciqomi tu ni sa dau veitokiyaki na bilo ena Mataqali ruarua, ka sa dodonu me toki na veiliutaki kina Mataqali Valenisau ka sega ni Mataqali Valelevu.
5. A taro ko Jone Dakuvula se a bau kila ko Ratu Rakuita ni a sa vakadonuya ko Aisea Kaitu me vakagunuvi me Vunivalu? A sega ni bau vakarogotaka tale vei iratou ni sa veisau na lomana. A sauma Ratu Rakuita ni sega ni kila, a sa ciqoma ga na nona vosa na tamana. E tarogi koya na Mataveilewai me vaka ni sa tukuna tiko ni a sa biu vakaivola ena veivakadonui ni lewe ni Mataqali me kau kina Valenivolavola ni Yasana vua na Roko Tui Cakaudrove ni sa vakadonuya talega Aisea Kaitu me sa taura na i tutu ni Turaga ni Mataqali Valenisau. E tukuna ko Ratu Rakuita ni a sa rua na ivola a sainitaka ko Aisea Kaitu ni bera na vagunu.
6. Rupeni Waqanitoga a vosa ni veitokoni vei Ratu Rakuita. A levu na nona itukutuku e rogo italanoataka tu ga mai. E tukuna tale tikoga mai na l

tukutuku ka sa tu ena i Tukutuku Raraba, kei na so a vola tu ga. A kerea me keitou rogoca na nona i tukutuku. Ko "Aisea Kaitu a solia na itutu ogo me keitou sa cakava na masikacukacu se vakabutakoci. Ko Dimate talega a tiko kina, ko Adi Tavanavanua, ko Ratu Mara, Pita Taleaua, Sunia Drauna, ko ya a tu yaqona, Anare Drauna, Rusi Rakuita."

7. Ko Anare Drauna a vosa talega ni veitokoni vei Ratu Rakuita. E tukuna ni sa dodonu me kua ni lesu na i tukutuku kina i tukutuku makawa ni nodratou kawa kei na vanua era a dui lako mai kina. Na usutu ga me raica na kena muri vakadodonu ka rokovi na i Tukutuku Raraba ni dau veitokiyaki na bilo ni Turaga Vunivalu ni Yavusa Sovatabua. Ni gunu oti na Mataqali Valelevu, sa dodonu me gunu na Mataqali Valenisau. Ogo, a sega ni vakamuria na Mataveivaqakai ena Lewa ni 2016. Na i kuri ni nona i tukutuku a tara na nodra Lewa na Mataveivaqakai me baleta na kawa ni qase, na rokovi ni veisolisoli vakamataqali kei na veitokiyaki ni bilo kei na dei ni Lewa. A vakatarogi mai na Mataveilewai, kei Nawi Rakuita.
8. A soli tukutuku ga vakalekaleka ko Sunia Drauna ka tukuna ni se vo e dua na Siga me gunu na tavalena ko Ifereimi Buaserau ena i ka 06/03/2014, sa gole mai na lori ni valenivolavola ni Yasana. E lako tiko mai kina na Roko Tui, dua na sotia na yacana ko Peceli Niulala, kei na dua tale na ovisa. Eratou mai tukuna ga ni cala na vakagunu ka vakarau me vakayacori ena Siga ka tarava. Ni qai vakayacori ga na vakagunu, sa dua na cala levu. A vakatarogi koya ko Jone Dakuvula. E soli tukutuku vakalekaleka ni veitokoni ko Pita Taleaua vei Ratu Rakuita. Ko koya e nona itutu na Sauvou ena loma ni Mataqali Valenisau. E a vakatikori ena i ka 04/06/2014.
9. Ko Gilbert Ariki Ilaitia, e tukuna ena nona itukutuku ni veitokoni vei Ratu Rakuita, ni veitalanoa taucoko e vakayacora tiko, a vakayacora na kena liutaki Vakavanua. A sikovi iratou na turaga ni vanua taucoko era vakarau

soli i tukutuku ena yasana ruarua ni veileti oqo, a vakayacora ena kena i tovo Vakavanua. Na kena i otioti na kena tara na tabu. E kuria na nona i tukutuku ka tukuna ni a lako vakatolu (3) vua na iLiuliu ni Veitarogivanua me rau veivosaki. Na kena ikatolu a kauta vua na i vola mai vei Aisea Kaitu ni sa vakadonuya me sa gunu ko Ratu Rakuita. A qai tarogi koya tale ni vo e vica na vula me ratou vakagunuvi Ratu Rakuita, a tukuna vua na iLiuliu ni Veitarogivanua ni sa donu. Me baleta na i tukutuku bubuluitaki mai vei Maikeli Livani, e tukuna tiko o Gilbert ni sega ni vola kawabula eke ko Livani, eratou lako mai Natuvu mai tai. A vakatarogi koya ko Jone Dakuvula se kila na kena kau na i tukutuku vakavanua ena vei Yavusa eke ni bibi na kena buli na Turaga na Vunivalu?

E. NA I TUKUTUKU LEKALEKA (SUMMARY) A BUBULUITAKA KO IFEREIMI BUASERAU KEI IRA NA NONA VEITOKONI.

1. E vakaraitaka ko Ifereimi Buaserau ni i tukutuku kece e via vakaraitaka sa tu oti vei keitou na Mataveilewai. E 20 taucoko na drau ni pepa, a vakau mai ena loma ni 90 na siga. Keitou gadreva na Mataveilewai me keitou sa vakaraitaka rawa oqo ni i tukutuku ka tukuna tiko ko Ifereimi Buaserau, keitou na sega ni vakasamataka na Mataveilewai. Na vuna, e vola itukutukutaki tu mai kina eso na ka eratou kudruvaka se sega ni dua vata kina kei na Lewa ni Mataveivaqai. Keitou sa duavata kina ni veika eratou cauraka tiko mai e dodonu me ratou qai laki veivosakitaka ga kei iratou na Mataveivaqai. E dua ga e kudruvaka yani na Lewa ni Mataveivaqai (Appellant), ko Ratu Rakuita ga. Na yavu ni nona kudru sa vola yani kivei keitou me qai mai tukuna ena siga ni veilewai. Kevaka me keitou vakasamataka ena sega ni dodonu vakalawa (out of our jurisdiction), keitou na raici talega ni keitou tovaki Ifereimi (bias). A sega talega ni dua na kena lavelave a soli vei Rakuita.

2. Keitou sa na vakasamataka ga na i tukutuku ka solia nikua ko Ifereimi Buaserau. E tukuna ni raica tu e levu na ka, na kaukauwa ("authority"), ni vanua e sega ni lako mai na matanitu se na Veitarogivanua. Na vanua e bulia na turaga, na vanua e lewa na turaga. Na gauna ga ni veileti sa qai sureti mai na Veitarogivanua me mai vakadeitaka me vaka eda cakava tiko oqo. Ia, ni se bera mada ga na veileti, sa vakaraitaka tiko mai na matanitu na sala cava e dodonu. Na itutu e sega ni nona na matanitu, e nona na vanua, era veivakadonui kina na turaga ni vanua. Na ka esa yaco tiko oqo ena Mataqali Valenisau, e tiko na Turaga ni Mataqali, sa qai buli tale e dua na Turaga ni Mataqali me vakayagataki na nomuni sala vakamatanitu me volai. E qai laki soli tu vakacava na i tutu ni se bula tu ko Aisea Kaitu. Ena sega ni rawa vei keda na i taukei ni tu na noda i vakarau ni bula, e tiko na noda i Tokatoka, era vakarorogo kina Mataqali, na Turaga ni Mataqali me qai laki Turaga ni Yavusa. A cakitaka na ka a tukuna ko Ratu Rakuita ni sega na Yavusa a tiko ena gauna e vagunuvi kina. E kaya ni ratou a tiko kina ko Tui Dawato, Tui Kama, kei Rea. Eratou lewe vica na a vakatarogi koya, e taro a sega sara ni tukuna se ko cei vei rau oqo e dodonu me Vunivalu. A levu ga na taro baleta eso na i tukutuku era vakadewataki ga mai na i Tukutuku Raraba.

3. Ko Nawi Rakuita a imatai ni vosa ni veitokoni. Na nodratou i vola tukutuku e tukuna tiko sa i koya keitou sa tukuna ena parakaravu 1 e cake ni keitou sega ni na vakasamataka. Sa tukuni tale tikoga na vuna. E kuria na nona i tukutuku me da lesu tale mada kina i Tukutuku Raraba, me baleta na duidui ni noda vakavakadewa se "interpretations" sa mai vuna tiko na veiba oqo. Eratou vakadiloa na Veitarogivanua/Mataveivaqai ena so na ka. E tukuna tikoga na nona i vakavakadewa ni i Tukutuku Raraba. E dua na tikina e tukuna ni a soli kina vei Dakuwaqa me Vunivalu, e sebera ni dua na Mataqali e se tu e a Viti ena gauna koya. Na Mataqali a qai mai tauyavutaka ko Wilkinson, qai mai vakacavara ko Maxwell ena 1920. Ko Tomasi Mara a qai mai bubuluitaka na i Tukutuku Raraba ena 1928. Ena nona rai lesu e raica ni rua na Mataqali Valenisau kei na Mataqali Valelevu. E tukuna ena nona nanuma ni ko iratou na Vunivalu ena Mataqali Valenisau e sega ni ko iratou na Vunivalu mai Valenisau ena gauna oqo.
4. E taroga tiko ko Nawi Rakuita se cava sa mai gunu kina ko Ratu Epeli ena a nona sa mai leqa ko Amenatape Rabelo? Ko Ratu Epeli a lako kina i karua ni valu levu, nona lesu mai, a mai Buli Tunuloa ni bera na nona qai mai tiko eke. E kuria ena nodratou vakadidike lesu, eratou raica ni kawa ni n Vunivalu era liu vua, e sega ni dua na vanua e rawa ni semati koya kina ko Ratu Epeli me kawa tagane. Eratou nanuma me tukuni vei iratou na n Veitarogivanua ni oqo edua na ka e sega ni muria na kena lawa n (exception). Ia oqo sa mai vakayagataki me dua na ka e vaka na ka vakalawa sa na taurivaki me muri mai muri (precedents). Ni sa mai leqa n ko Ratu Epeli, sa mai nona "Maivalebasaga" ko Ratu Lotaropate Rakuita.

Ni se bera ni buli, sa buli koya ko Ratu Tevita Vakalalabure mai vei iratou na nona Mataqali. Eratou lako mai na Veitarogivanua, eratou sa mai lewa me Vunivalu ko Ratu Lotaropate Rakuita ena i ka 15/06/1973. Ko Ratu Epeli a buli koya na Turaga Maidreketi me vaka ni ko koya e dau ni n veibuli ka keimami kila kece tu e Natewa raraba. Ia ko Ratu Tevita Vakalalabure a sega ni buli koya na Turaga Maidreketi. Ni sa bale ko Ratu Epeli na Vunivalu keimami sa ciqoma e Natewa, dina ga ni keimami kila **n** tu ni sega ni kawa mai vei ira na Vunivalu sa bale.

5. Ena nona sa mai bale ko Ratu Lotaropate Rakuita, a sega tale ni qai buli ko Ratu Tevita Vakalalabure, ka sega talega ni dra me buli. E taroga tiko, eratou qai mai wiliki koya tiko vakacava na Veitarogivanua me dua na Vunivalu? E kuria ko Nawi na nona i tukutuku ka tukuna ni noda i tovo, kevaka sa kawaboko na kawa tagane, sa tokitaki na i liuliu ni dua na Mataqali. Oqo sa tokitaki na i Liuliu ni Mataqali ka sa mai Sauvou tiko oqo ko Paula Tuilau, ia, e sega ni kawa vata kei iratou eratou tukuna tiko ni yacadratou ko Duguavou. Na iotioti ni tagane e lako mai kina, ka a taroga tale tikoga na Mataveilewai ko Ratu Sireli Taganekalou (VKB 06/297) na luvena ko Ropate Bolauga (VKB 10/297). Sai rau oqo na kawa ni Valenisau ka a tiko vei iratou na Vunivalu keimami kila tiko. Ni sega na luvei Ropate Bolauga, eratou sa mai vo tikoga oqo na kawa yalewa.
6. Eratou tukuna ka duavata tiko kei na veitokiyaki ni bilo ni Vunivalu. Ia, na veitokiyaki eratou kila tiko sa i koya na veitokiyaki mai na matavuvale ne i Ratu Sireli Taganekalou sa mai kawa boko. Me vaka a tukuni tiko ena parakaravu 5 e Cake, sa taura tiko ko Paula Tuilau na i tutu ni Sauvou. Oqo na matavuvale keitou tukuna tiko me tokitaki kina na Vunivalu. Sa

mai verevereya ena 1928 ena i Tukutuku Raraba ena nona sa mai Vunivalu ko Ratu Epeli Vakalalabure. Sa mai nanumi se vakaibalebaletaki, se vakadeitaki sara na veitokiyaki ni bilo mai na matavuvale ne i Ratu Epeli Vakalalabure ena Mataqali Valenisau kina neitou matavuvale e Valelevu.

7. E kerei keitou tiko ko Nawi me keitou laki tarogi iratou na Mataveivaqakai ena so na ka eratou sega ni duavata kina kei na nodratou Lewa. Keitou sa tukuna tiko mai cake ena parakaravu 1 na neitou nanuma ena veika eratou kudruvaka. E tukuna ni a sega na gauna me ratou taroga ni sa tau oti na nodratou Lewa. Ia, e tu na nodratou dodonu me ratou volavola yani vei iratou, se me ratou lako sara ga ka veitalanoa kei iratou.
8. Ena nona sauma tiko na veitaro a vakatarogi kina, e tukuna ena so na ka eratou vakanananutaka tu ga, kei na so na ka e sega ni tu vakaivola. E bau kina na Mataveilewai oqo me keitou laki taroga na i Liuliu ni Veitarogivanua kei na Wai ni Qoliqoli ena so na ka eratou sega ni duavata kina kei na nodratou Lewa. E vakavica vata na nona tukuna tiko ni ko Ratu Epeli Vakalalabure e sega ni semati vakadra vua edua vei ira na Vunivalu sa ra bale. A tukuna ni sega ni vakaivolataki tu ni ko Ratu Epeli, oqo e dua na mata veitacini e sega beka ni Vunivalu na tamana, ia, e Vunivalu na tamana levu. A Vunivalu na tubuna, oqo ko ira na sa tuvai tu me ra Vunivalu. Oqo e dua na mata kawa sa veisolitaki tiko kina na Vunivalu (pg. 85 v). E dua tale na duidui me baleta na "sovatabua" a i tukuna na Sauvou vei Maidreketi (Matanivanua), me solia na sovatabua ka tu vua me taura na Vunivalu. E a tarogi Nawi ko Ratu Rakuita, a sauma

ko Nawi ni sovatabua ga na lewe ni Mataqali Sovatabua era sa veiqaravi tiko e Valelevu. Ko Ratu Rakuita e tukuna ni sovatabua sa i yau ni vanua e tu vua me solia vei Vunivalu.

9. E rau tomana na tarogi Nawi ko Jone Dakuvula kei Rupeni Waqanitoga, a vakataroga na veitokiyaki ni sa oti ko Ratu Amenatave Rabelo sa dodonu me nodratou e Valenisau. A tarogi koya talega na Mataveilewai me baleta na nodratou i tuvatuva ni kawa (Family Tree). A vakamacalataka mai na yacadra kece era a sa Vunivalu. Ko Gilbert Iloitia a tukuna ni sa balavu na tukuni tiko mai na yacai Ratu Epeli Vakalalabure kei na nona kawa. A tarogi Nawi se kila na i tubutubu ne i Ratu Epeli? A sega ni sauma rawa ka tukuna ko Gilbert ni tamai Ratu Epeli ko Mara ka tinana e dua na yalewa ni Kama ko Di Iva. E tinia tale ko Jone Dakuvula na taro me baleta tikoga na Maivalebasaga.

F. NA NANUMA NI MATAVEILEWAI ME BALETA NA ITUKUTUKU KA A SOLI KINA MATAVEIVAQAQAI, NA NODRATOU LEWA KEI NA I TUKUTUKU BUBULUITAKI MAI NA I TO RUARUA

1. Ko Ifereimi Buaserau a se vakagunuvi sara ena i ka 07 ni Maji 2014. Me tekivu mai na siga ko ya sa vakayacora tu mai na i tavi ni veiqaravi kei na veiliutaki me yacova mai ni kua. E vakayatuyatutaka tiko na vei tavi kece sa qarava tiko mai ena lotu, vanua kei na matanitu. A qai ciqoma na Valenivolavola ni Veitarogivanua na i vola ni nona vakaturi ena i ka 06 Janueri, 2015. E vuna levu tiko na nodrau veiletitaka tiko na itutu ni Vunivalu, na duidui ni nodrau i vakavakadewa ni veitokiyaki na i tutu ni Vunivalu ena Mataqali Valelevu kei Valenisau. Na i Tukutuku Raraba ni Yavusa Sovatabua e volai tiko kina "E dau veidewayaki na i tutu oqo na



Vunivalu ena loma ni Mataqali ruarua ogo Valelevu kei Valenisau" (Tabana ix ni TTR). Keitou na qai solia tiko e dua na neitou i vakaro ni Mataveilewai ogo me ratou na muria me baletana veidewayaki/veitokiyaki na Mataqali Valelevu, Mataqali Valenisau kei na i Liuliu ni Veitarogivanua kei na Wai ni Qoliqoli.

2. E dua tale na malumalumu e tiko ka rau duidui tiko kina na Mataqali e a rua ogo, e baleta na i tutu ni Turaga ni Mataqali. Na Mataqali Valelevu sa vakadeitaki mai na Valenivolavola ni Veitarogivanua kei na Wai ni Qoliqoli me Turaga ni Mataqali (TM) ka Turaga ni Yavusa (TY) Ifereimi Buaserau Rakuita. Ena Mataqali Valenisau, e se kilai ka vakadeitaki tu ga ena Valenivolavola ni Veitarogivanua kei na Wai ni Qoliqoli ko Aisea Kaitu, ka a se vakadeitaki sara ena i ka 23/07/2009. Keitou sa raica na Mataveilewai ogo e dua na i lavelave ni i vola ne i Aisea Kaitu me sa Turaga ni Mataqali ko Ratu Rakuita S. Vakalalabure kei na dua tale me sa Turaga ni Yavusa. E rau tukuna ko Rakuita kei Rupeni ena gauna ni veilewai, ni a sa vakau vei Roko Tui Cakaudrove e Savusavu na i vola ni veivakadonui mai na i Tokatoka kei na Mataqali Valenisau.

Keitou vakatataro lesu tale vei Roko Tui Cakaudrove e Savusavu, e vakadeitaka mai ni se sega ni dua na i vola ni veitokoni ni Tokatoka/Mataqali Valenisau. Keitou sega talega ni bau raica e dua na i vola ena nomudou "file" ena Valenivolavola ni Mataveivaqai. Keitou duavata kei na nodratou Lewa 9 (9) na Mataveivaqai, kei na i tukutuku ka solia Ifereimi Buaserau (p54 verbatim) me dau dikevi vakavinaka na nodra valenivolavola ni Roko, na yaca kece era veitokoni me ra volai ena i Vola ni Kawa Bula (VKB), era sa yabaki 18 se sivia, ka me kua ni lailai mai na 60% na kedra lewe levu.

3. E levu na duidui ena i vakarau ni veivagunuvi kei ira me ra vakaitavitaki ira kina. Keitou a tukuna ena siga ni veilewai, keitou gadreva me keitou vakadeitaka tale oqo, ni na sega ni keitou tara. Na vuna, ni veika oqo e nona ka lewa na vanua. Kevaka ni vinakata me veisautaki eso na kena i cakacaka me sota kei na gauna era sa donuya tiko oqo, e dodonu me veivosakitaki ka vakadonuya na Bose Vanua ni Yavusa Sovatabua.
4. Eso era a soli i tukutuku vei keitou na Mataveilewai oqo, era tukuna tu ga mai na i tukuni se i talanoa e dau tukuna tu ga mai ko tukadra, se tukadra vakarua. Eso mai talanoataka tu ga eso na i tukutuku era rogo i talanoataka tu ga mai. Oqo na mataqali i tukutuku era sega soti ni vakabauti (hearsay), ka sega talega na i vakadinadina me tokona na i tukutuku.
5. Keitou sega ni duavata na Mataveilewai oqo ena nona i tukutuku ko Nawi Rakuita ena nona a soli kina vei Dakuwaqa me Vunivalu, a se bera ni dua na mataqali e se tu e Viti ena gauna ko ya. A qai mai tauyavutaka ko D.Wilkinson ka tomana ko G.V.Maxwell. Ko irau na Turaga oqo, e rau qai lako mai ena gauna sa soli oti kina ko Viti ena 1874. Oqo e donumaka ni sa Vunivalu tiko ko Ratu Emosi Tila, na i ka walu (8) ni Vunivalu (TTR pg.viii). Ko Dakuwaqa e ai matai ni Vunivalu ni se bera ni soli ko Viti ki Peritania. Na i tukutuku vaka Veitarogivanua, ena Yavusa Sovatabua, ko Dreketirua e rua na luvena, ko (1) Navua, nona yavu ko Valenisau, (2) Burenivalu, a nona yavu ko Sovatabua. Ko Dawanavatu e luvena taudua ko Degei, a nona yavu ko Dreketi. Oqori na tolu (3) na Mataqali (p(ii) TTR). Me muria tikoga na i lakolako vaka Veitarogivanua, na nodratou dui i Tokatoka era kena i Liuliu se Turaga ni Tokatoka na dui luvedratou.

E dodonu me kila tiko ko Nawi ni levu na i tavi a kitaka ko D.Wilkinson a sega ni vakadonuya na matanitu ka qai cakava ko G.V.Maxwell. Ko Wilkinson a sega ni vola na yacadra na lewe ni i Tokatoka ena vanua a qarava tiko ena yasayasa vaka Nadi (Legislative Council Paper of 1920).

6. E vakadiloa tiko ko Nawi, ka vakataroga tiko ena nona sa gunu ko Ratu Epeli Vakalalabure me Vunivalu, sa na semati koya kina dua na vanua kivei iratou na Vunivalu e liu. Keitou gadreva na Mataveilewai oqo me keitou vakaraitaka na nona sa Vunivalu ko Ratu Epeli Vakalalabure era a a sa vakadonuya kece na Turaga ni vanua. A sega ni dua e saqata na i Tukutuku Raraba ena loma ni 60 na siga. Sa dodonu mo ni kila, e semati koya rawa ko Ratu Epeli Vakalalabure kivua e dua na Vunivalu sa leqa se sega, sa vakamatanitutaki sa na sega ni rawa ni dua tale na ka me veisautaka. Sa dodonu mo ni rokova na nomuni i Tukutuku Raraba, a eratou vakatoka e vica na Turaga ni vanua eke ena nodratou i vola kina Veitarogivanua kei na Wai ni Qoliqoli ena i ka 14/09/1972 me "I VOLA TABU NI TUKUTUKU RARABA NI VANUA KO NATEWA." (na itoqabalavu e ra e neitou ga)
7. Ko iratou na Mataveivaqakai ena nodratou Lewa (1- pg.18, Lewa), eratou vakamalumalutaka na nona boleka ko Rakuita Teariki Saurara na i tutu vaka Vunivalu e Natewa. Oqo e baleta na nona se sega ni cabeta taumada na i tutu ni Turaga ni Mataqali Valenisau. Erau duavata kina ko Ifereimi Buaserau kei Nawi Rakuita. Keitou a sa tukuna tiko ena parakaravu 2 mai cake ni keitou tokona. Oqo na vuna, keitou yavutaka ga mai na Lewa ni Veitarogivanua. E vakaoqo na ka a tukuna na Gone

Turaga ko Ratu Sir Lala Sukuna, ena gauna ko ya a Chairman ni Native Lands & Fisheries Commission tu kina:

- i. Me vaka na noqu nanuma ka'u a vakaraitaka ena 1944, ka baleta na veitarataravi kina i tutu vaka-Turaga ni Mataqali, a kerea mai kina na Roko Tui Ba e dua na i vakamacala me baleta na nodrau veisaqasaqa na noqu nanuma oqo kei na lewa ka'u a qai tauca walega oqo ena dua na veileti ni i tutu oqo mai Tavua.
- ii. Ena gauna ka sa taudei kina na i tikotiko vaka itaukei ena n kena a soli ko Viti ki Peritania, sa vaka e lailai sobu kina na veileti me baleta na i tutu oqo. E mataliataki ni sega ni levu cake ka ni sa tubu cake tiko na sasaga ni bula vaka i lavo ena gauna oqo. Na i votavota ni i lavo ni lisi ni Turaga ni Mataqali sa ka e tubu cake tikoga, me vaka ni sa tubu cake tiko na i sau ni lisi ka sa dodonu kina me dikevi ka vakasamataki vakatitobu na tikina oqo, ka ni na levu na kena veileti mai muri, de vinaka cake me taurivaki tikoga na i vakarau makawa, koya me digitaki ga ko koya ka qase duadua ena kawa ulumatua ena dua na Mataqali me Turaga ni Mataqali ni sa mate ko koya ka a taura tu na i tutu koya.....
- iii. Na vakadidike ni Tabacakacaka ni Veitarogivanua sa vakaraitaka na nodra vakasamataka ka vakabauta na i taukei ni Yavusa, ko ira na luvena tagane, ka vakatau na veitarataravi ni nodra i tutu kina gauna era dui sucu kina, ia,

e dua vata ga na nodra Vu. Sa i koya ogo na yavu ka vakasamataki ka volai kina na i Vola ni Kawa.

- iv. E dina ga ni vaka e tautauvata na i vakarau ni tiko vakavanua ogo kei na kena ena gauna makawa, ia, sa tu ga na tikina bibi erau duidui kina. Na i vakarau vakavanua ka liu kina na tama se tagane, sa kena yavu na veiwekani dina ena dra. Na qele era tiko kina na lewe ni i tikotiko ogo e sega ni nona na tama se na turaga, sa nona ga na Yavusa mai na kena tauyavutaki na yavutu kei na kena veitiki ni qele. Era dau vakarorogo vei ira na Turaga ni Mataqali ko ira na lewe ni Mataqali. Na kaukauwa kei na veika tale eso e okati ki na i tuʻu ogo sa ka vakawa, ka drodrova na dra, ka na sega ni rawa me kau tani mai vei ira.
- v. A volai ni i yalayala ni vanua vakamataqali kei na i Vola ni Kawa mai na itukutuku ka bubuluitaki ena Veitarogivanua, ka sa sega mada ni bau vukici tale, qai vaka vo ga na bokoci ni yacadra na sa mate, kei na vakacurumi na yacadra na sucu; e vakayacori talega vaka kina ena lavelave ni i Vola ni Kawa ena veiyasana. Au nanuma kina ni na cala ka vakamamadataka na i tuʻu vakavanua, ke taurivaki e dua na i vakarau me rawarawa ga kina na veidigidigi se veisosomitaki ki na i tuʻu ogo, ka qai vakanadakui na tikina bibi, ka sa dede na kena taurivaki voli mai ena i tikotiko vaka itaukei, ko ya na veitarataravi vakaveitacini ena kawa ni

ulumatua ena dua na Mataqali. Sa i koya gona na tikina bibi makawa oqo ka yavu ni kena caka na i Vola ni Kawa."

8. Keitou sega ni duavata na Mataveilewai oqo ena nodratou Lewa (2-vipg.13 Lewa) na Mataveivaqakai ka ratou a mai vakatauca eke ena i ka 16/06/2016. Eratou tukuna "ena rawa ga ni vakadeitaki tikoga kina dua na mataqali me veitaravi na i tuʻu ni Vunivalu ena nodrau lewa vata na Mai Yautibi kei na Maidreketi. Na i Tukutuku Raraba ni Yavusa Sovatabua (tabana ix), e tukuna, "E dau veidewayaki na i tuʻu oqo na Vunivalu ena mataqali ruarua oqo ko Valelevu kei Valenisau". E sega talega ni tukuna tiko ni na dewa ga kina Mataqali Valenisau kivei iratou na kawa mai Valelevu. Keitou a tukuna tiko ena parakaravu 1 e cake, ni keitou na solia e dua na i vakaro (order) na Mataveilewai oqo, ena sala vata kei na Lewa ni Mataveivaqakai ena i ka 15/06/1973, kei na 08/02/2012. Oqo na i vakaro (order) era kila kece tu na lewe ni Yavusa Sovatabua.

"Sa vakarota na Mataveilewai oqo kina Mataqali Valelevu, Mataqali Valenisau, kei na i Liuliu ni Veitarogivanua kei na Wai ni Qoliqoli, kevaka sa bale na Vunivalu digitaki mai na Mataqali Valelevu, me sosomitaka na Vunivalu e digitaki mai na Mataqali Valenisau, la me sa donu kece tu na kena gaunisala vakavanua ni veisolisoli kei na Veitarogivanua"

(a.) Eratou vakataroga tiko ko Ifereimi Buaserai kei na nona veitokoni se rau a digitaki ka vakamatanitutaki vakacava ko Ratu Tevita Vakalalabure me Vunivalu kei Aisea Kaitu me Turaga ni Mataqali Valenisau. Ena neitou laki vakaraica na nomudou "file" ena Veitarogivanua, keitou sega ni raica kina e dua na veivolavolai me baleta

na veivakaturi vei Ratu Tevita Vakalalabure ena nona via cabeta na i tutu ni Vunivalu. E laurai ga e dua na i vola mai vei iratou na lewe vitu (7) na turaga, e 4 mai na Mataqali Valelevu, 2 mai na Mataqali Valenisau ka 1 mai na Mataqali Dreketi, eratou kerea tiko na i Liuliu ni Matabose ni Qele Maroroi ni iTaukei me sogo tu na i lavo ni lisi nona na Vunivalu. A dua talega na i vola ne i Maika Qarikau, na i Liuliu ni Matabose ni Qele Maroroi kivei Ratu Tevita Vakalalabure ni sa sogo tu na i lavo ni lisi. E vica na i vola ne i Ratu Tevita kivua na i Liuliu ni Matabose ni Qele Maroroi ni iTaukei, kivua talega na i Liuliu ni Veitarogivanua kei na Wai ni Qoliqoli. Ena i ka 11/10/1985, a qai vola kina ko J.R Daugunu ena vuku ni i Liuliu ni Veitarogivanua kei na Wai ni Qoliqoli kivua na i Liuliu ni Matabose ni Qele Maroroi ni iTaukei ni sa vakadeitaki ko Ratu Tevita Vakalalabure me Vunivalu.

(b.) Ko Aisea Kaitu a vola e dua na nona i vola vua na i Liuliu ni Veitarogivanua kei na Wai ni Qoliqoli ena i ka 18/03/2009 ena nona sa vakaturi tiko me sa Turaga in Mataqali Valenisau. Keitou raica ena nodra vola toka mai, era lewe 156 sa dodonu me ra veidigidigi ni ra sa yabaki 21 se sivia. Era a lewe 26 walega na tabaka na yacadra ni ra sa veitokoni vei Aisea Kaitu, oqo e rauta toka ga na 18%. Ena kaukauwa ni veidigidigi oqori, a qai volavola kina na i Liuliu ni Veitarogivanua kei na Wai ni Qoliqoli vua na i Liuliu ni Matabose ni Qele Maroroi ena i ka 23/07/2009 ni sa cabeta na i tutu ni Turaga ni Mataqali Valenisau ko Aisea Kaitu.

(c.) Keitou via vakaraitaka na Mataveilewai oqo ni lakolako vata ga ka vakayacora ko Aisea Kaitu, a dodonu me a vakayacora ko Ratu Rakuita. Ena neitou veitaratara kei na i Liuliu ni Veitarogivanua, a vakadeitaka ni a

se sega ni dua na veitokoni vaka ogo vei Ratu Rakuita me tauri ena nodratou Valenivolavola. E a vakaraitaki talega vei au ni i otioti ni i vola ne i Aisea Kaitu, a vola mai ena nona i tikotiko mai Ositerelia ena i ka 10/05/2016, e se volai tiko kina ni Turaga ni Mataqali/Tokatoka Valenisau.

10. Na i tukutuku ne i Nawi Rakuita e tukuna tiko na veiletitaki ni i tutu vaka Vunivalu. Keitou sa raica na kena veivolavolai, keitou sa vakadinadinataka. Na i matai ni veileti, ena 1973. A vagunuvi Ratu Tevita Vakalalabure ko iratou na nona lewe ni Mataqali Valenisau. Ko Ratu Lotaropate Rakuita e a vagunuvi koya na vanua. A qai laki rogoca na Mataveivaqai ka mai vakatauca na nodratou Lewa ena i ka 15/06/1973, me sa Vunivalu ko Ratu Lotaropate Rakuita.

Ena nona sa mai leqa ko Ratu Lotaropate Rakuita, rau mai veiletitaka tale na i tutu ni Vunivalu ko Aisea Kaitu kei Amenatape Belo. Eratou a mai rogoca na Veitarogivanua ka qai vakatauca na nodratou Lewa ena i ka 08/02/2012 me sa Vunivalu ko Amenatape Belo.

Ogo sa i katolu ni kena veiletitaki na i tutu ni Vunivalu. Ena nodratou Lewa (tabana 1 ni Lewa), eratou tukuna tiko kina ni ko Rakuita Teariki Saurara a qai vagunuvi ena i ka 19/08/2015. Ko Ifereimi Buaserau e a vagunuvi ena i ka 07/03/2014. Na Mataveivaqai eratou a mai rogoca na i tukutuku ni veileti ka qai mai vakatauca na nodratou Lewa ena i ka 16/06/2016 me sa Vunivalu e Natewa ko Ifereimi Buaserau.

11. Erau a sega ni duavata ko Ratu Rakuita kei Gilbert A. Ilaitia na nona mai soli i tukutuku ko Maikeli Livani kina Mataveivaqai. Ogo e baleta na nona sega ni volai ena i Vola ni Kawa Bula. E tukuna ko Gilbert ni ko



Livani ena ka e kila ni lako mai Natuvu, mai tai. Erau kauwaitaka ni solia na Mataveivaqakai vei Maikeli Livani kei na so tale era sega ni tiko ena koro oqo ko Natewa, me ra mai veitalanoataka na i tutu ni Vunivalu. Ena veitaratara kei na i Liuliu ni Veitarogivanua kei na Wai ni Qoligoli, a a vakadinadinataka ni a vakatara eso me mai soli i tukutuku. Oqo e lako vata kei na kaukauwa e soli tu vua me kaciva eso me ra mai soli i tukutuku se vakadinadina me vaka e tu ena lawa ni Qele ni iTaukei.

(iTaukei Lands Act Cap 133) ena kena Wase 6 (8), (Section 6(8)).

#### G. NA VEITATAUNAKI NI MATAVEILEWAI

1. Edau i matai tu ga ni neitou veitataunaki na Mataveilewai qo, me lomani na vanua. Ena kena a wasewasei taumada na qele me vakayavusa, era a qai tukuna na turaga me kua ni sa nodra iyau ga na tamata, ke sega na tamata ena sega na turaga. Era sa qai tukuna me wasewasei vakamataqali na qele. Oqo na nodra kauwaitaka ka lomana na nodra tamata kei na vanua. Kivei kemudou na Yavusa Sovatabua, ena rawa wale ga ni dou lomana na nomudou vanua kevaka mo dou duavata, veirogorogoci, veidokadokai ka veilomani sara vakalevu. Na itutu ni Vunivalu ena lako tiko ga mai na iTokatoka Valenisau ena Mataqali Valenisau kei na iTokatoka Valelevu ena Mataqali Valelevu. Sa dodonu mo dou waraka na veitarataravi ni nomudou gauna ni veiliutaki vaka Vunivalu.

2. Keitou sa qai mai ciqoma na ivola ni veisolisoli mai na Mataqali Valenisau. E gadrevi me vakaraitaki ni veisolisoli vakaoqo, na veivakadonui se sega, e nona duadua ga na iLiuliu ni Veitarogivanua kei na Wai ni Qoligoli. Ni se sega na veivakadonui e solia na iLuliu ni

Veitarogivanua kei na Wai ni Qoligoli, sa na sega ni rawa vua na Mataveilewai qo me ciqoma. E dodonu moni kila kece ni veisolisoli vakaoqo, e tu na kena ivakarau vakavanua ka dodonu me muri, vakamatanitu (Veitarogivanua) e tu tale ga na itavi me ratou vakayacora ni se bera ni soli na veivakadonui. Sa dua na idusidusi levu sa solia oti tu ko Ratu Sir Lala Sukuna me vaka sa tukuni tiko ena parakaravu 7 e cake.

3. Ena neitou veitataunaki oqo keitou sa kerea na Mataveilewai me sa iotioti ni veiletitaki ni i tutu vakaVunivalu oqo. Eso vei kemuni oni rairai se nanuma tiko na nodrau a lako mai eke ena ika26/03/1973 Ratu Penaia Ganilau, a Minisita ni Veilakoyaki, Cakacaka kei na Saravanua, kei Kanala George Mate ena Veitarogivanua, me rau mai raici kemuni ka rogoca na nomuni vakasama baleta na veiletitaki tiko ni itutu ni Vunivalu. Oqo e muria tiko ga na nona a sa vakatikori o Ratu Tevita Vakalalabure me Vunivalu e Natewa. Ena nodra kerekere na lewenivanua era a tiko ena siga koya. A vakamacalataka Kanala George Mate na veika kece e vola itukutukutaki tu me baleta na itutu ni Vunivalu e Natewa. KO Ratu Penaia a solia na nona ivakasala ena siga koya, ka tukuna ni rawa, kevaka o ni tovolea moni walia na veileti. Me kakua ni dau lako tiko mai na matanitu me mai walia.
4. Na vanua vakaturaga ko Vuda, sa vakaraitaka tu e dua na ivakaraitaki vinaka kina noda veiyasana kece e Viti. Era sega ni bau veiletitaka na itutu ni Tui Vuda. Ni sa bale na Tui Vuda, sa maroroi na yagodra, sa caka sara na veivagunuvi ena siga ka tarava. Keimami kece na lewe ni Mataveilewai kei na Mataveivaqai, keimami sega ni volai tu ena i Vola ni Kawa Bula eke. Ena veitalai ga ni matanitu, keimami sa talai mai me

keimami mai digitaka na Vunivalu e Natewa. Oqo e sa vakaraitaka tu e Viti raraba na nomuni malumalumu.

5. Keitou raica na Mataveilewai oqo ni levu vei kemuni e se tukuna tiko ga mai na i tukutuku mai na dakunikuila ka dewaigusutaki tu ga mai. Sa qai mai vakavereveretaka sara eso na i tukutuku ni wilika mai vei Hocart. Na i tukutuku moni vakadei no ga kina sa i koya na i Tukutuku Raraba ni Veitarogivanua. E tukuna ko Ratu Sir Lala Sukuna ena parakaravu 7(5), na i vola ni yalayala ni vanua vakamataqali, na i vola ni kawa, kei na i tukutuku bubuluitaki ena Veitarogivanua, se sega mada ni bau vukici tale, qai vakavo ga na bokoci ni yacadra na sa mate kei na vakacurumi ni yacadra na sucu ena i Vola ni Kawa Bula.

#### H. NA NEITOU LEWA

1. Keitou a laki boseboseka tiko mai Suva ni sa oti na neitou a mai dabe eke na Mataveilewai ena i ka 14/12/2016. Keitou a laki dikeva ka vakawilika sara vakavinaka na i tukutuku ka soli kina Mataveivaqai kei na nodratou Lewa, na i tukutuku ka a soli kivei keitou, na i Tukutuku Raraba ni Veitarogivanua ena 1928 kei na i Vola ni Kawa Bula.

2. Ena neitou vakaraica na i Vola ni Kawa ni Yavusa Sovatabua, keitou raica na yacadra na sa cabeta na i tutu ni Turaga ni Mataqali (TM) kei na Turaga ni Yavusa (TY) ka Vunivalu.

- a. Ena mataqali Valenisau, ko Ratu Epeli Vakalalabure, ai matai ni Turaga ni Yavusa ka Vunivalu ena Veitarogivanua ni 1928. Ko Ratu Tevita Velodroka Domocokai Vakalalabure, e sega ni bau

vakatakilakilataki tu me Turaga ni Mataqali, Turaga ni Yavusa ka Vunivalu. Ena nona sa mai leqa, sa mai taura tu na i tutu ni Turaga ni Mataqali o Aisea Kauti (Kaitu).

- b. Ena mataqali Valelevu, ai matai ni Turaga ni Mataqali Ratu Apenisa Golea, qai taravi koya ko Ratu Lotaropate Rakuita. Dina nia i ka 12 ni Vunivalu, e sega ga ni vakatakilakilataki tu, baleta beka ni a taura na i tutu ena taudaku ni Veitarogivanua. Ena nona sa mai leqa, a taura na i tutu ni Turaga ni Mataqali ka Vunivalu sara tale ga Amenatape Belo, ka qai taravi koya yani ko Iferemi Buaserau Rakuita me Turaga ni Mataqali ka Vunivalu tale ga.
  - c. Ena mataqali Dreketi, e a Turaga ni Mataqali Paula Tuivanuayalewa, tarava ko Iso Bativudi kei Pita Manamanaivalu.
  - d. Na mataqali Sovatabua, a taura taumada na i tutu ni Turaga ni Mataqali ko Amenatape Toranibau, Pauliyasi Qaqa a sa qai vakadeitaki me Turaga ni Mataqali ena i ka 16/02/2007.
3. Ena nona a sa mai leqa Ratu Tevita Vakalalabure ena i ka 06/05/2005, sa mai lala tu na i tutu ni Turaga ni Mataqali Valenisau me yacova na i ka 23/07/2009 ena nona sa qai vakadeitaka na i Liuliu ni Veitarogivanua me Turaga ni Mataqali Aisea Kiuta (Kaitu). Keitou sa mai taura e dua na i lavelave ni nona i vola kei nei Rupeni Waqanitoga ena i ka 05/01/2017. Na i vola oqo e a volai mai ena i ka 30/06/2016. E se sega ni dua na veivakadeitaki mai vua na i Liuliu ni Veitarogivanua kei na Wai ni Qoliqoli,

me yacova tiko mai nikua me baleta na veisolisoli ni Turaga ni Mataqali Valenisau.

4. Na i vakaro (order) ni Mataveilewai keitou tukuna tiko ena parakaravu G8 mai cake me baleta na veidewayaki/veitokiyaki ni i tuʻu ni Vunivalu, ena qai rawa vakavinaka ni sa muri ka sa donu sara tale ga vakavanua ka vakamatanitu. Ena gauna mada ga oqo, e se bera ni dua na veivakadeitaki mai na Veitarogivanua kei na Wai ni Qoliqoli me baleta na veisolisoli mai vei rau ko Aisea Kuita (Kaitu) kei Ratu Rakuia. Na kena e bibi sara ni sa veicoqacoqa tiko kei na i vakaro i Ratu Sir Lala Sukuna me dau muria ga na veitarataravi vakaveitacini ena kawa ni ulumatua.

Ena gauna oqo, keitou sa kerei iratou oqo me ratou mai taura na nodratou i lavelave ni neitou Lewa:

- i. Ratu Rakuia Teariki Saurara
- ii. Iferemi Buaserau
- iii. Turaga Provincial Administrator Savusavu.
- iv. Turaga Roko Tui Cakaudrove.

Ni sa tiko saka na turaga, marama lewe ni Yavusa Sovatabua, turaga i Talatala, Turaga na Roko Tui Cakaudrove, kei kemuni kece sara na cakacaka vakamatanitu ni tiko oqo. Sa ka dokai me keitou vakatauca na Lewa ni Mataveilewai oqo, koya keitou sa duavata kina;

A.) ME SA DEI TU GA NA NODRATOU LEWA NA MATAVEIVAQAQAI KA A  
VAKATAUCI EKE ENA I KA 16 NI JIUNE, 2016; KA,

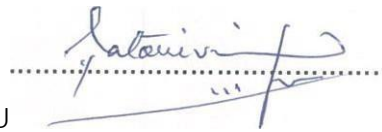
B.) ME SA TURAGA NI MATAQALI VALELEVU, TURAGA NI YAVUSA SOVATABUA KA VUNIVALU  
KO IFEREMI BUASERAU RAKUITA (VKB 160/299);

C.) ME RATOU VAKACAVARA SARA VAKAVINAKA NA KENA CAKACA VAKAIVOLA NA  
VALENIVOLAVOLA NI VEITAROGIVANUA KEI NA WAI NI QOLIQOLI;

D.) SA SOLI NA DODONU VEI RATU RAKUITA TEARIKI SAURARA E 90 NA SIGA ME KEREKERE KINA  
MATAVEILEWAI LEVI-J (HIGH COURT) NA VEIVAKADONUI NI JUDICIAL REVIEW.

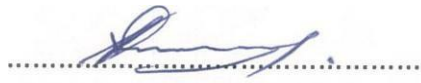
SA VINAKA SAKA VAKALEVU

AMINIASI KATONIVUALIKU  
(LIULIU NI MATAVEILEWAI)



18/01/2017

RATU INOKE SERU  
(LEWE NI MATAVEILEWAI)



18/01/2017

RATU INOKE TUIDELAIBATIKI  
18/01/2017  
(LEWE NI MATAVEILEWAI)

