

THE TONGAN TRADITIONAL HISTORY *TALA-Ē-FONU*A:
A VERNACULAR
ECOLOGY-CENTRED HISTORICO-CULTURAL CONCEPT

By

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This thesis is dedicated to my late teachers, Malukava [Kavaefiafi], Pilivi Moa and Ula [Tāufanau], who have taught me not only to write poetry, sing and dance, but also to read history in Tongan *faiva* and *tala-ē-fonua*.

DECLARATION

Except where otherwise indicated
this thesis is my own work.

'Okusitino Māhina

April 1992

This is in striking contrast with the thorough-going objectivism of ... Heraclitus, who was unremitting in his attack on subjectivist illusions, on the operation of desire or the imagining of things as we should like them to be, as opposed to the operation of understanding or the finding of things (including our own activities) as they positively are, with no granting of a privileged position in reality to gods, men or molecules, with conflict everywhere and nothing above the battle.

Anderson, *Studies in Empirical Philosophy*

*Fakamolemole 'a hou'eiki mo
ngaahi ha'a
He 'oku mama'o mo faingata'a
'a e fa'anga
Ko e tolutalu na'e tu'u holo he
ngaahi halanga
Kuo fu'u puli pea 'alu mo hono
to'utangata
Ka neongo 'ene vao fihī mo to e
va'ava'a
Kae fai pē ha vavaku mo si'a
fa'ala
Kia Touia-'o-Futuna ko e 'uluaki
maka
Na'e fai mei ai hotau
kamata'anga
Kehe ko e talatupu'a ia mo e
fananga
'Oku utuutu mei ai si'a kau fa'a*

Tāfolo

Pardon me, noble chiefs and
lineages
For the searching place is now far
and difficult
The plantations once scattered on
the roads
Have now quite disappeared and
gone with them their generation
But although they now lie in very
thick bush
Search will be made at any rate
For Touia-'o-Futuna, the first rock
Where our origin began
Though these are only myths and
legends
'Tis here the inquirers get their
facts

Gifford, *Tongan Myths and Tales*

The order of social structure is then established by the progression through the New Zealand landscape of tribal and clanic ancestors, leaving their respective traces in the local set of geographic features named from their doings, and in the particular set of persons, both human and "natural", descended from their multiple unions with women of the indigenous 'land people' (*tangata whenua*).

Sahlins, *Other Times, Other Customs: The Anthropology of History*

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines Tongan traditional history, *tala-ē-fonua*, a vernacular ecology-centred historico-cultural concept, handed down through generations by word of mouth. As a Tongan *Weltanschauung*, *tala-ē-fonua* can be regarded as an indigenous account of the land and its people, a symbolised human landscape. In this anthropo-ecological context, I examine the continuity of the social and the natural, and how the dialectic between structure and event are orally transmitted through culture and history.

The first part introduces the issues by examining the formal characteristics of *tala-ē-fonua* and its place in scholarship; moreover, it focuses on the dynamic of permanence and change, considering how convention is risked in action through which order is restored in the event. These issues are put in context in chapter one, where the formally complementary and opposed connections between myths and history are examined in synchronic and diachronic terms within a social context.

The early traditional-mythological history, part two, delves into the issue of origin, dealing with the mythical past historically. In chapter two, the Tongan cosmogony and cosmology are explicated in terms of the Tongan creation myth, *talatupu'a*, where the local and regional origin of the concept is further traced in terms of the enforced divine power transference amongst the three principal deities. Furthermore, it addresses how hierarchy was risked within the interplay of religion and politics, and the way it was developed in Tonga in terms of the transformation of two regional cultures, Puluotu and Langi, over Maama or Lolofonua.

The middle traditional-theological history, in part three, examines the political hegemony of the Tangaloa line over the Havea Hikule'o and Maui Motu'a lineages, respectively representing Puluotu and Maama. Chapter three is thus concerned with internal strife within the Tangaloa house, which culminated in the rise of the first Tu'i Tonga, god and king, 'Aho'eitu, 'Eiki and Hau, who unified Tonga against Samoa and the rule of the Tu'i Manu'a.

In part four, the later traditional-classical history is articulated in terms of the emergence of permanent social institutions of greater economic and political significance in Tongan society. The birth of the Tu'i Tonga empire, *Pule'anga Hau 'o e Tu'i Tonga*, linking centre and periphery through maritime activities, preceded by a period of local nation building, is examined in chapter four. Chapter five discusses imperial expansion beyond Tonga via conquest, which, through antagonism, was changed to conquest-alliance formation. With the period of alliance formation which followed, chapter six

considers imperial decline in conjunction with the fall of sacred Tu'i Tonga antithesised by the respective rise of the new secular Hau, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu, into political supremacy.

Finally, part five draws implications from the thesis as a whole. Having socially articulated through poetry the literal and symbolic relationships between the three royal titles, Tu'i Tonga, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu, in geographic terms, chapter seven focuses on the cultural and historical continuity of past and present. Recognising this philosophical character of human affairs, it is concluded that the exchange between structure and event manifests itself on the level of the dialectic between culture and history.

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PREFACE

This thesis addresses the historicity of Tongan traditional history, *tala-ē-fonua* (lit. telling-of-the-land-and-its-people), a vernacular ecology-centred concept of cultural and historical structuring. In short, this Tongan 'art form' is a symbolic way of socially representing, in literal terms, past and present events about people (*fonua*), handed down from one generation to the next by word of mouth (*tala*). As an essentially social concept, *tala-ē-fonua* is an indigenous ecology-based mode of construction of the ordered and altered landscape movement of people, characterised by permanence and change in specific human relationships between groups. Thus, *tala-ē-fonua* is peculiarly a Tongan *Weltanschauung*, a philosophy of life.

The originality of this work lies in the way it formally (re)presents *tala-ē-fonua* in its own terms, specifically as it is used and, thus, understood by selected groups such as *punake* and *matāpule* in Tongan society. Given the problematic nature in which this emically conventional and practical mode of thinking has been formally constructed in scholarship, the formal treatment of the issue at hand adds new insights to our understanding of oral narrative literature. In its oral dimension, the medium through which social events are transcended to the literal and the symbolic, the theoretical examination of *tala-ē-fonua* also sheds light on language as a process of symbolisation, formally expressed in literary forms such as myth, oratory and poetry.

This study, in its pluralist orientation, also may be broadly considered as a contribution to social, economic, psychological and political theory. Considering the philosophical character of reality, characterised by the continuity of the social and the material, thought and action and structure and event or past and present, this work tends to set some new perspectives on the socio-political concepts of culture and history, formally connected on the level of anthropology and history as disciplinary practices. Although anthropology and history have different subject matters of study, the forms to which they adhere are basically the same, i.e., they both ask the question 'Is it the case or not?' The formal thrust of this study also reflects the fact that different ways of living, while opposed to one another, are interlocked in a social context, suggesting as well the disciplinary formal connections within the social sciences and humane studies.

Moreover, this thesis contributes in a positive manner to a understanding of the current global crises on environmental issues. Given that the social and the physical are continuous, the current environmental crises suggest that certain forms of social activity have ruptured the anthropo-ecological

relationships, striking an imbalance in the exchange between human beings and their environment.

Thus, it is in the nature of the intrinsically theoretical character of the problem that this study is predominantly formal in outlook rather than merely textual in emphasis. The basic problem, as has been observed in the existing literature on the subject, is not entirely textual but basically formal, though both form and text may be problematically connected in a single context or several contexts. While various texts may, on specific or related issues, be different or the same in certain aspects, the fact remains that, as far as *tala-ē-fonua* is concerned, the form in which these aspects are represented still causes serious confusion of the rationalistic kind in academic discourse.

Such a state of affairs warrants a revision of interpretation *vis-a-vis* fact. Interpretation and fact are, as suggested by the theoretical character of *tala-ē-fonua*, one and the same. This can be illustrated by the praxis of demarcating the literal/symbolic from the social/historical, where, in interpreting the literal/symbolic facts, we have to look for the social/historical facts for their explanation. Thus, interpretation is simply the search for other facts for the examination of facts to be explained (see, for example, Chapters One and Seven and Appendix A).

But the textual problem is basically theoretical and practical, both deriving from utility-driven observation and human error caused by the complexity of the observed situation. By taking the issue to be primarily textual is itself a form of distortion; and, as a confusion, it is thus textually reproduced, denying form, as in the case of *tala-ē-fonua*, in not observing its own characters, a place in the academic process.

As inherent problems, both form and text are considered in the sources for this study. Though both formal and textual problems exist in any one context, my emphasis here rests more on the former, the formal representation of *tala-ē-fonua* in academic discourse, so far as it is uniquely practised and understood in Tonga as it is a praxis of demarcating the literal/symbolic from the social/historical.

And because this is a study of the *tala-ē-fonua*, as used and understood by a privileged few in Tongan society, little attention has been paid to alternative or fragmented traditions of Tongan early history that do not derive from the received traditions.

The bibliography, containing both unpublished and published sources, has been divided into three main sections: Tongan traditional and vernacular

materials; western and eastern Polynesian traditional and vernacular materials; and general secondary sources listed as books, articles and theses.

Given that the bulk of the thesis is on Tonga, relevant unpublished and published sources in the first section are extensive, though restricted in nature to the limited availability of source materials. In the second section, both vernacular and non-vernacular published sources have been listed, restricted to ones directly concerned with the regional dimension of local development in Tonga and vice versa. Unpublished sources, including interviews, have been included in this section. Both the first and second sections consist of modern critical literature relating to traditional material and primary material extracted from written secondary sources and other oral sources. The third section includes unpublished and published sources directly relevant to the theoretical issues raised in the discussion, Tonga and western and eastern Polynesia, and the subject matter of this thesis generally.

The Tongan traditional and vernacular materials cover both unpublished and published sources. Both traditional and vernacular published sources have been listed, which applies to traditional materials in both the vernacular and non-vernacular published sources. Sources of unidentified vernacular and non-vernacular source materials are acknowledged under appropriate authors (e.g., Kramer, *The Samoan Islands*, TS, 1902-1903; Reiter 1907). Except in cases where significant materials in the vernacular are located in published sources, acknowledgement goes to bibliographical cited informants (e.g., Fifita 1924), though ultimate sources are duly identified (e.g., In Edward Winslow Gifford, *Tongan Myths and Tales*, B.P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 8, p.81). Unpublished sources, both in the vernacular and the non-vernacular, include manuscripts (e.g., Havea, *Notes on the History and Customs of Tonga*, MS, 1870), typescripts (e.g., Helu, *Kings and Tombs*, TS, n.d.), lectures (e.g., Moea 1973), essays (e.g., Tokolahi 1988), personal communications (e.g., Havea, pers. comm., 1990), and interviews (e.g., 'Aho, interview, 1988).

Materials without titles taken from published sources, and listed under appropriate informants, are each entitled according to their respective themes (e.g., Hafoka 1924), except where, in the case of actual titles identified with each informant in the main source (e.g., Kaukaufaka'atu'i 1986), the actual titles are documented accordingly. But in cases where sources are connected with titled people, the title is followed by personal name in parenthesis (e.g., Malukava [Kavaefiafi] 1973).

Appendices A-D, figures 2.1-7.1, a glossary of Tongan terms and maps 1-8 have also been included. Many of the Tongan terms have been defined in the

text, but the glossary consists of terms commonly used throughout the discussion. In appendix A, the anthropo-ecological theme, highlighting the continuity of the social and the physical, is further explored in terms of a number of traditional and modern poems. Appendix B, on the linguistic level, reflects the regional dimension of hegemonic and counter-hegemonic development in Tonga. Some significant aspects of this local development, consisting of ordered and altered human space, are manifested in appendices C and D.

The production of a thesis is a major social and intellectual undertaking. Neither can it be an isolated activity, nor can it be carried out without assistance. When producing this thesis, I have extensively tapped on material, human and intellectual resources from numerous institutions, organisations and people. Without their generous help, relentless dedication and sustained patience, this research would not have been possible. I duly acknowledge their consistent and continued support throughout the entire period of this study.

I would like to thank the Australian National University, which awarded me a PhD scholarship, for funding this study. The funds provided me with a base in Canberra, and enabled me to conduct research in the field. The University also assisted me financially to attend conferences in New Zealand and Sydney in 1988, in Tonga and Brisbane in 1989, in New Zealand and Guam in 1990 and in Tonga in 1991, where I gave papers on different aspects of my work. My study, because of illness, has been interrupted for various periods during which the University continued to offer its generous financial support. But the extensive nature of my fieldwork had required that I looked for finance elsewhere. For this expressed need, I must thank the Te Rangi Hiroa Fund for meeting my fieldwork expenses in New Caledonia.

After having spent eight months in Canberra, I began fieldwork for a period of six months between May 1988 and June 1989. I conducted fieldwork research in American Samoa, Fiji, Futuna, New Caledonia, Tonga, Tuvalu, 'Uvea (Wallis) and Western Samoa. Although my thesis is restricted Tonga, the fact that the local development in Tonga was regionally influenced meant that, however brief, it was necessary to conduct fieldwork in these islands, as the interplay between local configurations and regional influences was largely reflected in hegemonic and counter-hegemonic manifestations in Tonga.

For this reason, as well as financial constraints, I was led to spend four months in Tonga and two months in other islands in the region. And because of the short periods I spent in these islands, I was limited to observing only the physical and, to some extent, ideological dimensions of the extensive

character of the Tu'i Tonga imperial activities in those islands. The basic idea was to experience regional geography, as well as the respective attitudes of people in the various islands to the Tu'i Tonga imperial presence. Given these constrained circumstances, recording hitherto uncollected accounts was limited in extent, and I conducted archival research only in places where materials were readily available.

Many people at this University have had an interest in my work, and for this reason I would like to thank staff and students of both the Pacific and Southeast Asian History and Anthropology departments for illuminating discussions and critically commenting on papers I presented at seminars. I would like to thank Jim Fox, Convener, for providing a forum in which to present my work in a series of seminars and conferences of the Comparative Austronesian Project, and Pacific and Southeast Asian History for organising my pre-fieldwork seminars. Thanks are also due to Brij Lal for inviting me to speak on various aspects of my research in the 1990 and 1991 workshops on Pacific Islands History.

While in the field I gave public lectures and seminars on my research at 'Atenisi University, the Institute of Pacific Studies (USP), and ORSTOM, Noumea, for which I must respectively thank Ralph (Lolo) Masi, Deputy Dean, Asesela Ravuvu, Director, and Elise Huffer, PhD scholar, for their interest. I acknowledge my debts to Futa Helu, Director-Founder, for providing me with a base and a stimulating intellectual atmosphere at 'Atenisi, while teaching there and conducting fieldwork in Tonga. In this context, I had the opportunity, through panel discussions, of airing my views on *tala-ē-fonua* in number of times in the 'Atenisi fortnightly radio programme.

I would like to thank staff of the following libraries, archives and museums for permission and assistance rendered during my research: in Australia, the Menzies and Chifley Libraries (Canberra); the Mitchell Library (Sydney); the National Library of Australia (Canberra); the Pacific Manuscripts Bureau (Canberra); the Records Room, Pacific and Asian History Division (Canberra); in New Zealand, the Auckland Museum (Auckland); the New Zealand and Pacific Collection, University of Auckland Library (Auckland); the Pacific Islands Educational Resource Centre Library (Auckland); in Tonga, the Government Printing Office Archives (Nuku'alofa); the National Centre (Nuku'alofa); the Palace Archives (Nuku'alofa); the Radio Tonga Archives (Nuku'alofa); the Tonga Chronicle Archives (Nuku'alofa); in Tuvalu, the Tuvalu Library and Archives (Funafuti); and in Western Samoa, the National Library of Samoa (Apia).

It was in the field that I collected the bulk of my vernacular source materials. I recorded accounts through interviews, often conducted in the form of lengthy but informative discussions. Having willingly and freely given their invaluable time and knowledge, I would like to acknowledge the sincere support of informants in the production of this thesis.

Specifically, I would like to thank: in American Samoa (Manu'a), Sea Fagava'a; Ali'itaeao 'Ofisa; in Australia, 'Efalata 'Afitofa; Talo Lakepa Fulivai; 'Amini Havea; and Sokopeti Sika; in Fiji, Tevita Fā; 'Isikeli Tawailasa; and Amino Waqalratu; in Futuna, Lolesio Muni Keletaona; and Lafaele Malau; Hawaii but in Guam, Kalani (English); in New Zealand, Mafualulutai; Ma'ulalofonua; in Tonga, 'Ahio; Manu Faupula; 'Amanaki Havea; Lehā'uli; Tonga Liuaki; Mafimalanga; Masiu Moala; Nausaimone; Tākapu; To'amalekini; and Tuila Pusiaki; in Tuvalu, Henry Naisali; in 'Uvea, Kulitea; Napole Mulipoto; and Siolesio Pilioko; and in Western Samoa, Foma'i Lauleali'i [Tu'u]; and Kiona Mafaufau.

With due acknowledgement for their warm reception and generous hospitality, treating me to feasts and making me feel at home while in the field, and patiently answering some of my queries, I must thank the following people: in American Samoa (Manu'a), Fiapito 'Ofisa; in Futuna, Father Petelo Falelavaki; Lafaele Malau; Moise Petelo Ngata; and Tamolevai [Sosefo Vanai], Tu'i Sigave; in New Caledonia, Elise Huffer; Pepe Rimoni; 'Ana and Pascal Treguer; and Vaisiliva Vaka; in Tuvalu, Lesieli Piula Valoa; in 'Uvea; Lafaele Faupala; Tu'i Lavelua, Hau of 'Uvea; Father Tomasi Muni; Moise Uuategoakehe; and Paula Wendt-Routolo, owner of Lomipeau Hotel¹; and in Western Samoa, Fou Lauleali'i.

I am especially grateful to Father Petelo Falelavaki, an 'Uvean priest in Futuna, and Father Tomasi Muni for treating me like, as they said, an *'aliki mei Tonga* (a chief from Tonga), in both Futuna and 'Uvea. So the people did likewise. But when I asked people in Futuna and 'Uvea about the Tu'i Tonga imperial rule in their islands, the answers varied. While Futunans emphatically said that Futuna was never *fakalongo ki Tonga* (submitted to, or ruled by Tonga), the 'Uveans were extremely proud of the fact that 'Uvea was *fakalongo ki Tonga*. 'Uveans openly admitted that their original chief, Tu'uhoko or Hoko, was from Tonga, sent by the Tu'i Tonga to rule 'Uvea.

¹. This hotel, like the Lomipeau singing group from Lapaha in Mu'a, the residence of the Tu'i Tonga, has been named after the great legendary double-canoe, Lomipeau, built in 'Uvea by 'Uveans and assisted by Fijians, for the Tu'i Tonga imperial activities.

During the course of research I also benefited from practical advice given by, and intellectual discussions with, numerous people on my work, both in the field and in Canberra. I acknowledge their positive contributions and keen interest.

I would, therefore, like to thank: in Australia, Peter Bellwood; Aletta Biersack; Wendy Cowling; Sione Faka'osi; Derek Freeman; Phyllis Herda; Helen Kavapalu; 'Inoke Hu'akau; Margaret Jolly; Eugene Kamenka; Siosua Lafitani; Ioane Lafoa'i; Andrew Pawley; Robert Langdon; Sione Lātūkefu; Kieran Schmidt; Dirk Spennemann; Jennifer Terrell; Klaus Newmann; Nicholas Thomas; Kambati Uriam; Elizabeth Wood-Ellem; and Leulu Felise Va'a; in Fiji, Epele Hau'ofa; Asesela Ravuvu; and Morgan Tuimaleali'ifano; in New Caledonia, Daniel Frimigacci; in New Zealand, Ian Campbell; Eve Coxon; Finau Kolo; Nancy Pollock; Wendy Pond; Eleanor and Max Rimoldi (especially Max's critical views on culture and history); the late Garth Rogers; 'Opeti Talia; and Taniela Vao; in Tonga, my 'Atenisi students; William Berg; Sione Fakalata; Christine Gailey; Futa Helu; Tevita 'Ofa Helu; Leonaitasi Hoponoa; Sifa Ika; Lei'aloa and Roland Perkins; 'Akilisi Pōhiva; Failo Tāufa; Kik Velt; and in Western Samoa, Fanaafi Le Tagaloa [Aiono].

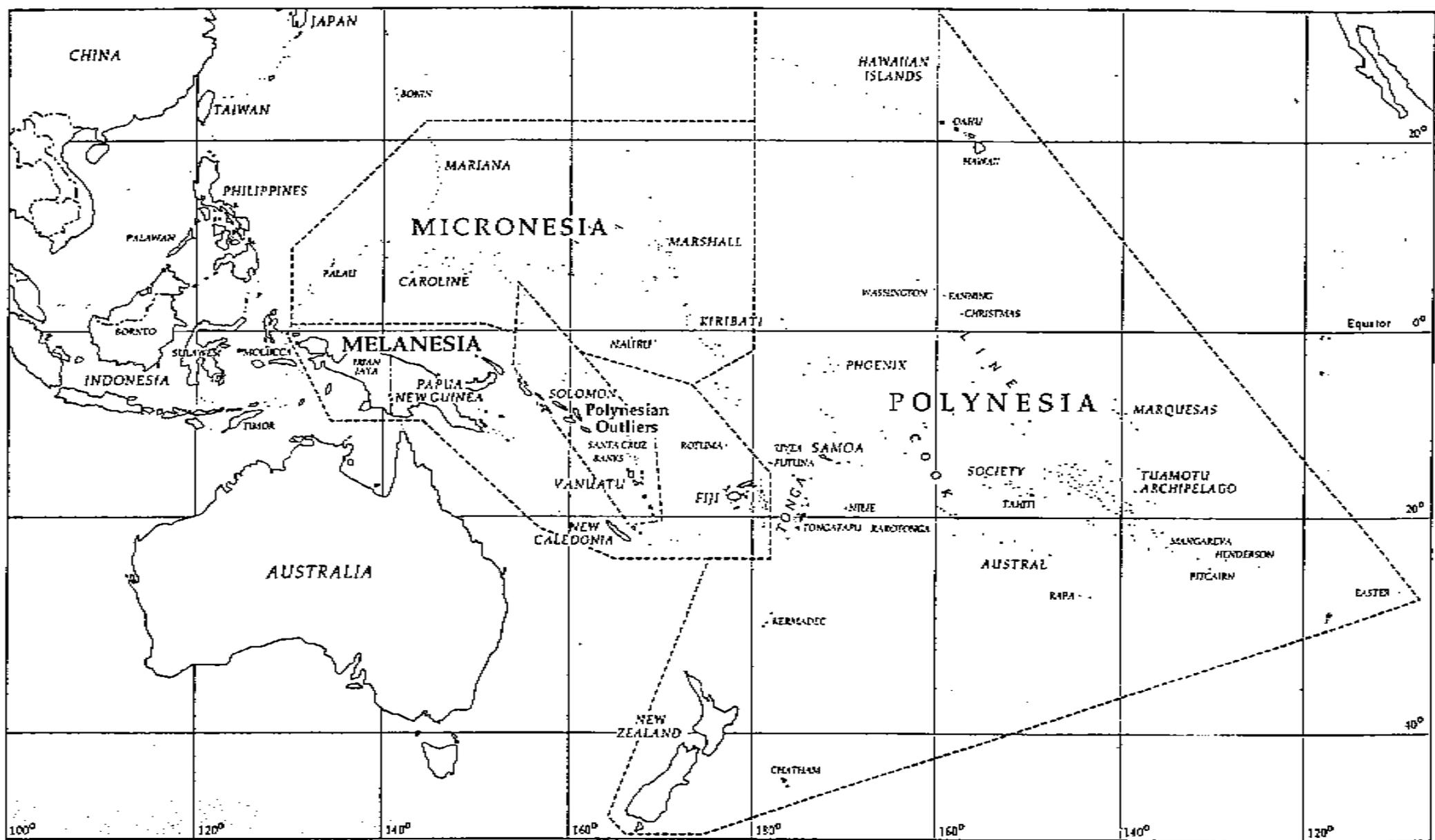
For practical advice, I must thank the Pacific and Southeast Asian History section's secretarial staff: Julie Gordon, Sally Anne Leigh, Dorothy Mckintosh, and Jude Shanahan for their ongoing help and for teaching me the marvels of the computer. Dorothy Mckintosh and Tony Reid, then head of department, who also showed an interest in my work, assisted me in administrative matters. I am also grateful to Keith Mitchell for drawing the maps and genealogical and other figures.

However, the ultimate weight of the supervisory and advisory roles rested on Niel Gunson, my supervisor, and Donald Denoon and Deryck Scarr, my two advisers. I am extremely thankful to them for devoting much time and patience to my work; Niel Gunson for his constructive advice and critical reading of drafts; and Donald Denoon and Deryck Scarr for their encouragement and reading of chapters, and independently commenting on them. Thanks to Donald Denoon, now Chair of Pacific History, for agreeing to take over as adviser from Gavan Daws, my former adviser, who vacated the Chair of Pacific and Southeast Asian History in early 1989.

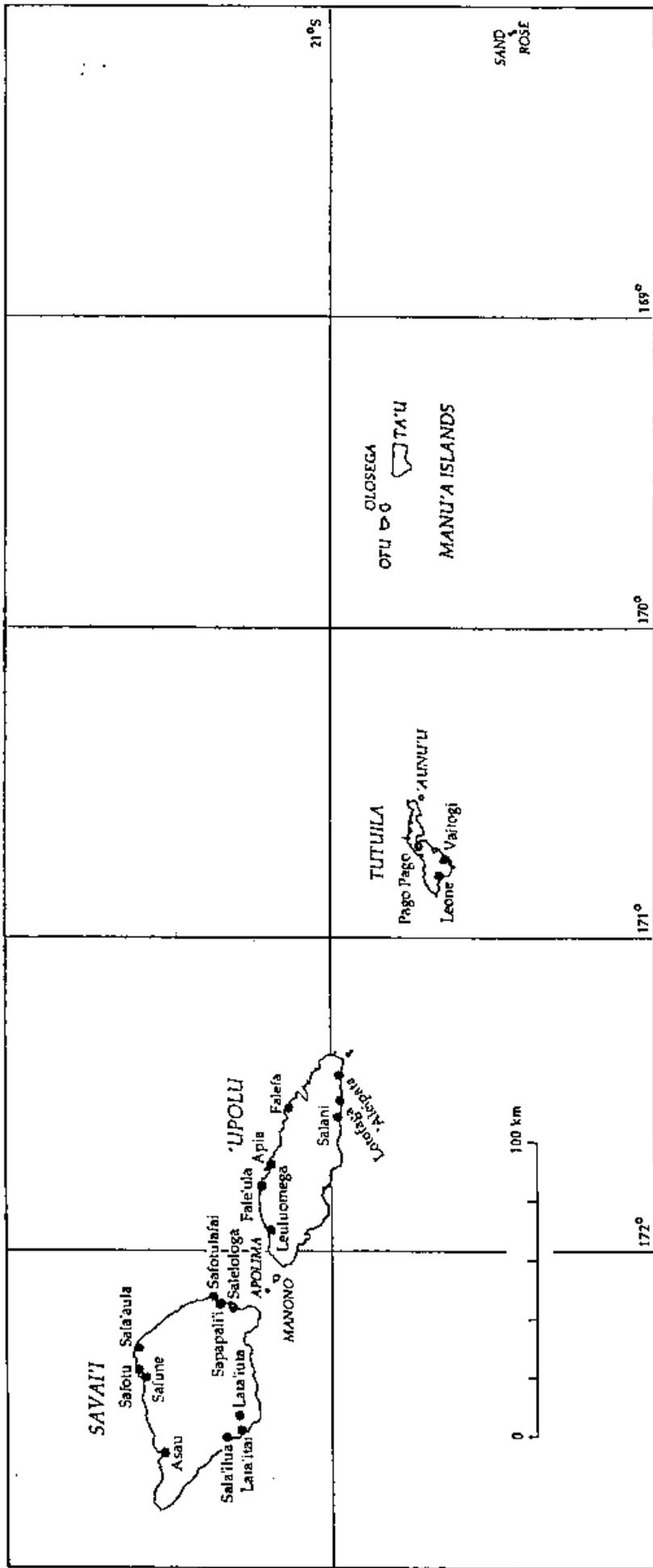
My most sincere gratitude to friends and *kāinga*, both immediate and extended, who have untiringly rendered their moral and material support throughout the whole period of this study.

I am particularly grateful to my parents, Meleha'amoā and 'Aisea, for their rare foresight on the significance of education, and my eldest sister, Manuesina Tonata, who looked after me on my mother's death, for her tireless support all the way.

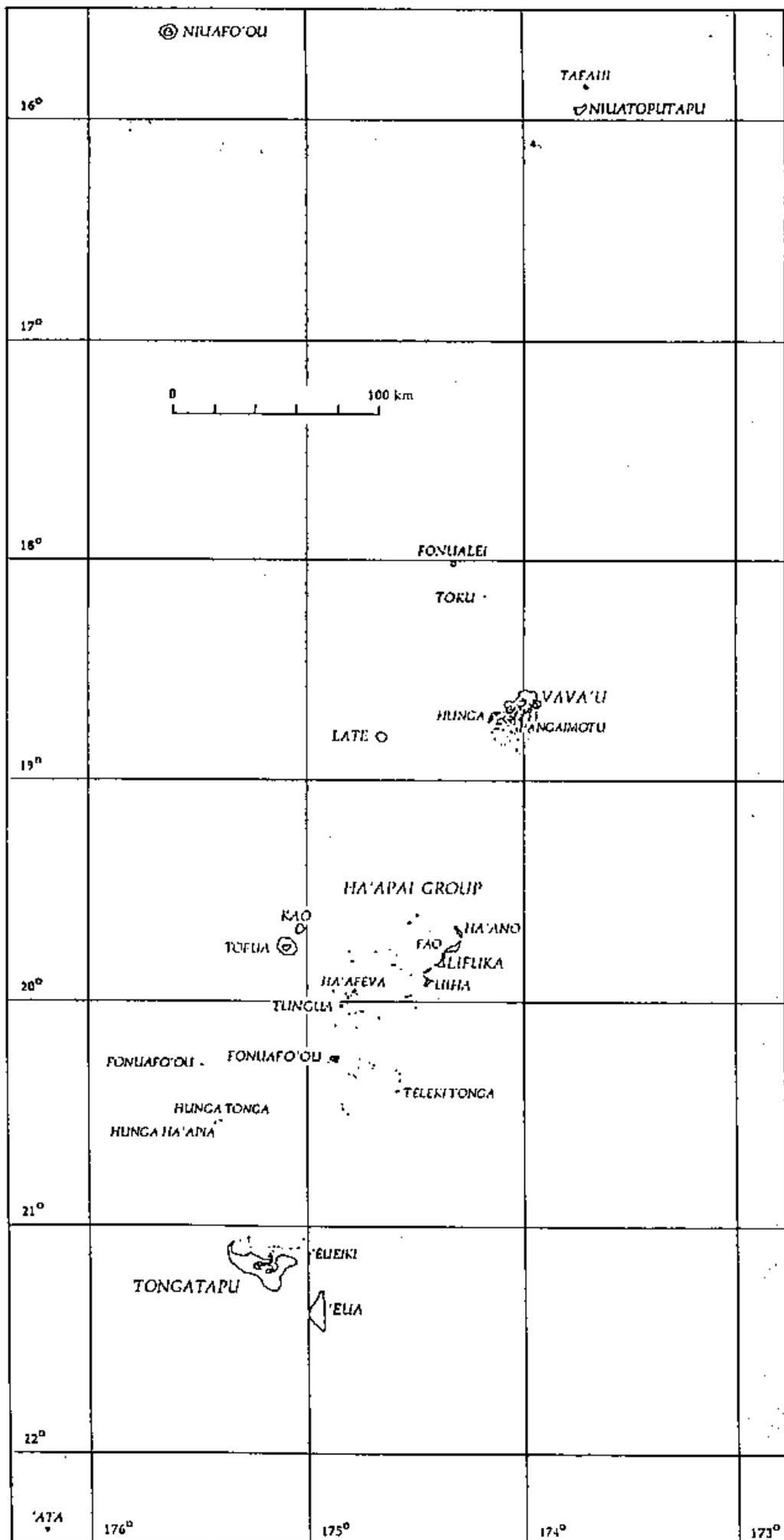
Finally, I must thank my wife, Tu'utanga, and children, Meleha'amoā, Kolokesa, 'Aisea and Manuesina, for having endured with me in difficult times, making sacrifice for what we all believed in to be a worthy cause.



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



MAP 3: Samoan Islands



MAP 4: Tongan Islands

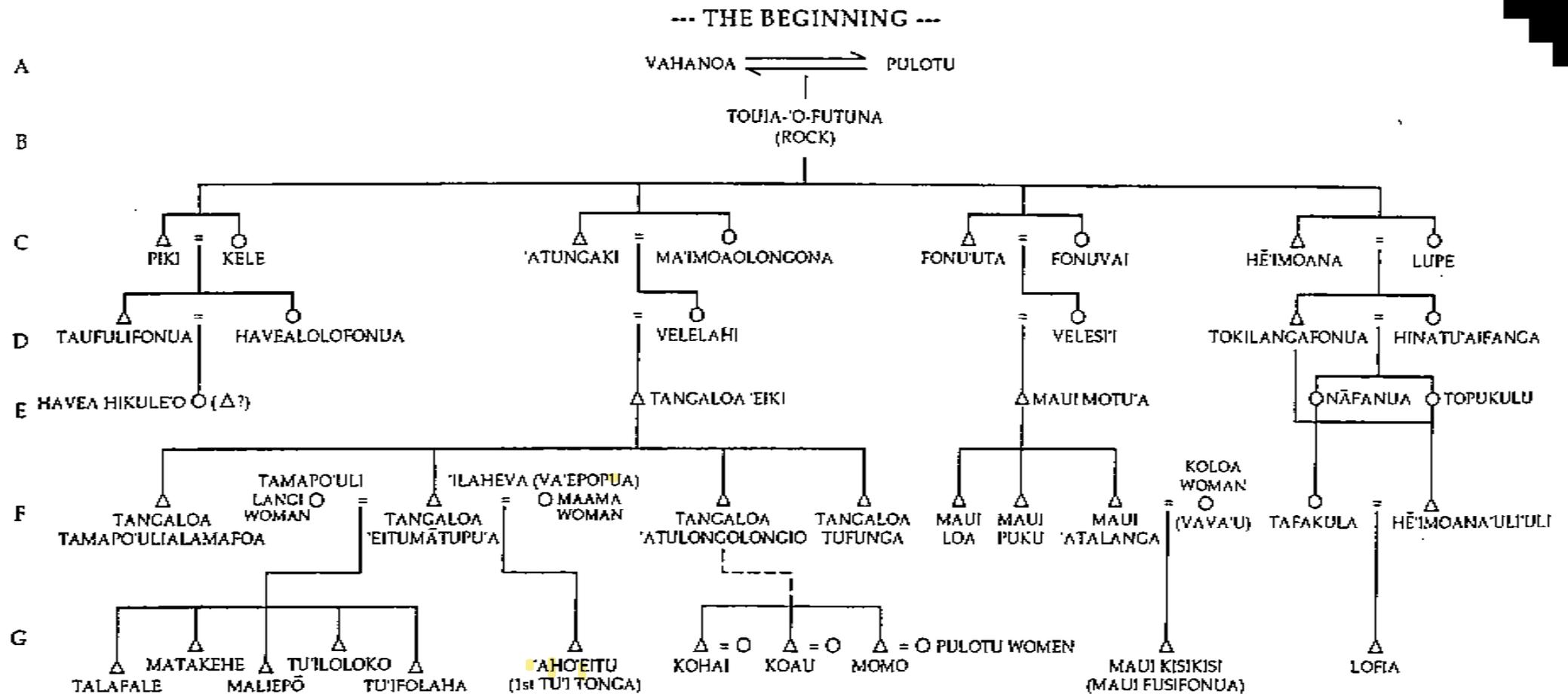


FIGURE 2.1 The Tongan creation myth, *talatupu'a*, traced through a genealogy (*hohoko*) connecting a mythical but historical past to the actual present. A - known beginning, characterised by tensions between Vahanoa, the immensely unknown ocean, and Pulotu, the Tongan Afterworld; B - rise of presumed island, Touia-o-Futuna, the rock; C - incestuous union of mythical beings; D - incestuous procreation between Taufulifonua and his sister, Havealolofonua, and classificatory half-sisters, Velelahi and Velesi'i, and between Tokilangafonua and his sister, Hinatu'aifanga; segmentation of Hēimoana-Lupe in Tokilangafonua, ruler of 'Eua; E - rise of three principal deities, Havea Hikule'o, Tangaloa 'Eiki and Maui Motu'a, connected with possible eastern Polynesian influences via Samoa, Hikule'o and her parents divided Tongamama'o between them, while she retained Pulotu, assigning Langi and Lolofonua (or Maama) to Tangaloa and Maui respectively; F - creation of lands by Tangaloa and his children, then fishing up of islands by Maui and his children; G - counter-hegemonic activities by Maui Kisikisi, bitter conflicts between 'Aho'eitu and his Langi brothers, which saw him emerge as the first Tu'i Tonga.

THREE PERIODS OF TONGAN EARLY OR TRADITIONAL HISTORY:

The Lapita Period
(Early, Middle and Late):
1500 BC - AD 200.

The initial settlement of Tonga, through Fiji, by the southwest Pacific Lapita people, associated with highly decorated, dentate stamped pottery; restricted lagoon-shore settlement, the shell midden era, characterised by heavy shellfish consumption and use of pottery. Less use of pottery, now plainer, towards the close of the pottery period, marking an antagonism in the marine-based mode of the social organisation of production.

The Dark Age or Formative Period:
AD 200 - AD 1200.

Shell middens continued to be present; but virtual abandonment of pottery making and use led to land-based mode of social organisation of production; continuing exploitations of both land and marine resources; more systematic cultivation of plants and domestication of animals; dearth of artefactual information regarding this period, hence the reference to it as the Dark Age Period.

The Classical Period:
(Pre-classical and Classical).
AD 1200- AD 1770.

Characteristic shift in settlement patterns from earlier habitation along the lagoon-shore areas to dispersed settlement inland; marked distribution of mound, stonework and site complexes of great human significance throughout the Tongan landscape; ordered and altered human landscape manifesting highly stratified complex society, sustained by authoritative centralised government.

The Early Period
(Traditional-Mythological):
Pulotu - Touia-'o-Futuna -
Tongamama'o.

The original northwest Pulotu colonisers, out of Pulotu-Vahanoa tensions, settled on Touia-'o-Futuna; early human organisation, via incestuous procreation and human-environment unity, is suggestive of early co-operative lagoon-shore settlement and later constrained sea-land movement. Conflicts between deities transformed Touia-'o-Futuna to Tongamama'o, divided amongst them into Pulotu, Langi and Maama.

The Middle Period:
(Traditional-Theological)
Tongamama'o - Tonga (AD 950).

The three deities and their offspring engaged in different forms of activity; tensions generated power transfers between related but competing deities; bitter conflicts saw the rise of 'Aho'eitu, the first Tu'i Tonga, to political hegemony, thus changing Tongamama'o to Tonga; less known but peaceful period between 'Aho'eitu and Momo, characterised perhaps by local nation building.

The Later Period:
(Traditional-Classical)
AD 1200 - AD 1845.

The antagonistic landscape movement of people developed through different stages; rise of Tu'i Tonga dynasty, then consolidated locally; Tu'i Tonga empire, with major reforms, emerged; regional imperial expansion through conquest, then alliance formation; imperial decline countered by emerging social institutions of economic and political benefits; antithesised collateral dynastic formation.

FIGURE 2.2

A general correlation of significant evidence between archaeology and traditional history connected with each of the three main periods of Tongan traditional history (after Spennemann 1986b, 1989; Kirch 1984a; Māhina 1986. See also Bellwood 1978; Davidson 1979; Green 1979; Poulsen 1967, 1977, 1987. See, for example, Helu 1986b, 1986c; Gifford 1929a:349-350 for periodisation of Tongan history).

TUI TONGA (TT) LIST

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

FIGURE 3.1

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

LIST OF TUI TONGA BETWEEN
'AHO'EITU AND MOMO

MAJOR EVENTS ASSOCIATED
WITH EACH TUI TONGA (TT)

1. 'Aho'eitu AD 950
'Aho-'eitu; Day-(of)-descendant-(of)-original-god; possibly of Samoan-Niuan extraction; peak of first probable eastern Polynesian influences, via hegemony and counter-hegemony of two regional cultures, Pulotu and Langi, over Maama or Lolofonua, connected with rise of three principal deities; antagonised Pulotu and Langi, then founded TT dynasty on Maama, or Tonga.
2. Lolofakangalo
Lolo-fakangalo; lit. Scented]-Oil-(of)-slow-disappearance; possibly symbolic of Pulotu and Langi being squeezed out of social scene; little is known about this TT, except his name.
3. Fanga'one'one
Fanga-'one'one; lit. Beach-(of)-sand; may be representative of shoreline movement of early TT from Popua through Folaha to Pelehake; this TT is only known by his name.
4. Lihau
Li-hau; lit. Throwing-(of-the)-conqueror; little is known about Lihau; his name is of Niuan-'Uvean extraction.
5. Kofutu
Kofutu; lit. Elongated-(time-period); little is known of Kofutu, except his name being of Niuan-'Uvean origin.
6. Kaloa
Kaloa; lit. Escape (especially difficult situations); (moving head-sideways); little is known of him; his name being of Niuan-'Uvean extraction.
7. Ma'uhau
Ma'u-hau; lit. Receiver-(of)-power/tribute; connected with Lavengatonga (*Lavenga-tonga/Tonga*; lit. [Ma'uhau]-Receiving-all-[of]-tonga/Tonga-[support]) village, suggesting the early period to be one of nation building.
8. 'Apu'anea
Little is known of him, except his name is Niuan-'Uvean in origin.
9. 'Afulunga
'Afu-lunga; lit. Hot-up-top; possibly referring to warmer north; little is

known about him, except his name is of Niuan-'Uvean extraction.

10. Momo

Momo; lit. Fragments (perhaps of traditions of early times); second wave of possible eastern Polynesian influences; represented final stages of nation building; formalised *kava*; laid down foundation for TT empire; married Nua, daughter of probable foreign figure, Lo'au, possibly an eastern Polynesian of Samoan descent.

FIGURE 4.1

A list of Tu'i Tonga between 'Aho'eitu and Momo, period of local nation building, showing approximate dates of reign and major events associated with each Tu'i Tonga.

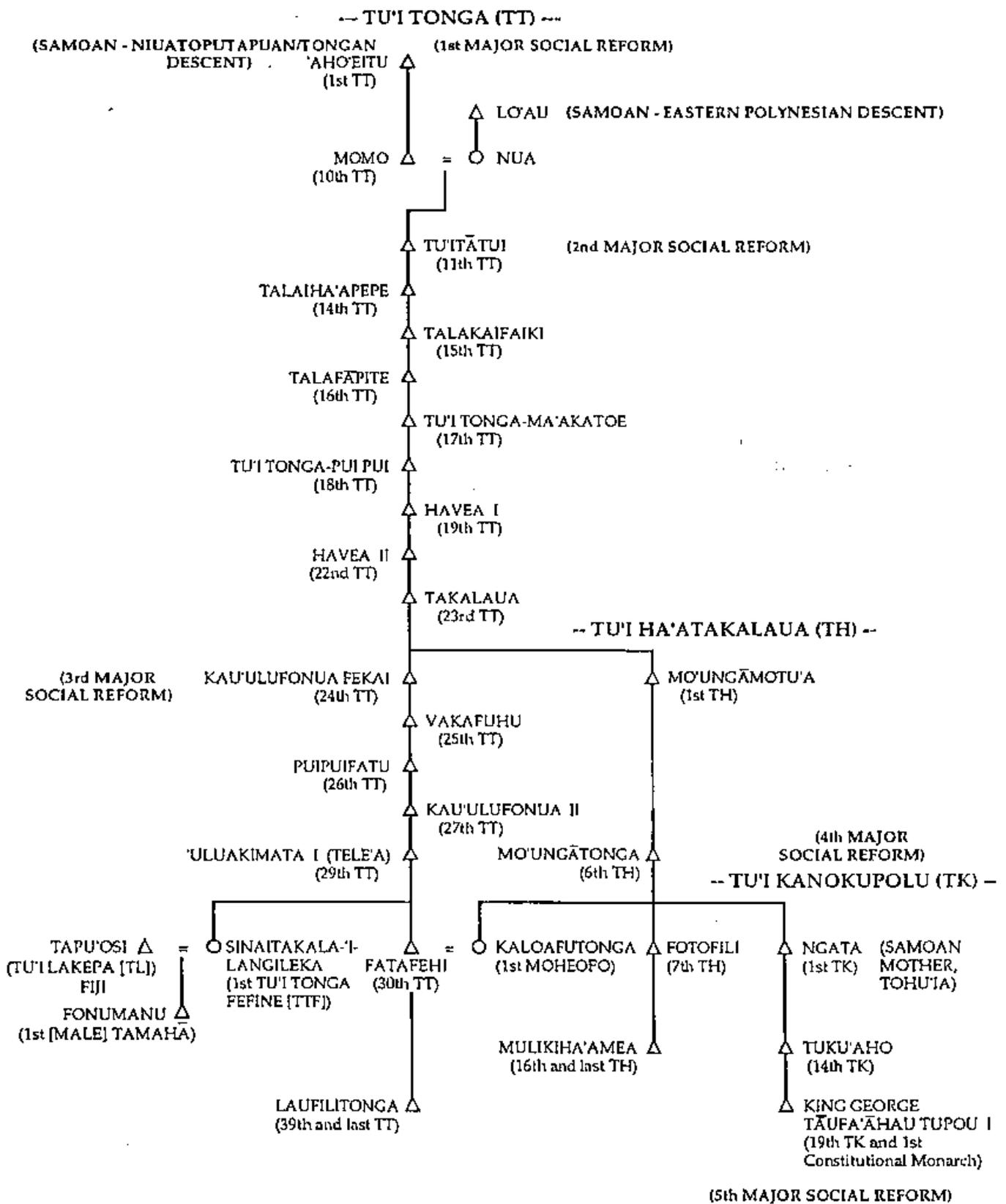


FIGURE 4.2 The rise of the Tu'i Tonga and the collateral segmentation of the Tu'i Ha'atakalau and Tu'i Kanokupolu, associated with influential figures, resulting in the emergence of major social institutions of great economic and political significance.

TUI HA'ATAKALAU (TH) LIST

1. Mo'ungāmotu'a AD 1470

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

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

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

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

Vaka-lahi-mohe-'uli; lit. Vaka/Boat-senior/big-(the)-sleep-(with)-dirt(unwashed); probably representative of this TH, as often the case in Tonga, having subjected his people to work that they had no time to wash themselves; if not, this king had the habit of being *mohe'uli*.
6. Mo'ungātonga AD 1610

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

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

16. Mulikiha'amea
killed at the Battle of Te'ekiu,
1799; also 11th TK (see TK
list).

Muli-ki-ha'amea/Ha'amea; lit.
Return-to-ha'amea/Ha'amea;
Ha'amea, in Central Tongatapu,
residence of Lo'au, Tu'i Ha'amea,
thought to have had Samoan
descent (Ha'amea/Ha'amo'a); probable
reference to revival of Lo'au's skills
in social organisation, or simply role
played by Samoans in local politics.

FIGURE 5.1

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

LIST OF TU'I TONGA BETWEEN
TU'ITĀTUI AND TAKALĀUA

MAJOR EVENTS ASSOCIATED
WITH EACH TU'I TONGA (TT)

11. Tu'itātui AD 1200

Tu'i-tā-tui; lit. King-hit-knees, son of Momo and Nua; symbolic of his ability to put people on their knees; peak of second alleged wave of eastern Polynesian influences; major social reforms: reshuffled Falefā; developed Lo'au-Tu'itātui land tenure system; began regional imperial expansion by conquest.

12. Talatama

Tala-tama; lit. Telling/Traditions-[of]-child, son of Tu'itātui; possible reference to Tu'itātui's reforms; operated with Talaiha'apepe TT imperial fleet, led by two famous *kalia*, 'Ākihehuo and Tongafuesia; probable last TT at Heketā, Niutōua.

13. Tu'itonganui-Koe-Tamatou

Tu'i-tonga/Tonga-nui-Koe-Tamatou/Tou; lit. Tu'i-tonga/Tonga-[of]-greatness-The-Child-[of]-Tou-[tree]; a wooden king made of *tou* wood; *nui* and *tou*, Tahitian in outlook, symbolic fragments of traditions from eastern Polynesia; symbolic of possible Talatama-Talaiha'apepe title dispute; reportedly buried in Langi Tamatou at Makaunga/Niutao between Heketā in Niutōua and Lapaha, Mu'a.

14. Talaiha'apepe

Tala-i-ha'apepe/Ha'apepe; lit. Telling/Traditions-at-ha'apepe/Ha'apepe (or Ha'apepa, one of major districts in Tahiti Nui; lit. *Lineage-[of]-ha'apepe/Ha'apepe/Ha'apepa*); possible reference to some Tahitian body of ruling traditions; founded Lapaha, last and permanent TT imperial centre.

15. Talakaifaiki AD 1250

Tala-kai-fai-ki; Telling/Traditions-(of)-eating/food-done-to; possibly symbolic of formal extraction of socio-economic wealth from periphery to centre; extended imperial expansion by conquest probably throughout Samoa; cruel subjugation of Samoa, which Samoans fiercely rebelled; driven out Talakaifaiki in series of wars; imperial expansion by conquest changed, possibly through treaty, to

- conquest-alliance formation.
16. Talafāpite *Tala-fāpite/Fāpite*; lit. Telling/Traditions-(of)-fāpite/Fāpite; probably representative of some body of traditions of Fāpite, place or person; married and resided in Samoa.
17. Tu'itonga-Ma'akatoe *Tu'i-tonga/Tonga-Ma'a-ka-toe*; lit. Tu'i-tonga/Tonga-Clean-if-[it]-remains; possibly a symbol for an oppressive TT; married and resided in Samoa.
18. Tu'itonga-Puipui *Tu'i-tonga/Tonga-Puipui*; lit. Tu'itonga/Tonga-(the)-Secluded; symbolically signify divine character of TT; married and resided in Samoa.
19. Havea I Probably symbolic of Tongan recognition of role of Samoa, in terms of "Savea", in local politics; murdered possibly by Fijian, suggesting Fijian oppositions to TT imperial rule.
20. Tatafu'eikimeimu'a *Tatafu (Tata-fu)*; lit. Scraped-up-[earth]-[then]-clap-[hands], possibly reflecting *hou'eiki-tu'a* servility [see 10th TH, Figure 5.1] *'eiki-meimu'a/Mu'a*; lit. Tatafu-[the]-high-chief-from-mu'a/Mu'a); had two sons, Ngana'eiki and Nganatatafu; Ngana'eiki (*Ngana-'eiki*; lit. Befitting-[a]-chief) unsuccessfully courted a Samoan princess, Hina, who fell in love with his younger handsome brother, Nganatatafu (*Ngana-tatafu/Tatafu*; lit. Befitting-tatafu/Tatafu).
21. Lomi'aetupu'a *Lomi-'ae-tupu'a*; lit. Suppression-of-the-ancient/past; little is known about this TT; name may symbolically represent counter-hegemony against TT, ancient symbol of power.
22. Havea II Samoan influences in terms of "Savea"; Havea II was murdered by Fijian, Tuluvota, pointing to further Fijian oppositional encounters to TT imperialism.
23. Takalaua AD 1450 *Taka-laua*; lit. All-around-gossip; may be symbolic of suppression being the subject of much

dissatisfied "talks"; extended TT imperial rule beyond Fiji and Samoa to Futuna and 'Uvea, and possibly Niue, Tokelau and Tuvalu; imperial expansion perhaps to Polynesian outliers such as Tikopia and Anuta in Melanesia and places such as the Cooks and the Marquesas in eastern Polynesia; 'Uvean and Futunan inspired-murdered by Tamasia and Malofafa for reputed oppression; virtual end of imperial expansion by conquest-alliance formation.

FIGURE 5.2

A list of Tu'i Tonga between Tu'itātui and Takalaua, constituted of periods of conquest and conquest-alliance formation, showing approximate dates of reign and major events associated with each Tu'i Tonga.

TUI KANOKUPOLU (TK) LIST

1. Ngata AD 1610

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

2. 'Atamata'ila

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

3. Mataeletu'apiko

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

4. Vuna

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

5. Mataeleha'amea

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

6. Ma'afu'otu'itonga

Ma'afu-'o-tu'i/*Tu'i-tonga*/*Tonga*; lit. Bottom/Guiding-star-of-tu'i/*Tu'i-tonga*/*Tonga*; a probable symbol of

- tu'a-'eiki* tributary relations of Hau to TT, respective temporal and divine kings.
7. **Tupoulahi** *Tupou-lahi*; lit. Tupou-(the)-senior/big; Tupou, common Tu'i Kanokupolu name, differentiated only by either social or physical attributes of respective holders.
8. **Maealiuaki** Also 15th TH (see TH list).
9. **Tu'ihalafatai** *Tu'i-hala-fatai*; lit. King-(of)-road-(of)-*fatai*; *fatai* is a *kakala vale* ("fool's" or commoner flowers), but it becomes a *kakala 'eiki* (chiefly flowers) when it's woven into *ve'eve'e* garlands (hence, the expression *si'i pē si'i loufatai ka ko e ve'eve'e mei he Paki* (minor though it may be the *fatai* leaves but it, as *ve'eve'e*, is garland from Mu'a (TT), symbolised by Paki). Similarly, TK, though he is *tu'a* in status, is socially linked to TT.
10. **Tupoulahisi'i** *Tupoulahi-si'i*; lit. Tupoulahi-(the)-junior.
11. **Mulukiha'amea** Also 16th TH (see TH list).
12. **Tupoumoheofo** *Tupou-mohe-oho*; lit. Tupou-(the)-sleep-(and)-wake; Moheofo, eldest daughters of TH and TK, presented as wives to the TT, as was Tupoumoheofo, wife of TT Pau.
13. **Mumui AD 1793-AD 1797** *Mumu-i*; lit. Assembled-at; probable symbolic reference to TK actual power of amassing social and material resources through *polopolo* and *'inasi* during his rule.
14. **Tuku'aho**
assassinated;
AD 1797-AD 1799. *Tuku-'aho*; lit. Parted-(at)-dawn; probable symbolic reference, through *tu'a's* life of service, to his long subjection (*tuku'aho*) of people to his oppressive rule, resulting in his death.
15. **Ma'afulimuloa** *Ma'afu-limu-loa*; lit. Bottom/Guiding-star-(of)-seaweeds-(that-grow)-tall; indicating some navigational or marine duties, possibly of people to chiefs, or TK to TT and TH.
16. **Tupoumalohi** *Tupou-malohi*; lit. Tupou-(the)-victor; this Tupou, differentiated by

- being victorious, was possibly symbolic of the conquering role of TK.
17. Tupouto'a
AD 1812-AD 1820
- Tupou-to'a*; lit. Tupou-(the)-warrior/brave; like Tupoumalohi, this Tupou, as a secular king, was characterised by one of warfare, living chiefly but heroic value of *to'a*.
18. Aleamotu'a
(Tupou Faletuipapai)
AD 1826-AD 1845
- Aleamotu'a*; lit. Arguing-(of)-old; probably a symbolic reference to traditional patterns, as between TT and Hau, of power conflicts; nicknamed Tupou Faletuipapai (*Tupou Fale-tui-papai*; lit. Tupou [the]-House-[for]-plaiting-necklace-[of-red-pandanus-fruits]) suggesting some tributary *tu'a* relationships of TK to TT.
19. George Tāufa'āhau Tupou I
AD 1845-AD 1893
- Tāufa-'āhau/Ahau*; lit. Tauga-(at)-'ahau/Ahau; originally named Ngininginiolanga (*Nginingini-olanga/Ofolanga*; lit. Shrivelled-[inside-of-coconut]-[from]-Ofolanga), for reasons that he was fed at birth with coconut milk from Ofolanga island, associated with TT; later named Tāufa'āhau to commemorate the fact that he was healed by Kautai, priest of 'Āhau oracle, whose shark god, was Tāufaitahi (*Tāufa-i-tahi*; lit. Tāufa-at-sea).
20. George Tāufa'āhau
Tupou II
AD 1893-AD 1918
- While George (Siaosi) is of British origin, Tupou has remained the common TK name, combining the introduced and the indigenous in title.
21. Sālote Mafile'o Pilolevu
Tupou III
AD 1918-AD 1965
- Similarly, Charlotte (Sālote) is also British in origin.
22. Tāufa'āhau Tupou IV
AD 1965-

FIGURE 6.1

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

LANGUAGE LEVELS, MORALITIES AND VALUES

SOCIAL ORGANISATION OF PRODUCTION

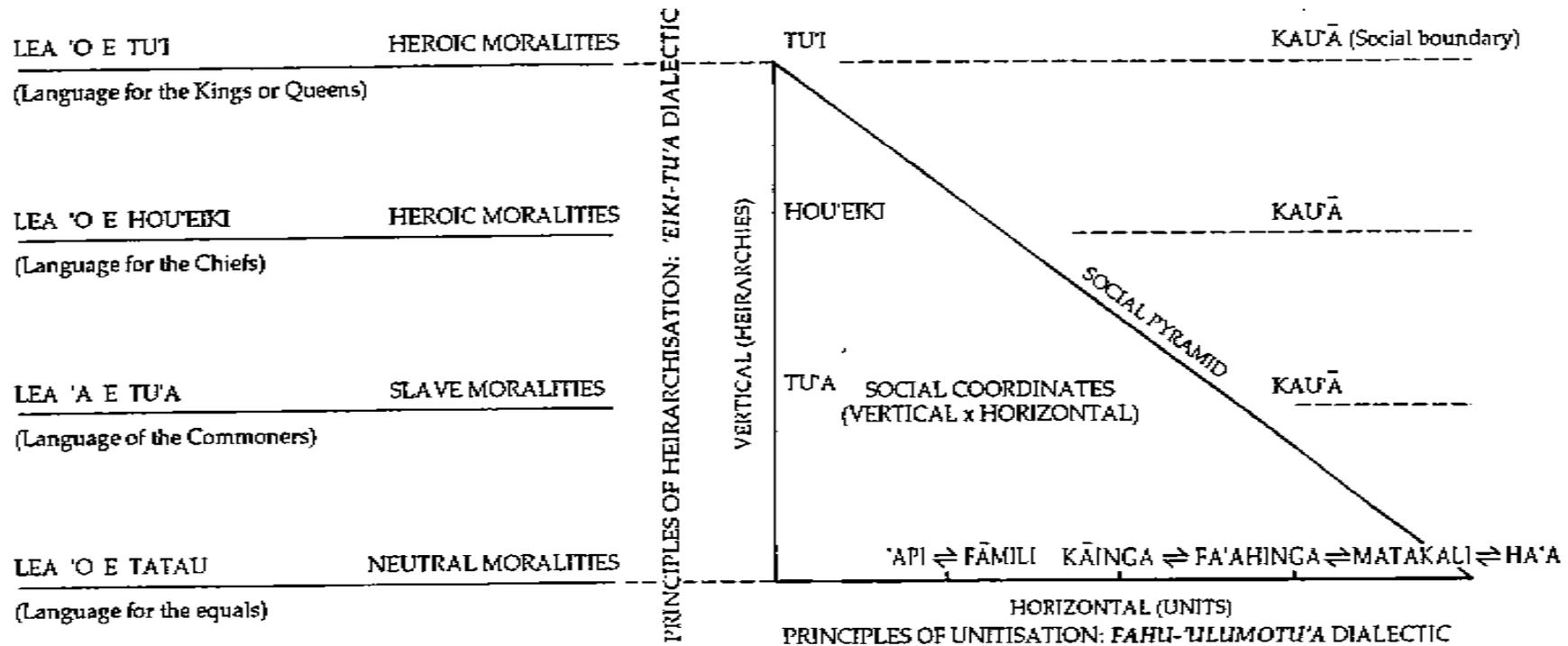


FIGURE 6.2 The vertical and horizontal planes, and the corresponding language levels, moralities and values, of the three dimensional Tongan social organisation of production.

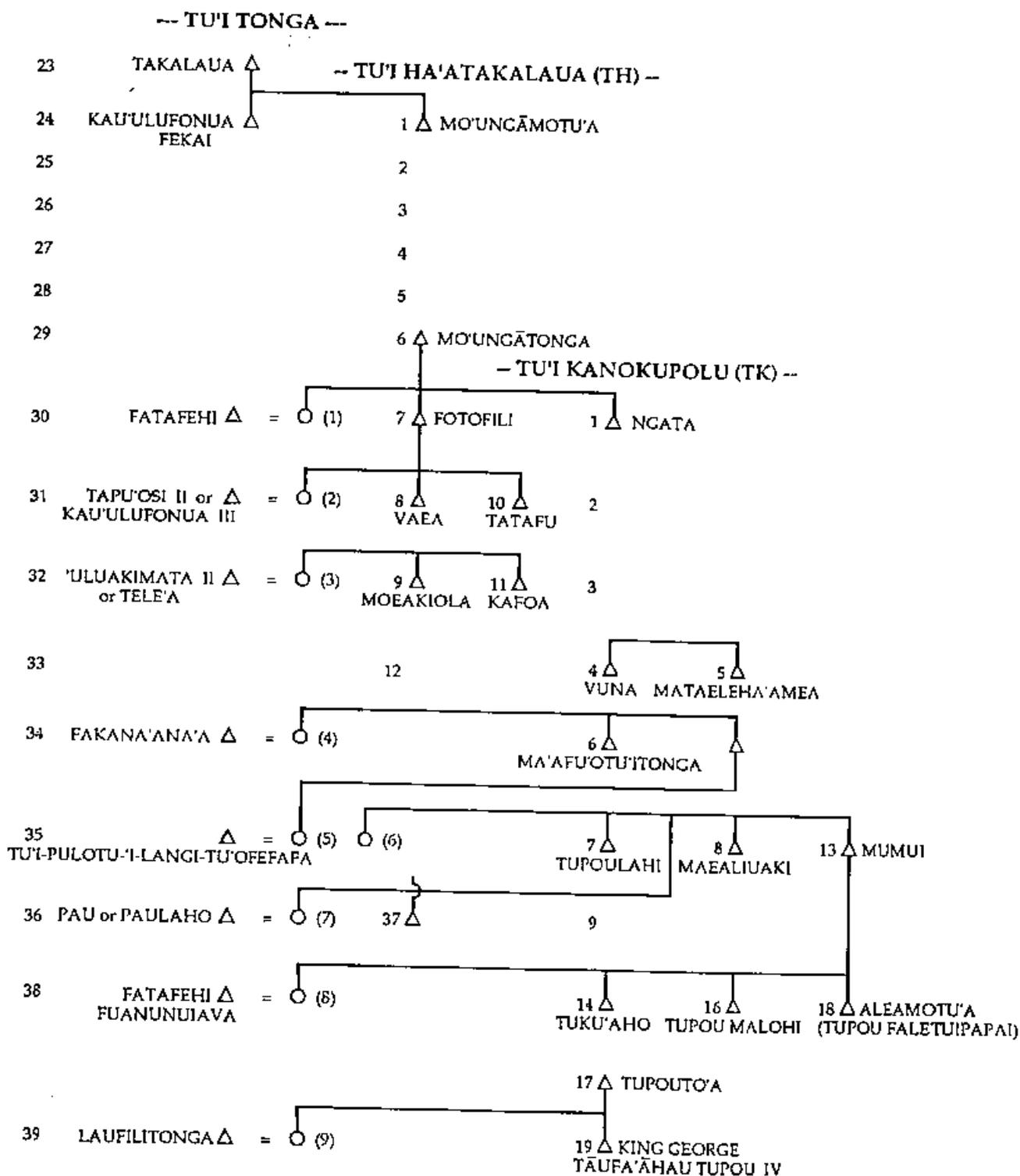


FIGURE 6.3 The structural operation of the Mohefo institution between the Tu'i Tonga and the new Hau, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu, where the latter stood as wife-giver to the former: (1) Kaloafutonga; (2) Takala; (3) Toa; (4) Tongotea; (5) Laumanukilupe; (6) 'Ānaukihesina; (7) Tupoumohefo; (8) Tupouveiongo; and (9) Halaevalumata'aho.

LIST OF TU'I TONGA BETWEEN
KAU'ULUFONUUA FEKAI AND
LAUFILITONGA

MAJOR EVENTS ASSOCIATED
WITH EACH TU'I TONGA (TT)

24. Kau'ulufonua I Fekai
AD 1470

Kau-'ulu-fonua; lit. Combining-all-lands/islands; may be symbolic of extensive TT imperialism; nickname, "Fekai" (Ferocious), representative of desperate attempts to regain imperial control; began imperial expansion by alliance formation; major social reforms: reorganised Falefā; created TH; sent out chiefs as governors to outer islands; laid down foundation for *polopolo* and 'inasi institutions, linked with Fahu and 'Ulumotu'a.

25. Vakafuhu

Vaka-fuhu; lit. Boat-(of)-fighters; probable symbolic reference to Kau'ulufonua's fleet of fighting men that pursued his father's murderers; exiled and married in Samoa.

26. Puipui-fatu

Puipui-fatu; lit. Secluded-offspring; probable symbol for this divine TT's exile and marriage in Samoa.

27. Kau'ulufonua II

Living in exile and married in Samoa.

28. Tapu'osi I

Tapu-'osi; lit. Prohibition-lifted; may be symbolically representative of TT having completed terms of exile in Samoa; Tapu'osi I, suggesting Fijian role in Tongan politics, last to have married and resided in Samoa.

29. 'Uluakimata I or Tele'a

'Uluaki-mata; lit. First-face/eye; possibly symbolic of this TT being the "first" to restore some kind of respectable "face" to TT rule; *Tele'a* (Valley), a reference to Mu'a, TT "valleys"; connected with huge legendary double-canoe, *kalia*, Lomipeau.

30. Fatafehi

Fata-fehi; lit. Litter-(of)-fehi-(wood); chiefly symbol (see Fatafehi in Chapter 4); contemporaneous with emergence of female social institutions of Mohefo, Tu'i Tonga Fefine and Tamahā *vis-a-vis* TT, and collateral segmentation of third kingly line, TK.

31. Tapu'osi II or Kau'ulufonua III
AD 1643
Tapu'osi is suggestive of more Fijian influences on Tonga; lived around the time of Tasman's visit in 1643.
32. 'Uluakimata II
'Uluakimata II's two sons, Tu'ipulotu-i-Langi-Tu'ofefafa and Tokemoana, who started the now defunct Tu'i Ha'a'uluakimata. (Cf. TH).
33. Tu'ipulotu-i-Langi-Tu'ofefafa
Tu'i-pulotu/Pulotu-i-Langi-Tu'ofefafa; lit. King-[of]-pulotu/Pulotu(Fisi)-(buried-on-top-of-each-other)-in-Royal-tomb-Tu'ofefafa; so named for reasons that he was buried face down with his brother, Tokemoana, on his back; Pulotu/Fisi suggests further Fijian penetration in Tongan affairs.
34. Fakana'ana'a
Fakana'ana'a (Lullaby); lit. Soothed-(from)-crying; probably symbolic of local Fijian influences via the "crying" Sinitakala-i-Langileka, who is said to have *fakana'ana'a* by her female attendants for falling in love with Tapu'osi.
35. Tu'ipulotu-i-Langi-Tu'oteau
Tu'ipulotu-i-Langi-Tu'oteau (*Tu'ipulotu/Pulotu-i-Langi-Tu'o-teau*; lit. King-[of]-pulotu/Pulotu[Fisi]-[buried]-in-Royal-tomb-Sky-[of]-hundred-layers) is suggestive of further Fijian influences on local politics.
36. Pau or Paulaho AD 1770; met Cook, AD 1777; D. AD 1784.
Given strong Fijian influences, Pau was probably named after Bau in Fiji; *Pau-laho*; lit. Pau-(the)-testicle, a probable recording error; married Tupoumohefo, daughter of TK Tupoulahi; Pau reported to have *kisu ē tala-ē-fonua*, withheld body of refined knowledge of ruling from his son, Fatafehi Fuanunuiava.
37. Ma'ulupekotofa
AD 1784-AD 1806
Ma'u-lupe-ko-tofa; lit. Receiver-(of)-pigeon-(for)-the-(royal)-sleep; probably allegorical of women being presented to cohabit with TT; brother of Pau.
38. Fatafehi Fuanunuiava
AD 1806-AD 1810
Reported to have been installed to TT title while Pau was still alive.
39. Laufilitonga
AD 1827-AD 1865
Lau-fili-tonga/Tonga; lit. Count-(Vava'u-and-Ha'apai)-(but)-choose-Tonga-(instead); may represent

symbolic position of Tongatapu *vis-a-vis* northerly groups, and structural-functional relationships between secular Hau, TH and TK and 'Eiki, TT; spent most of his time in Vava'u and Ha'apai, but elected to live in Tongatapu during last days of his life; defeated by TK in battle; died in 1865, last holder of TT office.

FIGURE 6.4

A list of Tu'i Tonga between Kau'ulufonua Fekai and Laufileitonga, period of alliance formation, showing approximate dates of reign and major events associated with each Tu'i Tonga.

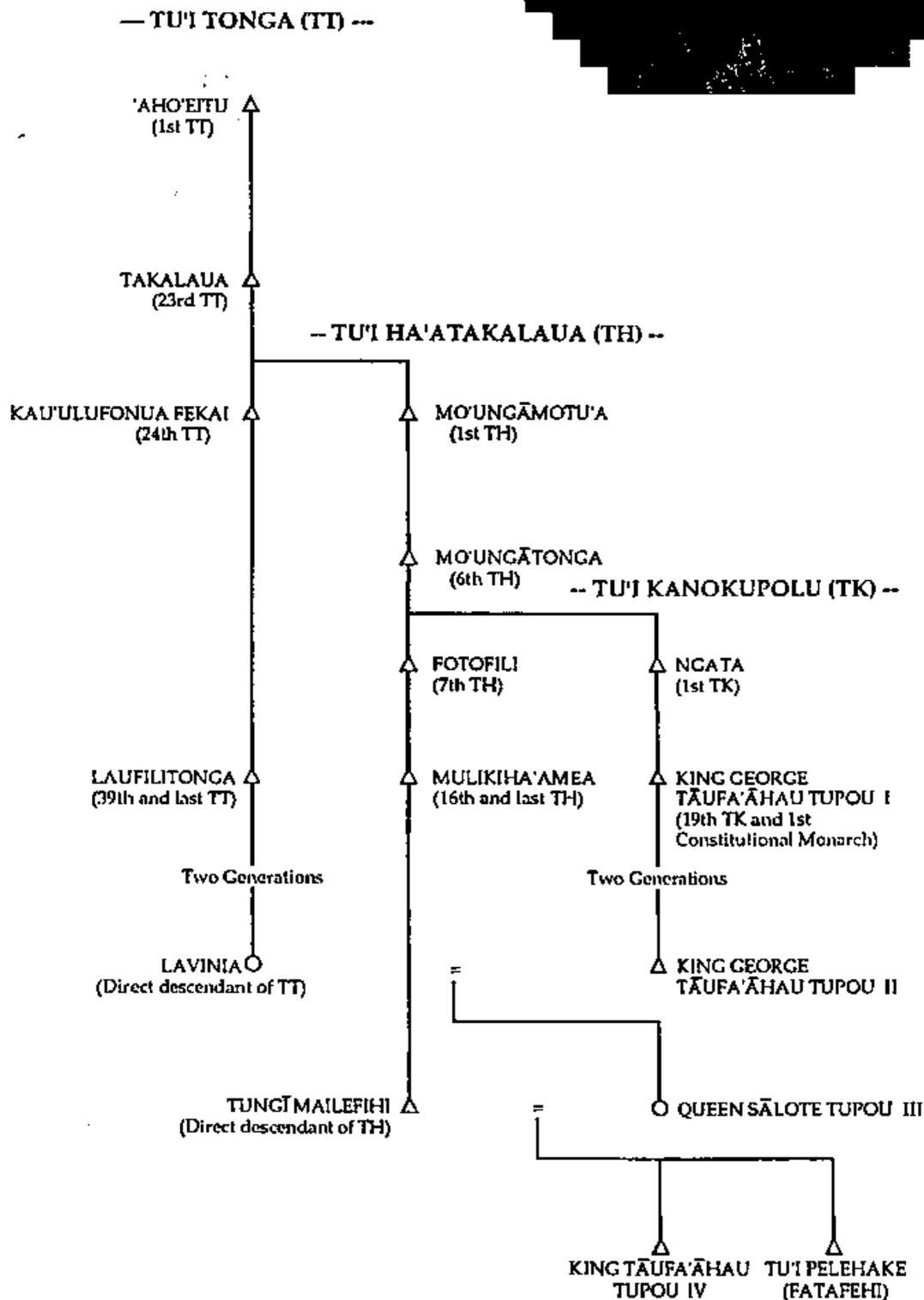


FIGURE 7.1 The structural relationships between the three related but competing royal titles, Tu'i Tonga, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu, showing how Queen Sālote's children, Tāufa'āhau Tupou IV and Fatafehi Tu'i Pelehake, combined the three blood lines in their persons.

GLOSSARY OF TONGAN TERMS

- afā*: hurricane; symbol for oppression
- 'ahiohio*: whirlwind; symbolic of tyranny
- 'api*: smallest local social unit
- 'Eiki*: post-Takalaua, sacred office of Tu'i Tonga
- 'eiki*: sacred; chief; chiefly; chiefness
- 'Eiki-Hau*: pre-Takalaua, sacred-secular, god-king Tu'i Tonga
- 'esi*: chief's sitting/resting mound; chiefly symbol
- fa'a*: economic prowess
- fa'ahinga*: intermediary local social unit
- fa'ē*: mother
- fa'ele'i*: birth
- Fahu*: institutionalised sister's/female's socio-economic interest
- faiva*: Tongan master art (*ta'anga*, *hiva* and *haka*)
- faiva lea*: rhetoric
- faka'esia*: to make a handle; imagery and symbolism used in everyday formal and informal communication; respectable language
- fakafotu*: sister's brother's child
- fakalihu*: Tu'i Tonga's beauty contest
- fakaloufusimata*: to eat from young green banana leaves; investiture of Tu'i Tonga
- fakama'afu*: to wipe Tu'i Tonga's arse (*ma'afu*)
- fakamatala*: to give an account; oral testimony or tradition
- fakana'ana'a*: to soothe a person from crying; lullaby
- fakanofu*: to invest a person with a title
- fakatapu*: to submit to authority; salutation
- fale*: thatched house
- fale'alo*: royal children
- Falefā*: administrative and ruling machinery of Tu'i Tonga
- fāмили*: English "family"; nuclear social unit
- fa'itoka*: grave
- fananga*: legend
- fanga*: leeward, lagoonal side
- fatongia*: specific duty
- fefine'i fonua*: indigenous woman of the land
- feilaulau*: sacrifice
- feta'aki*: plain bark cloth
- fetau*: opposed; rivalry; poetry of rivalry

- fetu'u*: star
- finemotu'a*[*finemātu'a*]/*fine'eiki*: old woman[women]
- fokonofu*: chief's secondary wife
- fola'osi*: piece of bark cloth
- fonua*: land; country; people; traditions; umbilical cord
- fulitaunga*: symbolic name for Tu'i Tonga's *kava* ceremony
- fungavaka lea*: language level
- ha'a*: largest and societal social unit
- Ha'amea*: symbolic of Ha'amoā; residence of Lo'au, Tu'i Ha'amea
- haka*: dance; co-ordinated bodily movement
- hahake*: east
- Hau*: post-Takalaua secular Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu office; institution built on 'Ulumotu'a
- heliaki*: to speak one thing and mean another; traditional and literary imagery and symbolism used in poetry and oratory
- heu lupe*: pigeon snaring; type of chiefly sport
- hingoa fakanofu*: chiefly title
- hiva*: song; music
- hiva kakala*: song of flowers; love song
- hohoko*: genealogy
- 'ilamutu*: brother's sister's child
- 'ilo*: empirical knowledge
- 'inasi*: Tu'i Tonga bi-annual tribute system; institution built on *polopolo*
- kafa*: cord made from coconut husks
- kāinga*: intermediary local social unit
- kainanga-ē-fonua*: eating place of chiefs; symbolic for commoner
- kakai*: people
- kakala*: sweet-scented flowers, woven and classified according to hierarchy
- kakala 'eiki* (*hingoa*; *mo'oni*; *tapu*; *talā*; *tupu'a*): chiefly (named; genuine; sacred; outstanding; ancient) *kakala*
- kakala vale*: "fool's *kakala*"; secular, *tu'a* and commoner *kakala*
- kalia*: large Tongan double canoe
- kamata'anga*: origin; beginning
- kātoanga*: public festival and celebration
- kau'ā*: boundary; symbol for social bound or class
- kava*: ceremonial beverage made from *kava* plant
- kavenga*: "burden"; social duty or obligation
- kelekele*: soil; land

- kie Tonga*: chiefly fine mat
- kitetama*: closed, exogamous, cross-cousin dynastic marriage
- kófeloalohuloa*: extended Fahu
- kofenou/lohunou/to'ukaimohonolohu*: immediate Fahu
- koloa*: exchangeable woman's product (e.g., fine mats and bark cloth)
- kumete*: cooking or *kava* bowl
- [fanga]hui*: grandfather[s]/grandmother[s]; ancestor[s]
- la'a*: sun; symbolic of coercion and power
- lakalaka*: dance
- lalo*: lower side; sea side
- Langi*: symbolic of Samoan and eastern Polynesian influences on Tonga; sky; sacred; father; 'eiki; foreign; invasion/invader
- lau'eiki*: enumerating chiefly connections in poetry and oratory
- laulau*: chant
- laumālie*: soul
- laumātanga*: enumerating beautiful spots; poetry of beautiful places
- lea mālie*: proverbial saying
- liku*: cliffy, coastal windward side
- lolo*: sweet-scented body oil
- Lolofonua*: "Underworld"; synonymous with Maama, symbolic of Tonga
- Maama*: "Earth"; symbolic name for Tonga; indigenous; local; secular; *tu'a*; earthly
- maama*: earthly being; symbol for Tongan
- maau*: poem
- mafai*: political power, associated with men
- māhina*: moon; calendar month based on different phases of the moon and tides
- ma'itaki*: principal wife of Tu'i Tonga
- maha*: rock; symbol for land or island
- mala'e*: Tu'i Tonga's ceremonial green; Tu'i Kanokupolu's tomb
- mālie*: aesthetically pleasing; outstanding
- matakali*: Fijian "mataqali"; intermediary local social unit
- matangi*: wind; symbol for coercive rule
- mātu'a*: parents
- me'e*: merriment; dance and singing
- me'elaufola*: ancient dance
- me'etu'upaki*: ancient dance
- mehekitanga*: father's sister; domestic-mundane Fahu

- milolua*: royal *kava* making
- milolua fakalotomu'a*: royal *kava* preparation of Tu'i Tonga
- milolua fakamuifonua*: royal *kava* making of Tu'i Kanokupolu
- moana*: deep sea
- Mofeofe*: eldest daughter of Tu'i Ha'atakalaua or Tu'i Kanokupolu presented as wife to Tu'i Tonga; institution based on Fahu
- mofuike*: earthquake; symbolic of oppression
- mokopuna/[fanga] makapuna*: grandchild/[grandchildren]; descendant[s]
- motu'a[mātu'a]/tangata'eiki*: old man[men]
- motu'a tauhifonua*: petty chief
- mu'a*: person of outstanding chiefly descent
- muli*: foreign; foreigner
- ngatu*: bark cloth
- ngāue*: consumable man's product (e.g., food and pigs)
- 'ofa*: love
- 'Olotele*: principal residence of Tu'i Tonga at Lapaha in Mu'a
- 'olovaha*: traditional navigational compass; presiding chief in *taumafa kava*
- ono'aho*: distant past
- ono'aho kilukilua*: remotest past
- onopō*: present
- papālangi/pālangi*: white man; foreigner
- pekia*: honorific term for chief's death; *hala* being for the king
- polopolo*: all-year round tribute system; institution
- poto*: learned skill
- pōula*: night poetry recital, dancing and singing held for Tu'i Tonga
- pule*: authoritative status associated with women
- pulopula*: seedling; cutting
- Pulotu*: symbolic of Fiji; Tonga's ancestral land and afterworld
- pulotu fa'u*: poet; composer
- pulotu haka*: choreographer
- pulotu hiva*: musician
- pōpula*: slave
- punake*: poet or artist of all the three arts - *ta'anga*, *haka* and *hiva*
- sia*: mound; chiefly symbol
- sia heu lupe*: pigeon snaring mound; also *lupe* is symbolic of chiefs
- sika'ulutoa*: type of javelin throwing, chiefly sport and symbol
- Sina'e*: untitled brother of Tu'i Tonga
- sinifu*: chief's secondary wife

- ta'anga*: poetry
- takafalu*: honorific term for Tu'i Tonga's back (*tu'a*)
- tala*: to tell; oral tradition
- tala-ē-fonua*: oral tradition
- tala fakafonua*: oral tradition
- tala fakakuongamu'a*: oral tradition about early times
- talanoa*: story
- tala tukungutu*: tradition placed in the mouth; oral tradition
- talatupu'a*: creation myth (about deified ancestors)
- talavou/hoihoifua/faka'ofa'ofa*: physical beauty
- tama*: chiefly child
- tamai*: father
- Tamahā*: child of Tu'i Tonga Fefine; institution based on Fahu
- Tamatauhala*: child of male Falefisi adopted by female Falefisi; highest person in Tonga; institution based on Fahu
- taumafa kava; 'ilo kava; faikava*: royal *kava* ceremony; chief's *kava* ceremony; commoner's *kava* drinking
- tanusia*: social mobility
- tangata'i fonua*: indigenous man of the land
- ta'okete*: older sibling, both sex
- tapu*: prohibited; sacred; forbidden; segregation; unintelligible
- tau*: warfare; socio-political instability
- taufatungamotu'a-ē-fonua*: oral traditions
- taukei*: empirical experience
- taula*: priest
- tau'olunga*: dance
- taupo'ou*: virgin
- tautahi*: sea forces; symbolic name for Vava'u and Ha'apai warriors
- tau'uta*: land army
- tehina*: younger sibling, both sex
- to'a*: warrior; bravery; courage
- tokelau*: north
- tokoua*: brother or sister, both sex
- tonga*: south
- tongiaki*: type of fast *kalia*
- toputapu*: most sacred; sacred of the sacred
- tou'a*: group of *kava* makers
- toutai*: fisherman/navigator (*toutai ika/toutai vaka*)

- tu'a*: earthly; secular; commoner
- tu'asina/fa'ētangata*: sister's brother; domestic-mundane 'Ulumotu'a
- tufunga*: carpenter, as in *tāmaka* and *fo'uvaka*, stonemason and boat-builder
- tufunga fonua*: builder of society
- tufunga lea*: oratory; word-carpentry
- Tu'i Tonga Fefine*: Female Tu'i Tonga; institution based on Fahu
- tuofefine*: sister
- tuonga'ane*: brother
- tupu'anga*: origin; primal ancestor
- 'ufi*: yam
- uho*: umbilical cord; symbolic for blood relation
- 'ulu*: head; leader
- 'Ulumotu'a*: institutionalised brother's/male's political interest
- 'umu*: earth oven, for cooking *fei'umu*
- 'uno*: turtle's shell
- 'unoho*: cohabitation
- 'uta*: upper side; inland
- vaka*: boat
- viki(viki)'eiki*: praising of chiefs in poetry and oratory

PART I

**ISSUES: PERMANENCE AND CHANGE IN DIALOGUE;
DYNAMICAL CONVENTION AND ACTION**

INTRODUCTION

This study focuses on Tongan traditional history¹, *tala-ē-fonua* (lit. telling-of-the-land-[and-its]-people), a vernacular ecology-centred concept of culture and history². On the conceptual level, the term *tala-ē-fonua* espouses a Tongan *Weltanschauung*, an outlook to life or a way of doing things. Specifically, *tala-ē-fonua* is a Tongan mode of formally representing past and present events about the land and its people (*fonua*), passed down through generations by word of mouth (*tala*)³.

The *tala-ē-fonua* can be regraded as a product of the interplay of different forms of human activity in a social context; and, conceptually, it is a unique mode of explanation of complementary and opposed human relationships in terms of the familiar environment⁴. While some aspects of the society are "naturalised" through ideological conditioning⁵, Nature, in this anthropo-ecological context, is thus effectively "humanised"⁶. When, as a rule, one is talking about landscape connections between specific localities, one is, in fact, making reference to some established social, emotional, economic and political

¹. On the issue of oral tradition-history relations see, for example, Brown and Roberts 1980; Vansina 1965. For the case of Polynesia, at least before the rise of modern archaeology and linguistics in the 1940s, see, for instance, Beckwith 1940; Burrows 1940; Luomala 1940a, 1940b, 1949. Also see Classen 1988:433-444; Finnegan 1970:195-201; Heinge 1971:371-389; Helu 1988b, 1990a; Herodotus 1972; Kolo 1990; Kuschel and Monberg 1977:85-95; Lātūkefu 1968:135-143; Meleisea 1987; Mercer 1979:130-153; Piddington 1956; Robertson 1962:293-309; Scarr 1990:52-57; Spear 1981:133-148.

². See Leenhardt 1979; Mulvaney 1990; Sahlins 1981, 1985a, 1985b; Thaman 1991; Weiner 1991.

³. Cf. *Tala tukungutu*, traditions placed in the mouth (*ngutu*) (Helu 1972a; Lehā'uli, interview, 1988; Mafimalanga, interview, 1988; Moala, interview, 1988; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973).

⁴. See, for example, Collocott 1928a; Collocott and Havea 1922; Fanua 1975a; Gifford 1923a, 1924; Hafoka 1924:88; Lomu 1924b:89; *Ko e Makasini Ko e Lo'au*, 1959; *Ko e Ngaahi Palovepi Faka-Tonga*, n.d., Vao 1924a:102 among others.

⁵. While the *hou'eiki* values and moralities are taken as natural, those of the *tu'a* are thought to have been acquired/learned through social conditioning (see Helu 1981).

⁶. The humanisation of Nature is in oral traditions generally and, in particular, poetry, reflecting the Tongan ecology-centred mode of historico-cultural ordering (see, for example, Collection of Queen Sālote's Poetry, MS, n.d; Collection of Tongan Song Texts [Ancient, Traditional-Classical and Modern], MS, n.d; Collection of Works by Tongan Poets, MS, n.d; Collocott 1928a:7-12, 103-107; Faka'osi 1987a; Fanua 1975a:235; Filianga 1979, 1982a, 1982b; Gifford 1924:88-102, 1923a:5-19; Mafi 1986e; Mafuataimi 1986a:52-69; Makahununiu 1986a:14-22; Tu'i Pelehake [Fatafahi] 1979; Tupou III [Queen Sālote] 1980:1, 8, 1986:20-23 among others).

relationships between groups in society, which were, or are, synchronically and diachronically⁷ tied in with the said environment. Ideally, *tala-ē-fonua* may be taken as a vernacular human landscape, extending as well to experientially-derived celestial objects⁸ and life-supporting marine sites⁹ of great social significance (see Chapters One and Seven and Appendix A). In a way, Tongan traditional history is carved with traditionally-formalised social imagery and symbolism onto the landscape by means of orality.

The primary concern of this study is confined to the three constitutive elements of *tala-ē-fonua*: *tala* (telling, i.e., to tell), *kelekele* (land/[soil]) and *kakai* (people). In fact, the term *fonua* refers to a composite of *kakai* and *kelekele*, *tangata'i/šefine'i fonua*, men/women[people] of the land. Such a social dimension is seen in the Tongan conception of birth, where the umbilical cord, itself called *fonua*, is buried in the land after birth, because, according to the Tongan worldview, people are themselves the land (see Chapter Two)¹⁰. Thus, the interplay between people and the land, in non-material and material terms, constitutes *tala-ē-fonua*. In short, *tala-ē-fonua*, though conspicuously literal/material and symbolic in appearance, is thus social in essence.

This essentially social character of *tala-ē-fonua* is reflected in its variations: *tala fakafonua* (*tala faka-fonua*; lit. telling [in-the]-style-[of-the]-land); *tala tukungutu* (*tala tuku-ngutu*; lit. telling placed-[in-the]-mouth); *tala tukufakaholo* (*tala tuku-faka-holo*; lit. telling placed-[in-the]-style-[of]-one-after-another); and *taufatungamotu'a-ē-fonua* (*tau-fatunga-motu'a-ē-fonua*; lit. continuing-collection-[of]-old-[of-the]-land-[and-its]-people)¹¹. There is also the term *talatupu'a* (*tala-tupu'a*; lit. telling-[of-the]-ancient/deified-spirits-

⁷. Cf. Piddington 1951, 60:108-121.

⁸. See, for example, 'Anaise 1924:111-113; Collocott 1922a:157-173; Fifita 1924:118-119; Gifford 1924:103-109; Helu 1972b, 1972c; Lomu 1924c:105-108; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973 among others.

⁹. See, for example, Benguigui 1988:185-198; Gifford 1924:76-87, 1929a:299-300; Fatuimoana 1929:299; Fotu 1985:67-77; Kailalaku 1924a:81, 84; Mafi 1985; Manu 1924:78-79; Pele 1924:76; Pulu 1981; Taufa 1985:56-66; Taufiaevalu 1924:76-77; Tonga 1924c:96-98 among others.

¹⁰. Lehā'uli, interview, 1988; Mafimalanga, interview, 1988; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973. This Tongan belief, reinforced by the human-environment mode of cultural and historical thinking, is consistent with the fact that, in both life and death, we are inseparably at one with Nature: the source of both life and death.

¹¹. Lehā'uli, interview, 1988; Mafimalanga, interview, 1988; Moala, interview, 1988; Helu 1972a, 1972c; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973. Cf. *Ko e Makasini Ko e Lo'au*, 1959.

of-chiefs)¹², the symbolic-mythic accounts about the origin and creation of society, that is, about people (see Chapter Two)¹³.

It follows that *tala-ē-fonua* is basically about society in general, and in particular, it is thus concerned with the social and material reproduction of society¹⁴. However, such a mode of social organisation of production, where different forms of social activity are developed, generates permanence in human associations, where, through antagonism, change becomes an inevitable condition of the social arrangement¹⁵. But *tala-ē-fonua* is, more often than not, mostly about great people (heroes, gods, kings, queens etc) and their great deeds (diplomacy, war, marriages, adventures etc)¹⁶, arising out of the human-environment association, on the one hand, and language, the means by which events are synchronically and diachronically recorded, on the other.

As an ordering concept, *tala-ē-fonua* often structurally emphasises an ever present real past, as it practically confronts an ever changing actual present (see Chapters One and Seven)¹⁷. Though *tala-ē-fonua*, on the conventional and practical levels, implicitly recognises the tensions between structure¹⁸ and event, it seldom does so by idealising the former in encountering the latter. The dialogue between structure and event reflects how culture is historically ordered, while history is, in turn, culturally structured¹⁹.

¹². See Moyle 1974, 83:155-179; Stair 1896, 5:34.

¹³. Helu, interview, 1991.

¹⁴. In case the term *reproduction* may suggest any power external to society, and responsible for regulating human affairs, its use here simply refers to how society, in human and material terms, transforms itself in its own distinctive ways (Helu, pers. comm, 1991).

¹⁵. See Māhina 1990.

¹⁶. See, for example, 'Aho, interview, 1988; Anonymous 1977; Bott 1958-1959; Collocott, King Taufa, MS, 1928a; Gifford 1923a, 1924, 1929a; Leha'uli, interview, 1988; Liuaki 1988; Mafimalanga, interview, 1988; *Ko e Mahasini Ko e Lo'au*, 1959; Martin 1981; Reiter 1907, 1917-1918, 1919-1920, 1933, 1934 among others. Cf. Bott 1982; Fusitu'a 1976; Fusitu'a and Rutherford 1977:173-189; Lātūkefu 1975b; Ve'ehala and Fanua 1977:27-39; Wood Ellem 1981, 1983:163-182, 1987:209-227; Wood and Wood Ellem 1977:190-209.

¹⁷. Cf. Dening 1989; Keesing 1989; Maywald 1984.

¹⁸. The *structure*, as used here, is taken not to be ideal, or immutable; structure, by maintaining order, is as uncertain as the event that brings about change in the structure (Rimoldi, pers. comm., 1991).

¹⁹. Cf. Sahlins 1981, 1985a, 1985b.

The dimension of time, though broadly subsumed to the development of some human situation in space, is nevertheless present in *tala-ē-fonua*. Such implicit presence of a temporal dimension is largely suggested by *tala tukufakaholo* and *taufatungamotu'a-ē-fonua*. While events may not often be strictly dated, they are still spatially bound up with human nature. And human nature is defined by a multiplicity of tensions, deriving from the irreconcilability of the interplay of interests in a social context. These conflicting tendencies, where order is often at risk in practice, constitute the very fabric of the social process²⁰.

In effect, the rationalistic postulation of events to a higher level of reality²¹, where time is suppressed, is due largely to the creative and trial-and-error character of orality, the most practical way of people's expression of freedom²². Language, taken here as a process of *symbolisation*²³, is capable of investing events with a miraculous and surreal character²⁴. As a hyperbolising means, orality ideologically tends to conceal the true character of events²⁵. The risky part played by human memory, as far as the oral transmission of events is concerned, presumably led to the devising of literary formal means whereby events are preserved by word of mouth through generations.

There is the divine and memorable language of the extraordinary, on the one hand, and the secular and forgettable language of the prosaic, on the other. To the former, formally belongs the tales (*talanoa*), myths (*talatupu'a*), legends (*fananga*), chants (*laulau*), poetry (*ta'anga*), oratory (*tufunga lea*), rhetoric (*faiva lea*) and proverbial sayings (*lea mālie*) etc²⁶. Though the latter deals with the ordinary doings of people, it often tends to transcend human

²⁰. See, for example, Helu 1991a.

²¹. See Anderson 1962; Baker 1979, 1986.

²². Helu 1988b, 1990a.

²³. Cf. Keesing 1981:81-90; Levi-Strauss 1963:31-97; Talia'i 1987, 1989.

²⁴. Helu 1988b, 1990a.

²⁵. It is in this context, the interplay between the surreal and the real, that literal/symbolic-social/historical distinction is to be understood.

²⁶. Examples of these forms of formal language can be found in Collection of Queen Salote's Poetry, MS, n.d; Collection of Tongan Song Texts (Ancient, Traditional-Classical and Modern), MS, n.d; Collection of Works by Tongan Poets, MS, n.d; Collocott 1928a; Gifford 1923a, 1924, Helu 1986b, 1987b; Malupō, *Ko e Ngaahi Ta'anga 'a Peni Tutu'ila Malupō*, MS, n.d; *Ko e Ngaahi Palovepi Faka-Tonga*, n.d., Pusiaki, *Me'etu'upaki*, TS, n.d, *Nailasikau -Lakalaka*, TS, n.d, 1986 among others.

experience, mainly of the marvels of Nature and significant social deeds, beyond matters of our everyday experience²⁷.

Basically, the structuring effects of language as a symbolisation process have, for the Tongan consciousness, generated a high degree of *indirectness* (*faka'aki'akimui*) in people's formal and informal communicative exchanges²⁸. These are characterised by the notions of *heliaki* (to speak one thing and mean another) and *faka'esia* (*faka-'esia*; lit. to-make-a-handle; i.e., to cover up)²⁹. Whereas the former is associated with the verbal arts, especially poetry, oratory and rhetoric, the latter is appropriated as the means of communication in a less formal context relating to the symbolic everyday dealings of people³⁰.

In poetry, for example, the poet wraps up his bare intentions in terms of effective imagery and symbolism (*heliaki*), the distinguishing mark of good poetry, i.e., the more unintelligible the poem is, the better it is as a work of art³¹. But whereas the term *faka'esia*, in particular, simply refers to the use of the language of respect in ordinary discourse, the notion *heliaki* is utilised in ceremonial contexts such as weddings and funerals or other socio-economic exchanges between groups. When presenting a *puaka toho* (oversize pig) in formal occasions, for example, the *matāpule* would refer to it as a *kau polopola hamu* (empty basket of food)³². Though, in reality, this is not literally the case, the symbolic significance of the act, however, can only be socially understood in the broader framework of the Tongan mode of behaviour, moralities and values³³.

In fact, this mode of behaviour, of socially downgrading oneself by upgrading the other and vice versa, of symbolically reducing the object through obscuring its literal/true character, tends to cut across the entire spectrum of both the Tongan formal and informal universe of discourse. Generally speaking,

²⁷. Helu 1987c.

²⁸. Helu 1972a, 1987b, 1989a; Malukava [Kavaefiafi] 1973; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973. Cf. Monberg 1974:427-442.

²⁹. Helu 1972b, 1972c, 1978e:23; Lehā'uli, interview, 1988; Mafimalanga, interview, 1988; Moala, interview, 1988; Malukava [Kavaefiafi] 1973; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973; Malupō, pers. comm., 1985; Nausaimone, interview, 1989; Sika, interview, 1990.

³⁰. Cf. Sahlins 1976.

³¹. Helu 1978e:21-25. Cf. Hau'ofa 1978.

³². Helu 1987b; Lehā'uli, interview, 1988; Mafimalanga, interview, 1988; Malukava [Kavaefiafi] 1973; Moala, interview, 1988; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973.

³³. Helu 1981; Kolo 1990. Cf. Nietzsche 1968a, 1968b, 1973.

the effects of the working of society is such that it highly discourages boasting about one's own achievements, socially regarded as a source of embarrassment. The praising of oneself is, like the generalised socio-economic transactions³⁴, something reciprocated through communicative social interaction, not only between individuals but between groups to which individuals are members.

Language, the device through which various forms of living are transmitted *vis-a-vis* the social and material reproduction of society, is culture³⁵. But culture, given that the social reproduction and material reproduction are interpenetrated, either by way of complementarity or through opposed means, is itself historical.

As a focus, this study examines the indigenous linguistic construction of events arising from the continuity between human beings and their environment³⁶. Both permanence and change in social and spatial relationships, manifested on the level of culture and history, are thus observed within this context namely the continuity of the social and the material³⁷.

It is argued that the antagonistic anthropo-ecological relationships, defining human existence, are culturally and historically generated through different stages of development characterised by varying degrees of change³⁸. While these ordered and altered patterns of human behaviour are continuous with spatial configurations, their persistence is neither guaranteed a safe place nor given special positions in society. Given this state of affairs, both conventional interests and intentional values are therefore risked in action

³⁴. Cf. Biersack 1982, 91:181-212; Gailey 1981, 1987a, 1987b; Helu 1978b, 1985b; Kaeppler 1978a, 11:246-252; Marcus 1980b, 89:435-453.

³⁵. Helu 1987b. Cf. Talia 1987, 1989.

³⁶. Unlike Marxist and Weberian models (see Cuff and Payne 1979), perhaps followed by Sahlins (1958) and Goldman (1970), where the social is subjected to the material and vice versa, the non-material and material dimensions of society are considered here to be a form of *interpenetration*, where both factors are ceaselessly engaged in a kind of unified struggle.

³⁷. Like Darwin, who recognises the continuity of the social and the natural, Freud upholds the same philosophical position for the mental and the physical. That is, the social and the mental are as real as the natural and the physical. These attributes, whether mental or natural, share one thing in common: physicality. Helu (1983), in what he calls the ecological myths, discusses the philosophy of continuity between human beings and their environment.

³⁸. Culture and history are, by way of permanence and change, defined here in terms of convention and action, structure and event, or hegemony and counter-hegemony. Both culture and history are subject to change, though at different rates. Within a social context culture is as uncertain as history, and the relationships between them, given the fact that they are continuous, are always dialectical.

which restores structure in the event³⁹. Such hegemonic and counter-hegemonic activities are then formally carved with collective imagery and symbolism onto the landscape by means of orality.

My interest in writing an early Tongan history⁴⁰ (*tala faka-kuongamu'a 'o Tonga; tala faka-kuonga-mu'a 'o Tonga*; lit. telling in-the-style-[of-the]-era-[of-the]-former of Tonga)⁴¹ was a culmination of years of experience. This experience began as a kind of insider-outsider paradox: while inside my experience, I was outside it⁴². That is, as a Tongan I was a participating subject, but being an academic my experience immediately became an object of observation. These conflicting tendencies have deeply roused my interest in the subject matter of *tala-ē-fonua*, especially as an emic mode of cultural and historical ordering and the manner in which it, in particular, and early Tongan history, in general, have been culturally and historically constructed in scholarship.

Not only have I begun to understand what Tongans themselves have traditionally meant by *tala-ē-fonua*, but my observations of it have shown that its academic representations have been far from satisfactory. Since then this unsatisfactory scholarly treatment of the issue has caused me serious doubts. The assumption has been that scholars of Tongan society, culture and history have not fully understood *tala-ē-fonua*, and as a result the formal character of such an emic ecology-centred, historico-cultural concept has not been

³⁹. See Sahlins 1981:72. Cf. Sahlins 1985a.

⁴⁰. While both Herda (1988) and Bott (1982) deal with aspects of traditional history in genealogical terms, emphasising the role of specific social organising principles which condition people's action, this attempt is to observe cultural and historical ordering in terms of the ecology-centred concept, commonly known as *tala-ē-fonua*.

⁴¹. The term *tala fakakuongamu'a* simply refers to oral accounts (*tala*) about the land (*kelekelelfonua*) and its people (*kakaitfonua*), hence *tala-e-fonua*, in former times (*kuongamu'a*) as contrast to present times (*kuonganī*). Contrasts such as *'aneafi-'ahoni* (yesterday-today), *'ono'aho kilukilualono'aho-onopō[oni]* (remote past/recent past-present) and *kuohili-lolotonga* (present-past) are used in the same context. *Kilu* (100,000; *kilukilua* [several *kilu*] is the highest number in Tongan numerals. While the local use of the term in Tonga emphasises secularity, i.e., the spatio-temporal dimension of existence, it also defies the rationalistic, or evolutionary sense of the term as largely employed in ordinary and academic discourses.

⁴². See, for example, Kavapalu 1987; Keesing 1989, 1:19-42; Kolo 1990; Meleisea 1978 among others.

sufficiently addressed⁴³. Thus, the oral dimension of *tala-ē-fonua*, which gives events their magical character, brings me to the question of its place in the activity of scholarship and the position of the historian in it.

Firstly, *tala-ē-fonua*, defined within history as a disciplinary practice, may be regarded as simply sources for academic history, not academic history *per se*. This definition parallels those of written documents and material artefacts which can be used as sources for academic history. *Being oral, being written* and *being artefactual/material* are logically the same, and are a separate issue from that of *being true*, which is formally taking something to be the case⁴⁴. All history based on such sources is *probably true*, which refers to observations based on existing evidence. This is different from *being true*, which logically means implications drawn from true premises.

Thus, it follows that academic observations with respect to non-materiality and materiality are formally the same, though the subject matters of study in which scholars are engaged may be different⁴⁵. Such scholars as historians, prehistorians and archaeologists are all concerned with the study of past events, often of different aspects, of history in the broader sense of the word⁴⁶. This objective interest is apart from subjectively seeing events in terms of their use, or their utilitarian value, the distinguishing mark of the political life. Of course written documents and material artefacts are, by means of verification and concreteness, more practical than oral sources in scholarly production⁴⁷, but that is no reason at all to subjectively set aside oral history as an inferior source for the realm of scholarship.

⁴³. See, for example, Anonymous 1977; Collocott 1928a; Gifford 1924, 1929a; Havea, Notes on the History and Customs of Tonga, MS, 1870; Kaeppler 1967a, 80:160-168 among others.

⁴⁴. Helu 1988b, 1990a.

⁴⁵. Theoretically speaking, all disciplinary practices share a common form, though, on the practical level, the subject matters to which they adhere are different. All disciplines, whether in the social sciences or in the physical sciences, formally ask the same question: Is it so or not? In short, it is taking something to be the case. Levi-Strauss (1963:18), on the form-subject matter distinction, takes it to be a subject/goal/method-complementary perspective relation, where, in the case of anthropology and history, for example, the former is concerned with the unconscious expressions of society, while the latter is connected with the conscious aspects of the social life.

⁴⁶. See, for example, Helu 1988b, 1990a; Poulsen 1977:8-9.

⁴⁷. Helu 1990a.

Secondly, even though the *tala-ē-fonua* is invested with the miraculous through language, it still presents itself to the historian as an object of observation. Such an intellectual attitude, as far as the observer is concerned, is independent of the fact that *tala-ē-fonua* is often ideologically-driven by utility, a byproduct of the interplay of subjective group interests. The interplay of such interests is what is meant by politics; it is not scholarship, though the historian's role is political in the sense that, by insisting on objectivity, he or she must regard himself or herself, as a subject capable of distortion, to be independent from his or her subject of study. The role of the historian *vis-a-vis tala-ē-fonua*, as far as *tala-ē-fonua* is concerned, is to distinguish between the surreal nature of events and their actual character⁴⁸. By elevating the latter over and above the subjective interests of the observer, the historian recognises the objective characteristics of the observed subject, which is the object of the observer's observation. This recognition is itself a form of independence⁴⁹.

The independent stance of the historian in relation to *tala-ē-fonua*, the object of his or her interests, leads us to dismiss the emic-etic distinction⁵⁰ in scholarship as subjective. The emic-etic distinction, however, belongs to the kingdom of politics. This is simply the case, for politics involves the amalgamation of both object and subject, giving rise to the serious problem of relativism⁵¹. Therein confusion, coercion and oppression breed themselves.

It points to the fact that politics elevates the primacy of different ways of knowing reality, of different kinds of truth, and of diverse forms of living, over and above the different ways of being real (or being the case)⁵². The latter lies at the very heart of the historian's position; the historian has no interest other than in seeing events in their own terms. This is, in short, objectivity; it is a notion defined by the incessant struggle of the historian against the

⁴⁸. See Bott 1972:272-282; Helu 1983:43-56, 1984, 1988b, 1990a; Kolo 1990:1-11; Māhina 1986, 1990:30-45 for examples of this kind of treatment.

⁴⁹. Cf. Baker 1979, 1986; Dening 1989, 1:134-139.

⁵⁰. Cf. Kavapalu 1987; Kolo 1990.

⁵¹. See, for example, Anderson 1962; Baker 1979, 1986.

⁵². Helu 1990a. Also see Baker 1979, 1986.

intrusion of subjectivism and its varied forms such as politics and utilitarianism in scholarship⁵³.

The insider-outsider distinction which asserts that only a Tongan, for example, can understand *tala-ē-fonua*, not an "ignorant" outsider, is itself a political statement and not an intellectual one. Politically, this assertion may work, serving a specific subjective demand, but it does not hold any worth on the objective level. This is not to say that there is no Tongan philosophy of life, or a *Weltanschauung*⁵⁴; Tongans, as any other people, have a collective attitude to life, a way of doing things, *tala-ē-fonua* in this case.

In the context of scholarship, there are, of course, advantages and disadvantages to be experienced by both insider and outsider, as far as Tongan oral history is concerned, when it comes to scholarship. But, as for any inherent difficulties, they are overcome by committed participation. This is the spirit of scholarship: the confrontation, through incessant independent observation, of the social complexity, continuity and process⁵⁵. That is to say, the disadvantages do not render observation impossible. Observation is, in fact, made possible by the existence of both universal and unique phenomena in all human societies, which makes the anthropology-ethnology distinction for vernacular history a tenable proposition in the arena of scholarship.

It is in the object-subject relation that academic history comes to define itself in the multiplexity of the social world, characterised by different forms of social activity⁵⁶. This is where the authority of history lies; it is rooted in objectively separating the people's illusions (including, of course, the academic's own subjective interests) from reality. Like the artist, who sees his or her creation with an innocence of eye, the historian must encounter his or her work with a pure heart.

The historian, defined by the institutional dimension of the scholarly way of life, is subjected to permanent tension between objectivity, truth, disinterestedness, permanence and criticism, on the one hand, and subjectivity,

⁵³. The notions of objectivism and subjectivism are considered here as actual rather than ideal. Both notions are defined by the tension between them; that is, the tension between the insistence on seeing things in their own terms, on the one hand, and their explanation in utilitarian terms, on the other. In so far as this tension exists, both objectivity and subjectivity are actual, where the latter becomes a permanent obstacle to objective understanding.

⁵⁴. See, for example, Helu 1983:43-56.

⁵⁵. See, for example, Anderson 1962; Baker 1979, 1986.

⁵⁶. Cf. Anderson 1962; Baker 1979, 1986.

fame, utility, fashion and power, on the other⁵⁷. By taking the former, the historian, in the words of Croce, lives a perilous and fighting life⁵⁸. But as for the latter, it promotes security and survival, whose operations are against the enterprising spirit of the former. By upholding objectivity, the historian lives dangerously, and the price is one of vindictiveness and unpopularity, but ironically it pays off in the long-run, for it constantly remains a force for culture, the culmination of the best and permanent productions of the human mind.

Thus, the inherent theoretical and practical⁵⁹ confusion in making distinction between politics and scholarship, between the surreal and the real, or between the subject and the object, has continued to distort the philosophical character of *tala-ē-fonua*. Such a confusion has left the scholarly value of *tala-ē-fonua* fairly undefined in related disciplinary practices.

This means that scholars, by continuing to represent *tala-ē-fonua* in holistic terms, fail to treat it analytically in academic discourse. There is then a failure to distinguish between two types of history: vernacular history and academic history, popular history and institutionalist history, or history as a product of conflicting interests and history as a disciplinary practice, the praxis of demarcating the clash between human illusions and reality⁶⁰.

The former type of history may be defined as politics, or, more appropriately, as the outcome of politics, while the latter is connected with scholarship which is in turn characterised by objectivity as a way of life, and is distinct from politics, the interplay of opposing demands in a social context. But by insisting on how things work scholarship can be duly political, and this is because objective knowledge often endangers security-seeking sentiments⁶¹, the distinguishing mark of the political life (see Chapter One).

⁵⁷. Helu 1990:55-65.

⁵⁸. See, for example, Anderson 1962; Baker 1979, 1986.

⁵⁹. Theory, branded as abstract, is nevertheless a form of practice; it is the praxis of permanently confronting the complexity, or reality, often in its own terms. But theory, by penetrating through the appearance to the real character of things, is itself a form of abstraction. The call for practicality, as in the field of education, is an escape from the complexity in search of the "simplicity", associated with utility, mediocrity and the immediate satisfaction of needs. Understandably, this is politics.

⁶⁰. In this case, the distinction simply refers to the differentiation between the literal-symbolic and the social (see Kolo 1990:1-11).

⁶¹. Cf. Māhina 1990.

On that distinction, *tala-ē-fonua* can thus be regarded simply as popular history. It can be said that *tala-ē-fonua* only becomes academic history after it has been objectively scrutinised, the disciplinary practice of differentiating between the *literal/symbolic* and the *social/historical*. This involves a reversal of the process of *symbolisation* in which social events were conventionally and practically encoded with the miraculous in terms of the familiar environment⁶². By decoding the miraculous, characterised by the *actualisation* process, one's observation has to penetrate the literal, via the symbolic, to the social.

While *tala-ē-fonua*, popular history, may be strictly identified with the symbolisation process, academic history is directly associated with the process of actualisation. The process of symbolisation removes events over and above the actual substance of our everyday experience, but in explaining this postulated existence in terms of matters of fact is what is meant by actualisation. The place of *tala-ē-fonua* in scholarship is thus put in context within these processual relationships. It is only when the distinction between the literal-symbolic and the social has been demarcated that *tala-ē-fonua* can be qualified as academic history.

In fact, it took me years to grasp the real working of this two-way, symbolisation-actualisation, process. On the one hand, there is *tala-ē-fonua*, the orally symbolic construction of social events by means of landscape connections between specific localities, and, on the other, the actual representation of symbolised events in a social context defined by scholarship. Such a two-way process reflects the opposed nature of the two types of history, popular history and academic history.

Following this understanding of the behaviour of *tala-ē-fonua vis-a-vis* academic history, the two-way process may be accordingly represented in graphic terms thus: *symbolisation* = social: symbolic: literal (*tala-ē-fonua*, popular history) == *actualisation* = literal: symbolic: social (disciplinary practices, academic history)⁶³. I take, for example, the socially-derived

⁶². Helu 1988b; 1990a.

⁶³. Helu (1988b; 1990a) initially instigated this reversal, myth-history, mythologisation-factualisation, two-way process, putting forward a theory of the study of oral traditions, especially of myths, thus: that myths must be taken as sources of hypotheses, where we, by applying the theory of coherence or truth, address the probables and the improbables, considering them in *general* terms, and see if they help us understand past and present states of society. Accepting this reversal, two-way, symbolisation-actualisation process, my theory, however, goes further by reformulating the problems with regard to *tala-ē-fonua* with some details, characterised thus: symbolisation = social: symbolic: literal/material == actualisation

symbolic/literal personal name Tungī Mailefihī (*Maile-fihī*; lit. Myrtle-[that-is]-entangled; i.e., entangled myrtle)⁶⁴. *Maile*, literally a type of sweet-smelling shrub wildly growing on cliffy shores (*liku*), has been symbolically classified as *hakala 'eiki* (chiefly flowers), socially corresponding to chiefly classes (*hou'eiki*)⁶⁵. Having decoded this literal-symbolic reference, it simply means that Tungī Mailefihī, through his mother, Melesiu'ilikutapu, and father, Tuku'aho⁶⁶, has socially combined in his person several chiefly blood lines of outstanding status (see Chapter Seven and Figure 7.1)⁶⁷.

Basically, the doubts which I have raised about the inadequate academic representation of *tala-ē-fonua* arose out of this oppositional two-way context. I have always observed the scholarly treatment of *tala-ē-fonua* to have largely dwelt on the literal and the symbolic, without it penetrating to the social and the historical⁶⁸. Failure to make this penetration makes popular history no different from academic history. The distinction between the two kinds of history is, thus, distorted and confused.

Even the sympathetic call for a Pacific Island-centred history⁶⁹, as far as *tala-ē-fonua* is concerned, can only be entertained by the praxis of differentiating the literal/symbolic from the social/historical. In this way, *tala-ē-fonua* can then lay claims to a rightful place in academic history as do

= literal/material: symbolic: social.

⁶⁴. Examples of this kind are numerous, for this ecology-centred historico-cultural mode of representation of the social life cuts across the entire spectrum of Tongan traditional history in the past, and even in the present.

⁶⁵. On the issue of the *hou'eiki-tu'a* values and moralities see, for example, Helu 1981; Kolo 1990:30-45; Māhina 1986.

⁶⁶. For this genealogy, see Bott 1982:13.

⁶⁷. Helu, interview, 1988.

⁶⁸. See, for example, Anonymous 1977; Bott 1982; Collocott 1924; Gifford 1929a, 1924; Havea, Notes on Tongan History and Custom, MS, 1870; Herda 1988; Ve'ehala and Fanua 1977. There have been instances where the ecology-centred mode has been dealt with, though it is of an unsystematic nature (see, for example, Collocott, King Taufa, MS, n.d; Wood 1943).

⁶⁹. Davidson 1966:5-21. Cf. Dening 1989, 1:134-139; Maude 1971:3-24.

written sources and material artefacts⁷⁰. Unless this is recognised, the shift in emphasis from a Euro-centric Pacific history to a Pacific Island-oriented history, at least in this case, would still be considered a subjective one. Such a form of subjectivism would continue to subject *tala-ē-fonua* to the realm of inferior scholarship.

But the lack of distinction between popular history and academic history tends to amalgamate both subject and object in the event. The object is observed not in terms of its own ways, rather it is explained in subjective terms. That is to say, the scholarly status of *tala-ē-fonua* can only be acquired by considering it in its own terms, not in terms of whether one subjectively approves or disapproves of it. Academically speaking, the subjective treatment of *tala-ē-fonua* may be due to the inherent theoretical and practical difficulties surrounding the issue. Such difficulties, where actual solutions to real problems are to be found, can only be confronted by a formally rigorous examination of the actual characters of *tala-ē-fonua*.

The inadequacy in discerning between politics and scholarship poses serious theoretical and practical dangers. On the one hand, it divests culture of its historical content, and on the other, it imposes an artificial utopian character on history⁷¹. Theoretically speaking, insufficient formal treatment of the issue promotes phantasy which, on the practical level, becomes an excellent tool for social control.

Given that it is in a social context that the literal/symbolic structuring of events is originated, it follows that a cultural and historical understanding of the symbolised events can be made only within an actual social *milieu*. Either way this process goes, whether in terms of symbolisation or by means of actualisation, one simply cannot escape society⁷². There is always bound to be some kind of human situation underneath symbolic appearance. Thus, symbols cannot be understood in other ways than in purely human terms.

⁷⁰. As in *tala-ē-fonua*, the treatment of material artefacts follows the same characteristic pattern, which is the making of the distinction between the *literal-symbolic* and the *social*. Literally, a piece of pottery, for example, may be symbolic of some definite social relations. While a piece of pottery may be literally and symbolically explicit in its outlook, there remains for the archaeologist the problem of determining the implicit social dimension.

⁷¹. See, for example, Māhina 1990.

⁷². Helu 1988b, 1990a.

This realist treatment of human affairs is based on the assertion that there is only one level of existence⁷³. That there is no reality higher or lower than matters of fact, i.e., the substance of our everyday experience. And that there are no special positions in reality given to priests, chiefs or commoners. Everything, whether human, animal or inanimate, is thus subjected to the same laws of history. Thus, all levels of reality, transcendent or actual, are to be understood in terms of the single level of being. But different types of authority, divine or secular, correspondingly arising out of such an idealistic view of reality, can equally be made meaningful only within a social context.

My personal and intellectual experience of *tala-ē-fonua* can be traced back to 1970, when I first entered 'Atenisi Institute⁷⁴ in Tonga as a high school student. At 'Atenisi my appreciation of Tongan culture, reinforced by the emphasis placed on the traditionalist-classical conception of education⁷⁶, began to emerge. The flowering of this newly-found interest came about through my close association with Futa Helu, founder-director, in both curricular and extra-curricular contexts at 'Atenisi. This interest was cemented even more when I became a junior high school teacher at the Institute between 1973 and 1976.

The stance of 'Atenisi on classicism⁷⁶ promotes the development of critical-mindedness, taken to be the heart of education. Such a classical conception regards that there are no *taboo* fields in education; that all issues are examinable; that all departments of culture are subjected to criticism. The same holds true for Tongan culture; 'Atenisi takes Tongan culture to be an object of *critical* examination, not a subject of *holistic* preservation. 'Atenisi cultivates both the social and intellectual environment of *doing things by questioning*. Reason, the question of why, is put in the place of opinion, the uncritical acceptance of traditions via authoritative discourse.

This was a complete contrast to my previous social and intellectual background in village and school life. In my village experience cultural norms were, from the old to the young, imparted principally through the process of

⁷³. See Anderson 1962; Baker 1979, 1986.

⁷⁴. On the history of 'Atenisi Institute and its philosophy of education, see Coxon 1988; Hingano 1987.

⁷⁵. 'Atenisi University Catalogue and Student Handbook, 1981:2-3.

⁷⁶. Helu 1986d.

socialisation⁷⁷, an atmosphere of *doing things by seeing*. Such an uncritical receiving of traditions is developed hand in hand with a credulous attitude to both people and things⁷⁸. Tales, myths and legends are passed down from one generation to the next, and traditional symbolism and imagery are heard in oratory and rhetoric, or poems are sung and danced by people, but only a privileged few such as *punake* and *matāpule* understand the ecology-centred mode of cultural and historical structuring inherent in them⁷⁹. Equally, lack of critical instruction in Tongan culture in schools has the tendency of preserving cultural values rather than examining them.

I entered the University Division of the Institute in 1972, the same year I completed high school. Though the University Division was not formally instituted until 1976, it operated on an experimental basis from 1971. Degree programs offering Associate of Arts (AA) and Associate of Science (AS) degrees then began in February 1977. Among the AA degree courses offered was Tongan Culture (TC), covering a broad range of topics on Tongan society, culture and history⁸⁰.

I was a student at the University Division for several years during its experimental stage from 1971 to 1976. In 1972-1973 I took Tongan Culture courses on *tala faka-fonua* (oral traditions), poetry/music (*ta'anga/hiva*), dance (*haka*), *kava* ceremony (*taumafa kava*) and Tongan culture. These

⁷⁷. Education, in its strict sense, the independent search for things in their own ways, is differentiated here in this context from socialisation, the uncritical acceptance of authoritative discourse.

⁷⁸. With regard to this problem Levi-Strauss (1963:18) writes "We know that among most primitive peoples it is very difficult to obtain a moral justification or rational explanation for any custom or institution. When he is questioned, the native merely answers that things have always been this way, that such was the command of the gods or the teaching of the ancestors". Levi-Strauss, by commenting on rationalism (of others), has committed the fallacy of a rationalistic kind, specifically of his own making. In fact, rationalism is a universal human phenomenon; it cuts across boundaries of all human societies, though varying in degrees. But this is variously determined by the focus or subject matter of thinking, chiefly by the social environment, not by the nature of thinking, as a psychological process, which is formally the same for all peoples (see Helu 1984:43-56). Even science, or education, the analytical tool with which to evaluate culture (see *'Atenisi Catalogue and Student Handbook*, 1981:1-2), shares a good portion of this human problem: rationalism (see Anderson 1962; Baker 1979, 1986).

⁷⁹. See, for example, Helu 1972b, 1972c, 1987a; Malukava [Kavaefiafi] 1973; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973.

⁸⁰. See *'Atenisi University Catalogue and Student Handbook*, 1981, 1987, 1990.

courses were respectively taught by Ula [Tāufanau]⁸¹, Malukava [Kavaefiafi]⁸², Pilivi Moa⁸³, Falekāono [Taipaleti]⁸⁴ and Futa Helu⁸⁵, all respected Tongan experts in their various fields. The title of this thesis, as its subject matter, is derived from the common theme borne in these courses.

Ula was a *matāpule* and a member of the Tonga Traditions Committee (*Komiti Tala Faka-fonua 'a Tonga*), while Malukava was a *punake* (poet)⁸⁶ and poet laureate, a heritage associated with the Malukava title. But Pilivi Moa was an established choreographer (*pulotu haka*), considered the best student of the then Malukava [Fineasi]. And Falekaono - a chiefly title - was an expert in the art of *kava* making (*milolua*), especially *milolua faka-lotomu'a* (*milolua faka-loto-mu'a/Mu'a*; lit. double-twist in-the-style-[of]-mu'a/Mu'a), the ceremonial *kava* preparation of the Tu'i Tonga⁸⁷. All have died, except Falekaono, now residing in the United States, and Futa Helu.

Malukava [Kavaefiafi], in a number of his lectures, used to reflect on his experience as a *punake*. Like his predecessor, Malukava [Fineasi]⁸⁸, and famous past poets of Tonga, Malukava [Kavaefiafi] said he wrote poetry, composed music and choreographed dance more effectively by secluding himself in his little *fale* (thatched house). Through seclusion Malukava [Kavaefiafi], by distancing himself from the worldly and materialistic concerns, concentrated on his creation. He always referred to this situation as *sio ava'ipola* (lit. looking

⁸¹. Ula [Tāufanau] 1973.

⁸². Malukava [Kavaefiafi] 1973.

⁸³. Moa 1973.

⁸⁴. Falekāono [Taipaleti] 1973.

⁸⁵. Helu 1972a.

⁸⁶. A *punake* is an artist who manages the three arts, *ta'anga* (poetry), *haka* (dance) and *hiva* (music), combined under the master art (*faiva*). But the *pulotu fa'u* (poet), *pulotu haka* (choreographer) and *pulotu hiva* (musician) refer to respective artists of the three arts (Helu 1972b, 1972c; Malukava [Kavaefiafi] 1973).

⁸⁷. It was at Lapaha in *Mu'a* that the Tu'i Tonga resided, and *loto Mu'a* (heart of Mu'a) refers, in theory, to the privileged/central *space* in Mu'a occupied by the Tu'i Tonga, who practically sat at the pinnacle of society. The Tu'i Kanokupolu *kava* preparation is called *milolua fakamui fonua* (*milolua faka-mui-fonua/Muifonua*; lit. Double-twist-[in-the]-style-[of]-end-[of]-lands), referring to the fact that Tu'i Kanokupolu resided at Kanokupolu in Hihifo, also known as *Muifonua*, the western tip of Tongatapu (Falekāono [Taipaleti] 1973; Helu, interview, 1988; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973).

⁸⁸. See Helu 1978e:24 for a comparative note on Malukava [Fineasi] and the English poet, Gray.

[through]-holes-[of]-thatched-[roof]), where, in order to discover his object⁸⁹, he would look through the roof holes of his house into the void (*'āngoa*). Even in the last days of his life, Malukava [Kavaefiafi] refused to be removed from his little *fale*, where he died a few years ago.

Analytically, Futa Helu taught other Tongan Culture courses such as ethnoscience, either traditional agriculture or traditional medicine, and, in a theoretical manner, poetry and music⁹⁰. But, more importantly, Futa Helu systematised Tongan Culture, developing it into a distinctly coherent field of study⁹¹.

Besides other things, I particularly learned in these courses not only how to write poetry⁹², but also how to sing and dance. But, above all, my teachers, through active interaction and participation, taught me how to read history specifically in poetry, music and dance, and in oral traditions generally. Such insights are a privileged possession of certain groups in Tongan society, mostly *punake* and *matāpule*, ceremonial spokesmen. Such a rarity of possession of cultural knowledge constitutes the classical concept of culture⁹³.

In 1972 the University of the South Pacific offered a Tongan Culture course on Tongan poetry⁹⁴ at its Extension Centre in Tonga. Futa Helu, himself a philosopher and *punake*, taught this course in which I enrolled as a matter of interest. This course, with an exposition of the works of contemporary poets, notably Queen Sālote, Semisi 'Iongi and Nausaimone, was on literary criticism. And as Semisi 'Iongi and Nausaimone were living poets at the time, they were,

⁸⁹. The case of Malukava [Kavaefiafi] testifies to genuine artistic productions, where the artist, because he has fewer illusions and utilitarian concerns, discovers rhythmic patterns in Nature, or beauty in objects, before the ordinary persons see them. That is, the artist sees the object of his creation in its own terms, not directed by his own interests, mediocrity or popular taste. Thus, the artist, as the statement goes, brings innocence to the eye or ear.

⁹⁰. Helu 1972b.

⁹¹. See *'Atenisi University Catalogue and Student Handbook*, 1981, 1987, 1990.

⁹². Some of my poems can be found in Māhina 1979a:13, 1979b:14-15, 1980a:2-3, 1980b, 1982a:3-6, 1982b:2-4, 1983:1-3, 1983. Also see Pond and Vao 1989.

⁹³. The classical concept of culture refers to the persistence of permanent human achievements through time (see, for example, Anderson 1962; Baker 1979, 1986; Helu 1991b; Nietzsche 1968a, 1968b, 1973; Stumpf 1979:78-92). Cf. Keesing (1981:67-69) for the anthropological or populist formulation of culture, as the standardisation of habits and techniques.

⁹⁴. Helu 1972c.

on separate occasions, invited as quest speakers. Semisi 'Iongi has now died, but Nausaimone is still alive. Both poets have taken part in a number of poetry recitals held at the University Division of 'Atenisi Institute since its inception.

Since then I became associated with both poets, Semisi 'Iongi, Tonga's Shakespeare⁹⁵, and Nausaimone, sometimes talking with them over a bowl of *kava* on different occasions. They have been cooperative and insightful informants, especially with the 'Atenisi University students on matters of poetry.

Semisi 'Iongi, at one time, was less forthcoming when asked about the only *hiva kakala* (lit. song [of] [sweet-scented]-flowers; love song) he wrote for Queen Sālote, specifically at her request (see Appendix A [4.1]). After insisting on an explanation Semisi 'Iongi, by decoding the symbolism, reluctantly explained the song to be a (poetic) love affair between the Queen and him⁹⁶. When the song, so wrapped up in effective imagery, was first played on radio, Queen Sālote was so overwhelmed by its theme and structure that, according to Semisi 'Iongi, a truck-load full of food and fine mats was surprisingly sent as gifts to his house.

Between 1973 and 1977 I came in contact with two other poets, Mafimalanga and Vatuvei, from Tatakamotonga, my wife's village. I often had the opportunity of having *kava* with them, as well as observing them in action, especially when teaching *faiva* for upcoming major events. In some cases they would work closely with Malukava [Kavaefiafi], the most senior poet of Mu'a and court poet.

Both Tatakamotonga and Lapaha, constituting Mu'a, the ancient residence of the Tu'i Tonga, are considered to be amongst the few best in *faiva*, especially in dance⁹⁷. In fact, Tuku'aho, father of Tungī Mailefihi, husband of Queen Sālote and a high chief of Tatakamotonga (see Figure 7.1), is said to have been responsible for the formalisation of the *lakalaka* dance⁹⁸. Although some take *lakalaka* to have evolved out of *me'elaufola*⁹⁹, an ancient dance

⁹⁵. Helu 1987b.

⁹⁶. 'Iongi, pers. comm., 1972.

⁹⁷. Helu, interview, 1988.

⁹⁸. Helu 1972b; Malukava [Kavaefiafi] 1973.

⁹⁹. Kaeppler 1967a.

form, others believe it to be the only dance created by Tongans on Tongan soil¹⁰⁰.

In 1977 I went to New Zealand for further education at the then Auckland Technical Institute. While in New Zealand I continued to foster my interest in Tongan culture through an association with several institutions and the Tongan community.

In 1979 I received an award from the Queen Elizabeth II Arts Council of New Zealand to carry out correspondence courses (TC 101, Origins of Tongan Culture; TC 102, Ancient Music; TC 103, Ethnoscience: Traditional Medicine)¹⁰¹ with 'Atenisi University on Tongan Culture. Futa Helu was the teacher in all courses. The exams were conducted in the Anthropology department at Auckland University, and supervised by Garth Rogers¹⁰². On a cross-credit basis, worth one unspecified paper towards a BA degree, passes gained in these Tongan Culture courses gave me admission to Auckland University in 1980. I then chose to double-major in anthropology and sociology.

Two papers, both in undergraduate and postgraduate courses, respectively offered in 1982 and 1983 at the Anthropology department further reinforced my interest in the subject matter of *tala-ē-fonua*. These papers were Anthropology 03.311 (Studies in Oral Narrative) and Anthropology 04.405 (Ethnohistory) respectively taught by Judith Huntsman and Garth Rogers. My major essays in both papers dealt with the theoretical status of oral traditions, as in myths and poetry, addressing as well their scholarly and historical value.

The increasing number of 'Atenisi graduate students at Auckland University from the late 1970s led to the formation of the 'Atenisi Alumni (NZ) Association (Inc.), which was then incorporated in the Auckland University Students Association in 1981. The objectives of the Association were to raise funds for 'Atenisi and, by forming a discussion group and the 'Atenisi Chorale, to maintain the intellectual and cultural interests we had developed while we were students at 'Atenisi. Besides engaging in intellectual symposia, we also took part in both university and community activities by featuring the best of Tongan music and dance.

¹⁰⁰. Helu, interview, 1988; Malukava [Kavaefiafi] 1973.

¹⁰¹. See *'Atenisi University Catalogue and Student Handbook*, 1981, 1987, 1990.

¹⁰². Garth Rogers was an anthropologist working on Tonga and elsewhere in Polynesia (see Rogers 1974, 1975, 1977, 1981, 1986).

In this context and others, I came to make formal contact with Richard Moyle, musicologist and Senior Fellow in the Anthropology department, working on 'Tongan traditional music'¹⁰³. It was also through the Association's activities that I met anthropologist, writer and poet, Epeli Hau'ofa, who was a Visiting Fellow in the newly-formed Pacific Studies Centre at Auckland University in 1985. His works, notably *Tales of the Tikongs*¹⁰⁴ and *Kisses in the Nederends*¹⁰⁵, gave me inspiration on my perception of *tala-ē-fonua*. Naturally, because of our common interest in Tongan verbal art, we often interacted in informal *kava*, mostly the medium through which the art thrives, where we retold old stories by past and contemporary masters such as Niuafe and Kaitu'u¹⁰⁶, and developed new ones of our own.

My MA thesis¹⁰⁷, in fact, grew out of this interest. And although I particularly examined how the interplay between religion and politics, on local and regional levels, sustained the Tu'i Tonga empire materially, the general considerations were on aspects considered here as *tala-ē-fonua*, Tongan traditional history.

The first South Pacific Composers Conference was held in Auckland in 1983. In that conference, Finau Kolo and I read a joint paper, where we explored the role of social symbolism in Tongan *ta'anga*¹⁰⁸. Again in 1984, I received an award from the Maori and South Pacific Arts Council, division of the Queen Elizabeth Arts Council of New Zealand, to study Tongan formal language. Part of this study materialised in a joint paper 'Opeti Taliai and I presented in the Pacific Languages: Directions for the Future Conference held in Port Vila, Vanuatu, in 1984. The paper, in part, dealt with the political content of Tongan language levels and hierarchy (see Chapter Six and Figure 6.2), though the emphasis was on the effects of development on language in Tonga¹⁰⁹.

¹⁰³. Moyle 1987.

¹⁰⁴. Hau'ofa 1983.

¹⁰⁵. Hau'ofa 1987.

¹⁰⁶. See, for example, Helu 1991b.

¹⁰⁷. See Māhina 1986.

¹⁰⁸. Kolo and Māhina 1983.

¹⁰⁹. See, for example, Māhina and Taliai 1984. Cf. Dumont 1970.

Between 1979 and 1986 I was adviser and consultant to the Auckland Polynesian Secondary School Festival of Arts Committee, Department of Education, in Auckland on Tongan *faiva*. In that capacity I always acted as chief judge for the Tongan section of the annual festival. The festival usually consisted of two parts, competitive and non-competitive, with each part featuring both ancient-traditional and modern music and dances. Acting in the same capacity, I was involved in a number of formal occasions of exchange under my village *matāpule* title, Fonuakihehau¹¹⁰. The action is considered appropriate, providing the proper *matāpule* is not present in the event.

My involvement in the festival brought me to work closely with two respected poets, Peni Tutu'ila Malupō, Tonga's John Masefield or Walter de la Mare¹¹¹, and Talau Fakatava, and a choreographer, 'Ana Loumoli, who were involved in teaching *faiva* in schools. Peni Tutu'ila Malupō, whose mother was also a poet¹¹², and Talau Fakatava, son of a Vava'uian *punake*, Fakatava¹¹³, are from a poetical background. Nausaimone and Feke Tutu'ila¹¹⁴, a resident poet of Vava'u, are related to Peni Tutu'ila Malupō.

While associating with Peni Tutu'ila Malupō and Talau Fakatava in New Zealand, I encouraged them as well to compile their own works and those of their parents. Both poets undertook the task with my help. Talau Fakatava started off by recording some of the works¹¹⁵ of his father, Fakatava, which he still remembered. Others existed as fragments, but some have been lost, perhaps, for ever. But Peni Tutu'ila Malupō, by putting together his works, has been working on a book which would include a biographical note about his poetical history¹¹⁶. I had interacted in a number of contexts with Peni Tutu'ila, who was an associate of 'Atenisi before residing in New Zealand.

¹¹⁰. Fonuakihehau (*Fonua-kihe-hau*; lit. Land-for-the-conqueror) is the most senior *matāpule* of Luani, noble of Tefisi, my village in Vava'u, Malapo and Nakolo, associated with the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua royal title.

¹¹¹. Helu 1987b.

¹¹². Malupō, pers. comm., 1984.

¹¹³. Fakatava, pers. comm., 1985.

¹¹⁴. See Māhina (1982a:3-6) for a poem *Tengihia: Funga 'Onetale* ("Mourning: The Funga 'Onetale") I wrote to commemorate Feke's tragic death in an accident in the United States. Feke Tutu'ila is from the village of Longomapu in Vava'u, symbolised by Funga 'Onetale.

¹¹⁵. Fakatava, *Ko e Ngaahi Ta'anga 'a Fakatava*, MS, n.d.

¹¹⁶. Malupō, *Ko e Ngaahi Ta'anga 'a Peni Tutu'ila Malupō*, TS, n.d.

I also came in contact with two *matāpule*, Mafualulutai [Saimone Koloamatangi]¹¹⁷ and Ma'ulalofonua [Fua Malungahu]¹¹⁸, while in New Zealand between 1979 and 1986. Mafualulutai is both musician (*pulotu hiva*) and composer (*pulotu fa'u*). The Fofō'anga *Kava* Club, of which Mafualulutai has been leader, has always performed his popular compositions during informal *kava*. But Ma'ulalofonua is an expert in both Tongan oratory and rhetoric. At most times we met over a bowl of *kava*, usually in ceremonial contexts involving life crises such as funerals and weddings, where their rare talents were often displayed with the utmost skills.

In 1986 I received for the third time an award from the Maori and South Pacific Arts Council, division of the Queen Elizabeth II Arts Council of New Zealand. The award was to carry out a travel-study of Tongan master art (*faiva*), a fusion of poetry (*ta'anga*), dance (*haka*) and music (*hiva*), at 'Atenisi University in Tonga.

For this purpose and others, I returned to Tonga in May 1986 for a year. While undertaking my study of Tongan poetry, dance and music at 'Atenisi University, I also taught sociology there for the same period. During that year I took all Tongan Culture courses offered at 'Atenisi University, which were taught principally by Tuila Pusiaki and Futa Helu. Tuila Pusiaki taught courses on dance¹¹⁹, while Futa Helu taught those on ancient poetry and Tongan formal language¹²⁰.

Tuila Pusiaki is himself a poet, and considered to be the best living *pulotu haka* (choreographer) in Tonga¹²¹. He comes from an established family of poets. He is the son of Vili Pusiaki, a famous poet and a close relative of Malukava [Kavaefiafi], from Lapaha, Mu'a¹²². Some of Queen Sālote's compositions were put to music by Vili Pusiaki¹²³, and sung by the well-known

¹¹⁷. Mafualulutai (*Mafua-lulutai*; lit. Food-[of-the]-*lulutai*; *lulutai* is a kind of fish, a symbol for chief; socially signifying a life of service to the chiefs [non-producing class; see Gailey 1987a], who, through this *matāpule's* duties, depend on the people for their livelihood).

¹¹⁸. Ma'ulalofonua (*Ma'u-lalo/lolo-fonua*; lit. Receiver-[of-the]-under-world).

¹¹⁹. Pusiaki 1986.

¹²⁰. Helu 1986c, 1987b.

¹²¹. Helu, pers. comm., 1991.

¹²². Pusiaki, pers. comm., 1986.

¹²³. Helu, interview, 1988; Malukava 1973; Pusiaki, pers. comm., 1986.

Lomipeau group from Lapaha (see Chapters One and Seven)¹²⁴. These compositions¹²⁵ have become part of the musical repertoire of the 'Atenisi chōrale, Afokoula, that features the best Tongan music and dances of all ages.

It was also at 'Atenisi that I had been introduced to Lehā'uli, considered the best living Tongan *matāpule*, now at the age of 93, with whom I later worked closely as one of my key informants. Lehā'uli, presiding over protocol, has been representing 'Atenisi University in its graduation ceremonies, most of which King Tāufa'āhau Tupou IV attended and conferred degrees.

My association with Futa Helu at 'Atenisi renewed both our interest in oral traditions even more¹²⁶. Our interest in oral traditions was, though important, not so much in recording them, rather it rested on their interpretation¹²⁷. Although vernacular materials have been preserved by way of written records and, to a limited extent, through oral transmission, while others have been inevitably lost, the basic problems lie in the way oral traditions, because of their intrinsically symbolic character, have been formally treated in scholarship. That is, the problem is to be found in whether *tala-ē-fonua*, as practised and, therefore, understood by a privileged few in Tongan society, is truly represented in academic discourse. We, therefore, undertook to alleviate the problem by formally examining the philosophical character of *tala-ē-fonua*, formulating a theory of its study over the years in terms of its own character.

In May 1987 I returned to New Zealand on my way to Australia to take up my current scholarship, which I began in October. In Canberra I have been interacting with two poets, Talo Lakepa Fulivai and 'Amini Havea, residents of Australia. 'Amini Havea comes from a poetical family; he is a half-brother of Hala'api'api Havea¹²⁸, a notable contemporary poet from Vava'u.

¹²⁴. The group was named after the great legendary double-canoe, *kalia*, Lomipeau which is reputedly said in traditions to have transported stones from 'Uvea for the building of the royal tombs in Mu'a.

¹²⁵. See Collection of Queen Sālote's Works, MS, n.d; Collection of Tongan Song texts (Ancient, Traditional-Classical and Modern), MS, n.d; Collection of Works by Tongan Poets, MS, n.d.

¹²⁶. See Helu 1987c. Cf. Helu 1988b, 1990a; Māhina 1990:30-45.

¹²⁷. Facts and interpretation are taken here to be one and the same thing, for interpretation is the discovery of other facts for the explanation of facts requiring explanation. For example, the interpretation of the actual symbolised anthropo-ecological relationships requires that we must search other facts, particularly the *social*, for their explanation.

¹²⁸. Havea, pers. comm., 1990.

It was also in Canberra that I renewed contact with another poet, Sokopeti Sika, daughter of a long dead notable Vava'u poet, Sika Manuao, whose father, Kanongata'a, was also a poet. Kanongata'a was a young brother of the famous poet, Fuapau. Both brothers, Fuapau and Kanongata'a, according to Sokopeti Sika, were sent by Tuku'aho from Mu'a to Vava'u as resident poets there¹²⁹. Their duties were to teach *faiva* in Vava'u, specifically for the occasion of the royal visits to *Tokelau*, symbolic name for Vava'u and Ha'apai (see Appendix A). It is said that Fuapau cooperated with Tuku'aho in formalising the *lakalaka* dance by abstracting traditional motifs especially from 'Uvean, Fijian and ancient Tongan dances, including new coordinated bodily movements; they then developed *lakalaka* into a distinctly Tongan dance form¹³⁰.

The arrival of 'Atenisi graduate students, for further education at this University since 1989, meant that academic and extra-academic traditions we had experienced at 'Atenisi would continue to thrive in some form. This was materialised in the formation of the Maui Kisikisi Cultural Society in mid 1989. The objectives were to provide a platform for cultural activities, where we, often over a bowl of *kava*, discussed aspects of our work, recited poetry, sang and danced. Counting on my previous cultural experience I have, for example, been able to develop new dance motifs which members of the Society have performed in a number of occasions¹³¹. As in New Zealand, I have been engaged in formal exchanges in Canberra as a *matāpule*, mainly on occasions such as weddings, birthdays and funerals.

While conducting fieldwork in Tonga in 1988, I taught at the same time an Anthropology/Pacific History course on the Tu'i Tonga empire/Tongan imperialism¹³² at 'Atenisi University. In addition to doing archival work in Tonga, my main concerns were to record oral traditions, working closely with a selection of key informants. The latter formed the bulk of my fieldwork materials. I attempted through interaction with my students to consolidate my thinking on the concept of *tala-ē-fonua*, reflecting at the same time on my

¹²⁹. Sika, interview, 1990.

¹³⁰. Helu 1972b, 1972c.

¹³¹. One of these developments in dance is called *tau'olunga faifio* (lit. blended dance), where I abstracted traditional motifs from ancient dance forms, including some from the *kava* ceremony, and developed new rhythmic movements, combining them in a unified theme and structure.

¹³². On the Tu'i Tonga/Tongan imperialism, see, for example, Campbell 1983:155-167; Geraghty 1989; Māhina 1986, 1990. Cf. Gunson 1969:28-49.

experience over the years. I also enlisted the help of my students in collecting as much information as possible on oral traditions.

The following work covers a very long period, often identified as prehistory, but defined here as traditional or early history¹³³. It ranges from the inception of Tongan society, as given in oral traditions, to the displacement of Tu'i Tonga by Tu'i Kanokupolu, around the time of European contact (see Chapters Two and Six and Figures 2.1, 2.2 and 4.2). Though the selected period is huge, the accounts regarding it are sparse indeed. This is a problem on its own, and it is built in to the multi-faceted, problem-laden nature of oral traditions. The basic problem, however, is directly politically related to the synchronic and diachronic dimensions of the transmission process, and the symbolic character of events placed beyond our everyday experience, and transmitted through formal language.

Added to the dearth of information about early history is the fact that events are more discreet than unified in outlook. While some events are strictly unrelated, others are either remotely or closely connected¹³⁴. Though separate events are meaningful in their various contexts, actually reflecting certain social aspects, the associated events tend to offer us a broader picture of society. However, the attempt here is to articulate connections between events, whether distantly or immediately, putting them in some form of coherence. But the main thrust of this effort is, in fact, to examine the emically Tongan ecology-centred concept of cultural and historical ordering, making a distinction between the literal/symbolic and the social/historical.

The associated problems regarding *tala-ē-fonua*, by considering its characters on its own terms, essentially prescribes this study to be interdisciplinary in nature¹³⁵. Such a condition is derived from the philosophical character of *tala-ē-fonua*, which constituted hegemony and counter-hegemony, harmony and strife, or permanence and conflict, manifesting on the level of continuity of culture and history. There is then a recognition in *tala-*

¹³³. To avoid the rationalistic and evolutionary overtone of the term prehistory, which suggests less developed history, I have opted to use either traditional or early history. And as the distinction has been made by the contact with Europe, there is a tendency to commit this fallacy, reinforced by the oral and written status of sources, or by the contrast between the West and the rest (see Sahlins 1976). This is not to dispute its narrower sense, defined as a disciplinary practice. Logically speaking, things are either historical or non-historical.

¹³⁴. See, for example, Collocott 1928a; Gifford 1924.

¹³⁵. Cf. Biersack 1991; Denning 1971; Sahlins 1981, 1985a, 1985b.

ē-fonua of the continuity between these opposing tendencies, differentiated only by various degrees of change. Nothing, neither culture nor history, is above change. It follows that convention and action are one and the same, for convention is itself a form of action.

This study is, therefore, properly located between anthropology and history, the disciplinary practices of observing permanence and conflicts respectively in human affairs¹³⁶. Neither does it take permanence in its symbolic sense as complete or ideal, nor does it regard events as the outcome of conflicts to be isolated or discreet. On the contrary, it takes permanence and change, corresponding to culture and history, to be both continuous and dialectical, involving the development of some kind of human situation. There is no subjection of one to the other, for human demands, given the plurality of interests, cannot be subjected to a single morality¹³⁷.

The disciplines of archaeology and linguistics have also been helpful in this study (see Chapter Two, Figure 2.2 and Appendices B, C and D)¹³⁸. While both disciplines have been complementary with specific aspects of oral traditions, they have been certainly opposed in others¹³⁹. These complementary and opposed relationships between archaeology-linguistics and oral traditions have called into question the anthropology-ethnology distinction employed in related disciplinary practices. And as for the opposed relationships, archaeologists, for example, have exploited the anthropology dimension at the expense of the ethnology component. By reading too much into material artefacts, archaeologists often impose general social attributes, often of their own making, on specific human affairs that belong to others. Additionally, archaeologists working on Tonga, for example, have not *heard* significant information *told* in traditions about issues such as origin and hierarchy¹⁴⁰, encompassing human settlement in the region (see Chapters Two and Three)¹⁴¹.

¹³⁶. Cf. Levi-Strauss 1963:1-27.

¹³⁷. See, for example, Anderson 1962; Baker 1979, 1986.

¹³⁸. See Lafitani 1988.

¹³⁹. For works on Tongan archaeology see, for example, Kirch 1984a; Poulsen 1977:4-26; Spennemann 1989. Also see, for example, Pawley 1966, 56:364-471; Clark 1979:249-270 on linguistics generally.

¹⁴⁰. Cf. Kirch and Green 1987:431-456.

¹⁴¹. For example, the regional cultures, Pulotu, Langi and Maama, and associated theistic ideologies, Hikule'o, Tangaloa and Maui preserved in *tala-ē-fonua* have been consistently left out of strict considerations in archaeological works on Tonga.

Accounting for the said constraints, this study, therefore, focuses on the dominant ideology, the well-preserved portion of oral traditions¹⁴². Events, whether remotely or closely connected, seem to revolve around the ruling ideas. This dominant ideology exists in the form of genealogy which links the mythical but historical past to the actual present (see Chapter Two and Figure 2.1)¹⁴³. It is in the nature of society that great deeds of great people are remembered, and are thus collectively preserved. The converse is often true; small deeds of small people, because they are considered insignificant and inconsequential, as much as it is by choice as it is through force, are fragmented and less remembered or simply forgotten¹⁴⁴.

The political effects of the powerful in structuring events do not deny the role of the weak in the making of history. In some instances, the role of the weak comes in the form of co-operation, often as an expression of fear, conditioned at times through oppression¹⁴⁵. But in other situations, the weak, as an act of liberation, present themselves in terms of oppositional encounters. This is the persistent theme throughout *tala-ē-fonua*, as it is, in the words of Croce, a story of liberty, with tensions everywhere and nothing beyond conflicts. The existence of counter-hegemonic activities, as far as ruling ideology is concerned, points to the uncertainty and insecurity surrounding political hegemony. Such a situation, precisely because society is plural and never monolithic, provides the very possibility for other competing interests to rise against authority.

The counterpoising of hegemonic and counter-hegemonic tendencies is manifested in terms of the dialectic between structure and event, where segmentation leads to the formation of a new order and so forth. Thus, it may be possible to talk about two types of social formation, hence two kinds of origin, the societal and the local. Following this distinction, one can thus assert

¹⁴². See, for example, Herda 1988; Māhina 1986, 1990; Ve'ehala and Fanua 1977:27-39.

¹⁴³. For this genealogy, in more systematic forms, see, for example, Herda 1988:19; Māhina 1986:187; Scheffrahan 1965:150.

¹⁴⁴. People, as a general rule, tend to remember their victories and forget their defeats, which is, again, connected to collective history and fragmented history associated with the powerful and the weak. The case of driving Tu'i Tonga Talakaifaiki out of Samoa is an example. While it is well-remembered in Samoa, Tongans prefer to forget about it (see Ella 1899:231-233).

¹⁴⁵. This was characteristic of early Tongan history, especially during the Tu'i Tonga era, and even up to contact period (see, for example, Lātūkefu 1974; Martin 1981, II:298-299; Ula [Tāufanau]; Wood 1943 [1972]:3).

the existence of two kinds of history, the *collective* and the *fragmented*, the heroic and the populist, or, in the case of Tonga, *hou'eiki* and *tu'a*¹⁴⁶.

While the interplay between the collective and the fragmented, synchrony and diachrony, or hegemony and counter-hegemony, is a permanent feature of society, the task adopted here is to examine the dominant ideology neither in terms of the collective/heroic/*hou'eiki* nor by means of the fragmented/populist/*tu'a*¹⁴⁷. Rather, it undertakes to observe the conflicting tendencies underneath the symbolic appearance of power, the promotion of certain interests at the expense of others. The assertion takes the view that behind the respectable facade of symbols, whether in terms of assistance or by way of resistance, there essentially lie human interests.

Having formally examined the literal, symbolic and essentially social and historical attributes of *tala-ē-fonua*, I have put its place in scholarship in context and clarified the historian's position. But through my long personal and intellectual experience of the concept, I have also identified the connected problems, proposing possible solutions, with regard to its representation in academic discourse. Given the continuity of the social and the material - and as far as scholarship is concerned and how the concept is practised and understood emically - the basic solutions to these inherent problems rest on the disciplinary practice of making the distinction between the literal/symbolic and the social/historical. By addressing the formal relationships between myth and history, and considering how the interplay of human demands are culturally structured, then restructured historically through practice¹⁴⁸, my task now is to examine the manner in which power as a form of ideology is obscured in its symbolic appearance¹⁴⁹.

¹⁴⁶. The notion of *origin* legitimises both hegemony and counter-hegemony, manifesting two types of origin, the *societal* and the *local*; and while there exists the societal origin, on the one hand, there is always bound to be the local origin, on the other.

¹⁴⁷. On the heroic-populist history distinction see, for example, Davidson 1966:5-21. Cf. Wolf 1982.

¹⁴⁸. See, for example, Gailey 1987a, 1987b; Maywald 1984.

¹⁴⁹. On the issue of ideology, see Larrain 1983. Cf. Douglas 1979:2-27; Sahlins 1976; Howard 1983:176-203.

CHAPTER ONE

Myth and History

The formal relationships between myth and history, where power as a form of ideology¹ is put in context, are examined within the emic ecology-centred mode of cultural and historical ordering. In considering these distinct but connected human phenomena, the aims are to observe the manner in which myth and history are complementary to each other and, to the same extent, how they are, by nature, opposed to one another.

This complementary and opposed character between myth and history is thus explored on two levels². Firstly, myth and history, in the broader use of the word, are, in complementary terms, observed as formal expressions of the interplay of human demands within a social context³. Secondly, the opposed nature between myth and history, in its narrower sense, is defined by the praxis of separating the mythical from the historical, the literal/symbolic from the social/historical, or human illusions from reality⁴.

Myth has been observed and defined in a variety of ways⁵. The structuralist⁶ and the functionalist⁷, for example, have respectively shown socio-

¹. See, for example, Larrain 1983. Cf. Anderson 1962; Baker 1979, 1986; Douglas 1979, 14:2-17; Helu 1991:55-65; Howard 1983, 16(2):176-203.

². See Helu 1988b, 1990a; Kolo 1990:1-11; Mähina 1990:30-45.

³. Helu 1983:43-56; Mähina 1990:30-45, 1986.

⁴. Anderson 1962; Baker 1979, 1986; Helu 1988b, 1990a; Kolo 1990; Larrain 1983; Mähina 1990:30-45. Cf. Douglas 1979, 14:2-27; Sahlins 1976, 1981, 1985a, 1985b; Helu 1983:43-56, 1984; Howard 1983:16(2):176-203.

⁵. See, for example, Barrere 1961, 70(4):419-428, 1967:1-3-119, 1969; Beckwith 1940a, 1940b, 49(193):19-35, 1944, 53:177-203; Biersack 1990a:80-105, 1990b:46-58, 1991, 100(3):231-268; Bott 1972:2-5-237,277-282, 1982:89-96; Burrows 1940b; Helu 1975a:3, 1975b:3, 1977b, 1983:43-56, 1988b, 1990a; Herda 1988:11-58; Howard 1983, 16(2):176-203; Keesing 1981:329-347; Kirk 1971; Kolo 1990:1-11; Leach 1972:239-275; Levi-Strauss 1963:206-231, 1977:115-268, 1987; Luomala 1940a, 49(194):175-195, 1940b, 49(195):367-374, 1949, 1951, 1980, 89(3):367-371; Mähina 1986, 1990:30-45; Malinowski 1944:72-124; Sahlins 1976, 1981, 1985a, 1985b; Tudor 1972; Valeri 1985, 1989, 4:209-247.

⁶. Levi-Strauss, for example, takes myth to be a socio-economic mode of communication, whether by means of exchange of women or by way of material exchange. As a form of communication myth is linked with language, and manifested in various rhythmic patterns such as music, dance and poetry. Thus, structure manifests itself at different levels, where meanings are encoded in a variety of forms (see Levi-Strauss 1963:206-231, 1977:115-268, 1987).

⁷. For Malinowski, on the other hand, myth is told and a reality lived, playing an indispensable role in *primitive* cultures. Not only does myth express belief, it promotes it. Myth thus reinforces morality and value; both of which are, as guidance for human action, outwardly standardised in ritual. In short, myth primarily

economic and pragmatic bases of myth. While the structuralist and functionalist treatment of myth may be regarded as relativistic⁹, the following considerations take myth to be an embodiment of conflicting tendencies, a product of the interplay of interests within a human context⁹.

While structuralism and functionalism, in terms of their conventional and practical treatment of myth, offer us insights into the permanence of human relationships, they tend to set aside the conflicting tendencies characteristic of the social process. Given this fundamental human character, as far as the study of myth is concerned, its observation here rests more on the extent to which social institutions conflict with each other, rather than the purposes which they serve in society¹⁰.

Myth is a social and psychological phenomenon, constituting people's attitudes to both human beings and their environment¹¹, characterised by different forms of social activity. In so much as myth is a socio-psychological reality, it is a historical fact¹². Considering this anthropo-ecological context, myth must express social, mental and material aspects of the human situation¹³. Thus, myth may be regarded as an attempt by people to explain natural and social phenomena, triggered by the marvels of Nature and important deeds of people, in terms of human interests and social organisation¹⁴. Both natural and social events are, thus, wrapped up in human terms, and through orality they put on a miraculous character.

functions as a charter for validating operation of social institutions (see Malinowski 1948:72-124).

⁹. By relativistic it is taken to mean that both structuralist and functionalist deal with the relations to which myth enters into in society, rather than by, first of all, observing what myth is.

⁹. Helu 1983:43-56; Māhina 1990:30-45. Cf. Helu 1988b, 1990a; Kolo 1990:1-11; Māhina 1986.

¹⁰. Cf. Anderson 1962; Baker 1979, 1986.

¹¹. Helu 1983:43-56; Māhina 1990:30-45.

¹². This logical treatment of history, where myth is a socio-psychological phenomenon, taking place in real time and in society, is distinct from the demarcation between the literal-symbolic and the socio-psychological inherently counterpoised in it.

¹³. See Helu 1983:43-56; Māhina 1990:3-45.

¹⁴. Helu 1975a:3, 1975b:3, 1983:43-56, 1987c; Māhina 1986, 1990.

Not only does myth reflect the outlook of a people, on the one hand, it also constitutes historical kernels about events in the past, on the other¹⁵. This view affords us to realise the synchronic, though idealised but real, events of the past, as it is diachronically linked with the present in terms of actual human situations. While there is a need to observe the structural and functional aspects of myth, the issue is, more importantly, to examine what people, given the surreal character of myth, attempt to explain through it¹⁶. And as anticipated, we are always bound to come back to some kind of human arrangement.

Myth, of the political kind¹⁷, is both synchronic and diachronic in character¹⁸; it reflects conflict at a particular point in time as it sustains order through time¹⁹. Not only is it significant how myth, by structurally legitimising dominance, arises in society in the first place, but also its function as a political charter for maintaining power at various points in time. Both synchronic and diachronic aspects of myth are about power, whether it is concerned with hegemony or counter-hegemony, characterised by the sustenance of order, whose challenge brings about change which is, in turn, restructured in the event²⁰. In this context, myth often functions in the interests of the dominant order, where the demands of the powerful are upheld over the rest of society.

¹⁵. Helu, interview, 1988; Kamenka, pers. comm., 1989. Cf. Brown and Roberts 1980; Vansina 1965.

¹⁶. Apart from taking myth as having preserved harmony or functioned as a political charter, the need to address *what people see through myth* is connected with differentiating between the literal-symbolic and the social. We must, in order to understand myth in purely human terms, penetrate the unified character of myth, characterised by the literal and the symbolic, to the social, defined by a multiplicity of tensions.

¹⁷. Tudor 1972. Cf. Larrain 1983.

¹⁸. Gailey (1981:23-25), for example, denies the synchronic dimension of myth by upholding its diachronic aspect, saying that, while it reflects structural and experiential tensions, myth cannot be regarded as a manifestation of reality; she also adds that myth is only a possession of their present practitioners, who create and change it in their favour.

¹⁹. See Mähina 1990. Cf. Sahlins 1981, 1985a; Piddington 1951.

²⁰. Cf. Sahlins 1981, 1985a.

There are two respective senses of history²¹, the one is logical, and the other disciplinary. Firstly, history is a product of the interplay of human demands in a social context²². Events, logically speaking, are either historical or non-historical. For any event, whether natural, mental or social, to take place in space and time is itself historical²³. Secondly, history is defined as an academic discipline, characterised by the dialectic between the object and the subject, the observation of how things work, on the one hand, and their explanation in utilitarian terms, on the other.

History, in its broader meaning, is regarded as the outcome of politics, the sum total of conflicting human interests and social demands²⁴. In this irreconcilable context, myth and history, differentiated only by varying degrees of symbolic ordering²⁵, are thus complementary. Both myth and history, given that they are a product of the counteraction of subjective interests, are subjected to the same disciplinary treatment. On the subjective level, myth and religion, regarded as either systems of thought or forms of emotionalism and social salvationism, are, like history, varieties of politics²⁶.

But history, in the narrower sense of the term, refers to eyewitness accounts, and the critical study of such accounts in written documents surviving from the past²⁷. This form of history is connected with the disciplinary practice of distinguishing between human illusions and reality, or, in the case of *tala-ē-fonua*, between the literal/symbolic and the social/historical. Myth, as are religion and history, in its wider sense, is, by nature, opposed to history in its

²¹. Cf. Biersack 1981; Carr 1961; Denning 1989; Helu 1988b, 1990a; Kirch and Green 1987; Kolo 1990; Levi-Strauss 1963:1-27; Māhina 1990; Sahlins 1985a; Wolf 1982.

²². Helu 1983:43-56; Māhina 1990:30-45.

²³. Helu 1988b, 1990a; Māhina 1990.

²⁴. Helu 1983:43-56; Māhina 1990:30-45.

²⁵. Cf. Levi-Strauss 1963; Sahlins 1976. While Levi-Strauss, for example, sees history as the conscious expressions of the social life, as contrast to culture, the unconscious foundations of the social world, Sahlins identifies the former with event, and the latter with structure, concluding that the dialectics of history is structural throughout (Sahlins 1981:72).

²⁶. *Atenisi University Catalogue and Handbook*, 1981:1-2, 1987, 1990:4-6; Helu 1983:43-56. Cf. Larrain 1983; Māhina 1986, 1990.

²⁷. Cf. Carr 1961; Helu 1988b, 1990a; Poulsen 1977; Wolf 1982.

narrower sense in this context²⁸. This opposition is immediately felt on the subject-object level, and ultimately expressed on the level of politics, the security-seeking sentiment, and history, the interest in the way things are or were²⁹. In the final analysis, the tension between myth, religion and politics and history, in its narrower sense, on the one hand, is one of dialectic between domination and liberation, or between illiberality and independence, on the other³⁰.

The formally complementary and opposed relationships between myth and history can be examined in the context of two Tongan myths, the turtle Sangone and the double-canoe, *kalia*, Lomipeau, featured in two *lakalaka* poems entitled *Sangone* and *Nailasikau* by Queen Sālote. Synchronically speaking, the two myths represent actual hegemonic and counter-hegemonic events surrounding the Tu'i Tonga in the past, whose diachrony is linked with the present, embodied by the respective rise of the new Hau, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu, to political hegemony. The diachronic use of the myths, their retelling in the poems, in this case, may be seen as a reaffirmation of the specific connections between Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu, and, generally, of the continuity between past and present (see Figures 2.1 and 4.2).

Depending on the circumstances, the past, actually or ideally, plays an influential role in the present. Whichever way it goes, the past is not guaranteed a safe place in the present³¹. But the past was as real, uncertain and dialectical as the present is. The present order, though actually based on sanctioned models, is subjected to the contradictory nature of the social life. And in order to divert people's attention from the plurality of the social world, the past is often idealised as a way of confronting real life contradictions. Having ideologically obscured these contradictions, the actual social situation

²⁸. Cf. The rise of science and philosophy in Greece, where natural and social phenomena were explained in their own ways, around the sixth century BC revolutionised dogmatic thinking by means of the explanation of things in mythological and theological terms (see Adler and Cain 1961; Burnet 1968; Ricker and Saywell 1973a. Cf. Anderson 1962; *'Atenisi University Catalogue and Student Handbook*, 1981:1-2; Baker 1979, 1986; Helu 1975a, 1975b; Herodotus 1972; Kirk 1971; Sophocles 1947).

²⁹. Helu 1991. Cf. Anderson 1962; Baker 1979, 1986.

³⁰. Cf. Anderson 1962; Baker 1979, 1986; Dening 1989. Cf. Larrain 1983.

³¹. Anderson 1962; Baker 1979, 1986; Māhina 1990.

is thus presented in a unified manner³². The political usefulness of myth, religion and history are, therefore, made evident in this context³³.

The myth of the turtle Sangone is associated with the eleventh Tu'i Tonga, Tu'itātui, who, in about AD 1200³⁴, began the Tu'i Tonga imperial expansion beyond Tonga (see Chapter Five). Initially, this imperial expansion seems to have started with Fiji, represented here by Pulotu³⁵ (see Chapter Two and Figure 2.1), and Samoa, particularly the westernmost island of Savai'i³⁶. Such Tu'i Tonga imperial activities, by linking centre and periphery, involved the extensive extraction of socio-economic resources through conquest.

The theme of the myth, as interpreted within the ecology-centred mode, is structured on the oppressive nature (symbolised by the winds [*matangi*]³⁷

³². See, for example, Larrain 1983; Māhina 1990.

³³. Cf. Anderson 1962; Baker 1979, 1986; Helu 1983:43-56; Māhina 1986, 1990:30-45.

³⁴. See Gifford 1929:52; Māhina 1986.

³⁵. The Pulotu/Fiji-Samoa/Langi-Tonga/Maama links suggest extraction of socio-economic resources, whether in the form of exchange of women between the elite families or slave labour, most probably in the interest of the Tu'i Tonga. This is both implicit and explicit in the myth. Sangone, mother of Hinahengi, a maiden from Pulotu, was probably presented as a wife to the Tu'i Tonga, symbolised by the source of the wind, Hinahengi's father. But Hinahengi, daughter of the Tu'i Tonga, was, in turn, presented as a wife to the probable discontented Samoan chief, Lekapai. It is said in Tongan traditions that Pulotu, the Tongan original land and afterworld, is believed to be an actual island situated to the northwest of Tonga (see Martin 1981, II:300), which, as supported by both archaeology and linguistics (see Clark 1979; Poulsen 1977), is naturally Fiji (see Chapter Two). On the one hand, as proposed by Gunson (1977), the Tu'i Pulotu, arising from a Fisi or Pulotu culture, preceded the Tu'i Manu'a, followed by the Tu'i Tonga. It is possible that both the Tu'i Manu'a and Tu'i Tonga emerged from a series of contacts with eastern Polynesia after the east was settled from the west, which had been originally settled from Fiji (see Chapters Two, Three and Four).

³⁶. It seems that by now the possible traffic between eastern Polynesia (see Helu, Kings and Tombs, TS, n.d, 1986b), via Samoa, and Tonga was at its peak. These assumed eastern Polynesian influences, which were formalised in the rule of the Tu'i Manu'a, had covered the whole of Samoa, from Manu'a in the east to Savai'i in the west, and included Fiji and Tonga. The localisation of these probable eastern Polynesian influences in Tonga, associated with the appearance of the three principal deities (see Chapter Two), peaking in the counter-hegemonic rise of the Tu'i Tonga (see Chapter Three) *vis-a-vis* the Tu'i Manu'a, and the succeeding Lo'au-Momo association (see Chapter Four), materialised in the rule of Tu'itātui, who is thought to have begun the Tu'i Tonga imperial expansion beyond Tonga (see Chapter Five). Tu'itātui, by utilising his eastern Polynesian-Samoan connections via Lo'au and reversing the former trend, started with Fiji and Savai'i, where the rest of Samoa and beyond were colonised by later Tu'i Tonga (see Chapter Six).

³⁷. The idiomatic use of the term *matangi* (wind) in Tonga symbolically refers to people, through extraction of material resources, burdened with *fatongia* (duties). This is literally reflected in the Tongan expression *Kuo hangē ne to ha matangi*

and the names Lekapai and Lafaipana³⁸) of the Tu'i Tonga imperial rule, represented by the source of the wind, blowing from Tonga. The Tu'i Tonga's oppression was antagonised, allegorised by Lekapai's confrontation of the winds, and the killing and eating of Sangone and the burying³⁹ of its shell. This was then followed by a period of intense diplomacy and alliance formation through treaty, symbolised by Fasi'apule's visit and exchange of fine mats.

The first *talatupu'a*, the Turtle Sangone⁴⁰, is as follows:

Talatupu'a (Myth) 1: The Turtle Sangone

(Told and translated by the author)

One day a Pulotu maiden, Hinahengi, landed in Tonga with her mother, Sangone, a turtle. But in Samoa, Lekapai had been troubled by the south winds destroying his yearly crops. Angered and frustrated by the mishaps, he set out on a canoe to find the winds, blowing from Tonga, and its source, and to wage war against them. On arrival in Tonga Lekapai found Hinahengi sleeping and drying herself in the sun; her hair being tangled in nearby beach woods. Undoing her hair, they were then married. Learning that the winds and their source were respectively Hinahengi's children and father, Lekapai confronted them. His attempt was fruitless, so he gave up. He then asked Hinahengi if he could return to Samoa. By agreeing, Hinahengi made way for Sangone to take him back. Hinahengi instructed Lekapai that, in dropping him in Samoa, she had to safely return home to Tonga, bringing back with her a bunch of coconuts and a coconut-leaf mat for her. None of the instructions was, however, honoured. Instead, the people of Sangone in Savai'i killed and ate her, then buried her shell. Amongst the witnesses were Lo'au, in Samoa searching

(*he fonua*) (It has been as if the wind has fallen [on the land and its people]), symbolically referring to people, including material exaction, exhausted from executing their *fatongia*.

³⁸. The names Lekapai (*Leka-pai*; lit. [doubly] small-dwarfed), the plantation owner, and Lafaipana (*Lafai-pana*; lit. Lafai-[the]-stunted), the keeper of traditions, are suggestive of servility. The terms *lekapai* and *pana* are used as idioms, referring to physical retardation due to being burdened with a life of service (*fatongia*, *kavenga*). Literally, such references are symbolic of exploitation and oppression. Doing people's *fatongia*, often the commoners, is alluded to as *fua kavenga* (lit. carrying burden [in one's back]), as the idiomatic expression goes *Kuo piko ē tu'a kakai he lahi ē fua kavenga* (The people's backs have been bent from excessively carrying burdens [on their backs]).

³⁹. Though killing (*tāmate*), in its symbolic sense, is an extreme manifestation of social and physical revenge, the terms eating (*kai*) and burying (*tanu*) are its milder symbolic forms as in the idiomatic expressions *Kai ho'o tamai!* (Eat your father!) and *Tanu ho'o 'ita!* (Bury your anger!). These literal references, because of oppression, were probably symbolic of Samoan opposition to the Tu'i Tonga rule. Bott (1972) addresses the killing and eating of 'Aho'eitu by his heavenly brothers as symbolic cannibalism, thus reflecting underlying tensions and hatred (see Chapter Two).

⁴⁰. The myth of the turtle Sangone has been recorded in a number of contexts, see, for example, 1988; Bain 1967:145-149; Collocott, King Taufa, MS, n.d.:3-34; Gifford 1924:49-55; Kaeppler 1967a:160-168; Lehā'uli, interview, 1988; Mafimalanga, interview, 1988; Malukava 1973; Tongavalevale 1924a:49-52; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973; Utuvai 1924:52-54.

for the sun, and a young boy named Lafai. Lo'au put his hands on Lafai saying that he, by growing stunted, was not to die until Sangone's shell was found. Since then his name was changed to Lafaipana. On returning to Tonga Lo'au reported the matter to Tu'i Tonga Tu'itātui. This prompted Tu'itātui to send his half-brother, Fasi'apule, to Samoa to recover the shell. When arriving in Samoa, they were received in a *kava* ceremony, Fasi'apule took charge of *kava* distribution and food allocation. Fasi'apule, by engaging in the task, made an esoteric speech. The aims were to locate Lafaipana, who, on the account of his age, would be the only person to understand them and knew of the shell. Symbolic fragments of his speech included *fūfū mo kokohu* (lit. clap and fume, i.e., *kava* roots); *kau pōngia 'i vao* (lit. a bunch of wilted in the bush, i.e., a second generation bunch of plantains); *lou tāngia mo kokī* (lit. leaves of cry and parrot, i.e., young taro leaves); *kapakau tatangi* (lit. wings of high-pitch, i.e., a wild chicken); and *ngulungulu mo tokoto* (lit. grunt and lie down, i.e., a huge pig). These items were brought as *fono* for the ceremony. The Samoans were initially troubled each time Fasi'apule made a *kisu kava*, with each one skilfully interpreted. Lafaipana, who explained them, was identified. He took the Tongans to the burial site, where they exhumed Sangone's shell. Having found the shell, Lafaipana then collapsed and died. Fasi'apule and his party, afterward returned to Tonga, taking with them the shell and the two fine mats, Hau-'o-Momo and Laumata-'o-Faingā'a, given by the Samoan chiefs for presentation to the Tu'i Tonga.

The *lakalaka* poem, itself entitled *Sangone*, was composed by Queen Sālote, and performed by the Lomipeau group and the Mu'a people, probably to celebrate the removal of Sangone's shell and the fine mat, Hau-'o-Momo, from the Queen's Palace to the Toloa Museum⁴¹. The poetry was put to music by the famous Mu'a poet, Vili Pusiaki, who also choreographed it⁴². It is not known when the event took place, but Queen Sālote is believed to have composed *Sangone* about 1948⁴³.

Queen Sālote⁴⁴ has been hailed as the greatest poet that Tonga has ever produced⁴⁵. Her literary works are mainly featured in two of the Tongan poetic genres, *lakalaka* (*laka-laka*; lit. walk-walk; i.e., to walk at a faster pace; rhythmic walk; topical poetry of places) and *hiva kakala* (lit. song-[of]-[sweet-smelling]-flowers; love lyrics)(see Chapter Seven and Appendix A [5.0 and

⁴¹. Helu, interview, 1988.

⁴². Helu, interview, 1988; Kaeppler 1967:161; Malukava [Kavaefiafi] 1973; Pusiaki 1986, pers. comm., 1986.

⁴³. Kaeppler 1967a, 80:161.

⁴⁴. For biographical accounts of Queen Sālote, see, for example, Bain 1967; Helu 1972b, 1972c, 1989b, 1989c; Luke 1954; Malukava [Kavaefiafi] 1973; Wood Ellem 1981, 1983:209-227; Wood and Wood Ellem 1977:190-209 among others.

⁴⁵. *Faikava: A Tongan Literary Journal*, 1978, I:1-4; Helu 1972b, 1972c, 1989b, 1989c. Cf. Wood and Wood Ellem 1977:193.

5.1])⁴⁶. The literary forte of Queen Sālote is seen in the way she structures her theme, utilising several poetical modes such as *fetau* (rivalry), *lau'eiki* (*lau'eiki*; lit. enumeration-[of]-chiefs), *laumātanga* (*lau-mātanga*; lit. enumerating-[of]-beautiful-spots; pride in locality, the Tongan Nature poetry)⁴⁷, and *viki(viki)'eiki* (praising of chiefs) (see Appendix A)⁴⁸.

Queen Sālote's detailed knowledge of *tala-ē-fonua*, as reflected in her literary works, was intimately imparted to her through close association with notable *matāpule*⁴⁹ and her adoptive mother, Rachael (Lesieli) Tonga⁵⁰, a well-educated woman remarkably well-versed in *tala-ē-fonua*⁵¹. It is believed that the number of tragedies in her life - the death of her mother in 1902, when she was only two years old; the death of her father, Tāufa'āhau Tupou II in 1918, when she became Queen; the death of her unmarried half-sister, Fusipala in 1933; the tragic death of her second son, William (Viliami) Tuku'aho, in 1936; and the untimely death of her husband in 1941⁵² - deepened her literary perceptions⁵³.

Specifically, the constraints arising from the death of her husband, given her feelings as a human being, on the one hand, and her social position *vis-a-vis* her direct Tu'i Tonga descent and her being a Tu'i Kanokupolu, on the other, tend to surface in her works from time to time⁵⁴. Thus, Queen Sālote was confronted with real life contradictions on two levels, the natural and the social. Queen Sālote handles the former in her *hiva kakala* poetry (see

⁴⁶. Helu 1972b, 1972c, 1989b, 1989c. Also see Collection of Queen Sālote's Poetry, MS, n.d; Collection of Tongan Song Texts (Ancient, Traditional-Classical and Modern), MS, n.d; Collection of Works by Tongan Poets, MS, n.d; *Faikava: A Tonga Literary Journal*, 1978, I:5-9, II:3-12, 1980, IV:1, 8; Tupou III [Queen Sālote] 1980, 1986.

⁴⁷. See Helu 1986b.

⁴⁸. Helu 1972b, 1972c, 1989b, 1989c.

⁴⁹. Helu 1972b, 1972c, 1989b, 1989c; Malukava [Kavaefiafi] 1973.

⁵⁰. Some of her accounts of Tongan traditions can be found in Tonga 1924a, 1924b, 1924c, 1924d, 1929.

⁵¹. Helu 1989b, 1989c; Wood and Wood-Ellem 1977:192.

⁵². Wood and Wood Ellem 1977-190-209.

⁵³. Helu 1972b, 1972c, 1989b, 1989c.

⁵⁴. Some of her works, reflecting these natural and social tensions, can be found in Collection of Queen Sālote's Poetry, MS, n.d; Collection of Tongan Song Texts (Ancient, Traditional-Classical and Modern), MS, n.d; Collection of Works by Tongan Poets, MS, n.d; Helu 1972b, 1972c, 1986b, 1989b, 1989c; Malukava [Kavaefiafi] 1973.

Appendix A [4.1 and 5.1]), while she addresses the latter in her *lakalaka* works (see this Chapter and Chapter Seven and Appendix A [5.0]).

On the natural level, given the unwelcome fact that her husband, Tungī Mailefihi, had died young, Queen Sālote was socially prevented by her high office from remarriage, let alone having sex with other men. But on the socio-political level, Queen Sālote incessantly struggled to reconcile real life constraints between her Tu'i Tonga descent and herself being a Tu'i Kanokupolu. Titlewise, the Tu'i Tonga is the only '*eiki*' of the three royal titles⁵⁵; the other two kingly titles, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu, are, by the Tu'i Tonga standard, formally *tu'a*. Accordingly, Queen Sālote, via her mother, Lavinia Veiongo⁵⁶, a direct descendant of the Tu'i Tonga (see Figure 7.1), assumes an '*eiki*' position, but she is, by theory, *tu'a* as a Tu'i Kanokupolu.

Even Queen Sālote's attempt, through her marriage to Tungī Mailefihi, of direct Tu'i Ha'atakalaua descent, to combine the three royal titles in her children, while it politically reinforces their social position, on the theoretical level, still situates them in a *tu'a* space *vis-a-vis* the '*eiki*' Tu'i Tonga (see Chapter Seven and Figure 7.1)⁵⁷. But the structure of '*eiki*' is at risk through practice, which restructures it, giving '*eiki*' a new structural and functional meaning, especially in a manner that serves the present order⁵⁸.

Considering these actual constraints, poetry provided Queen Sālote with a psychological outlet, as her works are characterised by an emotional dependence on Nature and her ability to bind the emotional-social elements and Nature in harmony⁵⁹. Given this society-Nature unity, Queen Sālote, in the ecology-centred, historico-cultural mode, structures her essentially social theme with effective imagery and symbolism, especially drawn from the landscape connections between specific localities once connected with particular groups and her ancestors⁶⁰.

⁵⁵. Helu, interview, 1988; Lehā'uli, interview, 1988; Malukava [Kavaefiafi] 1973.

⁵⁶. Bott 1982:147.

⁵⁷. Cf. Keesing 1989, 1:19-42.

⁵⁸. Cf. Sahlins 1981, 1985a.

⁵⁹. Cf. Helu 1972b, 1972c, 1989b, 1989c.

⁶⁰. Cf. Leenhardt 1979; Mulvaney 1991; Sahlins 1985a; Thaman 1991; Weiner 1991.

The first poem, Sangone⁶¹, is as follows:

Lakalaka 1: Sangone

(Translated by the author)

1 *Ne'ine'i hako mei he tonga*

No wonder the winds blew from the south

Tapa ē 'uhila mei lulunga

And flashed with lightning from the northwest

He na'e mana ē Feingakotone⁶²

Struck with thunder at Feingakotone

Fakahake ē 'uno 'o Sangone

At the lifting of the shell of Sangone

5 *Lafaipana ē pe'i ke mohe ā*

Lafaipana, rest on in your sleep

Kae tuku mai si'ota faiva

But pass on to me our skills

Te u lau folahaka he 'aho ni

Let me talk by dancing today

Ke me'ite ai ē mu'a taloni⁶³

To entertain the front of the throne

Holo pē 'a e nofo 'a mu'a ni

Make comfortable seaters of the front

10 *Mo ha sola 'oku taka 'i Pangai⁶⁴*

And any strangers roaming in Pangai

Kau fola si'i Hau-'o-Momo

I now unfold the valued Hau-'o-Momo

He ko e takafi 'e tau nofo

As the outer cover of our living

He maa'imoa fai 'i Heketā

Being a chiefly-undertaking at Heketā

Na'e 'aokai⁶⁵ mei Ha'amea⁶⁶

That was wooed from Ha'amea

15 *'Ise'isa! Na'e fena pē ka ko Nua*

Alas! Though wrinkle yet it was Nua

⁶¹. This *lakalaka* can be found in Collection of Queen Sālote's Poetry, MS, n.d.; Collection of Tongan Song Texts (Ancient, Traditional-Classical and Modern), MS, n.d.; Collection of Works by Tongan Poets, MS, n.d.; Helu 1989b; 1989c; Kaeppler 1967a:162-163; Malukava (Kavaefiafi) 1973.

⁶². Feingakotone: a *mala'e* near 'Olotele, the residence of the Tu'i Tonga, where the 'inasi ceremony was held, together with sports and entertainment, for the Tu'i Tonga; a symbol for the Tu'i Tonga.

⁶³. Mu'a: a symbol for high chiefs.

⁶⁴. Pangai: a symbol for the Tu'i Kanokupolu.

⁶⁵. 'Aokai (request for food): a symbolic reference to Momo who, through his *matāpule* (spokesman), Lehā'uli, requested Lo'au literally for yam seedlings to cultivate, where Momo, in social terms, actually proposed to marry Lo'au's daughter, Nua (see Chapter Four).

⁶⁶. Ha'amea: the residence of Lo'au in Central Tongatapu.

*Penepena*⁶⁷ ē *ngatuvai fākula*⁶⁸
 A hair mixture for the old *fākula*
'E Fasi'apule ha'u ke ta ō
 Fasi'apule, come let us sojourn
'O tala ho 'uhinga ki he 'afio
 And tell your mind to the king
*Ke ha ai ē finangalo na'e toi*⁶⁹
 Revealing the secret that was hidden
 20 *'O sivi ē 'ofa 'oku mo'oni*
 And measured the love that is real
Na'e 'aikona pē 'o 'omai
 That was carried in the waist and brought
He na'e 'ikai fa'a hua'aki
 As it was hard to be mentioned
*'E Ulamoleka! Poto 'i he lau*⁷⁰
 Oh Ulamoleka! Skilled in talking
Hono 'ikai ke mālie kia au
 Had it not been pleased to me
 25 *Ho'o tala 'a e vaha mama'o*
 Your forecast of distant oceans
Kuo vaofi hotau 'aho
 We've been drawn closer in our day
*Kakala talā kakala mo'oni*⁷¹
 Utmost *kakala* genuine *kakala*
'Oku faifio 'o toki manongi
 They intermingle, emitting sweet-scent
Kisu. kava ē mei Ha'amoā
 Secrets of *kava* from Samoa

⁶⁷. *Penepena* (to apply lime on one's hair): a chiefly word for the Tu'i Tonga's application of a hair mixture made of lime on his hair (see Gifford 1929:121; Helu, interview, 1988). Symbolically, it was also the name of a piece of bark cloth (*ngatu*) with which the Tu'i Tonga literally covered himself in sleep (Helu, interview, 1988). But it socially refers to sexual union, via the marriage, where Nua (*penepena*) was presented as wife to Momo, symbolised as *fākula* (line 16).

⁶⁸. *Ngatuvai fākula* (old/sweet-scented red pandanus fruits): *Ngatuvai*, a symbol for the outstanding '*eiki* status of the Tu'i Tonga, the reputed *fākula*.

⁶⁹. *Toi* (hidden): (lines 17-22) refers to the love Tu'itātui had for his half-brother, Fasi'apule, who, one day, came to present himself to the Tu'i Tonga, carrying with him a basket of *fo'i kilitoto* (a fruit of *toto*), *fo'i uho'ifusi* (an inside pith of banana stem), *fo'i mamae* (a fruit of *mamae* plantain) and a *fo'i malala* (a piece of black charcoal). These were to use as means of informing his kingly brother, Tu'itātui, of their "blood" relation, and their "love" for each other (see Chapter Five).

⁷⁰. *Ulamoleka* (*Ula-mo-leka/Leka*; lit. Ula-and-leka/Leka): (lines 23-28) He was a great poet, son of a daughter of Ula, the Tu'i Kanokupolu navigator, who married a son of Leka, the Tu'i Tonga's navigator, thus uniting Kauhala'uta ('Uta) and Kauhala'alo (Lalo) in himself, hence *Ulamoleka*. *Ulamoleka* is the author of "*Folau 'a Ulamoleka ki Niua*" ("The Voyage of *Ulamoleka* to Niua"), in which he refers to this union: *Ko e va 'o 'Uta mo Lalo* (The relation between 'Uta and Lalo), *Ka puna ha manu pea to* (In case a sea bird flies, then alights), *Ka kuo vaofi 'i hoku sino* (But they have been united in my *self/body*) (Helu, interview, 1988).

⁷¹. *Kakala talā* (lit. *kakala* [of-the] famous), *kakala mo'oni* (lit. *kakala* [of-the] genuine): a symbol for high chiefs.

30 *Na'e tali hapo ē me'a kotoa*
 It hastily revealed everything
*Kisu e fūfū mo kokohu*⁷²
 Secrets of *clap* and *fume*
*'A e kau pōngia 'i vao*⁷³
 A bunch of *wilted* in the *bush*
*'A e lou tāngia mo kohi*⁷⁴
 Leaves of *cry* and *parrot*
*Pea mo e kapakau tatangi*⁷⁵
 And also a *wing* of *high pitch*
 35 *Kau ai ē ngulungulu mo tokoto*⁷⁶
 Including a *grunt* and *lie down*
Mo e vahe taumafa 'o e fono
 And allocation of king's food of *fono*
*Pea toki 'ilo ai ē koloa*⁷⁷
 Then the finding of the treasure
Ko e kanokato ē tala 'o Tonga
 The all-embracing traditions of Tonga
Talu ai pē hono fakaili
 Which was since dearly-nurtured
 40 *Ko e fakama'u 'o hou'eiki*
 As a symbol for the chiefs
*'Oku 'ilo 'e ha taha kuo anga*⁷⁸
 Someone knows but with experience
*'A e ola 'o e Taka-i-pomana*⁷⁹
 The outcome relating to Taka-i-pomana
He kalia 'o e vahamohe
 The *kalia* that sailed the pacific-ocean
*He kalia na'e tau ki 'One*⁸⁰
 Hence the canoe that arrived at 'One

⁷². *Fūfū mo kokohu*: a symbol for *kava* roots.

⁷³. *Kau pōngia 'i vao*: a symbol for a second generation bunch of plantains (*hopa*).

⁷⁴. *Lou tāngia mo kohi*: a symbol for young taro leaves.

⁷⁵. *Kapakau tatangi*: a symbol for a wild chicken.

⁷⁶. *Ngulungulu mo tokoto*: a symbol for a large pig.

⁷⁷. *Koloa* (durables such as bark cloth (*ngatu*) and fine mats (*kie tonga*): it refers to women's products, as opposed to men's products (*ngāue*), used for socio-economic exchange between groups.

⁷⁸. *Anga* (experienced): symbolic reference to an expert in traditions, i.e. in telling (*tala*) of esoteric/political traditions; reflects the classical character of *tala-ē-fonua*, possessed only by a privileged few.

⁷⁹. Taka-i-pomana: name of a *kalia*, which landed at 'One ('Onevai), Tu'i Tonga's offshore island reserved for recreation, said to have brought a Samoan maiden to *sleep* with the Tu'i Tonga; a symbol for sexual union (see Appendix A [7.0]) (Helu, interview, 1988).

⁸⁰. 'One: shortened for the island 'Onevai, a Tu'i Tonga island reserved for his pleasure trips.

45 *Fakalele ki he Makahokovalu*⁸¹
 Hurriedly I depart for Makahokovalu
*Pakimangamanga*⁸² 'i he Siangahu⁸³
 Perform bonito-fishing sport at Siangahu
Ko e ika moana si'ene fotu
 Where the deep-sea fish appears
*Fakahakehake 'i Fonuamotu*⁸⁴
 Landed in abundance at Fonuamotu
*Longolongo ma'anu 'i Hakautapu*⁸⁵
 Calmly it surfaced at Hakautapu
 50 *No'o 'i Havelu mo e Kokatapu*⁸⁶
 Berthed at Havelu and the Sacred-*koka*
Ko e ola ē 'oku ou lau
 The result of which I say
*Fai'anga ia 'o e fetau*⁸⁷
 It is place of rivalry and pride
*Tau tui falahola*⁸⁸ 'ene hopo
 Let us string ripen *falahola*

⁸¹. Makahokovalu: symbolic name for the island of 'Uiha in Ha'apai, which is connected with the Tu'i Tonga through the two brothers, Ngana'eiki and Nganatatafu (see Chapter Five).

⁸². *Pakimangamanga* (*Paki-mangamanga*; lit. plucking-of-the branches): a chiefly sport of bonito-fishing, in which the bonito tails (*mangamanga*, symbolised by their V-shape) are plucked (*paki*), and the rest of the fish is thrown into the sea. Whoever had the most tails was the winner (Helu, 1972a, interview, 1988; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973).

⁸³. Siangahu: a mound (*sia*) in Tungua, the residence of the Tamaha. Again, it is symbolic of the Tu'i Tonga, and all the 'eiki persons derived from him such as Tamahā.

⁸⁴. Fonuamotu (*Fonua-motu*; lit. Land-[of]-island; also known as Fonuatani [*Fonua-tanu*; lit. land-filled-[with-earth]], an island connected to the mainland by a causeway): residence of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, as opposed to 'Olotele, the residence of the Tu'i Tonga, respectively symbolised by Kauhala'alo (*Kau-hala-lalo*; lit. Side-[of-the]-road-[in-the]-lower-[part]) and Kauhala'uta (*Kau-hala-uta*, lit. Side-[of-the]-road-[in-the]-upper-[part]), spatially separated by the main road to Hahake, signifying the structural and functional relationships between Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Tonga (see Chapter Six).

⁸⁵. Hakautapu (*Hakau-tapu*; lit. Reef-[of-the]-sacred): a reef off Hihifo, the residence of the Tu'i Kanokupolu; a symbolic name for the Tu'i Kanokupolu.

⁸⁶. Havelu, a place in Hihifo, the residence of the Tu'i Kanokupolu and the *kokatapu* (lit. *koka-tapu*; lit. *koka*-[of-the]-sacred); a tree under which the investitures of Tu'i Kanokupolu were done): symbolic names for the Tu'i Kanokupolu.

⁸⁷. *Fetau*: poetry of rivalry. Queen Sālote found this poetic genre convenient for her *lau'eiki* (lit. enumerating of chiefs in terms of the 'eiki-tu'a distinction *vis-a-vis* the Tongan social organising principles). The notion of *lau'eiki*, in which Queen Sālote was an expert, involves tracing one's social position, especially the *hou'eiki* (chiefs) to the Tu'i Tonga, or the high chiefs of Tonga. She, in her poetry, largely does little but this (see Appendix A).

⁸⁸. *Falahola* (fine red-blood pandanus fruits): a symbol for high chiefs.

*He kuo kakai ē Vaha'akolo*⁸⁹

For it has been crowded at Vaha'akolo

Queen Sālote, in the poem Sangone⁹⁰, evades the salutation (*fakatapu*; *faka-tapu*; lit. in-the-style-[of-the]-sacred; 24), notable in her other compositions, by going straight into the myth. She acknowledges the imperial links between Tonga and Samoa (lines 1-5), where the Samoans were subjected to the Tu'i Tonga, symbolised by the south wind (line 1). The exhumation of the shell of Sangone in Samoa (line 3), as a kind of Samoan counter-hegemony, is symbolised by lightning (line 2). With the lightning in Samoa, it struck the Tu'i Tonga, symbolised as Feingakotone (line 4), thus putting his rule at risk. Queen Sālote, then, goes on to recognise the political ingenuity of Lafaipana (lines 5-6), as a tool for her quest to legitimate her power (line 6). She, in this stanza, by way of paying homage to the Tu'i Tonga (line 7), lowers herself by dancing, for she is, by title, inferior to the Tu'i Tonga, the most chiefly of all titles (lines 8-9). Queen Sālote, representing the Tu'i Kanokupolu title symbolised by Pangai, in her own mind, knows this situation, although it may not be known to the uninformed, or those ill-informed about traditions (line 10)⁹¹.

Stanzas 11-16 also refer to the superiority, as the most *'eiki* title, of the Tu'i Tonga. This is represented by the Hau-'o-Momo, one of the Samoan fine mats (*'ie toga/kie Tonga*), which was also a symbol of the power of Momo (line 11), whose reign witnessed the laying down (lines 14-16) of the Tu'i Tonga imperial foundation (line 13) (see Chapters Four and Five). Queen Sālote, in lines 11-16, refers to the political marriage between Nua (line 15) and Momo (line 16), representing Lo'au symbolised by Ha'amea (line 14), from which Tu'itātui (line 13) further emerged with power, regionally consolidating the Tu'i

⁸⁹. Vaha'akolo (*Vaha'a-kolo*; lit. Bounds-[between]-villages): symbolic reference to the boundary between Kolomotu'a (*Kolo-motu'a*; lit. Village-[of]-old) and Kolofo'ou (*Kolo-fo'ou*; lit. Village-[of]-new) associated with the Tu'i Kanokupolu. Aleamotu'a, the eighteenth Tu'i Kanokupolu, lived in Kolomotu'a, while Kolofo'ou was settled, after Tāufa'āhau I rose to power, by the Tu'i Kanokupolu chiefs from Vava'u and Ha'apai, symbolically known as the *tautahi* (*tau-tahi*; lit. warriors-[of-the]-sea, meaning the northerly groups of Vava'u and Ha'apai), literally making up Tāufa'āhau I's army.

⁹⁰. Kaeppler (1967a, 80:160-168), though predominantly in structuralist and functionalist terms, and without making clear distinction between the literal/symbolic and the social/historical, addresses the myth of the turtle Sangone, discussing how folklore is expressed in dance in Tonga.

⁹¹. A case of the classical outlook of the ecology-centred mode, in particular, and of culture generally.

Tonga empire beyond Tonga (see Chapter Five). She recognises the pragmatic value of the notion of 'eiki, though by way of appearance (line 12), it, nevertheless, sustained order in society⁹². There is, then, a sense of history and culture incorporated in this line, where conflicts, masked by complicity, are nevertheless present.

Queen Sālote reverts back to the myth (line 17), not only to accompany Fasi'apule in his reunion with his kingly half-brother, Tu'itātui (line 18), but likens it to her own striving for the desired sacred substance. She stresses how Tu'itātui, by keeping his blood relation to Fasi'apule a secret (line 19), simply treasured it with burning love in his heart (line 20) (see Chapter Five). Their feeling for each other is referred here to Fasi'apule carrying a basket, where inside he placed items/objects for symbolically expressing his mutual attachment to, and love for, Tu'itātui (line 21)⁹³. It was an emotional reunion which is hard to describe (line 22).

Now Queen Sālote changes course, making reference to Ulamoleka. She admires (line 24) the poet and navigator, Ulamoleka, who combined Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Kanokupolu in himself, for his skills in conversing and voyaging (lines 23, 25). Queen Sālote, who also united in herself the two titles (line 26), likens herself to Ulamoleka, who, Queen Sālote thinks, had prophesied her destiny (see Chapter Seven and Figure 7.1). In other words, the union of the major titles, Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Kanokupolu, in her person (line 27) had given rise to her high status (line 28) (see Figure 7.1)⁹⁴.

Once again, Queen Sālote resorts back to the myth, concentrating on Fasi'apule's voyage to Samoa (lines 29-37). She takes the shell of Sangone to be a symbol, by way of valued traditions (*koloa*), of Tongan culture (line 37). Reference is made here to the social exchange of women, by means of *koloa* or material goods such as fine mats (*kie tonga*), between the Samoan and Tongan elite families⁹⁵. It is a form of encompassment, a kind of totality (line 38)⁹⁶. Nurturing the *koloa*, given the tension between culture and history,

⁹². See Larrain 1983 on ideology.

⁹³. Examples of the ecology-centred, historico-cultural concept, *tala-ê-fonua*.

⁹⁴. See, also, Luke 1954:23; Wood and Wood Ellem 1977:192.

⁹⁵. See Friedman 1981:275-295; Kaepler 1978a:246-252.

⁹⁶. Hierarchy is taken here to be a variety of rationalism, i.e., it is the corresponding mental arrangement of reality into different levels, identified with different classes in society. See also Dumont 1970.

suggests it to be a risky business (line 39). This *koloa*, by encompassing the aristocratic interests, remains a bastion for the chiefs (line 40).

The knowledge of traditions, which is thought to be a prerogative of the chiefs, preserved in the human-environment mode and known only to a privileged few, points to the political dimension of Tongan history (line 41)⁹⁷. Queen Sālote refers here to heroic history, particularly the political relationships (line 51) between the major chiefly titles, Tu'i Tonga, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu (lines 42-54)⁹⁸. She points to the *kalia* Taka-i-pomana, which brought a Samoan woman as bedmaid for the Tu'i Tonga (lines 42-43); it landed first at 'Onevai before going on to 'Olotele, Mu'a (line 44). Queen Sālote alludes here to the Tu'i Tonga links with 'Uiha, symbolised by Makahokovalu, which was associated with Ngana'eiki, the older of the two sons of Tatafu'eikimeimu'a, the twentieth Tu'i Tonga. Ngana'eiki unsuccessfully courted a beautiful Samoan princess, Hina (line 45), who fell in love with his handsome younger brother, Nganatatafu, residing at Ha'ano (see Chapter Four).

Queen Sālote, then, moves on to mention Siangahu, a symbol for Tungua, the residence of the Tamahā, also deriving from the Tu'i Tonga (line 46). She now refers to the pervading '*eiki* of the Tu'i Tonga, through the exchange of women between the elite families of Tonga and Samoa, likening it to an appearance (*lotu*) of a deep-sea fish (line 47). This chiefly position persisted, engulfing the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, symbolised by Fonuamotu (line 48) (see Chapter Six). This continues in force to encompass the Tu'i Kanokupolu, represented by Hakautapu, Havelu and Kokatapu (lines 49-50) (see Chapter Six). After recounting her position in this genealogy (line 51) Queen Sālote acknowledges her pride in it, especially its usefulness for her quest for power (line 52) (see Chapter Seven and Figure 7.1). But let the Tu'i Kanokupolu take the honour, she says (line 53), for it had won the battle, symbolised by Vaha'akolo (line 54).

The second myth, the double-canoe, *kalia*, Lomipeau⁹⁹, is connected with the imperial activities of 'Uluakimata or Tele'a, the twentyninth Tu'i Tonga,

⁹⁷. The fact that the knowledge of *tala-ē-fonua* is possessed by a privileged few points to its classical character, the sum total of the best and permanent human achievements (Cf. Anderson 1962; '*Atenisi University Catalogue and Student Handbook*, 1981:1-2, 1990:4-6; Baker 1979, 1986; Helu 1986d, 1987c; Neitzsche 1968a, 1968b, 1973; Stumpf 1979).

⁹⁸. Cf. Davidson 1966:5-21; Wolf 1982. Also see Maude 1971:3-24.

⁹⁹. A hotel in 'Uvea and a singing group in Lapaha, Mu'a, have been named after the Tu'i Tonga's *kalia*, Lomipeau.

about AD 1600¹⁰⁰. By now the declining Tu'i Tonga imperial activities, after being subjected to continuing antagonism, appear to have been concerned with local and regional alliance formation. The formation of regional alliance, in the form of slave labour¹⁰¹, as reflected by the symbolic Fijian and 'Uvean connections with Tonga, was specifically utilised for the consolidation of the local power of the Tu'i Tonga. Though the Tu'i Tonga power declined during this period, the exchange of women and material resources between centre and periphery, based on the social principle of *'eiki*, continued to sustain his imperial rule.

The theme of the myth, literally, symbolically and socially defined by hugeness/greatness (*lahi*), and structured on the ongoing Tu'i Tonga imperialism through locally- and regionally-generated socio-economic support, reflects this sustained Tu'i Tonga political position. In fact, the idiomatic use of hugeness/greatness as a notion in Tonga is associated with great social deeds generally, and, in particular, power¹⁰². It can be said that, in terms of the ecology-centred mode, the Tu'i Tonga's power, on the literal level, is manifested in the central role played by Fijians and 'Uveans, symbolised by the building of the huge double-canoe, its ingeniously heroic launching, the fitting of the two high islands between the two hulls, and the creation of Mo'unu island (see Appendix D)¹⁰³.

The second *talatupu'a*, the double-canoe, *kalia*, Lomipeau¹⁰⁴, is given below:

Talatupu'a (Myth) 2: The Double-Canoe, *Kalia*, Lomipeau.

¹⁰⁰. Gifford 1929:56-57; Māhina 1986.

¹⁰¹. Helu, interview, 1988; Lehā'uli, interview, 1988; Mafimalanga, interview, 1988; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973.

¹⁰². As used idiomatically in Tonga in expressions such as *Tonga Lahi* (lit. Tonga-[the]-Huge/Great, i.e., huge in terms of *'eiki*, associated with the Tu'i Tonga, residing there), *Vava'u Lahi* (lit. Vava'u-[the]-Huge/Great, i.e., huge warm-heartedness and generosity), *Tangata Lahi* (lit. Man-[of-the]-Huge/Great, i.e., huge in power and prestige), *Loto Lahi* (lit. Heart-[of-the]-Huge, i.e., huge in bravery) and *'Eiki Lahi* (lit. Chief-[of-the]-Huge/Great, i.e., powerful chief), they all refer, not to literal hugeness/greatness, but symbolically to specific social and psychological attributes.

¹⁰³. Mo'unu was the anchorage for the Tu'i Tonga imperial fleet (see Kirch 1984a).

¹⁰⁴. Accounts of the myth double-canoe, *kalia*, Lomipeau can be found in 'Ahio, interview, 1988; Gifford 1929a:54-55, 1924:67-68; Havea (John) 1870:718-722; Helu 1972c, interview, 1988; Lehā'uli, interview, 1988; Mafimalanga, interview, 1988; Malukava (Kavaefiafi) 1973; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973.

(Told and translated by the author)

Once upon a time a huge *kalia* was built in 'Uvea for a child, Tahitala, who went crying to Lauliki, his mother's brother, after having been beaten by Peautau for damaging his canoe berthed at sea. Annoyed by the incident, Lauliki approached boat-builders Ngavele and Lavamutu to build one for Lauliki. They built the canoe in Muliutu, with *fehi* wood from Ifilaupakola. On its completion the canoe, named Lomipeau, because it was so huge, could not be launched by the combined people of Tonga and 'Uvea. So huge that, when it sailed to Tonga, the high islands of Kao and Tofua, were fit between the two hulls. However, a Fijian demi-god, Nailasikau, was summoned by the Tu'i Tonga for the task. Standing on the gunwales, Nailasikau urinated from there down, slowly moving the boat to sea. It is reported that the canoe was used for transporting stones from 'Uvea for the construction of the Tu'i Tonga's royal tombs in Lapaha at Mu'a. The Fijians loaded and unloaded the stones, crafted by 'Uveans and Futunans. On top of the hulls was built the deck (*fungavaka*), where the deck-house (*falevaka*), oven (*tālafu*) and compass (*'olovaha*), placed in the prow, were constructed. The Tongan navigators directed navigation from the *falevaka*, the sea residence of the Tu'i Tonga and his Falefā. Cooking was done in the *tālafu*. Nailasikau is said not to have eaten meat, but it so often happened that the crew's meat disappeared without trace. The Falefa later found out that, when the crews had gone to sleep, Nailasikau, would rotate the circular *tālafu*, opened the crew's ovens and devoured the meat. Nailasikau was punished, and ordered that he unloaded the stones on his own. It is also said that the *tālafu* was so huge that when the ashes were tipped to sea, it formed the island of Mo'unu.

The second *lakalaka* poem, *Nailasikau*¹⁰⁵, named after one of the protagonists in the myth, was composed by Queen Sālote about 1934 or 1935, and performed by the Lomipeau group from Lapaha and the people of Mu'a. Again, Vili Pusiaki created the accompanying music and dance. It is believed that this *lakalaka* was composed for the celebration of the birthday of either Viliami Tuku'aho, who died in 1936, or Sione Ngū, now Fatafehi Tu'i Pelehake, two of Queen Sālote's three sons in 1934 or 1935¹⁰⁶.

The text of the *lakalaka*, *Nailasikau*¹⁰⁷ is as follows:

Lakalaka 2: *Nailasikau*

(Translated by the author)

1 *Fakatapu*¹⁰⁸ mo e taloni 'o Tonga

¹⁰⁵. A son of Ratu Edward Cakobau, half-brother of Queen Sālote, has been named Nailasikau (see *Faikava: A Tongan Literary Journal*, 1979, III:3-7 and Appendix A).

¹⁰⁶. Helu, interview, 1988.

¹⁰⁷. This *lakalaka* text can be found in Collection of Queen Sālote's Poetry, MS; Collection of Tongan Song Texts (Ancient, Traditional-Classical and Modern), MS; Collection of Works by Tongan Poets, MS; Helu 1989b, 1989c; Malukava (Kavaefiafi) 1973.

¹⁰⁸. *Fakatapu*: the introductory part of *lakalaka*, which involves the paying of respect to the king, descending in order of the social pyramid.

My obeisance to the throne of Tonga
*Pea tapu mo e kakala hingoa*¹⁰⁹
 And sacred be the esteemed flowers
*He mo si'i lupe kei manoa*¹¹⁰
 Beloved dove still tamely-tethered
*Kae tui ē papai falahola*¹¹¹
 While a necklace of *fakula* is strung
 5 *Aofaki atu ē ha'a kotoa*
 Sacred be the lineages in all
Kae fakaha'ia hoku 'ofa
 I wish to express my love
Ki he 'aho 'oku ta fakahoko
 For this day we commemorate
Hopo ai ē fakahalafononga
 With sunset stars rising
'Isa ē ngalo ange 'ia au
 And lest I do not recollect
 10 *He ko e 'aho ni 'e tukufolau*
 That today will pass away
Ka 'oku ou fie talanoa atu
 But let me relate to you
Ki he anga si'omau vakatapu
 This tale of our sacred ship
He fai'anga 'o e fakatalutalu
 The source of honour and pride
'O fakafeangasi mo Lo'au
 A tradition accompanying that of Lo'au
 15 *He vaka ni ko e fakatangitama*¹¹²
 The ship was built for a petitioning-child
He kia Lauliki 'a Tahitala
 Made to Lauliki by Tahitala
Fa'u 'e Ngavele mo Lavamutu
 Crafted by Ngavele and Lavamutu
'O fakatoukatea 'ene tu'u
 Being double-hulled in its standing
'O tu'u he fanga he ko Muliutu
 It stood in the shore of Muliutu
 20 *Si'i fehi 'o Ifilaupakola*
 Dear *fehi* wood of Ifilaupakola
He fanāfotu ia ne 'iloa
 Her mast visible from afar
Pea to e fai ki ai ē tala

¹⁰⁹. *Kakala hingoa* (lit. Flower-[of-the]-named): sweet-scented flowers, symbolising chiefs.

¹¹⁰. *Lupe* (dove): poetic symbol for a female monarch; *manoa* (tamely tethered): symbolically refers to a living female monarch.

¹¹¹. *Falahola* (fine sweet-smelling red pandanus fruits): symbol for high chiefs.

¹¹². The term *fakatangitama* (*faka-tangi-tama*; lit. [In-the-style]-[of-the]-crying-child, i.e., the child that petitions) is symbolically defined within the sister-brother relations, in which requests, for social and material support, literally made by sister's child (*'ilamutu*) to his or her mother's brother (*fa'ētangata/tu'asina*), are socially regulated by the Fahu-'Ulumotu'a principles (see Chapter Six).

And also mentioned in traditions
*Nailasikau 'i he telekanga*¹¹³
 About Nailasikau upon the gunwales
'Āvea 'a e vaka ki moana
 Launching the ship into deep-sea
 25 *Si'oto loloma he uta ko ia*
 My amazement at that load
'A e makakafu ē 'otu langi na
 For the flat-stone-lid of the royal tombs
Pea ko e lau he te ke 'iloa?
 Though mentioned, had you ever known?
Ne tala 'e hai kiate koe?
 And whoever did tell you?
*Ke ke 'eve'eva he Paepae*¹¹⁴
 To take a stroll at the Paepae
 30 *'O mamata ai he makaofe*¹¹⁵
 And witness its L-shape cornerstones
Ofo'anga ē hau pasese
 Being a wonder for the tourists
Lau na'e lingi ē talafu
 As stated they emptied the ship's oven
Tu'u ai ē motu ko Mo'unu
 Creating the islet of Mo'unu
'Oku fakaholo si'ete nofo
 It gladdens my life evermore
 35 *Pea fakanonga ki hoku loto*
 Thus rendering peace to my heart
*'A e uta maka 'i ono'aho*¹¹⁶
 Once a load of masonry in ancient days
*Kae uta ha'a 'i onopō*¹¹⁷
 But a boat full of clans in modern times
Pe'i mou laka mai 'o mamata
 Come ye along and wonder
He teunga 'o e loto falevaka
 The attire of the inner deck-house
 40 *He 'otu pupunga ē sotiaka*¹¹⁸
 There are the constellations of the zodiac

¹¹³. *Telekanga*: an archaic word for the gunwales of a *kalia*.

¹¹⁴. *Paepae*: shortened for *Langi Paepae-'o-Tele'a*, connected with *Tu'i Tonga 'Uluakimata I* or *Tele'a*, and the *Lomipeau* (see Chapter Six).

¹¹⁵. *Makaofe* (*Maka-ofe*; lit. *Stones-[that-is]-bent*): a symbolic reference to the L-shape cornerstones of the *Langi Paepae-'o-Tele'a*; symbolic reference to the fine craftsmanship of the 'Uvean and Futunan stonemasons, reflecting the *Tu'i Tonga* glory.

¹¹⁶. *Ono'aho*: past.

¹¹⁷. *Onopō*: present.

¹¹⁸. *Sotiaka* (zodiac): symbolic for *Tongan* society.

*'Oku tu'utonu mālie ē La'a*¹¹⁹
 The Sun is high noon
*Tu'u kātoa ē Māhina*¹²⁰
 And it is also full Moon
*'Alotolu*¹²¹ *mo e Tuingaika*¹²²
 'Alotolu and the Tuingaika
*Fine'utuvai*¹²³ *mo Sipitangata*¹²⁴
 The Fine'utuvai and Sipitangata
 45 *Me'afua*¹²⁵ *mo e Tangatafana*¹²⁶
 Me'afua and the Tangatafana
*'A Ma'afulele*¹²⁷ *mo e Toloa*¹²⁸
 The Ma'afulele and Toloa
*'A e Humu*¹²⁹ *mo e Ma'afutoka*¹³⁰
 Humu and the Ma'afutoka
Takitaha tauhi hono hala
 Each one keeps to its orbital route
He kuo lava si'eta talave
 It has been over for our conversation
 50 *Kau li atu ka mou puke*
 I throw it to you to hold
*Pea nofo ē kakala mo'onia*¹³¹

¹¹⁹. *Tu'utonu mālie ē la'a* (sun directly above-head): symbolism for a male monarch at his prime, or a female one, as in the case of Queen Sālote (see Chapter Four).

¹²⁰. *Tu'u kātoa ē māhina* (full moon): a reference to a female monarch at her prime.

¹²¹. *'Alotolu* (*'Alo-tolu*; lit. Rowers-[of]-three; also known as *Ha'amonga'amaui* [*Ha'amo-(an)ga-'a-maui/Maui*; lit. Burden/Carrying-stick-(of)-maui/Maui; probably the trilithon, Ha'amonga-'a-Maui, grand gateway to the Tu'i Tonga royal compound in Heketā, was named after this celestial body]: "the belt of Orion" (Velt 1990:92, 100), (see Chapter Five).

¹²². *Tuingaika* (*Tuinga-ika*; lit. String-[of]-fish): Sirius.

¹²³. *Fine'utuvai* (*Fine-'utuvai*; lit. Woman-carrier-[of]-water): Aquarius.

¹²⁴. *Sipitangata* (*Sipi-tangata*; lit. Sheep-[the]-male; ram). Ram.

¹²⁵. *Me'afua* (*Me'a-fua*; lit. Thing-[that]-weighs; the Balance or Scale): Libra.

¹²⁶. *Tangatafana* (*Tangata-fana*; lit. Man-[the]-shooter): Sagittarius.

¹²⁷. *Ma'afulele* (*Ma'afu-lele*; Ma'afu-[the]-runner: "the large Magellanic cloud" (Velt 1990:101).

¹²⁸. *Toloa* (Wild Duck): Southern Cross (see Velt 1990:100).

¹²⁹. *Humu* (a kind of fish): Southern Fish; "the Coalsack, the well known dark patch near *Toloa*, the Southern Cross" (Velt 1990:100).

¹³⁰. *Ma'afutoka* (*Ma'afu-toka*; lit. Ma'afu-[the]-defeated: "the small Magellanic cloud" (Velt 1990:102).

¹³¹. *Kakala mo'onia* (*kakala*-[of-the]-genuine): a symbol for high chiefs.

Remain as you are genuine *kakala*
He kuo ha'u ē fekau kia au
 For an order has come to me
*Ke u foki ki he Faka'otusia*¹³²
 That I return to Faka'otusia
*Ko hoku Naite 'o Patilika*¹³³
 It is my Knight of St. Patrick
 55 *Ko si'oto 'enisaine tupu'a*¹³⁴
 Its my beloved eternal ensign
*'Oku fusi mei he Futukovuna*¹³⁵
 It is hoisted from Futukovuna
*Hono lanu ko e fo'i fakula*¹³⁶
 Its colour is a blood-red pandanus fruit
Ko e faka'ilonga 'o e ikuna
 Being a mark of victory
Holo pē nofo ē hau'atea
 Make comfortable my wearied-audience
 60 *Kau tuli ē hua he laulea*
 But let me strive for joy conversed
Ko e fakaholo ē ha'ofanga
 In entertaining the social circle
Ko hai 'e tuhu ki he 'umata?
 Who dares point to the rainbow?

In the second composition, *Nailasikau*¹³⁷, Queen Sālote continues to tussle with politics, reaffirming her position in history. She begins with the *fakatapu*, the introduction of the *lakalaka* (lines 1-8). She salutes the existing order, the Tu'i Kanokupolu title (line 1), represented by herself, being a female monarch (line 3). Queen Sālote regards her role as the reigning monarch to be a guardian of traditions (line 4). The obeisance is thus extended

¹³². *Faka'otusia* (*Faka'-otu-sia*; lit. Parading-[of]-row-[of]-mounds): mound is connected with chiefs, depicting hierarchy; a kind of chiefly *kakala*; a symbol for high chiefs.

¹³³. Knight of St. Patrick, taken as a kind of medal, assumed to be symbolically worn by high chiefs in their social rivalry amongst themselves.

¹³⁴. *'Enisaine tupu'a* (Eternal ensign): symbolic reference to *Faka'otusia* as a kind of flag for the Lomipeau, symbolised as the Tu'i Tonga.

¹³⁵. Futukovuna: this flag, being a symbol for the Tu'i Tonga, is hoisted from Futukovuna, another symbol for the Tu'i Tonga. Queen Sālote refers here to the encompassing *'eiki* status of the Tu'i Tonga, surpassing all others.

¹³⁶. *Fo'i fākula* (A sweet-scented blood-red pandanus fruit): a symbol for high chiefs. *Fākula* and *heilala* are the most *'eiki* of all *kakala*, which are symbols for the Tu'i Tonga, including those socially derived from him such as the Tamahā, Falefisi, Tu'i Tonga Fefine. Queen Sālote, by symbolically referring to these objects, is talking about the politics of genealogies, where lineages are politically manipulated in terms of *'eiki*.

¹³⁷. See Heū 1972b, 1972c.

to the high chiefs, most probably the Tu'i Tonga (line 2), and all the chiefly lineages (line 5). Queen Sālote, by excusing herself, sets out to express her views (line 6) on the celebrated occasion (line 7). It is about her opinions of the new social and political order, represented by the evening star, which is the Tu'i Kanokupolu (line 8).

Besides the progress of time, and the fact that the occasion would be soon over (line 10), she takes it as an opportunity to promote her social cause, and, in this case, her political course (lines 11-12). Again, she can not help but feature the Tu'i Tonga, using his *'eiki* status as a tool, symbolised by the *vakatapu*, Lomipeau (line 12). The mention of Lo'au, the reputed craftsman of the land (*tufunga fonua*) (see Chapter Four)¹³⁸, is a tribute to his great achievements (line 14). Queen Sālote then recounts the myth of the Lomipeau (lines 12-24). She highlights the power of the Tu'i Tonga, likens his sacred-secular attributes to the two hulls (line 18), affirming that his reputation, as mentioned in traditions (22), stands out like a mast (line 21). She also notes that it was by way of the imperial links with 'Uvea (lines 15-17) and Fiji (24-25), that such reputed power was upheld.

Queen Sālote is naturally attached to the political cause/course set for the Lomipeau (line 25), which transported the stones for the construction of the royal tombs, another expression of power (line 26). She continues playing politics, and by differentiating social boundaries, particularly the *tu'a* classes (lines 27-28), she sings of the glory of the Tu'i Tonga (lines 29-33). She refers here to the beauty of the Langi Paepae-'o-Tele'a (line 29), especially the great craftsmanship with which the stones were carved (line 30), which raises the tourists' eyebrows (line 31), and the enormity of the ship's oven (line 32), whose ashes formed Mo'unu island (line 33) (see Appendix D). It is this praise that Queen Sālote strives for (line 34), which, by virtue of its political usefulness, sustained her position (line 35). It is the load of stones from which the power of the Tu'i Tonga was transcended in the past (line 36), but for Queen Sālote, in her quest for grace in the present, this is her justification for her rule amongst the lineages (line 37).

She, then, invites her audience for a tour (line 38) to witness for themselves the paraphernalia of the *falevaka* (line 39), symbolising the Tu'i Tonga. Queen Sālote, by offering an aristocratic view of society, likens the *falevaka* to the universe, whose trappings are made up of the constellations

¹³⁸. See Bott 1982:92; Lehā'uli, interview, 1988; Mafimalanga, interview, 1988; Moala, interview, 1988; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973.

of the zodiac (lines 40-48). This universe, which is Tongan society, for Queen Sālote, is a social one, where at the helm sits the Tu'i Tonga. Descending in order of rank, by way of the different characters of the celestial bodies (lines 41-47), are the different lineages, ranging from the lesser kingly lines to those at the bottom of the social pyramid. She ingeniously likens the gravitational force that holds the heavenly bodies¹³⁹ in orbit to the social boundaries (*kau'ā*)¹⁴⁰ which, by maintaining the existing social structure, cement the different classes in Tongan society together (line 48)¹⁴¹. Just as the universe is doomed for destruction if the gravitational force fails; in Queen Sālote's view, Tongan society, given the *kau'ā* collapse, will also disintegrate¹⁴².

Queen Sālote, after her unified address, now bids farewell (line 49). She exerts herself even more by demanding her audience to observe traditions (line 50)¹⁴³. Once more she excuses herself, paying her tribute to the Tu'i Tonga (line 51). She acknowledges the pragmatic value of the *'eiki* status of the Tu'i Tonga, which she aims for, by way of exchange through marriage, in her political struggle (line 52). It is precisely for those reasons that she, in the form of an order (line 52), had to return to the *faka'otusia*, one of the two most

¹³⁹. See, for example, Collocott 1922a, 8(4):157-173; Velt 1990.

¹⁴⁰. Though Tongan society is rigidly multi-strata, social mobility is nevertheless possible. This, as a kind of buffer, is formally facilitated by the accident of birth (*fa'ele'i*), and social, economic and political antecedents such as *to'a* (bravery in the form of a successful rebellion), *fa'a* (economic prowess) and *talavouhoihoifuaifaka'ofa'ofa* (physical beauty) (Helu 1972a; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973). The Tongan idiomatic term for social mobility is *tanusia* (*tanu-sia*; lit. building-[one's]-mound; a chiefly symbols, as mounds were built only for the pleasure of chiefs), which is symbolic of one's improving one's social position, often from less powerful groups, by marrying chiefs, tapping on the social substance of *'eiki*. The call for maintaining *kau'ā*, social boundaries, and associated privileges, is manifested in idioms such as *'Oua 'e hikihiki kau'ā* (Do not overstep your bounds) (see Chapters Three, Four, Five and Six).

¹⁴¹. Example of *tala-ē-fonua* as an ecology-centred concept of cultural and historical ordering.

¹⁴². This suggests that a classless society is a cultureless one. For culture, in its classical sense, can only be achieved by providing different forms of social activity a front to fight it out in the social struggle, not through their subjection to oppression or absolutism (Cf. Anderson 1962; *'Atenisi University Catalogue and Student Handbook*, 1981:1-2, 1990:4-6; Baker 1979, 1986; Helu 1986d, 1991).

¹⁴³. See Hau'ofa (1987b) for a discussion of how traditions are imposed on people, concealing the increasing gap between the rich and the poor brought about by capitalistic tendencies. Cf. Howard 1983:176-203.

'*eiki kakala*, symbolising the Tu'i Tonga¹⁴⁴. She likens the *faka'otusia* to the highest of ranks (line 54), which she hoists as an eternal flag from Futukovuna, another symbol for the Tu'i Tonga, in her quest for grace. Queen Sālote reminds her audience of the status of the Tu'i Tonga (line 57), which she thinks to have been successfully united in her person (line 58) (see Chapter Seven and Figure 7.1)¹⁴⁵. Once again she assures her wearied-audience (line 59) that she gets carried away with joy in conversing on her topic (line 60), and in entertaining them (line 61). In (line 62) Queen Sālote, again, pays tribute by acknowledging the *toputapu* of the Tu'i Tonga.

The formal relationships between myth and history, where they are complementary in some respects and opposed in others, have been explored. In this context, myth and history, as products of the interplay of demands in a social context, are thus equally subjected to history, in its narrower sense, the disciplinary practice of demarcating between the mythical and the historical, the literal/symbolic and the social, or illusions and reality. Not only is myth synchronic, as it arises out of hegemony, justifying a specific social demand, it is also diachronic, for it is counter-hegemonically appropriated for political purposes. Thus, permanence and change, just as the dynamic between convention and action, are in constant dialogue, as has been shown by Queen Sālote's retelling of the two myths. But, more importantly, Queen Sālote, by recreating the ordered and altered landscape movement of people, focuses our attention on the ecology-centred historico-cultural mode, where, by addressing the literal and symbolic aspect, the social and historical dimension is made meaningful in purely human terms.

¹⁴⁴. See Keesing (1989:19-42) for a discussion of how the past is ideologically reinvented in the present for purposes of control. Cf. Hau'ofa 1987b; Howard 1983:176-203; Larrain 1983.

¹⁴⁵. See Bott 1982.

PART II

**EARLY TRADITIONAL-MYTHOLOGICAL HISTORY:
PULOTU TO TOULA'O-FUTUNA TO TONGAMAMA'O**

CHAPTER TWO

The Tongan Creation Myth, *Talatupu'a*:
Pulotu, Maama and Langi

The Tongan creation myth, *talatupu'a*¹, is here put in perspective within the formally complementary and opposed character of myth and history. In its complementary terms with history, in the wider use of the word, the creation myth is taken to be a symbolic expression of the interplay of human demands within a social context². Given that the essentially social character of *talatupu'a* is clothed with the miraculous through language³, it, in its opposition to history in the narrower sense, is subjected to the disciplinary practice of distinguishing between the mythical, the literal/symbolic and human illusions, on the one hand, and the historical, the social and reality, on the other⁴. In conjunction with examining the synchronic and diachronic dimensions of the *talatupu'a* will be an attempt to trace the local and regional origin and development of the ecology-centred, historico-cultural mode, considering how it, in dialectical terms, first arose and changed through time.

The praxis of differentiating the literal/symbolic from the social/historical, as in the case of *tala-ē-fonua* generally, is based on the nature of *talatupu'a* (*tala-tupu'a*; lit. telling-[of-the]-ancient/remote past; or lit. telling/-[of]-deified-spirits-of-chiefs, in its Samoan context)⁵. Not only is *talatupu'a* about the

¹. Though the Tongan creation myth has been, as given by Tongans themselves, recorded in a number of sources (e.g., Anonymous 1977:1-2; Havea, Notes on the History and Custom of Tonga, MS, 1870:579-621; *Ko e Makasini 'a Koliji* 1881-1883, 4:111-114, 1883-1885, 5:14-17; *Ko e Makasini Ko e Lo'au*, 1959:1-2; Reiter 1907, 2:230-240, 438-448, 743-754, 1917-1918:12-13:1026-1046, 1919-1920, 14-15:125-142, 1933, 28:355-381, 1934, 29:497-514; Thomas, History of Tonga, MS; Whitcombe, Notes on Tongan Religion, TS, n.d.:2-3), and taken on face value as representing Tongan history, there has not been any systematic approach to analyse them by differentiating the literal/symbolic from the social in order to find out what is historical about them. There has been a tendency in this direction (e.g., Collocott, King Taufa, MS, n.d.:1-18; Herda 1988:17-32; Wood 1934:3-6), but it was not until recently that a systematic attempt at this has been made (e.g., Māhina 1986:21-71, 187-188b, 1990:30-45. Cf. Bott 1972:205-237, 277-282; Helu 1972c; 1983:43-56, 1984, 1988b, 1990a).

². See Helu 1983:43-56; Kolo 1990:1-11; Māhina 1986, 1990:30-45. Cf. Bott 1972:205-237, 277-282; Leach 1972:239-275.

³. See Helu 1988b, 1990a.

⁴. See, for example, Helu 1988b, 1990a; Kolo 1990:1-11. Cf. Anderson 1962; Baker 1979; 1986.

⁵. Moyle 1974:155-156; Stair 1896:34, 1897:211.

ancient past, it also includes a genealogy (*hohoko*)⁶ of individuals, probably representing powerful groups or chiefly lineages⁷, which link the mythic but historical past to the actual present (see Figure 2.1)⁸. As a symbolisation process, *talatupu'a* consists of the vernacular accounts of the origin (*tupu'anga/kamata'anga*) and creation (*fakatupe*) of the land (*fonua*) and its people (*kakai*)⁹. In this context, the social is, often in literal and material terms, transcended by means of language to the symbolic. But, through the process of actualisation, the literal/material, symbolically characterised by the land and the environment (*fonua*), is explained in terms of the closely related social phenomena of *tupu'anga/kamata'anga*, *fakatupe*, and *kakai*.

In its essentially social character, *talatupu'a* simply refers to how people, in hegemonic and counter-hegemonic terms, first came to originate in a particular place, and the manner in which they, whether by means of procreation or in terms of the social organisation of production, arranged themselves over the land. Thus, the *talatupu'a*, if taken to be a Tongan cosmogony and cosmology¹⁰, may be regarded as cosmic representations of the social arrangement, where the environment is seen as merely an extension of human society. It follows that, as far as the *talatupu'a* is concerned, the origin of the universe is socially connected with synchrony and diachrony, that is, how people first came to settle and, perhaps through exchange, rivalry or conflict, organise themselves in a particular place.

Literally, the universe is thus made social- and environmental-specific to the Tongan social world, and the universe, at least for the Tongans, is symbolically Tongan society. In its symbolic sense, the universe is taken to be

⁶. Helu, interview, 1988. Cf. Gifford 1924:18-19.

⁷. See Māhina 1990:30-45. In Polynesia the names depicted the genealogies, of people connected socially and physically, whether in natural, human or theistic terms, especially in their creation myths, are naturally taken simply as their personified, heroic or deified ancestors. On the symbolic level, they are not held to be meaningless mythical beings as seems to be the case in the popular opinion and academic discourse. In both Samoa and among the New Zealand Maori, for example, the terms *tupua* and *atua* are respectively taken to be the deified spirits of chiefs and ancestors (see Best 1900, IX:195; Moyle 1974, 83:155; Stair 1896, 5:34, 1897:211).

⁸. See Herda 1988:19; Māhina 1986:187; 1990:34; Scheffrahn 1965:150 for this genealogy.

⁹. See, for example, *Ko e Makasini Ko e Lo'au*, 1959:1-2; Reiter 1907, 2:438; Taufapulotu 1906:122-127; Ula [Taufanau] 1973.

¹⁰. See Gifford 1924:14-20. Cf. Bastian 1881; Takataka 1924:18-19; Whitcombe, Notes on Tongan History, TS, n.d.:2-15.

one of people, defined by different forms of social activity. The underlying social dimension of *talatupu'a* is reflected in references to it as *Ko e fakamatala ki he kamata'anga 'o mamani mo hono kakai* (The accounts of the beginning of the world and its people), *Ko e talanoa ki he tupu'anga 'o e fonua mo hono kakai* (The stories of the origin of the land and its people) and *Ko e talatupu'a ki he fakatupu 'o fonua mo hono kakai* (The myth of the creation of the land and its people)¹¹. And though the *talatupu'a*, in terms of its environmental and oral dimensions, is literal and symbolic in appearance, it is basically social in character.

But the notion of origin (*tupu'anga*), of how people primarily settled in a specific place, is itself a variety of creation (*fakatupu*), the way in which people, as a kind of dialectic, reproduced themselves socially and materially through exchange between groups, whether in terms of marriage or by means of material goods. As a social organising principle¹², *origin* arises out of counter-hegemony as it is by way of *creation* and through the interplay of different ways of living, subjected to the multiplicity of tensions in the social world. Thus, hegemony and counter-hegemony, synchrony and diachrony, or order and change are dialectically structured and restructured throughout history¹³.

There may be objections to the possibility that, given certain crucial factors such as space, time and memory, the events crystallised in the *talatupu'a* for many centuries could be orally transmitted through the generations¹⁴. But in addition to the formal language, in its literal-symbolic sense, as a mnemonic device for recording social events, it can be further argued that, as has been shown, both linguistics and common knowledge tell us that specific remains of some Austronesian languages are found in Polynesia¹⁵. On the other hand, the Polynesian languages, given their greater homogeneity and that they were diffused over a long period of time, covering many islands distantly isolated from each other, have many terms in common

¹¹. *Ko e Makasini Ko e Lo'au*, 1959:1-2; Reiter 1907:438; Taufapulo'u 1906:122-127; Ula [Täufanau] 1973.

¹². See Bott 1981:7-81; 1982. Cf. Mähina 1986, 1990:30-45.

¹³. Cf. Sahlins 1981; 1985a, 1985b.

¹⁴. See Helu 1988b, 1990a.

¹⁵. See, for example, Clark 1979:249-270; Geraghty 1989; Lichtenberk 1986:341-356; Pawley 1966, 56:364-417, 1982:33-52. Cf. Bellwood 1978:26-30.

(see Appendix B)¹⁶. As far as their transmission is concerned, while such words were, in social and environmental terms¹⁷, localised in some respects, they tend to revolve around different forms of social activity considered by people to be important for human survival. One of these significant social issues is the question of origin (*tupu'anga*)¹⁸, a preoccupation often of both a societal/regional and local nature, where the societal/regional origin is bound to be best preserved, though often in literal/symbolic terms, as it is in the case of Havaiki¹⁹ and Puluotu, the respective ancestral lands and afterworlds for eastern Polynesia and western Polynesia.

The Tongan creation myth, *talatupu'a*²⁰, is thus given below (see Figures 2.1 and 2.2):

The Creation Myth Cycle

(Told and translated by the author)

In the beginning there existed only Vahanoa and Puluotu, and in the middle of Vahanoa were floating Limu and Kele. As they drifted towards Puluotu, Limu and Kele separated, and out came a huge rock, Touia-o-Futuna. The rock angrily shook causing a series of tremors, which spilt open Touia-o-Futuna, and from it each emerged four pairs of twins, male and female, Piki and Kele, 'Atungaki and Ma'imoa'alongona, Fonu'uta and Fonuvai and Hē'imoana and Lupe. Each of the brother-sister twins committed incest, and to them were each born, brother and sister, Taufulifonua and Havealolofonua,

¹⁶. See Kirch (1984a:223) for his commentary on the regional distribution of the terms *'eiki* and *tu'i*, where the former is known throughout Polynesia in various forms and the latter is restricted to western Polynesia.

¹⁷. For example, Best (1899, VIII:93-121) observes with great interest the degree of personification or allegorisation of natural phenomena such as the heavenly bodies, fire, mountains and the environment in the New Zealand Maori creation myths.

¹⁸. See, for example, Beckwith 1940b, 49:19-35. Cf. Caillot 1914; Dixon 1916.

¹⁹. Hawaiki, for the New Zealand Maori, is known by other variants in Polynesia, especially in the east: Avaiki, Havai'i, Havaiki, Hawai'i, Savai'i (Spate 1988:12-13). While Savai'i is the Samoan Hawaiki, that of Tonga has been taken to be 'Eueiki, connected with the probable eastern Polynesian influences (Helu, Kings and Tombs, TS, n.d, 1986b:25). Both Hawaiki and Puluotu are believed to be actual islands somewhere to the west of their islands. As for "The Matter of Hawaiki", Spate (1988:13) writes that it "forms a magnificent body of poetry which, like the Matter of Arthur's Britain, has a historical referend - if only it could be found. It cannot be taken too literally (that way academic madness lies) but there seems a substantiality within it that cannot be too lightly dismissed".

²⁰. Various accounts, either in full or as fragments, of the Tongan creation myth can be found in Bastian 1881:296-297; Blanc 1934; Bott 1982:89-91; Collocott King Taufa, MS, n.d:4-18; 1919, 30:234-238, Gifford 1924:14-29; *Ko e Makasini 'a Koliji* 1881-1883, 4:22-26, 51-55, 74-78, 109-111; *Ko e Makasini Ko e Lo'au*, 1959:1-2; Martin 1981, II:300-301; Reiter 1907, 2:230-240, 438-448, 743-754, 1917-1918, 12-13:1026-1046, 1919-1920, 14-15:125-142, 1933, 28:355-381, 1934, 29:497-514; Thomas, History of Tonga, MS, n.d, Tongatabu or the Friendly Islands, MS, n.d:44-48, 52-59; Whitcombe, Notes on Tonga Religion, TS, n.d:2-15; Wood 1943:5-6.

Vealahi, Velesi'i and, brother and sister, Tokilangafonua and Hinatu'aifanga. Taufulifonua took to wife his own sister, Havealolofonua, and his two first cousin sisters, Vealahi and Velesi'i. Out of these unions were each born the goddess Havea Hikule'o and male gods, Tangaloa 'Eiki and Maui Motu'a. But Tokilangafonua, guardian of 'Eua, married his own sister, Hinatu'aifanga, and their children were a pair of siamese twin sisters, Nāfanua and Topukulu. Tokilangafonua fled to Samoa where he resided. Both Nāfanua and Topukulu, in searching for their father in Samoa, engaged in incestuous union with him, and from which were born, female and male, Tafakula and Hēmoana'uli'uli, who were in turn married, giving birth to a male child, Lofia. In time, Taufulifonua and Havealolofonua decided to create an island, named Tongamama'o, for their spoiled child, Havea Hikule'o. On arrival there, their parents then divided it amongst the children; Havea Hikule'o possessed Pulotu, while Tangaloa 'Eiki and Maui Motu'a respectively took control of Langi and Maama. Havea Hikule'o, for fear of destroying Maama, was tied with a *kafa* cord restricting her in Pulotu, with Tangaloa in Langi and Maui Motu'a in Maama holding the opposite ends. Tangaloa 'Eiki, with his wife, Tamapo'uli, lived in Langi with their four sons, Tangaloa Tamapo'ulialamafoa, Tangaloa 'Eitumātupu'a, Tangaloa 'Atulongolongo and Tangaloa Tufunga. Looking down from Langi and seeing nothing in Maama but sea, caused Tangaloa 'Eiki to send out Tangaloa 'Atulongolongo, in the form of a plover, to see if there was land. But all he could see was a reef that later became 'Ata. In reporting his findings, Tangaloa 'Eiki told Tangaloa Tufunga to throw down wood chips from his workshop which then formed 'Eua. In one of his later visits, Tangaloa 'Atulongolongo dropped a seed from his beck on 'Ata; it grew into a creeper covering the island. When he returned next, Tangaloa 'Atulongolongo pecked one of the rotten branches, then out came a huge worm. By pecking the worm, it broke into three parts that became the first Tongan men, Kohai, Koau and Momo. Maui Motu'a, who brought the three men wives from Pulotu, and his children, Maui Loa, Maui Puku and Maui 'Atalanga, with a magical fishhook, then fished up the rest of the Tongan islands, including some in Fiji and Samoa except Manu'a. Through trickery, Maui Kisikisi, also known as Maui Fusifonua, son of Maui 'Atalanga, obtained the secret fishhook from Tonga Fusifonua and his wife, Tonga, at Manu'a in Samoa. Maui Kisikisi, having been considered a deviant, was not allowed in Lolofonua, where stood his father's plantation, but one day he secretly followed him and found himself there. While in Lolofonua, he was engaged in a physical tussle with his grandfather, Maui Motu'a, the keeper of the source of all fire, over its possession, which Maui Kisikisi won. Despite his father preventing him from taking the fire to Maama, Maui Kisikisi determined to smuggle it on their return, demanding that it enters every tree on Maama. Since then people began to cook their food, which they hitherto had eaten raw. On arrival in Maama Maui Kisikisi found that, because the sky and earth inseparably came so close together, people could not walk upright but bent their backs forward. Maui Kisikisi pushed the *langi* and *maama* apart, thus allowing people to walk around freely.

The Tongan creation myth, *talatupu'a*, reflecting the antagonistic landscape movement of people²¹, cannot be understood in isolation from the wider regional human settlement of Polynesia. Specifically, the local emergence of Tongan society is put in context within the regional settlement which,

²¹. Cf. Sahlins 1985a:58.

through antagonism, was developed through different stages²². This regional human settlement coincides with a predominantly Lapita marine-based mode of production, whose contradictions led to the formation of a principally land-based mode of social organisation characteristic of Polynesia²³. In part, the *talatupu'a* manifests the dynamic pertaining to the Lapita Culture complex, but, more importantly, it points to an extensively ongoing multiple, two-way contact between island groups within Polynesia²⁴. In early times, Tonga was thus sandwiched between the declining Lapita Culture complex, on the one hand, and the rising Polynesian culture, on the other.

On the strength of both Tongan and Samoan creation myths, and of the Polynesian versions generally²⁵, it is argued that Tonga was the first to be settled by the Lapita colonisers. And from Tonga, probably after a short period of time, the settlement of Samoa by the last of the Lapita people took place²⁶. It was then from Samoa, in the west, that eastern Polynesia, probably through the Marquesas, was settled²⁷. After the settlement of the east, it appears that there were a number of return migrations emanating from eastern Polynesia,

²². See Māhina 1990:30-45.

²³. See Poulsen 1967, 1977:4-26, 1987; Spennemann 1986b, 1989. Cf. Bellwood 1978; Green 1979:27-60; Kirch 1984a.

²⁴. See, for example, Collocott, King Taufa, MS, n.d.:2-18; Henry 1935-1937, 1980; Smith 1892a, 1:33-52, 1893, II:25-42; Stair 1895b, 4:99-131. Cf. Poulsen 1977:24, fairly representative of archaeological assertions, suggesting there were contacts between western and eastern Polynesia, after the east had been settled. On the issue of the distribution and development of the Polynesian hero-cycles with regard to Samoa as providing links between east and west see, for example, Luomala 1940b:370.

²⁵. Various accounts of the creation myths in Polynesia can be found in Alpers 1964:15-27, 1970:47-80; Beaglehole and Beaglehole 1938:45-63; Burrows 1936:26, 1937:61; Burrows 1923, 32:143-173; Carrington 1939, 48:30-31; Cowan 1905:161, 1930:3-13, 1934:92-96; Cartwright 1929, 38:106-107; Emory 1938, 47:45-63, 1949, 62:230-239; Fraser 1892, 1:164-189, 1896, 5:171-183, 1897a, VI:19-36, 1897b, VI:67-76, 1897c, VI:107-122, 1898, VII:15-29, 1900, IX:125-134; Gill 1876; Forander 1916-1920; Grey 1885:1-48; Gudgeon 1892, 1:212-232, 1895, IV:2-82, 1903, 12:165-179, 1904, XIII:238-264; Guiart 1953, 62:114-118; Handy 1930; Hongi 1907a, XVI:209-219, 1907b, XVI:154-219; Kauraka, Oral Tradition of Manihiki, MS, 1988; Luomala 1949, 1951; Nicholas 1892a, 1:20-29, 1892b, 1:65-67, 1897, VI:2-10; Paraone 1907, 63:109-119; Powell 1891, 2:195-217, 1892, 25:70-85, 96-146, 241-286, 1893, 26:264-310; Stair 1895a, 4:47-58, 1895a, 5:33-57, 1897, 1898, VII:48-49; Stimson 1937. Cf. Henquel, n.d., Henry 1935-1937, 1980; Hiroa 1932, 1938a; Kramer 1902-1903; *Les Missions Catholiques*, 1870; Monfat 1923; Tregear 1892, 1:95-102, 1893, 2:13-16, 1900a, IX:38-46.

²⁶. Cf. Bellwood 1978:56; Poulsen 1977:7.

²⁷. Cf. Poulsen 1977:7.

which reached Tonga, via Samoa, in force. While Samoa, the Cooks, Tahiti and the Marquesas, at this time, seem to have been an important area of intensive cultural development²⁸, with some of its effects reaching Tonga, certain traces of Hawaiian and New Zealand influences have also been seen in the local development in Tonga²⁹. Although such a powerful eastern Polynesian cultural imperialism was extensive in nature, most of these influences appear to have been Samoanised before they actually got to Tonga.

According to the Tongans, they originated in Pulotu³⁰, which is believed to be an actual island lying somewhere to the northwest of Tonga³¹. Through

²⁸. See, for example, Fraser 1892, 1:164-189, 1896, 5:171-183, 1897a, VI:19-36, 1987b, VI:67-76, 1897c, VI: 107-122; Henry 1935-1937, 1980; Nicholas 1892a, 1:20-29; Stair 1895a, 4:47-58, 1895b, 4:94-131.

²⁹. Some traces of the New Zealand Maori influences appear as gods, demi-gods, or heroes such as Maui Kisikisi, Maui 'Atalanga, Mofu'ike, Kae and Lata in Tonga and Maui Ti'eti'e i Talaga, Mafu'ie and Lata or Rata in Samoa (See Collocott 1928a:108; Gifford 1924:139-152; Helu 1987c; Henry 1980:21-26; *Ko e Makasini 'a Koliji*, 1876:58-61; Moulton 1924a:151-152; Pomare 1934:134-137; Potae 1928, 37:261-270; Tupou 1924b:140-145). In one of the perilous long distant voyages of Kae and Longopoa accompanied by Lo'au, like that by Maui Ti'eti'e i Talaga of Samoa (Henry 1980:21-23) and the two brothers, Maui Atalaga and Maui Kisikisi, who arrived in 'Uvea from New Zealand (Henquel, Talanoa ki 'Uvea, TS, n.d.:1-2), they are reported in Tongan traditions to have reached the antarctic and New Zealand, but some managed to get back to Tonga through Samoa. The following stanzas, in the poem, *The Voyage of Kae (Koe Folau 'a Kae)*, are probably symbolic references to icebergs and snow: And steered down their vessel (*Pea 'uli hifo honau vaka*); And arrived at the white sea (*Pea hokosia ē tahi tea*); And the floating pumice sea (*Pea mo e tahi tafungofunga*); And the slimy sea that was foretold (*Mo e tahi pupulu na'e tala*) (see Gifford 1924:145-150; *Ko e Makasini 'a Koliji*, 1876, 3:58-61) (see Chapter Four). Lata is known in Tonga as a long distance and daring navigator (Collocott 1928a:108), as he is known in Samoa to be Lata or Rata, himself a brave navigator (Henry 1980:23-26; Stair 1895b, 4:126-127). In one of his voyages to Tonga, he taught the Tongans how to build boats and houses (see Henry 1980:23-24), particularly the *fale fa'amanu'a* (Manu'a house), known in Tonga as the *fale fakamanuka* (house in the style of Manu'a) (Helu, interview, 1988; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973). But remains of probable Hawaiian influences are connected with Lo'au, probably of Samoan descent (see Helu, Kings and Tombs, TS, n.d., 1986b:25) (see Chapter Four).

³⁰. For accounts about Pulotu see, for example, Collocott 1928a:12-17; *Koe Fafagu*, 1906, 4:48-53, 65-68, 73-76, 86-88, 98-100; Gifford 1924:153-180, 1929a:287-288; Havea, Notes on the History and Customs of Tonga, MS, 1870:585-589; Havea 1924:173-175; Havili 1924:153-155; Latu 1924a:170-173; *Koe Makasini a Koliji* 1876, 3:39-42; Martin 1981, II:298-314; Moulton 1924a:169-170; Reiter 1934, 29:497-514; Tongavalevale 1906, 4:48-53, 65-68, 73-76, 86-88, 98-100; Whitcombe, Notes on Tongan Religion, TS, n.d.:11-12; Wood 1943:3-4.

³¹. Collocott, King Taufa, MS, n.d.:14-15; Ferdon 1987:69-70; Gifford 1929a:287; Martin, II:300; Wood 1934:3. Tongans believed that Pulotu, from which their ancestors had come (Collocott, King Taufa, MS, n.d.:14), is an actual island larger than their own (Martin 1981, II:300), lying somewhere to north-west of "the Fiji Islands" (Ferdon 1987:70), and to be reached by sea (Gifford 1929a:287). The route to Pulotu is reported to be located at Fo'ui in Tongatapu, Tofua in Ha'apai and the

sacred sanction, Pulotu was a land of plenty, filled with the best of vegetables and other food, thus experiencing no scarcity of supplies. Given that the goddess Havea Hikule'o dwelt in Pulotu, the island had an aura of divinity, which subjected mortals (*maama*) from Maama when entering there to death and serious illnesses. Items of high cultural value in Tonga, considered to be *tapu*, are said to have originated in Pulotu³². Some of the *kakala* (plaited sweet-smelling flowers), socially arranged into *kakala tapu/hingoa'eiki/mo'oni* (lit. *kakala* of-the-sacred/named/chiefly/genuine) and *kakala vale* (lit. *kakala* of-the-fools/foolish; commoner *kakala*) (see Chapters One and Seven)³³, or *'ufi* (yams; *Dioscorea alata*), classified into the *'eiki* (chiefly) and *tu'a* (commoner)³⁴ classes of Tongan society are reported to have been brought from Pulotu.

Considering the conspicuously divine status of Pulotu, its government was one of strict observance, on the part of the mortals, and extreme conservatism, as far as the divine beings were concerned. Mortals had to undergo a series of long and tough ordeals and double-edged tests before they were even allowed to set foot in Pulotu, often on the condition that the proper mode of conduct was rigidly observed³⁵. Provided that these earthly beings from Maama survived the divine wrath of the gods, they still had to prostrate themselves in the presence of Havea Hikule'o.

island of Koloa in Vava'u, respectively marked by *toa* (*Casuarina equisetifolia*), *uhi* (*Evodia hortensis*) and *kaho* (*Miscanthus floridulus*) trees at the entrance (Gifford 1929a:287; Havea, Notes on the History and Customs of Tonga, MS:585-589). Koloa was associated with both Maui 'Atalanga and Maui Kisikisi, and is said to have been by inhabited by a Samoan lineage renowned for the women's beauty, associated with one of the symbolic names of Vava'u - Ha'afuluhao (*Ha'a-fulu-hao*; lit. Lineage-[of-women-of-the]-pubic-hair-unspoiled; Safulusao in Samoan), a symbolic reference to the beautiful Samoan women (Faleola, pers. comm. 1988; Helu 1986b:26; Wood 1943:5).

³². Helu 1972c.

³³. See Helu 1972a, 1987b. Also see, for example, *Ko e Kava, Lea Tonga moe Koloa Faka-Tonga*, n.d.:32-37 for an elaborate account and demonstration of the Tongan *kakala*.

³⁴. The most chiefly yam is *kahokaho*, the basic product for the Tu'i Tonga *'inasi*, and the ones at the bottom of the social pyramid are *tua* and *palai* (see Collocott 1924:153, 169; Havili 1924:153-155; Helu 1972a, 1972b, 1972c; *Koe Makasini a Koliji* 1876, 3:39-42; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973; Wood 1943:4. Cf. Collocott 1924:178-180; Malupo 1924:178-180).

³⁵. *Koe Fafagu*, 1906, 4:48-53, 65-68, 73-76, 86-88, 98-100; *Koe Makasini a Koliji*, 3:394-342; Moulton 1924b:169-170; Gifford 1924:153-175; Havea 1924:173-175; Havili 1924:153-155; Latu 1924b:170-173; Martin 1981, II:300.

This conservatism pervades the Tongan notion of the afterlife. The Tongan ancestral land and afterworld, Pulotu, is said to have been the residence of the gods and souls (*laumālie*) of dead chiefs (*hou'eiki*), but not the commoners (*tu'a*), for they were believed absolutely to have had no souls³⁶. On the historical level, such a belief might, by elevating the demands of the chiefs, indicate a denial of commoners' interests, as manifested in both oral and written sources, which record the cruel treatment of commoners by chiefs in the past³⁷. This oppressive situation was reinforced by the counterpoising of the master/*hou'eiki*-slave/*tu'a* moralities, where life (*mo'ui*), especially that of the commoners, was not a value at all³⁸. As a parallel case, the dialectic between pre-determinism and free-will, for example, as values manifested in the Theban legend of King Oedipus, suggest rigid patrician-plebeian, superordination-subordination, relations in early Greek society³⁹.

The indigenous accounts of Pulotu, at least in terms of its location and the fact that the Tongans took it to be their ancestral land, is in agreement with both archaeology and linguistics, which put forward the view that Tonga was settled by the Lapita settlers probably through Fiji, situated to the north-west of Tonga⁴⁰. In fact, Pulotu is associated in traditions with Fiji, known in Tonga as Fisi. And as argued by Gunson, for instance, the Tu'i Pulotu, probably arising out of a Pulotu or Fisi culture, preceded the Tu'i Manu'a, who was in turn succeeded by the Tu'i Tonga⁴¹.

³⁶. Ferdon 1987:70; Gifford 1924:153; Martin 1981, II:298-299; Wood 1943:3. In fact, there was no salvation for the *tu'a*, they were saved only by their *fatongia*, which were their souls. On another level, such an attitude is reflected in their heroic values, where *langilangi* (dignity) and *ongoongo* (reputation) were far more important than their lives (*mo'ui*). Specifically, this was seen in the *to'a* (warrior) cult, and the behaviour of the people generally (see Helu 1981; Kolo 1990:1-11).

³⁷. See, for example, Lātūkefu 1974:22-23; Martin 1981, I:62-63; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973.

³⁸. Helu 1981; Kolo 1990:1-11. Cf. Māhina 1986.

³⁹. See, for example, Sophocles 1947.

⁴⁰. Poulsen 1977:6. Cf. Bellwood 1978; Davidson 1979:82-109; Green 1979:27-60; Groube 1971, 80:139-144; Spennemann 1986b, 1989.

⁴¹. Gunson 1977:93-113. Cf. Collocott, King Taufa, MS, n.d.:18; Fraser 1892, I:164-189, 1896, 5:171-183, 1897a, VI:19-36, 1897b, VI:67-76, 1897c, VI:107-122; Henry 1935-1937, 1980; Nicholas 1892a, 1:20-29, 1892b, 1:65-67; Smith 1892a, 1:33-52, 1892b, 1:107-117, 1899, 29:1-48; 1902a, 14:202-204, 1902b, 42:80-106, 163-178, 195-218; Stair 1895, 4:47-48, 1895b, 4:94-131.

Although some Melanesian and Polynesian societies had their roots in the Lapita Culture complex, accounting for some of their shared aspects, there existed from the beginning major differences, in terms of ornaments, octopus lures and shell implements, between Tonga and all other Polynesian societies⁴². Green⁴³ associates these differences with the language distance between Tonga and all other Polynesian languages, reflected by the separation of the Proto-Polynesian language into two daughter languages, Proto-Tongic and Proto-Nuclear Polynesian (See Appendix B)⁴⁴.

The same is reflected in most, if not all, Polynesian creation myths, specifically relating to the issues of origin and hierarchy. Of all the Polynesian creation myths, the Tongan version is the only one that seems to have direct links to, and elaborate details of, Pulo-tu (see Figures 2.1 and 2.2). The Samoan creation myth, in an indirect way, relates Pulo-tu as a place frequently visited by the Samoan gods and to which the souls of chiefs returned to reside after death⁴⁵. Furthermore, the Samoan and Tongan creation myths suggest that both Tonga and Samoa merely provided a bridge between the Lapita Culture complex and the development of the hierarchical, chiefly system characteristic of Polynesia. Though this characteristic development suggests that it was contemporaneous with the settlement of eastern Polynesia, it seems that the formation of the Polynesian hierarchy did not reach its peak until the assumed eastern Polynesian return migrations reached Tonga via Samoa. In both cases Samoa, once a centre of cultural significance⁴⁶, provided the transitional, two-way links between west and east⁴⁷.

⁴². Poulsen 1987, I:225.

⁴³. Poulsen 1987, I:225.

⁴⁴. See Bellwood 1978:29; Clark 1979:249-270.

⁴⁵. See, for example, Stair 1895a, 4:47.

⁴⁶. Though Poulsen (1977:24) recognises both Tonga and Samoa as important centres of cultural development in western Polynesia, he denies any two-way contact between the west and the east after the settlement of eastern Polynesia.

⁴⁷. In contrast to Poulsen's proposition, oral traditions strongly support an intensive two-way, north-south and especially east-west cultural development between western and eastern Polynesia, with Samoa as the principal centre, embodied in the imperial Tu'i Manu'a, at least before the rise of the Tu'i Tonga in Tonga, the other centre (see Fraser 1892, I:164-189, 1896, 5:171-183, 1897a, VI:19-36, 1897b, VI:67-76, 1897c, VI:107-122, 1898, VII:15-29, 1900, IX:125-134; Henry 1935-1937, 1980; Nicholas 1892a, I:20-29, 1892b, I:65-67, 1897, VI:2-10; Smith 1892a, I:33-52, 1892b, I:107-117, 1893, II:25-42, 1893, II:25-42, 1899, 29:1-48, 1902, 14:202-204, 1903, XII:1-312, 85-119, Appendix). With regard to the regional distribution and development of the Polynesian hero-cycles, Luomala (1940b, 49:370) makes the same connection,

The questions of origin and hierarchy have been a major preoccupation of both archaeologists and linguists working in the area⁴⁸. Archaeologists and linguists have found it difficult to establish the social organisation of the Lapita people, considering the observable differences in certain Oceanic societies when, in fact, they all share a common origin in the Lapita Culture complex⁴⁹. Such difficulties lie in how to account for the characteristically egalitarian, *big-man* Melanesian societies, on the one hand, and the distinctively hierarchical, *chiefly* communities of Polynesia, on the other⁵⁰.

Green and Kirch⁵¹, for example, put forward phylogenetic models, generated by shared inheritance and homologous change, stating that the hierarchical nature of Polynesian societies were derived from a single source, the Lapita Culture complex, which was itself hierarchical. The linguistic reconstruction of the Tongan term for *'eiki* (chief; chiefness; chiefly) is in support of a Lapita hierarchy (see Chapter Six)⁵². On the one hand, Terrell⁵³, by way of common environmental and social constraints, maintains an analogous cause behind an evolutionary cultural convergence, developing from an ancestral egalitarian society to some hierarchical social arrangements in Polynesia. In addition, Kirch⁵⁴ puts forward population pressure to be another influential factor in the regional settlement of Polynesia.

saying that Samoa provided the linkage between the west and the east.

⁴⁸. Davidson 1979; Groube 1971; Green 1979; Kirch 1980, 1984a, 1986; Kirch and Green 1987; Poulsen 1967, 1977, 1987; Spennemann 1986b, 1989.

⁴⁹. Cf. Bellwood 1978; Davidson 1979; Poulsen 1967, 1977, 1987; Spennemann 1986b, 1989.

⁵⁰. See, for example, Douglas 1979, 14:2-27; Friedman 1981, 23:275-195; Guiart 1971, 91:139-144; Kirch and Green 1987, 28:431-456; Spennemann 1989. Cf. Pawley 1982:33-52.

⁵¹. Kirch and Green 1987, 28:431-456. Cf. Kirch 1984a.

⁵². See, for example, Bellwood 1978:31-32; Kirch 1984a:223; Spennemann 1989:77-79. Cf. Lichtenberk 1986, 95:341-356; Pawley 1982, 19:123-146.

⁵³. Terrell 1987, 28:431-456, 1988, 62:642-657.

⁵⁴. Kirch 1984a. Cf. Kirch and Green 1987, 28:431-456.

Earlier ethnohistorical works by Goldman⁶⁵ and Sahlins⁶⁶, perhaps following Weber and Marx⁶⁷, have stressed either the social factor in the form of status rivalry or the material dimension in technological and ecological terms, as the driving force behind the transformation of Polynesian societies. But the subjection of the material to the social and vice versa sounds as if the relationships between human beings and their environment are artificial, or an imposition by one over the other and the other way round, and that they are discontinuous, isolated and discreet human phenomena⁶⁸.

On the basis of the total/regional systems⁶⁹ of social reproduction, Friedman⁶⁹, in a critique of both Sahlins and Goldman, offers an alternative view that while there is transformational continuum in Oceania, it is one which is based on the properties of social reproduction, rather than a transformation on the basis of political stratification. It appears that Friedman, by disentangling the problem, becomes entangled in it. While he recognises transformational continuum in Oceania, Friedman seems to overlook the continuity of the social and the material by elevating the former over the latter. In fact, the degree of political stratification is itself a property of both the social and material reproduction of society; it is not just an attribute of the social reproduction, as Friedman appears to be implying.

It is contended that the non-material and material factors of society, where the social/mental is continuous with the natural/physical, are a form of *interpenetration*⁶¹. Arising out of this anthropo-ecological context, either in terms of support or opposition, are the cultural and historical (or political) expressions of society. In this social *milieu*, the different forms of social activity

⁶⁵. Goldman 1970.

⁶⁶. Sahlins 1958.

⁶⁷. See, for example, Cuff and Payne 1979. Also see Larrain 1983.

⁶⁸. See Māhina 1990:30-45.

⁶⁹. Kirch and Green, for example, adopt a similar approach, where they are in favour of regional settlement of Polynesia rather than a chronological one (see Kirch 1986, 95:9-40). The difficulty seems to have arisen from the material dimension of the artefacts, providing obstacles to a reconstruction of their symbolic and ultimately the social dimensions. It must be pointed out that the regional and the chronological are continuous, as shown by oral traditions, but not isolated or discreet events. As obviously the case, regional observation amounts to a description of specific local situations, i.e., generality is simply an attribute of particularity.

⁶⁰. Friedman 1981, 23:275-295.

⁶¹. See, for example, Māhina 1990:30-45.

are interlocked, and while they hang together in a social context, there is no subjection of one to the other, but they are ceaselessly engaged in a kind of unified struggle⁶². Culture, in its classical outlook, the sum total of the best and permanent human achievements⁶³, is understood in this irreconcilable context, where different forms of living are given a platform to fight it out in the social struggle⁶⁴.

There are strong indications in the Tongan *talatupu'u* that the original land and afterworld, Pulotu, was rigidly multi-strata⁶⁵. Given that Pulotu is itself the Lapita Culture complex, it can be asserted that, by implication, the Lapita social organisation was highly stratified. This possibility has not been recognised by the debaters on the issue, whether they be archaeologists, anthropologists or historians, who have not *heard* (or who, because of some ambiguously unqualified and subjective reasons, simply do not want to hear) extremely significant historical information symbolically *told* in *talatupu'a*, specifically on the issues relating to origin and hierarchy and, in general, the local and regional human settlement of Polynesia⁶⁶.

This is reflected in Pulotu being the residence of the gods, and of the souls only of dead chiefs, given their mutual religious and political interests, while the soulless commoners, and their life of service, simply end with their *fatongia* in Maama. Additionally, the strict observance of proper conduct by mortals who submitted themselves to the divine will of the gods, and specifically of Havea Hikule'o, points to oppression, itself an expression of a rigid hierarchy. In hierarchically arranging people, they are mentally differentiated as it is in the case of postulating different kinds of truth, of setting up higher levels of reality than matters of fact, where others are placed in privileged positions over the rest of society (See Chapter Six and Figure 6.2). Hierarchy is an expression of rationalism, an artificial imposition on reality, whether social, mental or physical. And while it may be a useful tool for social

⁶². 'Atenisi University Catalogue and Student Handbook, 1981:1-2; Helu 1986d. Cf. Helu 1991b:55-65.

⁶³. Cf. 'Atenisi University Catalogue and Student Handbook, 1981:1-2; Helu 1991:55-65; Neitzsche 1968a, 1968b, 1973; Stumpf 1979:78-92.

⁶⁴. Cf. Anderson 1962; Baker 1979, 1986.

⁶⁵. Cf. Helu 1981.

⁶⁶. Cf. Davidson 1979; Green 1979; Groube 1971; Kirch 1980, 1984a, 1986; Kirch and Green 1987; Poulsen 1967, 1977, 1987; Spennemann 1986b, 1989.

control⁶⁷, its artificiality and arbitrariness, its contradictory character, the opposition between the ideal and the real, are politically realised in practice⁶⁸.

With conflict being a permanent aspect of the social situation, this fundamental human theme is seen as a driving force throughout the *talatupu'a*. And as far as hierarchy is concerned, the antagonistic transition from the Lapita Culture complex to the Polynesian culture, while undergoing some intermediary egalitarian stages, appears to have been a transformation from one type of hierarchy to another⁶⁹. I further arrive at this conclusion through having observed the Tongan migrant communities in New Zealand and Australia over the years, where people, by moving from Tonga to their host countries, not only experience a new environment but undergo a radical but slow shift from one type of social order to another⁷⁰. But in the course of experiencing their alien environment first hand, of becoming initially at *one* with their new surrounding, people tend to experience an initial state of egalitarianism. But while the old order is at risk through action, the actual practice of migration, as migrants become acquainted with their adopted homeland, gradually (re)structures a new order, where the social coordinates of people are antagonised, fixing some and altering others in the process.

In effect, the alleged contradictions within the Lapita Culture complex, from whose dynamic arose Tongan society, in particular, and generally the Polynesian culture, are thus reflected in the Tongan creation myth. Out of the tensions between Pulotu and Vahanoa emerged the presumed island of Touia-'o-Futuna, the rock (*maka*)⁷¹, probably symbolic of Tonga. The idiomatic use of the term *maka*, as in the formal expression '*Oku mau fetu'utu'i he funga maka ni ko e tali hapo ē fatongia* (We humbly sit on this rock happily awaiting to be allocated with duties), refers to islands or lands (*motu; fonua*). In making formal speeches, for example, people would refer to the island on which they live as *funga maka* (on the rock top) and *tepu'i maka* (fragment

⁶⁷. See Helu 1983:43-56, 1991:55-65. Cf. Howard 1983; Keesing 1989:19-42; Larrain 1983.

⁶⁸. Cf. Anderson 1962; Baker 1979, 1986; Howard 1983, 16:176-203; Keesing 1989, 1:1942; Larrain 1983; Māhina 1986, 1990:3-45.

⁶⁹. See, for example, Māhina 1990:30-45.

⁷⁰. See Lafitani 1992. Cf. Cowling 1990b:187-205.

⁷¹. Futuna, meaning "rock all round", an extinct volcano, is the most eastern island of the Vanuatu archipelago (*Islands Business*, 1990:64).

of rock), or *'ana'i maka* (rock opening)⁷². While one, within the formally ecology-centred mode of communication, socially downgrades oneself by elevating the other, it happens that the literal/true character of the object is systematically obscured in the communicative process.

While the term *Vahanoa* (*Vaha-noa*; lit. Ocean-[of-the]-nil/unknown; i.e., vast or immense ocean) literally reflects the regional connection between Puluotu and Touia-'o-Futuna, it also symbolically suggests social segmentation. The latter usage of the term is seen in idiomatic utterances such as *Si'i paea he vahanoa* (The unfortunate lost course in the unknown ocean [between islands]) and *Fe'ofa'ahi 'a kakau [he vahanoa]* (The mutual love [between people] swimming [back and forth in the vast ocean between islands])⁷³. These expressions symbolically allude to people's emotional attachment to their homeland, or love between relatives or friends living in separate islands, who have been forced to leave them by some inevitable circumstances⁷⁴.

While the Lapita/Puluotu colonisers at first seem to be in harmony with their new environment, they appear to have undergone different stages of development, generated perhaps by socio-economic constraints. As reflected in the *talatupu'a*, such stages are characterised by what I call "naturalism", "humanism" and "theism"⁷⁵, with "humanism" providing a transition between the first and third stages, "naturalism" and "theism"⁷⁶. These stages are

⁷². Cf. Helu 1987b.

⁷³. See *Ko e Ngaahi Palovepi Faka-Tonga*, n.d.

⁷⁴. For example, the main driving force for the Lapita regional movement, given that the rough Melanesian islands had been heavily populated as far as most parts of Fiji and densely covered with forests, seems to have been social and environmental. For the Tongan modern migration the constraints are primarily social and economic.

⁷⁵. These terms, in their broader sense, are defined thus: "naturalism", the literal explanation of social events in natural terms; "humanism", the literal/symbolic explanation of social and natural events in terms of human interests and social organisation (see definition of myth, Chapter One); "theism", the rationalistic explanation of social and natural events in terms of human demands and social interests, on the one hand, and the hierarchical arrangement of people into different levels of reality, giving others privileged positions as gods over the rest of society (see Faka'osi 1989. Also see, for example, Anderson 1962; Baker 1979, 1986; also see Larrain [1983] for Marx's conception of god as a human creation, rather than the reverse). Cf. Stimson (1937:3) for his periodisation the Tuamotuan legend: The Demi-gods (Early Period; pre-dispersion); The heroes (Middle Period; transitional); The Warriors (Late Period; historical).

⁷⁶. Helu (1983:51) observes that there exists a total absence of reference, in what he calls the ecological myths, to the gods, marking a shift from a theistic to a naturalistic or humanistic view of things.

differentiated by their respective explanation in naturalistic (Vahanoa; Limu [Seaweed]; Kele [Soil]; and Touia-'o-Futuna, the rock), humanistic (incestuous unions between pairs of twins and their descendants; Velelahi [*Vele-lahi*; lit. Temptation-[of-the]-big] and Vele-si'i [*Vele-si'i*; lit. Temptation-[of-the]-small]) and theistic (Havea Hikule'o, Tangaloa 'Eiki and Maui Motu'a, principal deities, and their offspring, secondary gods) terms. The first stage may be associated with the original Lapita/Pulotu settlers, whose egalitarian mode of social organisation of production was, in humanist terms, transformed to a state of "theism", connected with the probable powerful eastern Polynesian influences which reached Tonga via Samoa.

In naturalistic terms, the new arrivals, by landing in an alien environment, had to be at *one* with it for the mere assurance of survival⁷⁷. This means that they had to acquire the necessary *knowledge* of their land and sea surroundings (hence Kele and Limu), so that these could be exploited for basic livelihood, thus ensuring the social and material reproduction of society. Such a harmony could have been an expression of a balanced exchange between people and their environment⁷⁸. This level of socio-economic sustainability, by maintaining harmonious social and material relationships through human-environment exchange, enabled the early settlers to live side by side with their environment, out of which probably originated this Tongan ecology-centred, historico-cultural concept of human existence.

Such necessary knowledge, both physical and emotional, comes in the form of *oneness*, a spiritual unity, a kind of holism, of human beings and their

⁷⁷. Helu (1991:55-65) discusses co-operation and collaboration as traditional values in Pacific societies, associated with a coping strategy or general tactics for survival, reflecting a morality of poverty. He stresses that, in egalitarian societies, the values of co-operation and collaboration, by promoting harmonious relationships within groups in small communities, have an essentially economic effect. Such values tend to remain within various classes, as society develops into groups and institutions, showing as well their political side. While such values are beneficial within single classes, they become obvious as tools of oppression and social control in interclass or inter-institutional contact, concealing coercion and exploitation behind them (cf. Larrain 1983).

⁷⁸. Heraclitus, for example, takes harmony to be a product of strife, and that permanence and change are characterised by different rates of exchange between entities, whether social, material or mental. That permanence is itself a form of change, though of a faster pace than permanence. Considering, for example, the exchange between human beings and their environment, permanence is an expression of a balanced exchange, while change suggests that the exchange is asymmetrical and imbalanced (see Burnet 1968).

environment⁷⁹. To know one's environment is virtually to be at *one* with it, whether this is in terms of when to cultivate or harvest specific crops, catch certain fish, or set sail to a particular island⁸⁰. Through experience (*taukei*), such knowledge (*'ilo*) and skills (*poto*) are acquired by observing the systematic behaviour of natural events such as the movements of the sun, moon, stars and changing tides, and is, thus, practically and orally perfected from generation to generation⁸¹. Helu⁸² discovers this philosophy of continuity in what he calls the ecological myths of Tonga⁸³, a continuity between human beings and their environment or a spiritual *unity* of human beings and nature.

While this state of "naturalism", the *oneness* between people and their surroundings defined by a specific set of holistic *empirical* knowledge, might have been an expression of egalitarianism, the initial colonisers, in human and theistic terms, could have later engaged in trade and exchange⁸⁴, which, through antagonism, probably erupted into conflicts, so that some groups rose above others. Through political assertion, leaders of such groups, possibly because they were extremely oppressive, became gods for the rest of society⁸⁵. With the emergence of "humanism" and especially "theism" came hierarchy, the psychologically rigid, horizontal organisation of people into vertical layers, characteristic of Tongan society. This is more evident in the later development

⁷⁹. Such a philosophy of continuity between human beings and their environment (see Helu 1983:45-56) is, within the anthro-ecological context of the Tongan universe of discourse, still practised in the Tongan verbal art, especially oratory, rhetoric and poetry, where human beings are seen as emotionally dependent on Nature, thus planting together the emotional/social and Nature in harmony (see Helu 1972a, 1972b, 1972c) (also see Chapters One and Seven and Appendix A).

⁸⁰. Helu 1972a; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973.

⁸¹. Helu 1972a.

⁸². Helu 1983:43-56. On the society-nature level, Helu (1983:50), in considering ecological myths, writes "... whenever anything of permanent value is contributed, whether by man to nature or *vice versa*, a sacrifice is made. This means that all real gains made by man in building his society can only be done by unselfish effort or through serious enterprise. Hina must die to found a great lasting tradition of fishing methods. In order to give society the coconut palm, Hina's "lover" the eel must be sacrificed, and it, too, is transformed into something else".

⁸³. Examples of Tongan ecological myths can be found in Gifford 1924:71-87, 98-102, 181-183; Kuli 1924b:100; Tonga 1924a:71-72; Tongamohenoa 1889, 7:38, 39.

⁸⁴. Cf. Friedman 1981, 23:275-295; Helu 1991:55-56; Kaeppler 1978a, II:246-252; Stair 1895b, 4:108-109.

⁸⁵. Cf. Faka'osi 1989; Larrain 1983; Māhina 1990:30-45.

of the language levels and vertical and horizontal planes of the three-dimensional Tongan social organisation (see Chapter Six and Figure 6.2).

While the state of "naturalism" may be connected with early settlement, the "humanistic" transformation on Touia-'o-Futuna, literally in terms of anger/shaking (*tehelili*) and tremors (*'u'ulu*), respectively depicting "human" and "natural" attributes⁶⁶, is symbolically suggestive of the unified socio-economic, land-based shift in the mode of production characteristic from the Late Lapita Period⁶⁷. The sister-brother incest, in its ultimate physical sense, and the pairs of sister-brother twins (*māhanga*) may be symbolic of this unified socio-economic shift. Literally, the term *māhanga* is idiomatically used in Tonga referring to two people or more equally excelling in physical, mental and social attributes such as strength or beauty, intelligence and status or power.

On the one hand, the sister-brother incestuous dimension in the *talatupu'a* may be a reflection of its wider practice in early times, and this is supported by numerous accounts in traditions⁶⁸. In such cases, the children, by being left on their own at home, were prone to commit incest, while their parents were in the bush cultivating crops or fishing and collecting shellfish in the sea. A parallel situation can be found in early Greece, where mother-son incest, as transmitted in mythology, seems to have been commonplace⁶⁹. And this is explained by the fact that while the husbands spent most of their time in the battlefields, mothers and children were left at home, thus encouraging the practice to thrive.

⁶⁶. Havea, Notes on the History and Customs of Tonga, MS, 1870:589-592; *Ko e Makasini Ko e Lo'au*, 1959:1; Reiter 1907, 2:230-231.

⁶⁷. See, for example, Davidson 1979; Green 1979; Groube 1971; Poulsen 1967, 1977, 1987; Spennemann 1986b, 1989.

⁶⁸. See, for example, the stories of Kulufau and Hina, whose parents, Puko and Puko, were out collecting shellfish while Kulufau and Hina, by remaining at home committed incest (Collocott 1928a:23-25; Helu 1979a, 18-20). Cf. Anonymous 1977:1-2; *Ko e Makasini Ko e Lo'au*, 1959:1-2; Reiter 1907, 2:230-240, 438-448, 743-754). Incest, in its socio-political sense, may be a symbolic expression of dynastic formation, as it was in the case of the eleventh Tu'i Tonga, Tu'itātui, and his sister, Lātūtama (see Chapter Five). The practice of cross-cousin (*kitetama*) and sister-brother marriages (*ni'au pi'o* or *pi'o*) are, according to the Tongans, to keep the royal blood (*toto'i 'eiki*) within the line and, in the case of Hawaii, to double the *mana* of the upcoming ruler (see, for example, *Ko e Makasini ko e Lo'au*, 1959:7-8; Kalani [English], interview, 1990).

⁶⁹. As a case in point, see Sophocles 1947 for the case of King Oedipus, who killed his father and married his mother. Also see Herodotus 1972.

Generally, the literal names of the early protagonists (Limu; Kele; Piki [a kind of marine animal]; 'Atungaki [possibly some type of bonito, 'atu; Ma'imo'alongona [*Ma'imoa-'a-longona/Longona*; lit. Royal-social/physical-undertaking-of-the-appearance]; Fonu'uta [*Fonu-'uta*; lit. Turtle-[of-the]-land]; Fonuvai (*Fonu-vai*; lit. Turtle-[of-the]-sea); He'imoana [*Hē-'i-moana*; lit. Lost-at-deep-sea]; Lupe [pigeon]; Tokilangafonua (*Toki-langa-fonua*; lit. Stone-adze-[the]-builder-[of]-society)⁹⁰ in the *talatupu'a* are probably symbolic of the unified but opposed sea-land, social-material axes of early settlement. The lagoonal areas, especially *tahi kele* and *tahi toafa*, are rich in marine life such as shellfish and seaweeds⁹¹. It is also in the sea-land boundaries of the lagoons that the eroded soil, *kele*, blackish mud, is deposited, itself also rich in marine resources such as crabs.

There is no mention of pottery in the *talatupu'a*, though people refer to clay pots as *kulo 'umea* (lit. pot-[made-of]-clay), which were witnessed by observers at the time of European contact to have been in use for cooking all over Tonga⁹². It is uncertain whether the pots were locally produced or imported from Fiji, given the fact that pottery making and use, though still practised in Fiji and other parts of Melanesia, were altogether abandoned long after the disappearance of the Lapita pottery-makers⁹³. But the relationships between the pair of sister-brother twins, Limu and Kele, and Touia-'o-Futuna, the rock, may be symbolic of the ingredients for the pottery industry: clay (*kele 'umea*) and rock (*maka*), with seaweed (*limu*) possibly representing the Lapita marine-based mode of the social organisation of production. Clay pots are made from *kele 'umea* (clay soil), mixed with *makafeo* (coral sand), or *makalahe* (limestone), or even with some mineral filter made from *makahunu* (black volcanic rock), heated at average temperatures⁹⁴.

The exchange of women between the pairs of twins in Touia-'o-Futuna, or specifically the presentation of women by 'Atungaki-Ma'imoa'alongona and Fonu'uta-Fonuvai to Piki-Kele, possibly representing some ruling lineages, is reminiscent of the Mohefo practice in later times between the Tu'i Tonga and

⁹⁰. The use of the term *toki* is probably symbolic of certain socio-economic activities of nation building.

⁹¹. See, for example, Poulsen 1967, 1977, 1987; Spennemann 1986b, 1989.

⁹². Poulsen 1977:18.

⁹³. See, for example, 1986b, 1989.

⁹⁴. See, for example, Spennemann 1986b, 1989.

Hau, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu (see Chapters Six and Figures 2.1 and 4.2)⁹⁵. The refusal of He'imoana-Lupe to present their daughter, Topukulu, to Taufulifonua, whose lineage seems to have gained hegemony over the others, and her marriage to her brother, Tokilangafonua, was probably symbolic of political counter-hegemony. This appears to be the case for Tokilangafonua became the supreme ruler of 'Eua, a hereditary right inherited by his priestly descendants, Nafanua and Tafakula⁹⁶. Topukulu and Nāfanua are said to have been worshipped by the people of Tonga and the neighbouring islands, seeking their assurance for rain and land fertility. Goddess Tafakula, while residing in 'Eua, was involved in a dispute between two Tongan and Samoan demi-gods, respectively in the form of a crab and plover, over the ownership of the island of Kalau off Tongatapu (see Appendix A)⁹⁷.

The name Taufulifonua (*Tau-fuli-fonua*; lit. War-[of]-turning-upside-down-[of-the]-land)⁹⁸ literally points in this direction, and is possibly symbolic of social upheaval. But this may also be allegorical of the powerful Samoan influences, suggested by Havealolofonua (*Havea-lolofonua*; lit. Havea-[of-the]-underworld; Havea being the Tonganised form of the Samoan Savea)⁹⁹, emanating from the Tu'i Manu'a, on Tonga. Such Samoan influences are reflected in the Nafanua connection between Tonga and Samoa¹⁰⁰. The eastern Polynesian influences, through the introduction of the Tangaloa ideology, giving rise to the Tu'i

⁹⁵. See, for example, Bott 1982; Campbell 1982, 17:178-194; Lātūkefu 1974; Māhina 1990:30-45.

⁹⁶. See *Ko e Makasini Ko e Lo'au*, 1959:2; Reiter 1907, 2:743-754.

⁹⁷. Helu 1972b, 1972c; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973.

⁹⁸. In the creation myth of Hawiiloa, for example, the first man and woman were Kumuhonua and Lalohonua (Cartwright 1929, 38:105-121).

⁹⁹. Stair 1895a, 4:47.

¹⁰⁰. According to a part of the Samoan creation myth, Taema and Nafanua, like the Tongan version, were siamese twins born in Ta'u at Manu'a, and were seen to have played a role in the creation of Fiji, Savai'i and Tutu'ila (Fraser 1896, 5:171-183); also see Ella 1897, 6:19-36, 67-76, 107-127, 152-155. They were probably local manifestations of the Tu'i Manu'a, and some of the Fijian remains such as Fiti'uta (lit. Inland-Fiji) and Fitiaumua (lit. Fiji-the-foremost) in Manu'a may be explained by the role performed by Fijians for the Tu'i Manu'a (see Turner 1884:223-231). Savea Si'uleo and Nafanua, residents of Pulotu, are said to be Samoan national war-gods, often invoked by priests (Stair 1897:15). Some Catholic-derived sources claim Nafanua to be the supreme god of Samoa as opposed to Tagaloa Lagi, as given Protestant sources (see *Les Missions Catholiques*, 1870; Monfat 1923), but this may be explained by the ideological opposition between Catholic and Protestant.

Manu'a, and later infiltrating Tonga via Samoa in terms of Tagaloa and Maui, appear to have been greatly felt in Samoa at this time.

This is reflected in the localisation of Tangaloa and Maui in Tonga, where Tangaloa was Samoanised, while Maui remained intact when reaching Tonga. For the local variations of Tangaloa ('Eiki, Tamapo'ulialamafoa, 'Eitumātupu'a, 'Atulongolongo and Tufunga) are predominantly Samoan in appearance and form, but the various forms of Maui in Tonga (Puku, Loa, 'Atalanga and Kisikisi) are formally eastern Polynesian in character. Tagaloa Lagi or Le Fuli, Tagaloa-the-Creator-of-Land, occurs in Tonga as Tangaloa 'Eiki, with Tuli, Tagaloa-the-Messenger, in the form of a plover, and Tagaloa Tosi or Ngai-tosi, Tagaloa the Seer or Beholder, locally appearing as Tangaloa 'Atulongolongo and Tangaloa Tufunga respectively. Tangaloa 'Eitumātupu'a (*'Eitu-mā-tupu'a*; lit. [Tangaloa-the] Descendant-of-the-original-gods-and-the-deified-spirits-of-chiefs)¹⁰¹, in its Samoan form, manifests Samoan religious and political penetration in Tongan affairs. But the Tongan variations of Maui mirror their eastern Polynesian forms such as Maui-mua, Maui-mui, Maui-taha and Maui-tiki-tiki¹⁰². The local variations Maui 'Atalanga and Maui Kisikisi are simply derivatives of the Maui-tikitiki-a-Taranga¹⁰³. Again, Maui Kisikisi is indigenised in the local, non-conformist hero, Muni Matamahae, whose permanent doings were recorded as a result of his revolt against social custom¹⁰⁴.

Eastern Polynesian influences were probably initially introduced from the Cooks through the chief, navigator and warrior, Tutarangi¹⁰⁵, whose god was Tangaroa¹⁰⁶, believed to be responsible for the creation of Samoa. Tutarangi, fortyeighth in line, was a direct descendant of the great chieftainess Pa, whose

¹⁰¹. See Moyle 1974, 83:155; Stair 1896, 5:34, 1897:211. Also see Best 1900, IX:175 for the Maori "natural" belief in their *atua* as simply "deified ancestors", not meaningless mythical beings as scholarly and popular assertions seem to hold. This reflects the situation that Polynesian creation myths are normally about their ancestors, gods, heroes or chiefs, no more and no less.

¹⁰². See Handy 1930:103. Cf. MacGregor (1937:16) for his account of the three Tongan brothers, Mauimua, Mauiloto and Mauimuli (Maui-the-first, Maui-the-middle and Maui-the-last), who were responsible for the fishing up of Tokelau.

¹⁰³. Cf. Izett 1904:43-79; Pomare 1934:134-137.

¹⁰⁴. Gifford 1924:120-138; Moulton, Notes on Tongan History and Tongan Legends, TS, n.d.:55-74; Tongavalevale 1909, 7:16-20, 31-36, 49-52, 66-68; Tunai 1924:122; Ve'ehala 1978, 2:12-17.

¹⁰⁵. See, for example, Nicholas 1892a, 1:20-29.

¹⁰⁶. According to Freeman (pers. comm., 1989) Tagaloa was introduced to Samoa from eastern Polynesia.

parents were Teuira and Tea, who had originated from the primal, heaven and earth, couple, Atea and Papa¹⁰⁷. Leaving the Cooks, Tutarangi and his descendants arrived in Fiji. After waging war against the Fijians and conquered Fiji, they moved on and seized other places such as Tonga, Vava'u, 'Uvea, Eromanga in Vanuatu and finally Manu'a. Though he lost his leading warrior, Kurueke, in Manu'a, they continued on to conquer 'Upolu. At 'Upolu Moeterauri married a daughter of chief Nganaitetupua¹⁰⁸, and their son was Iro, twentysecond in line from Tutarangi. Considering such influences from eastern Polynesia, Iro is variously known in Tahiti, New Zealand and Hawaii as Hiro, Whiro and Hilo, while Ngana, also known in Tonga and associated with the Tu'i Tonga¹⁰⁹, occurs in the New Zealand Maori and Hawaiian traditions.

According to the Samoan creation myth¹¹⁰, Samoa, regarded as the entire earth, emerged out of Leai (nothing), and was succeeded by Nanamu (fragrance), Efuefu (dust), Iloa (perceivable), Maui (obtainable), 'Ele'ele (earth), Papatu (high rocks), Ma'ata'atanoa (small stones), and finally Mauga (mountain). From the union between cloudless heavens and spread-out heavens was born Tagaloa Lagi (Tagaloa [of the] Sky), also known as Tagaloa Le Fuli (Tagaloa the Immovable), who dwelt in the ninth heaven. Tagaloa Lagi, because of his creative power, was called Tagaloa-the-Creator-of-Land, the creator of the world and the progenitor of the sky, earth, gods and mankind. The islands of Tonga and Fiji and the eastern groups, as reported, were caused to spring up at the will of Tagaloa Lagi¹¹¹.

Having found no place to rest, Tagaloa Lagi's son, Tuli (in the form of a plover), Tagaloa-the-Messenger, complained to his father, who created the earth by throwing down rocks from heaven and forming Savai'i and 'Upolu, inhabited by human beings he created. These rocks were Papa Taoto (Reclining

¹⁰⁷. Henry 1892a, 1:25.

¹⁰⁸. In its Samoan context Nganaitetupua (*Ngana-i-te-tupua*; lit. Ngana-of-the-deified-spirits-of-chiefs) is probably an expression of some kind of powerful chiefly lineage in 'Upolu.

¹⁰⁹. Gifford 1924:5-60; Murley 1924a:56-60; Wood 1943:19.

¹¹⁰. Various accounts of the Samoan creation myth can be found in Brown 1915, 26:172-181, 1917, 28:94-99; Fraser 1892, VI:164-189, 1896, 5:171-183, 1897a, VI:19-36, 1897b, VI:67-76, 1897c, VI:107-122, 1898, VII:15-29, 1900, IX:125-134; Henry 1980:26-28; Powell and Pratt 1891, 2:195-217, 1892, 25:70-85, 96-146, 241-286; Stair 1895a, 4:47-58, 1895b, 4:99-131, 1896, 5:33-57, 1897; Turner 1884. Cf. *Les Missions Catholiques*, 1870; Monfat 1923; Kramer, *The Samoan Islands*, TS, 1902-1903.

¹¹¹. Fraser 1892, I:169.

Rock) and Papa Sosolo (Spreading Rock), which were succeeded by Papa Tu (Upright Rock)¹¹². From these rocks sprang the soil (*o le 'ele'ele*), which was covered with grass (*mutia*) and then overgrown by creepers (*fue*). One of the roots of the *fue* broke in two, forming two grubs (*ilo*), which Tuli, the emblem of Tagaloa Lagi, and Tagaloa Tosi or Ngai-tosi, Tagaloa the Seer or Beholder, operated upon, creating two men¹¹³. They later changed the sex of one, making them male and female, who became husband and wife, the father and mother of the human race.

Thus, it seems clear from the Samoan creation myth that, as in the case of the Tongan *talatupu'a*, literally the "natural" accounts are probably symbolic of a state of egalitarianism characterising early Samoan settlement. But via the introduction of Tagaloa from eastern Polynesia through the Rarotongan, Tutarangi, whose direct descendant, Iro, was of maternal Samoan descent, this was then followed by a state of "theism", marking a transformation to a hierarchical, chiefly mode of social organisation.

The most significant observations of some aspects of the Polynesian creation myths made by ethnographers in the 1940s, notably Burrows and Luomala, shed some light on this issue. Within the two culture-areas¹¹⁴, western and central and marginal Polynesia, Burrows¹¹⁵ observes that whereas the former (Samoa, Tonga, Uvea, Niue and, in some cases, Pukapuka and the Cooks) is characterised by an "evolutionary" type, the latter (Society Islands, Tuamotu, Hawaii, Marquesas, New Zealand and Easter Island) is one of the "procreative" type. On the one hand, Luomala¹¹⁶, by observing the Polynesian heroes, the aristocratic Tahaki and the non-conformist Maui, puts forward the view that the literary type of the hero cycles was highly developed and detailed in the eastern region and, in the case of New Zealand, more subtle and well integrated than in western Polynesia, with Samoa providing the transitional

¹¹². As it is in Tonga, in the case of *maka* (rock), meaning lands or islands, the same symbolic reference may apply in Samoa (*papa*; rock) and Polynesia generally (*papa*; rock).

¹¹³. Stair 1896, 5:35-36. Cf. the Tongan version.

¹¹⁴. Cf. Howard 1971.

¹¹⁵. Burrows 1940b, 49:357-358.

¹¹⁶. Luomala 1940b:373. About the Polynesian hero-cycles, Luomala writes: "One of the most characteristic literary types of Polynesia, and one which sets it off from the adjoining culture-areas of Melanesia, Micronesia, and Australia, is the hero-cycle, which in general form and nature of content corresponds to the hero-saga of ancient Iceland, Ireland, and Greece".

links between them¹¹⁷. This points to an initial situation where the predominantly egalitarian western Polynesian societies were not formally stratified until influences emanating from eastern Polynesia, where hierarchy seems to have been highly developed, reached there.

Generally speaking, the eastern Polynesian creation myths¹¹⁸ support this contention. As observed, their creation myths account for the origin of the heaven and earth, succeeded by the creation of the gods and human beings, where the former abode in heaven and the latter resided on earth, specifically in the islands which were created last. Literally, the heavens (*langi*) and earth (*maama*) are used throughout Polynesia as respective idioms for sacred and secular beings, connected with the "foreign", divine kings and the chiefly and priestly classes, on the one hand, and the "local", autochthonous and earthly people, on the other¹¹⁹. In this context, the orientation of the creation myths, through exploitation and tyranny, points to a state of society characterised by a ruler-ruled situation, often the non-producing, chiefly and priestly classes over the producing, earthly classes, the tenderers and people of the land¹²⁰.

The creation myth of the Maoris of New Zealand¹²¹ offers an excellent example¹²². In the beginning, the myth goes, Rangi (Sky) and Papa (Earth), with their children in between them, were engaged in an eternal embrace. Being fed up with living in darkness, the oppressed children, all gods, staged a rebellion against their oppressive parents. Tane Mahuta, the Greek Cronus and Tongan Maui Kisikisi¹²³, the god of the forest, did a double handstand,

¹¹⁷. Luomala 1940b:370.

¹¹⁸. See, for example, Best 1899, 30:93-21, 1928a:257-259, 1928b, 37:261-270; Emory 1949, 62:230-239, 1938, 47:45-63; Gill 1876; Grey 1885; Henry 1828; Hongi 1907b, XVI:154-219; Kaamira 1957, 66:232-248; Kauraka, Oral Tradition of Manihiki, MS; Luomala 1949; Nicholas 1892a, 1:20-29, 1892b, 1:65-67, 1897, VI:2-10; Potae 1928a, 37:261-270, 1928b, 37:257-260; Shand 1894, III:120-133; Stimson 1934, 1937, VII:48-49; Tarakawa 1893, 2:223-231.

¹¹⁹. Such literal/symbolic variants as *langi-maama*, *lagi-papa*, *rangi-papa* and *'atea-papa* are of the form foreign-local, god-mortal or, as in the case of Tonga, *eiki* and *tu'a*, chief and commoner (see Biersack 1990a:80-81; Hocart 1970:164; Sahlins 1985a:90).

¹²⁰. Cf. Gailey 1981, 1987a, 96:67-79, 1987b.

¹²¹. As a mythopoetic people, Best (1899, VIII:93-121), in considering the Maori mythology, suggests that their myths can rank with any nation, ancient or modern, in the world.

¹²². Grey 1885. Cf. Pond and Vao 1989.

¹²³. Adler and Cain 1961:3.

kicking Rangi skyward and holding Papa on earth, and since then Tane Mahuta remained there in the form of the trees to this day. After their liberation, the children/gods engaged in different forms of socio-economic activity, probably symbolic of the organisation of people and the development of agriculture and fishing. In analysing the myth, Helu¹²⁴, by drawing on its Greek resemblances¹²⁵, suggests that it possibly reflects a rebellion by the canoe-builders, symbolised by the woods, who steered the oppressed to freedom from their Polynesian Egypt, Havaiki, where the priestly classes and the landed aristocracy combined to batten on the poorer, commoner classes. In a similar theme involving the separation of the tyrannical primordial couple, Heaven and Earth, Uranus and Gaea, one of their children, Cronus, led a violent revolt against them¹²⁶.

The rise of the Tu'i Manu'a to political hegemony, probably through Iro, of Samoan and Cook Island descent and a great navigator, who engaged in wars in the Cooks and Tahiti¹²⁷, was one of exploitation and tyranny. As said in traditions, Manu'a was the source of everything, and the Tu'i Manu'a was a direct descendant of Tagaloa Fa'atupunu'u, the creator of Manu'a. Having made Manu'a his centre, Tagaloa then created Savai'i, where Samata was his residence. The creation of Fiji and Tonga followed, and finally 'Upolu and Tutu'ila. An ancient Samoan proverb says *Na o le tasi le la i le lalolagi; e oso i Sasake i Saua, ae goto i Sisifo i Falealupo* (There is only one sun in the whole world; which rises from the East at Saua, and sets in the West at Falealupo)¹²⁸. The saying probably reflects the power of the Tu'i Manu'a (*la*; sun), encompassing all of Samoa (from *Sasake* [East] to *Sisifo* [West] of *lalolagi* [the whole world]). Saua and Falealupo are places in Manu'a and Savai'i, situated in the east and west of Samoa respectively.

¹²⁴. Helu 1987c.

¹²⁵. Helu takes the advice of the oracle at Delphi, which symbolically advised Themistocles and the Athenian army to escape to their woods, meaning to change from a land war to a sea battle, to have parallels with this Maori myth (see Herodotus 1972:488-489).

¹²⁶. Adler and Cain 1961:2-4.

¹²⁷. Nicholas 1982a, 1:25.

¹²⁸. 'Ofisa, interview, 1989; Lafa'a'i, pers. comm., 1991.

The imperial activities of the Tu'i Manu'a, in literal terms, are symbolically characterised by chaos and strife¹²⁹, possibly representing tyranny and revolt. It was through chaos and strife that Manu'a, Savai'i and 'Upolu were raised, and, in a similar fashion, Tonga and Fiji. But the literally extensive nature of the Tu'i Manu'a rule is symbolically represented by numerous long distant two-way, west-east, north-south voyages, which could have been actual, led by the Samoan descendants of Tagaloa¹³⁰. Thus, his imperial rule was further locally reinforced throughout Samoa, and beyond Samoa to Fiji, Tonga, 'Uvea, Futuna and Tokelau and further eastward to the Cooks, Tahiti and the Marquesas, and, as reported in some accounts, to Hawaii and New Zealand¹³¹. While most of these long distant voyages were for conquest and trading, some were for deep-sea fishing purposes¹³².

These subjected islands, all deriving their dignity through or from the Tu'i Manu'a¹³³, known as the *Tui Manu'a Tele ma Samoa Atoa* (King of Great Manu'a and the Whole of Samoa), were collectively ruled under the Tu'i Manu'a imperial emblem *Samoa Atoa ma Papalagi* (Whole of Samoa and Foreign Lands)¹³⁴. All his colonies had to bring him yearly tribute, and the Fijians and Tongans were specifically required to bring tribute (*'umiti*) of fish to the Tu'i Manu'a¹³⁵. In time, the Fijians are said to have rebelled against the Tu'i Manu'a, thus freeing themselves from bondage. Moiu'u-Le-Apai¹³⁶, sister of the first Tu'i Manu'a, Alele¹³⁷, or, as said in another tradition, Tae-o-Tagaloa¹³⁸, is reported to have married the Tu'i Fiti, who is believed to have firstly gained

¹²⁹. Stair 1895b, 4:108-109. Cf. The Tahitian creation by Taaroa, who is both above and below, is characterised by a chaotic period, as in the creation of the Tuamotu groups, which went through a period of strife and reconciliation between the heaven and earth (see Henry 1928:336-344, 353-427).

¹³⁰. Stair 1895b, 4:99-100.

¹³¹. Fraser 1897b, VI:68; Stair 1895b, 4:99-100.

¹³². Stair 1895b, 4:108-109.

¹³³. Fraser 1897b, VI:68.

¹³⁴. Collocott, King Taufa, MS, n.d:18; Fraser 1897a, VI:60; Wood 1943:5-6.

¹³⁵. Fraser 1897b, 4:69-70; Henry 1980:28; Wood 1943:5-6.

¹³⁶. Fraser 1897b, VI:68.

¹³⁷. Fraser 1897a, VI:25.

¹³⁸. Fraser 1897b, VI:74.

hegemony over Tonga and Samoa, and hence became paramount before the Tu'i Manu'a and the Tu'i Tonga¹³⁹.

However, the Tongans continued to be subjugated to the Tu'i Manu'a for a very long time. Such tributary relationships of Tonga to Samoa virtually ended with the rise of the first Tu'i Tonga, 'Aho'eitu, of Samoan and Niuatoputapuan/Tongan descent, who disputed the rule of the Tu'i Manu'a, leading to his eventual fall (see Chapter Three)¹⁴⁰. The Tu'i Tonga, by initially consolidating his power in Tonga, expanded it beyond Tonga to Fiji, Samoa, Tuvalu, Futuna and 'Uvea, and possibly as far as Melanesia and some parts in eastern Polynesia (see Chapters Four, Five and Six). With the rise of 'Aho'eitu, it marked the peak of the first probable wave of eastern Polynesian influences, which had been largely Samoanised before reaching Tonga.

The period of the initial arrival of the Samoans, and that which followed the eastern Polynesians through Samoa, may be characterised by hegemony and counter-hegemony. These combined influences, allegorised by the arrival of Taufulifonua and Havealolofonua and their deified children, Havea Hikule'o (Savea Si'uleo in Samoan), Tangaloa 'Eiki (lit. Tangaloa-[the]-chief) and Maui Motu'a (lit. Maui-[the]-senior), effected the change of name from Touia-'o-Futuna to Tongamama'o (*Tonga-mama'o*; lit. Tonga-[situated-at-a]-distance; i.e., distant south [*tonga*])¹⁴¹. While some of the eastern Polynesian influences were Samoanised, as in the case of Havea Hikule'o, others continued to reach Tonga in force, specifically the ones connected with Tangaloa and Maui.

On their arrival in Tongamama'o, Taufulifonua and Havealolofonua divided the island amongst their children, possibly to minimise conflicts between the ruling lineages embodied in them. Havea Hikule'o, being their spoiled and only female child for whom the island was created, seems to have played a role in it¹⁴². The ancestral land and afterworld, Pulotu, went to Havea Hikule'o, and

¹³⁹. See, for example, Collocott, King Taufa, MS, n.d:18; Gunson 1977:90-113; Wood 1943:5-6.

¹⁴⁰. See, for example, Collocott, King Taufa, MS, n.d:18; Henry 1980:36-37; Wood 1943:5-6.

¹⁴¹. In the Samoan creation account, it is reported that the children of Tagaloa Lagi, Savea, Si'uleo and Motunu'u, sailed northeast from above to Olotele in Tongamama'o; as they did not land there, but continued westward to Pulotu, where Savea and Si'uleo stayed. So Motunu'u returned to Tonga (see Stair 1895a, 4:47). 'Olotele is the principal residence of the Tu'i Tonga in Lapaha. It also occurs in Samoa (Olotele, a mountain in Savai'i) and Hawaii (Olokele, a mountain in Maui) (Gifford 1929a:71).

¹⁴². See Mähina 1990:30-45.

Tangaloa 'Eiki was given Langi (Sky), while Maui Motu'a was allocated Maama (Earth) or Lolofonua (Underworld). Havea Hikule'o became the goddess of Pulotu, fertility and harvest, but both gods Tangaloa 'Eiki and Maui Motu'a were respectively in charge of Langi and Maama or Lolofonua¹⁴³.

After the land allocation, Havea Hikule'o seems to have been squeezed out of the social scene by Tangaloa 'Eiki to the seclusion of her divinity, symbolised by Pulotu, thereby leading his lineage to political prominence¹⁴⁴. By being in charge of society, the Tangaloa lineage was engaged in discovering islands, cultivating crops and creating human beings, probably symbolic of a new settlement that went hand in hand with the development of agriculture associated with an emerging mode of social organisation of production. Furthermore, the role of Tangaloa Tufunga (lit. Tangaloa [the] Carpenter), as was Lo'au, the Builder of the Land (*Tufunga Fonua*), from the time of Momo¹⁴⁵, symbolised by his throwing down of wood chips from his workshop in Langi that formed 'Eua¹⁴⁶, is suggestive of this social organising role. In presenting the first men created by the Tangaloa line with women from Pulotu, the Maui lineage typically stood in tributary relationship to the Tangaloa line¹⁴⁷. But the names of the first three Tongan men, Kohai (*Ko-hai*; lit. Who-is-it), Koau (*Ko-au*; lit. It-is-I) and Momo (lit. Fragment) may be symbolic of the extensive power (*Momo*) of the Tu'i Manu'a, opposed (*Kohai*) in Maama by the Maui lineage and counter-asserted (*Koau*) by the Tangaloa line. However, the increasing prominence of the Maui lineage in the social scene, in fishing up islands in Tonga, Fiji and Samoa, possibly reflecting further socio-economic involvement of some political nature, slowly displaced the Tangaloa lineage. At least, this was true before the political resurgence of the Tangaloa lineage in the person of 'Aho'eitu, the first Tu'i Tonga (see Chapter Three).

Land distribution, associating lands and titles, was the earliest form of land tenure system, which went with the allocation of specific duties (see

¹⁴³. See, for example, Anonymous 1977:1; *Ko e Mahasini Ko e Lo'au*, 1959:2; Lātūkefu 1974:4-5.

¹⁴⁴. See Māhina 1990:30-45.

¹⁴⁵. See Bott 1982:92.

¹⁴⁶. 'Eua, along with 'Eueiki, was probably one of the sites of early settlement, and is thought to have been inhabited by the so-called Hawaiian line of kings personified in Lo'au (see Helu, Kings and Tombs, TS, n.d., 1986b:25; also see Chapters Four and Five)

¹⁴⁷. Cf. Māhina 1990:30-45.

Chapters Five and Six)¹⁴⁸. Such duties allocated to Havea Hikule'o, Tangaloa 'Eiki and Maui Motu'a probably reflected the division of labour in the wider society. The divine role of the goddess Havea Hikule'o, in overseeing fertility and harvest, was, as supported by archaeological information¹⁴⁹, possibly representative of a situation where women were responsible for agriculture¹⁵⁰. This may be explained by a situation that men were predominantly engaged in activities such as long distance voyaging and deep-sea fishing. But the engagement of the Tangaloa lineage, reinforced by that of the Maui line, probably changed such a division of labour, as settlement grew more permanent in form, with men becoming more involved in agriculture. The agriculturally-related exploits of the Maui lineage, especially in 'Eua symbolised by the *Matalanga 'a Maui* (lit. Spade-tilted-earth of Maui), or *Lī'anga huo 'o Maui* (lit. Storage-place-[of]-spade-[of]-Maui) and *Huolanga 'a Maui* (lit. Spade-raising-earth of Maui)¹⁵¹ and Maui's plantation in Lolofonua or Maama, further indicated this shift (see Map 5).

Such a shift, of women gaining the 'eiki status over men, of the production of *koloa* as opposed to the production of *ngāue*¹⁵², did not receive formalisation until the development of the institutions of Fahu/Mohefo/Tu'i Tonga Fefine *vis-a-vis* 'Ulumotu'a/*polopolo/inasi* institutions (see Chapter Six and Figure 6.3)¹⁵³. The foundation of this social, economic and political development was laid down by the twentyfourth Tu'i Tonga, Kau'ulufonua I Fekai, about the later part of the fifteenth century and peaked at the time of Fatafehi, the thirtieth Tu'i Tonga, around the mid-seventeenth century. The presentation of 'inasi (first fruits of the land, both social and economic) to Havea Hikule'o, on the Fahu basis signifying sister-brother relations, via the Tu'i Tonga, descendant of Tangaloa, was for her divine assurance of fertility and better harvests in the time to come¹⁵⁴.

¹⁴⁸. See Faka'osi 1991. Also see Gifford (1929a:131) on aspects of the Lo'au-Tu'itātui land tenure system and Lātūkefu 1974:4 (see Chapter Five and Six).

¹⁴⁹. Spennemann 1986a, 29:250-251. Cf. James 1990:93-100.

¹⁵⁰. Helu, interview, 1988, 1992; Spennemann 1986a, 1989.

¹⁵¹. Helu, interview, 1988.

¹⁵². See, for example, Mafi 1985, 1986a, 1986b, 1986c, 1986d. Cf. Gailey 1981, 1987a, 96:67-79, 1987b.

¹⁵³. See Māhina 1986, 1990:30-45.

¹⁵⁴. See Māhina 1986, 1990:30-45.

The relationships of the two regional cultures, Pulotu and Langi, over Maama (or Lolofonua), locally manifested in the persons of Havea Hikule'o, Taŋgaloa 'Eiki and Maui Motu'a in Tonga, are reflected on the wider regional level in terms of the hero-cycles relating to Tahaki¹⁶⁵ and Maui, the aristocratic and proletariat/non-conformist heroes of Polynesia¹⁶⁶. Tahaki, by conforming to social norms and typical of a Polynesian chief, was in contrast to Maui, particularly Maui Kisikisi¹⁶⁷, who acted in defiance of the social order. The local association of Maui with Maama, symbolising the commoner classes, as opposed to Havea Hikule'o and Tangaloa 'Eiki being connected with Pulotu and Langi, symbolic of the priestly and chiefly classes, were thus natural, considering the regional Tahaki-Maui contrast. This natural connection of Maui with Maama, as between the secular Hau, Tu'i Ha'atalakaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu *vis-a-vis* the sacred 'Eiki, Tu'i Tonga (see Chapters Five and Six and Figure 4.2), is also reflected in his being the tiller of the land, constituting the classes which the priests and chiefs mutually depend on for their livelihood.

In fact, the commoner classes (*tu'a*) in Tonga are symbolically called *kainanga-ē-fonua* (lit. place-on-which-people-eat)¹⁶⁸. The term *kainanga* is a shortened form for *kai'anga* or *keinanga'anga*, a place on which people eat, i.e., it refers to the *tu'a* being the classes whose sweat the priests and chiefs depend on for their existence. Such a situation can possibly point to how Maama and Lolofonua are interchangeably used in this context, where Lolofonua (*Lololalo-fonua*; lit. Under-[the]-land/society; Underworld) may symbolically reflect the chiefs' attitudes to the *tu'a* as the people to be trodden upon, literally keeping them under the earth. It may be argued that the divine existence of the non-producing classes, priests and chiefs, is essential for the social and material reproduction of the society as a whole, but the same argument can be applied to the central role of the *tu'a* in the socio-economic process. The issue comes down to one of the interplay of human demands¹⁶⁹, of

¹⁶⁵. For accounts of the aristocratic hero, Tahaki, see, for example Alpers 1964:106-130; Cowan 1930:21-25; Izett 1904:79-103; Luomala 1940b:373; Stimson 1934, 1937:3, 60-96.

¹⁶⁶. Luomala 1940b:373.

¹⁶⁷. While all the gods and the souls of chiefs and related persons such as the *matapule* resided in Pulotu, Maui Kisikisi, probably because of his being a threat to the social order, did not (see Ferdon 1987:70).

¹⁶⁸. See Lātūkefu (1974:9) for his translation of *kainangaēfonua* as "eaters of the land".

¹⁶⁹. See Helu 1983:43-56; Māhina 1990:30-45.

various forms of living fighting it out in the social struggle, where exploitation and oppression, on the one hand, and liberation and revolt, on the other, are made meaningful in a social context.

As a culture hero, Maui Kisikisi, as shown by the manner of his life and, indeed, in the manner of his death¹⁶⁰, lived an enterprising life of permanent struggle¹⁶¹. His diplomatic procurement of the magical fishhook from Manu'a, used for fishing up the rest of the islands in Tonga, Fiji and Samoa, was probably symbolic of a rebellion against the imperial Tu'i Manu'a on behalf of Tonga and the neighbouring islands¹⁶². This was likely to be the case, for it was not long after the death of Maui Kisikisi that Tonga, through 'Aho'eitu, the first Tu'i Tonga (localised version of the aristocratic hero, Tahaki)¹⁶³, rose into political hegemony. By rebelling against the conservatism of his father, Maui 'Atalanga, and his grandfather, Maui Motu'a, Maui Kisikisi, like Prometheus, the Greek Fire-Bearer¹⁶⁴, was able to bring fire (*afi*) to the people, symbolic of the introduction of cultural and technological skills¹⁶⁵. In like manner, Maui Kisikisi, by separating the sky and earth, liberated the people from tyranny, symbolised by the priestly classes and the landed aristocracy respectively in the form of Havea Hikule'o and Tangaloa 'Eiki.

The structural and functional relationships between the three principal deities, Havea Hikule'o, Tangaloa 'Eiki and Maui Motu'a, symbolised by the *kafa* cord¹⁶⁶, share a common character with those between the Tu'i Tonga and

¹⁶⁰. For a full account of the exploits of Maui see, for example, Gifford 1924:21-24; *Koe Mahasini a Koliji*, 1881-1883, 4:111-114, 133-136, 152-155, 1883-1885, 5:14-17; Reiter 1917-1918, 12-13:1026-1046, 14-15:125-142. Cf. Other Polynesian versions of Maui's heroic exploits see, for example, Alpers 1964:28-70; Burrows 1936:373-374; Carrington 1939:30-31; Cowan 1905:161, 1930:14-19; Gill 1876:51-76; Henry 1928:349-353, 429-433; Izett 1904:43-79, 112-126; Luomala 1940b:373-374, 1949:1-300; McGregor 1937:16; Smith 1982b, 1:108; Stimson 1937:3, 11-60; Tregear 1893, 2:15; Westervelt 1910.

¹⁶¹. See Māhina 1990:30-45.

¹⁶². See Fraser (1897b, VI:67-76) for an account of the incident, where Tonga Fusifonua and his wife, Tonga, are said to be the Tu'i Manu'a and his principal wife, who was seduced by Maui Kisikisi had sex with her, and fathered him a child named Tonga.

¹⁶³. See Luomala 1940b:369.

¹⁶⁴. Adler and Cain 1961:3-4.

¹⁶⁵. See Māhina 1990:30-45.

¹⁶⁶. The idiomatic use of the term *kafa*, as in *kafataha* (*kafa-taha*; lit. cord-[of]-one; for the *kafa* cord is woven from many threads of coconut fibres), symbolically represents cooperation between people or groups. It can also be

Hau, Tu'i Ha'atalalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu, who were socially related by 'eiki (see Chapter Six and Figure 4.2). Though Havea Hikule'o seems to have been practically squeezed out of the social scene to the security of her divine domain, Pulotu, her symbolic presence continued to play a part in Maama, the domain of the Maui lineage, where the Tangaloa lineage, through their sacred domain, Langi, exerted a fair amount of control. Though the two regional cultures, Pulotu and Langi, representing two powerfully sanctioned ideologies, were at war over the control of Maama, the latter, in terms of the Tangaloa ideology, gained the upper hand. The displacement of Havea Hikule'o by the Tangaloa lineage indicates a weakening of the Fijian influences, but the symbolic utilisation of Pulotu was probably for the political purposes of consolidating the rule of the Tangaloa lineage, symbolising the powerful Samoan and, to a certain extent, eastern Polynesian influences on Maama. Certainly, this is a case where the past, is, in structural terms, ideally or actually reaffirmed in the structuring and, through action, the restructuring of the present¹⁶⁷. Maui Kisikisi, by embodying the liberal spirit, became a symbol of culture, in its classical aspect. He was opposed to all the illiberal tendencies of his time, especially those mutually formalised in religion and politics¹⁶⁸.

The Tongan creation myth, *talatupu'a*, has been synchronically and diachronically examined within the ecology-centred, historico-cultural concept, where its origin and development are found to be connected with the local and regional emergence of Tongan society. Behind the symbolic appearance of the *talatupu'a* lies power, connected with tyranny, conflicts, or hegemony and counter-hegemony, the driving force behind the interplay of demands in a social context. In this local and regional context, the settlement of Tonga can be seen to have been subjected initially to the Lapita Culture complex, whose decline gave way to the powerfully emerging Polynesian culture, and later to the extensively probable dynamic, two-way contact between Tonga and eastern Polynesia, with Samoa providing the crucial links. Literally, such initial Lapita influences and eastern Polynesian-Samoan counter-influences were, locally in Tonga, symbolically expressed in terms of the counterpoising of two regional cultures, Pulotu and Langi, over Maama, respectively connected with the deities Havea Hikule'o, Tangaloa 'Eiki and Maui Motu'a. The hegemony of the

symbolically used to refer to people connected by *toto* (blood) through physical procreation.

¹⁶⁷. Cf. Keesing 1989, I:1942.

¹⁶⁸. See Māhina 1990:30-45.

Tangaloa line, in the person of 'Aho'eitu, the first Tu'i Tonga, over the Havea Hikule'o and Maui Motu'a lineages, will be the subject matter of the following chapter.

PART III

**MIDDLE TRADITIONAL-THEOLOGICAL HISTORY:
TONGAMAMA'O TO TONGA; RISE OF TUI TONGA DYNASTY**

CHAPTER THREE

The First Tu'i Tonga, 'Aho'eitu, God and King

The ultimate rise of the Tangaloa 'Eiki line in the person of 'Aho'eitu, the first Tu'i Tonga, about AD 950 according to conservative dating¹, marked the height of a period of hegemony and counter-hegemony between related but competing lineages personified in Havea Hikule'o, Tangaloa 'Eiki and Maui Motu'a over the local development in Tonga. With this political hegemony came a transition from "humanism" to "theism-humanism", characterised by the double, sacred-secular, role of 'Aho'eitu, who exerted his temporal rule through religious sanction². This political resurgence of the Tangaloa 'Eiki line, towards the end of the first millennium AD, seems to be the last of the constrained power transferences that went on between the representatives of the three principal deities for many centuries. At first, Havea Hikule'o appears to have been prominent in the social arena, but perhaps through conflict this deity was displaced by the political pre-eminence of Tangaloa 'Eiki, who was later eclipsed by a more powerful Maui Motu'a³.

Given such a socio-political situation, perhaps characterised by a period of negotiation and conflict, it can be asserted that 'Aho'eitu, in all probability, did unify Tonga⁴. This possibility is supported by the last and permanent change of name from Tongamama'o to Tonga⁵, whose supreme ruler was now 'Aho'eitu, the first Tu'i Tonga, who combined both sacred and secular offices in his person. On the other hand, the internal strife within the Tangaloa 'Eiki lineage, triggered by the presence in Langi of 'Aho'eitu, whose father and mother were of Langi and Maama origins, suggests antagonism and fragmentation in the relations between Langi and Maama, respectively symbolic of Samoa and Tonga.

This political segmentation is indicative of Tonga gaining some form of independence from the hegemony of Samoa, symbolised by the imperial rule of

¹. Collocott, King Taufa, MS, n.d.:19; Ledyard 1982:15; Māhina 1986:190; Wood 1943:5.

². See Māhina 1986, 1990:30-45. Cf. Helu 1983:43-56 for a discussion of parallel stages of transformation seen in what he calls the ecological myth of Tonga.

³. See Māhina 1990:30-45. Cf. Helu, Kings and Tombs, TS, n.d.; Māhina 1986.

⁴. Helu, interview, 1988. Cf. Helu, Kings and Tombs, TS, n.d., 1972a, 1972c, 1986b.

⁵. See Gifford 1924:14; Herda 1988:22; Reiter 1907, 2:233; Māhina 1990:38; Whitcombe, Notes on Tongan Religion, TS, n.d.:2; Wood 1943:5. Cf. Stair 1985a, 4:47.

the Tu'i Manu'a. The first Tu'i Tonga, 'Aho'eitu, by unifying Tonga, was able to counter the rule of the Tu'i Manu'a over the whole of Tonga⁶. In his unification of Tonga against Samoa, 'Aho'eitu, in combining the double role, sacred and secular, was able to subdue both Langi and Maama signified by the religious and political tendencies to subvert his control. Thus, 'Aho'eitu, through religious legitimation, exerted his political rule over local Tongan affairs, antagonising as well the sacred Tu'i Manu'a, whose political influences in Maama (that is, Tonga) were symbolically manifested in terms of Langi.

The rise of the Tangaloa 'Eiki lineage to political supremacy, where events are preserved in the myth connected with the origin of the first Tu'i Tonga, 'Aho'eitu, is considered to be part of the Tongan *talatupu'a*⁷. Accordingly, although the Tongans regard the *talatupu'a* to be mythical, they do emphasise that it is about the doings of their ancestors in the past⁸. Such a recognition of the nature of *talatupu'a*, of its mythic appearance, on the one hand, and its social content, on the other⁹, is reflected in its philosophical character, which consists of both imaginary and actual events, arising out of its respective literal/symbolic and social/historical dimensions¹⁰.

While these literal/symbolic and the social/historical dimensions cut across the entire spectrum of early Tongan history, especially the origin myth proper proceeding from Pulotu to the emergence of the first Tu'i Tonga¹¹, the social/historical aspect becomes more markedly discernible in events associated with the Tu'i Tonga after 'Aho'eitu (see Chapters Four, Five and Six)¹².

⁶. See Henry 1980:36-37; Wood 1943:5-6. Cf. Collocott, King Taufa, MS, n.d:19.

⁷. See Anonymous 1977:1-2; Bastian 1881:296-197; Blanc 1934; Bott 1982:89-91; Collocott, King Taufa, MS, n.d:4-18, 1919, 30:234-238; Gifford 1924:14-29; Ledyard 1982:8-14; *Koe Makasini a Koliji* 1881-1883, 4:22-26, 51-55, 74-78, 109-111; *Ko e Makasini Ko e Lo'au*, 1959:1-2; Martin 1981, II:300-301; Reiter 1907, 2:230-240, 438-448, 743-754, 1917, 12-13:1026-1046, 1919-1920, 14-15:125-142, 1933, 28:355-381, 1934, 29:497-514; Thomas, History of Tonga, MS, n.d, Tongatapu or the Friendly Islands, MS, n.d:44-48, 52-59; Whitcombe, Notes on Tongan Religion, TS, n.d:2-15; Wood 1943:5-6.

⁸. Helu, interview, 1988; Mafimalanga, interview, 1988; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973. Cf. Best 1900, IX:175; Moyle 1974, 83:155; Stair 1896, 5:34, 1897:211.

⁹. See Helu 1988b, 1990a; Kolo 1990-1-11; Māhina 1986, 1990:30-45.

¹⁰. See Māhina 1990:30-45.

¹¹. See, for example, Anonymous 1977:1-2; Bott 1982:89-91; Herda 1988:17-32.

¹². See, for example, Ata 1924:43; Bott 1982; Collocott, King Taufa, MS, n.d:19-84; *Koe Fafagu*, 1907, 5:6-12, 41-48, 60-64; Fakauta 1924:43-46; Fonua 1924:38-43; Gifford 1924:25-75; Helu, Kings and Tombs, TS, n.d; Herda 1988:33-137; Māhina 1986, 1990:30-45; Malupo 1924:47-49; Tamaha [Amelia] 1924a:46-47; Wood 1943:

Although certain activities of the later Tu'i Tonga are centred on various myths, a number of their doings have been lastingly preserved in actual landmarks specifically familiar to all Tongans. Even if these events are, through language as a symbolisation process, predominantly mythical and literal in outlook, they are by nature social/historical in character¹³.

On this philosophical ground, the origin myth of 'Aho'eitu can be taken, in the broader use of history¹⁴, as a product of contradictory human demands, arising from the interplay of different forms of living in a social setting¹⁵. Considering this plural context, and the fact that events are systematically concealed by the miraculous and physical dimension of human relationships through orality, the myth is thus subjected to the praxis of demarcating between the literal/symbolic and the social/historical, defined by the narrower sense of history as a disciplinary practice. In order that we have a better grasp of the dynamic pertaining to the political counter-hegemony and hegemony of 'Aho'eitu, our analysis has to penetrate the literal, via the symbolic, to the social¹⁶.

Following is a recapitulation of the main episodes of the myth of origin of 'Aho'eitu, the first Tu'i Tonga¹⁷:

The Origin Myth of 'Aho'eitu

(Told and translated by the author)

Seketo'a, chief of Niuatoputapu, had a beautiful daughter, 'Ilaheva. Since there was no man of comparable rank to marry her in Niuatoputapu, Niuafou and Samoa, Seketo'a ordered his people to take her in a canoe to look for a husband in Vava'u and Ha'apai. She refused to land in those islands because of Vava'u's rugged features and the active volcano of Kao in Ha'apai. Thus, they set sail for Tongatapu, where she was put ashore at Popua in Ma'ofanga. Unfamiliar with the place, 'Ilaheva hid behind the woods. Occasionally, she would sneak out of hiding to collect shellfish in the lagoon, so the people of Popua had only a glimpse of her. Struck by her great beauty, they named her

1943:5-14.

¹³. Helu 1988b, 1990a; Kolo 1990:1-11; Māhina 1990:30-45.

¹⁴. See Carr 1961; Wolf 1982. Cf. Dening 1989, 1:134-139; Helu 1988b, 1990b; Kolo 1990:1-11; Māhina 1990:30-45.

¹⁵. See Helu 1983:43-56; Māhina 1990:30-45.

¹⁶. Cf. Helu 1988b, 1990a; Kolo 1990:1-11; Māhina 1990:30-45.

¹⁷. Variants of the origin myth of 'Aho'eitu, the first Tu'i Tonga, can be found in Biersack 1990a:83, 1991:231-232; 1990b:49, *Ko e Bo'obo'oi* 1877; Bott 1972:228-229, 1982:89-91; Collocott, King Taufa, MS, n.d.:10-13; Fonua 1924:38-43; Gifford 1924:25-38; Herda 1988:28-29; Leach 1972:253-254; Ledyard 1982:8-12; Mafimalanga, interview, 1988; Māhina 1986:23-24, 1990:32-33; Reiter 1933, 28:355-362; Ve'e'hala and Fanua 1977:27-28; Whitcombe, Notes on Religion, TS, n.d.:1-3; Wood 1943:5.

Va'epopua. But on one offshore island, To'onangakava, grew a huge *toa* tree reaching Langi, the abode of Tangaloa 'Eiki and his children. Tangaloa 'Eitumātupu'a used to climb down the tree from Langi to Maama, where on one occasion he sighted Va'epopua collecting shellfish. They then had sex in a particular spot of one island, afterward named Mohenga and the island Ha'angakafa. The couple overslept in one island, when long after dawn a flying tern woke them by its cries, and on another island they slept till late, waking up to find the light of day. As a commemoration of their sleep, the respective islands were named Talakite and Mata'aho. In time, Va'epopua got pregnant, then gave birth to a male child, whom his father named 'Aho'eitu. On returning to Langi, his father poured down clay forming a mound called Holohiufi for his son's garden, then brought a yam named *heketala* for 'Aho'eitu to cultivate. One day 'Aho'eitu said to his mother that he wanted to see his father. Va'epopua anointed him with oil, then gave him a piece of bark cloth to take as a present. She advised 'Aho'eitu that, by climbing up the tree to Langi, he would find his father snaring pigeons on a roadside mound. Overcome by handsome 'Aho'eitu, Tangaloa 'Eitumātupu'a sat down in obeisance, but he told him to rise because he was his son from Maama. Food and *kava* were prepared for his reception. Afterwards he sent 'Aho'eitu to meet his brothers, who were playing *sika'ulutoa* on the *mala'e*. His beautiful physique and skills in the sport sparked jealousy in his brothers, who killed and ate him, then threw his head into a clump of *hoi* plants. When they returned, 'Aho'eitu was without them. So Tangaloa 'Eitumātupu'a, suspecting 'Aho'eitu to have been murdered, summoned his sons before him. They were made to vomit, throwing up 'Aho'eitu's flesh and blood into a bowl. The head was added, and the bowl covered with *nonu* leaves. After a few days, 'Aho'eitu's dismembered body reunited and came back to life. As a consequence, he ordered that 'Aho'eitu had to descend to Maama and become the first Tu'i Tonga, while his Langi brothers, Talafale, Matakehe, Maliepō, Tu'iloloko and Tu'ifolaha, were to serve him. The eldest, Talafale, was to become the Tu'ifaleua, while Matakehe, Maliepō, Tu'iloloko, Tu'ifolaha were to form the first Falefā. While Matakehe and Maliepō were to guard the Tu'i Tonga, Tu'iloloko and Tu'ifolaha were to help him govern and conduct his funeral.

The myth of the origin of 'Aho'eitu, the first Tu'i Tonga, has been a focus of psychoanalytical (Freudian), structuralist, structuralist-functionalist (symbolic) and realist (historical) analysis¹⁸. Although the proponents of these views share certain aspects of the myth in common with regard to its interpretation, they are still far from agreement. In the main, while we learn from these different views more about their proponents, they tell us little or nothing about the myth itself. But the issue is itself the myth, and not the various views themselves, i.e., what matters is the way in which the myth, as a product of the interplay of human demands, is dialectically structured, but not the different ways of

¹⁸ See, for example, Biersack 1990a:80-105, 1990b:46-58, 1991, 100:231-268; Bott 1972, 1982; Herda 1988:28-32; Leach 1972:239-275; Māhina 1986:21-42, 1990:30-45; Valeri 1989, 4:209-247, 1990a:45-80, 1990b:213-250. Cf. Collocott, King Taufa, MS, n.d.:10-18; Wood 1943:5-6.

interpreting it. Subjecting the myth to different interpretations amounts to relativism, where object and subject are distorted and confused in the process¹⁹.

There is no doubt that the myth is both structural and functional in outlook, as it structures order in the same way that it practically preserves structure, but the more important point is to address how, as a dialectical process, the structure is at risk in practice. And while structuralism and functionalism may tell us something about the state of society at a particular point in time, they are relatively silent on how the social process, characterised by a multiplicity of tensions, is developed over time²⁰. But by emphasising structure and function, the purposes social institutions serve in society as opposed to the extent to which they conflict with each other, both structuralism and functionalism lack history. This brings us to the central issue, i.e., how the myth, as a unified representation of the social dynamic, is culturally structured, then restructured historically in the process. Given that the myth is of this character, where events are transcended beyond matters of fact to the miraculous through language, our interpretation is therefore one of differentiating the literal/symbolic from the social/historical, order from change, or harmony from conflict.

Despite this serious philosophical difficulty, Leach²¹ still regards the issue as one of methodology. That is, the issue is interpretation. In doing so, Leach calls upon the work of Levi-Strauss²², stressing that structuralism has the advantage of dealing with the origin myth of 'Aho'eitu over the other techniques. Given that the interpretation does not merge with the myth as the outcome of some specific conflicting interests, the solution proposed by Leach remains problematically dualistic and relativistic²³. For methodology, or interpretation²⁴, for that matter, is based on the nature of the myth, itself a form of politics, and the myth is by nature social/historical, though literal/symbolic in appearance. In other words, the methodology is the reality pertaining to the myth itself, specifically the social and historical reality as a

¹⁹. Cf. Anderson 1962; Baker 1979, 1986.

²⁰. See Levi-Strauss 1963, 1977, 1987; Malinowski 1944, 1948.

²¹. Leach 1972:240.

²². See Levi-Strauss 1963, 1977, 1987.

²³. See Anderson 1962; Baker 1979, 1986.

²⁴. Helu 1988b, 1990a.

product of the interplay of human demands, expressed in literal and symbolic terms.

In an objection to Bott's psychoanalytic approach, Leach²⁵ dismisses it as a form of intuition, offering the structuralist view, in what he believes, to be a relatively 'intuition free' approach. The most characteristic thing about structuralist approach, Leach stresses, is that it attempts to avoid substituting symbols which are already self-evident in the myth. Moreover, Leach is, in fact, entering here on other dangerous grounds, for structuralism itself is of this intuitive nature²⁶. This form of intuition is evident in the structuralist emphasis on the literal and the symbolic, or order, without penetrating to the social, characterised by conflict, the reality behind the symbolic appearance of the myth. It is these conflicting tendencies that Bott²⁷, at least, tries to tackle, given that myth is a socio-psychological phenomenon. For myth, in its essentially social character, is about the attitudes of people towards each other, and of the different forms of activity people carry out in society, masked by its surreal character through orality²⁸.

The faults of Leach²⁹ are more evident in his application of the structuralist view in two Tongan myths: the origin myth of 'Aho'eitu, the first Tu'i Tonga, and the myth of the eleventh Tu'i Tonga, Tu'itātui, and his half-brother, Fasi'apule³⁰. By addressing the myths themselves, Leach, in putting aside the central and specific social setting within which the myths arose, deals with kinship *per se* instead. Leach points out that the two stories present a contrast between 'the overemphasis of kinship bonds', on the one hand, and 'the underemphasis of kinship bonds', on the other. In this contrast, we are, according to Leach, already presented with the evidence itself and that it does not require further interpretation. But even if such kinship bonds are self-

²⁵. Leach 1972:239-240.

²⁶. But exclusively dwelling on the symbolic, which is characteristic of structuralism and functionalism, is itself a form of phantasy, illusion or intuition. Besides, there is no guarantee that the implications drawn from observing the myth are true. For the question of truth involves the drawing of conclusions from true premises. It is in this context that all history, whether it is based on written, material or oral sources, is "probably true".

²⁷. Bott 1972:205-237, 277-282.

²⁸. See Helu 1983:43-56, 1988b, 1990a; Māhina 1990:30-45.

²⁹. Leach 1972:239-275.

³⁰. See, for example, Ata 1924:43-46; *Koe Fafagu*, 1907, 5:6-12, 26-32, 41-48, 60-64; Fonua 1924:38-43; Gifford 1924:25-2, 43-46.

evident in the myths, we are still curious as to why the one was undermined and the other overemphasised, i.e., how the structure of kinship was antagonised and restructured in the event³¹.

In a similar vein, Biersack³² and Valeri³³, with their preoccupation with duality and diarchy³⁴ on the levels of kinship and political titles, follow the same characteristic line. Both Biersack and Valeri tend to use the origin myth of 'Aho'eitu as a springboard to discuss kinship *per se*, leaving the myth itself largely unresolved, given its literal/symbolic dimension, on the one hand, and its essentially social/historical aspect, on the other, without seriously examining it in its own particular setting. While Biersack³⁵ appears to move away from the structuralist and structuralist-functionalist obsessions with the unified and the symbolic towards a recognition of contradictions and history, she, by relatively removing the myth from its specific setting in place of kinship at large, falls into the trap of a structuralist and functionalist kind.

The point at issue here is not the relativistic use of the origin myth of 'Aho'eitu for purposes of analysing wider problems in Tongan society, whether in terms of duality, diarchy or kinship bonds. To deny this possibility is, of course, to undermine diachrony, change and history, or even the continuity of past and present³⁶. As observed, some patterns of the opposed and complementary human development seen in the origin myth of 'Aho'eitu are comparable with the structural and functional relationships between the three

³¹. See, for example, Sahlins 1981, 1985a, 1985b. Cf. Biersack 1991; Dening 1989.

³². Biersack 1990a:80-105, 1990b:46-58, 1991:231-268.

³³. Valeri 1989, 4:209-247, 1990a:45-80, 1990b:213-250.

³⁴. As far as the concepts of duality and diarchy are concerned (cf. Hocart 1970:164; Sahlins 1985a:90), they are not unique to Tonga, for they are universal human phenomena. As in the case of hierarchy, duality and diarchy are forms of rationalism, a mental way of ordering reality, where privileged positions are granted to some and denied to others. Such modes of thinking are, as social organising principles, developed hand in hand with moralities and values, i.e., directly connected with the interplay of human demands in a social setting (see Helu 1983:43-56; Māhina 1990:30-45). However, the concepts are, in terms of the dualistic 'eiki-tu'a distinction and the diarchic Tu'i Tonga-Hau connection, specifically unique to Tonga on the personal and political levels, themselves associated with social organisation or kinship.

³⁵. Biersack 1990a:80.

³⁶. Cf. Dening 1989, 1:134-139; Keesing 1989, 1:19-42; Sahlins 1985a.

principal deities, Havea Hikule'o, Tangaloa 'Eiki and Maui Motu'a³⁷, prior to the rise of 'Aho'eitu, and, in later times, between Tu'i Tonga and Hau, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu (see Chapter Six)³⁸. It is inconceivable to see how the myth, in its specific synchronic setting, is left unsettled when it is so central to the concerns of these scholars. While the diachronic treatment of myth may resolve the scholars' own problems, it may also reflect their confusion and doubt about its social and historical value. Whatever the case may be, it remains that the unsettlement of the synchronic dimension of myth continues to deny us important information about history, particularly the continuity of past and present.

My objection to Leach, Biersack and Valeri rests on the issue of synchrony, i.e., the particular point in time in which the myth arose in society in the first place, and the specific set of social, economic and political circumstances that led to its formation³⁹. While kinship is intrinsic in the myth, for it was about people connected through physical union and procreation, their subjection of synchrony to diachrony may confuse Tongan kinship *per se* and the particular events generated by the human/kinship relations in the myth itself. By reading too much kinship, on the broader level, into the myth, Leach, Biersack and Valeri undermine its synchronic dimension⁴⁰. This type of treatment of the myth is typical of idealism, involving the settlement of an issue by trying to settle every other issue⁴¹. The difficulty is that it leaves the problem at issue unresolved, distorted and confused. But, as far as the philosophical character of the myth is concerned, it also points to confusion on the part of these scholars in making the distinction between the literal/symbolic and social/historical dimensions of the myth.

As observed, the myth of the origin of 'Aho'eitu is both synchronic and diachronic in character, as it is about a specific set of practically structured spatio-temporal circumstances which have been historically restructured through

³⁷. See Māhina 1990:30-45.

³⁸. See, for example, Collocott, King Taufu, MS, n.d; Bott 1982; Herda 1988; Gifford 1929a; Whitcombe, Tonga Tabu - Documente Historiques, Mu'a, TS, n.d; Wood 1943.

³⁹. Cf. Māhina 1986, 1990:30-45.

⁴⁰. Cf. Gailey (1981:23-25) suggests that myths, legends and poems, while being an expression of structural and experiential tensions, cannot be said to reflect reality, for they are created according to lived experiences of their present practitioners.

⁴¹. Cf. Anderson 1962; Baker 1979, 1986.

time⁴². This attempt is, therefore, to explicate synchrony, where the problem of 'Aho'eitu is spelled out in terms of the initial hegemony of Langi over Maama, resulting from the displacement of Pulotu represented by Havea Hikule'o, and the later counter-hegemony of Maama against Langi, characterised by the rise of the first Tu'i Tonga against the Tu'i Manu'a⁴³. Finally, I will demonstrate how, as a case in point, Queen Sālote, in diachronic terms, manipulated the origin myth of 'Aho'eitu⁴⁴, literally and symbolically representing a social and historical past, to resolve real life contradictions which confronted her in the actual present (see Chapters One and Seven).

It can be said that the presentation of 'Ilaheva to Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a and the situation that she found no comparable husband in Niuatoputapu, Niuafu'ou and Samoa⁴⁵ points to tributary relationships of these islands to Tongatapu, the seat of the Tu'i Tonga power. This possibility is reinforced by 'Ilaheva's refusal to land in Vava'u and Ha'apai, reflecting a situation that they were also subjected to the rule of 'Aho'eitu, the first Tu'i Tonga. The antagonistic relationship between Tonga and Samoa is symbolically manifested in the connection of Seketo'a with Samoa. Seketo'a (*Seke-to'a*; lit. Seke-[the]-brave), father of 'Ilaheva, is, in the form a demi-god, reported in traditions to have successfully encountered a Samoan demi-god, who was on the verge of stealing the high island of Tafahi in Niuatoputapu⁴⁶. While this may represent a land dispute, it also suggests some form of weakening of the power of the Tu'i Manu'a over Niuatoputapu, which was now probably under the rule of the Tu'i Tonga (see Appendix A).

As reported in traditions, the presentation of 'Ilaheva, daughter of Seketo'a, a chief of Niuatoputapu, is parallel to the case of 'Ulukihelupe, whose parents lived in the island of 'Ata, and Sinaitakala-i-Langileka, the first Tu'i Tonga Fefine, who were respectively presented to Takalaua, the twentythird Tu'i Tonga (see Chapter Five), and the Tui Lakeba, Tapu'osi, of Fiji (see

⁴². Cf. Sahlins 1985a.

⁴³. See, for example, Fraser 1982, 1:164-189, 1896, 5:171-183, 1897a, VI:19-36, 1897b, VI:67-76, 1897c, 107-122, 1898, VII:15-29, 1900, IX:125-134; Henry, Outline of the History of Samoa, TS, 1935-1937, 1980; *Les Missions Catholiques*, 1870; Monfat 1923; Stair 1895a, 4:47-58, 1895b, 4:99-131, 1896, 5:33-57, 1897, 1898, VII:48-49; Turner 1884. Cf. Nicholas 1892a, 1:20-29, 1892b, 1:65-67, 1897, VI:2-10.

⁴⁴. See Bott 1972:228-229, 1982:89-91. Cf. Māhina 1986:23-24, 1990:32-33.

⁴⁵. Collocott, King Taufa, MS, n.d:19; Ve'ehala and Fanua 1977:27-39; Wood 1943:5-6.

⁴⁶. Helu 1972a; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973. Cf. Gifford 1929a:312-315.

Chapter Six)⁴⁷. While the social exchange of women between the elite families within Tonga, and between Tonga, Fiji and Samoa, were for economic and political purposes, the practice operated in such a way that the periphery stood in tributary relationships to the centre, constituting the Tu'i Tonga empire⁴⁸. Given this early social, economic and political form of exchange, as in the case of 'Ilaheva and 'Ulukihelupe, it was not fully formalised until the emergence of the Fahu, Mohefo, Tu'i Tonga Fefine and Tamahā institutions *vis-a-vis* the institutions of 'Ulumotu'a, *polopolo* and *'inasi*, characterising the exchange between periphery and centre and Tu'i Tonga and Hau, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu, on both regional and local levels (see Chapter Six)⁴⁹.

The change of name from 'Ilaheva (*'Ila-heva*; lit. Mole-[that-has]-gone-stray) to Va'epopua (*Va'e-popua/Popua*; lit. Feet-[of]-popua/Popua) is indicative of the political hegemony of 'Aho'eitu. Considering the exchange of 'Ilaheva, her name, as in the case of the kinship term *'ilamutu* (*ila-mutu*; lit. mole-[that-is]-terminated) and 'Atamata'ila (see Figure 6.1), may be symbolic of social mobility (*tanusia*; *tanu-sia*; lit. constructing-[one's]-mound)⁵⁰ on the part of chief Seketo'a. Literally, *'ila*, in the context of its symbolic usage, socially stands for blood relations (*toto*)⁵¹, i.e., for people related through physical procreation. By presenting his daughter to Tangaloa 'Eitumātupu'a, representing the emerging ruling order, Seketo'a stood to improve his social lot in society. Indeed, this was the case for his grandson, 'Aho'eitu, became the supreme ruler of all Tonga.

Besides 'Aho'eitu, the other aspect of this social mobility of the Seketo'a lineage is reflected in having the name of 'Ilaheva transformed to Va'epopua, signifying Seketo'a making a mark in Popua, the Maama residence of Tangaloa 'Eitumātupu'a. The literal name Va'epopua may be a symbolic reference to

⁴⁷. Collocott, King Taufa, MS, n.d:65-74; Bott 1982:32-33; Gifford 1924:60-65, 1929a:57; Tamaha ['Amelia] 1924b:60-62; Tongavalevale 1924b:62-65; Ve'ehala and Fanua 1977:27-39.

⁴⁸. See Māhina 1986. Cf. Campbell 1983, 92:155-167; Collocott, King Taufa, MS, n.d:19-48; Gunson 1969, 4:65-82; Helu, Kings and Tombs, TS, n.d; Henry 1980; Māhina 1990:30-45; Wood 1943:5-6.

⁴⁹. See, for example, Bott 1982; Gailey 1981, 1987a, 96:67-79, 1987b Herda 1988; Māhina 1986, 1990:30-45.

⁵⁰. Helu, interview, 1988.

⁵¹. The term *toto*, in literal terms, refers to the "red" blood, but it is used in Tonga as an idiom for people physically related to each other through the reproduction process, as it is in the expression *Ko hoku toto mo'oni* (He is my true blood, i.e., close relation).

'Ilaheva's physical beauty (*hoihoifua*) and chiefly status (*'eiki*), both of which were important factors involving social mobility in Tonga⁶². Having been symbolically named her Va'epopua, literally Feet-of-Popua, by the people of Popua may mean that 'Ilaheva was actually beautiful, for the proportion of the feet was an important criterion for the consideration of *hoihoifua* in Tonga. But the situation that the people of Popua only had a glimpse of 'Ilaheva meant that she was of chiefly status, probably higher by comparison to that of the locals. Given social mobility through the exchange of women, chiefs, as a general rule, for social, economic and political reasons, were expected to be presented with women of physical beauty and chiefly status.

The symbolic accounts of the sleep (*mohe*) of Tangaloa 'Eitumātupu'a and Va'epopua in the islands lying offshore at Popua in Ma'ofanga suggests the social celebrations of their marriage, involving the mobilisation of socio-economic resources for a probable grand event⁶³. Literally, this is reflected in the term *mohe* which, like marriage (*mali*, in its introduced form) or *'unoho*, an archaic word for cohabitation, is a symbol for sex (*fai*). The naming of their landscape movement through the islands was probably a commemoration of the royal marriage. This can be seen in the socially-generated literal and symbolic significance of their names such as To'onangakava (*To'onangakava*, probably a variation for *to'o'angakava* (*to'o'-anga-kava*; lit. carrier-[of]-*kava*) or *to'angakava* (*to'-anga-kava*; lit. place-[for]-cultivating-*kava*), Mohenga (*Mohenga*, abstraction for *mohe'anga/mohe'-anga*; lit. sleeping-place), Ha'angakafa (*Ha'angakafa*, a variation of *haha'-anga-kafa*; lit. beating-place-[of]-coconut-husk), Talakite (*Tala-kite*; lit. Tern-[of]-distant-appearance) and Mata'aho (*Mata-'aho*; lit. See-[the]-day).

It is said in traditions that Ha'angakafa, literally referring to the reddish coloured juice produced when beating coconut husks with a piece of wood on a rock for making *kafa* cord, was symbolically named because of the blood that trickled from Va'epopua when deflowered by Tangaloa 'Eitumātupu'a⁶⁴. Literally, the names Talakite and Mata'aho were probably symbolic references to the public announcement (*tala*; to tell) of the marriage and the date set for the event (*'aho*). Customarily, the appearance of *tala* is taken as an omen, good

⁶². Helu 1972a; Ula [Täufanau] 1973.

⁶³. See Kaeppler 1978b:174-202; Mähina 1986:181-186.

⁶⁴. Helu 1972a; Ula [Täufanau] 1973.

or bad, which can foretell (*tala*) events to come⁵⁵. But the term *mata'aho* can be contextualised in the idiomatic expression '*Oku 'ikai ke tau kei matatali ke' matā 'a e 'aho ko ia* (We can no longer wait to witness/see the great day/event)⁵⁶ referring to major social occasions of a royal and chiefly nature, where socio-economic resources, on the part of the people, and public display of status and power, as far as chiefs are concerned, are mobilised on a large scale. In fact, social occasions of this nature are referred to as '*aho katoanga* (lit. day of celebration) or '*aho lahi* (lit. day of the big [event]). This practice of naming, of literally and symbolically giving labels to social events, generated by occasions often of major socio-political significance, is still alive today, and must have been the case in the past.

The origin myth of 'Aho'eitu, the first Tu'i Tonga, offers us invaluable information about early Tongan history, especially settlement and the mode of production⁵⁷. It tells us that, while human settlement might have been predominantly tending inland, the royal residence remained on the fringe of Popua and the offshore islands, most of which have now been submerged or joined to the mainland (see Appendix A)⁵⁸. The creation for 'Aho'eitu of a garden with clay from Langi by his father, who also brought him a yam to cultivate⁵⁹, suggests some local form of agrarian development introduced from Samoa. Possibly, this introduction took place earlier, as it has been shown by the *talatupu'a* to have been connected with the Tangaloa 'Eiki and Maui Motu'a lineages. Also, the mention of *kava* is a probable symbolic reference to its domestication, possibly for religious purposes⁶⁰. In fact, 'Aho'eitu is thought to have lived around AD 950⁶¹, well after the end of the Late Lapita Period about AD 200⁶², when the movement inland of human settlement was

⁵⁵. Helu, interview, 1988; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973. Cf. Gifford 1929a:334-337.

⁵⁶. Cf. Helu 1987b. Also see *Ko e Ngaahi Palovepi Faka-Tonga*, n.d.

⁵⁷. Cf. Davidson 1979:82-109; Green 1979:27-60; Groube 1971, 80:278-316; Kirch 1984a:217-242; Poulsen 1967, 1977:4-26, 1987; Spennemann 1986a, 29:250-251, 1986b, 1989.

⁵⁸. Helu, interview, 1988.

⁵⁹. Cf. Gifford 1924:178-180; Malupo 1924:178-180.

⁶⁰. Helu, interview, 1988. Cf. Biersack 1990b:46-58; Bott 1972:205-237, 277-282; Leach 1972:239-275; Māhina 1986:43-71.

⁶¹. Collocott, King Taufa, MS, n.d:19; Ledyard 1982:15; Wood 1943:5.

⁶². Spennemann 1986b:6. Cf. Poulsen 1977:4-26; Spennemann 1989.

contemporaneous with the development of agriculture. The use of the symbol yam (*'ufi*), literally meaning women, suggests that 'Aho'eitu was presented with a Samoan wife (see Chapter Four).

Given that Langi is symbolic of Samoa, the name Tangaloa 'Eitumātupu'a (*'Eitu-mā-tupu'a*; lit. Secondary-gods-and-deified-spirits-of-chiefs, in its Samoan context)⁶³ literally suggests that 'Aho'eitu was socially of Samoan descent. That is, Tangaloa 'Eitumātupu'a was literally a direct descendant of the priestly and chiefly ruling elite in Samoa, symbolically embodied by Tangaloa and the Tu'i Manu'a. In this context, the name 'Aho'eitu (*Aho'eitu*; lit. Day-[of]-the-secondary-gods), whose literal Maama mother, 'Paheva/Va'epopua, symbolic of Tonga, reflects how he combined Maama and Langi, in the political and religious form of *'aho* and *'eitu*, corresponding to his double role, secular and sacred, in his person. On the literal level, the name 'Aho'eitu is symbolic of his socially local-foreign, Maama-Langi, Tonga-Samoa descent, which is, in religious and political terms, manifested by his double, god-king, priest-conqueror, 'Eiki-Hau, role⁶⁴. Thus, the title Tu'i Tonga (lit. King [of] Tonga) seems to have been defined within the counterpoising of these complementary and opposed religious and political concepts that constitute the double, 'Eiki-Hau, role.

The development of the concept *tu'i* as opposed to the notion *'eiki*, respectively characteristic of western Polynesia and eastern Polynesia, may be explained in this context⁶⁵. Whereas the term *tu'i* is restricted to western Polynesia, the word *'eiki/ariki/ari'i*, while it occurs in western Polynesia, is limited in its use to eastern Polynesia. As for eastern Polynesia, the chiefly and religious offices seem to have been kept apart, where chief/conqueror and priest/god were, as observed by Thomas⁶⁶ in the Marquesas, independent in their own contextual display of power. It seems that the *tu'i* concept was fully developed in the west, following waves of probable powerful influences

⁶³. Moyle 1974, 83:155-156; Stair 1896, 5:34, 1897:211.

⁶⁴. Some doubt the Tu'i Tonga to have held the Hau office (see Herda 1988), while others suggest that the Tu'i Tonga did combine both 'Eiki and Hau, god/priest-king/conqueror, roles in his person (see Bott 1982:91; Helu, interview, 1988; Lehā'uli, interview, 1988). But the fact that the Tu'i Tonga held both sacred and secular roles implies that he was both 'Eiki and Hau. But a structural and functional separation of the 'Eiki and Hau roles did not take place until about the fifteenth century, when the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, and later the Tu'i Kanokupolu, were, under constraints, designated the Hau office, while the Tu'i Tonga retained the 'Eiki position.

⁶⁵. See Kirch 1984a:223. Cf. Spennemann 1989.

⁶⁶. Thomas, pers. comm., 1992. Also see Thomas 1986.

introduced from the east in the form of Tangaloa, which did not really get back to eastern Polynesia.

As evident in the myth, the political and religious structuring concepts 'eiki, probably of eastern Polynesian origin, and *tu'i* were introduced to Tonga from Samoa. The father of Tangaloa 'Eitumātupu'a, Tangaloa 'Eiki (lit. Tangaloa [the] Chief), grandfather of 'Aho'eitu, was, in its eastern Polynesian context, probably Tangaloa the Chief and Conqueror⁶⁷. Two of Tangaloa 'Eitumātupu'a's Langi children, Tu'iloloko (*Tu'i-loloko/Loloko*; lit. King-[of]-loloko/Loloko) and Tu'ifolaha (*Tu'i-folaha/Folaha*; lit. King-[of]-folaha/Folaha), probably kings of places Loloko and Folaha, bear the notion *tu'i*. His eldest Langi son, Talafale (*Tala-fale*; lit. Telling-[of-the]-house), who, with his younger Langi brothers, was ordered to serve 'Aho'eitu, as the first to be the Tu'i Tonga, in his rule in Maama, was entitled Tu'ifaleua (*Tu'i-fale-ua*; King of the Second House).

The localisation of the notion 'eiki in Tonga underwent a slight twist, which might have been due to the combinatory double, sacred-secular, content of the *tu'i* concept. That is, certain aspects of the political nature of 'eiki, in secular terms of conquering, are subsumed to the doubly, secular-sacred, character of the *tu'i* concept. While the term 'eiki refers to a person of chiefly status, it also means chiefly attributes possessed by such a chief. The 'eiki notion has assumed some religious aspects, though social in essence, especially when it is seen in the ordering effects of the chiefly-commoner, sacred-secular, 'eiki-tu'a, 'Eiki-Hau contrast⁶⁸. Not only is this change seen in the tributary stance of the secular/*tu'a* Hau, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i kanokupolu, *vis-a-vis* the sacred/'eiki 'Eiki, Tu'i Tonga, but also in the politically-driven complementary and opposed 'eiki-tu'a relations governing sister/female and brother/male socio-economic exchange⁶⁹.

In this context, as well as the possibility that the 'eiki and *tu'i* concepts were introduced from Samoa, the social significance of the literal and symbolic *toa* tree can be made meaningful⁷⁰. As a literal means of communicative exchange between Langi and Maama, the *toa* tree may be symbolic of the genealogical connections between the Samoan and Tongan elite families. The

⁶⁷. Helu, interview, 1988.

⁶⁸. See, for example, Bott 1982; Herda 1988; Mähina 1986, 1990.

⁶⁹. See, for example, Gailey 1981, 1987a, 96:67-79, 1987b; Mähina 1990:30-45.

⁷⁰. Cf. Helu 1988b, 1990a; Kolo 1990:1-11; Mähina 1990:30-45.

toa tree, as it is in the *sika'ulutoa* (*sika'ulu-toa*; lit. darts-[with]-head-[made-of]-casuarina-wood; a kind of javelin sport played with reeds whose heads were made of *toa* or iron-wood) sport, is connected with chiefs (see Chapter Five)⁷¹. Some of the Falefā, whose houses (*fale*) were built around the Tu'i Tonga house (see Chapter Six), were designated the duties of accompanying the Tu'i Tonga while cooling himself in the shades of the *toa* trees in his royal compound⁷².

The same chiefly connection is symbolically reflected in Tangaloa 'Eitumātupu'a who was, as said in the myth, snaring pigeons (*heu lupe*) on a mound (*sia*) in Langi, a sport reserved for chiefs both in Tonga and Samoa. Socially, this may mean that Tangaloa 'Eitumātupu'a was a Samoan high chief who, through his chiefly connection symbolically represented by the literal *toa* tree, married the Tongan princess, 'Ilaheva/Va'epopua, and from whose union gave rise to 'Aho'eitu. The vertical dimension of *sia*, as in the case of *'esi* (chiefly sitting mound)⁷³, is differential in effect, i.e., it, by segregating the chiefs from commoners, mentally elevates a particular privileged space above ground that it, in symbolic terms, sets horizontal social boundaries (*kau'a*) between chiefs and commoners (see Chapter Six and Figure 6.2)⁷⁴. It is in this literal context that the symbolic notion of *tanusia* is appropriated, which involves the construction of one's lineage social mound by marrying a chief, thereby improving one's status in society.

The hegemonic rise of 'Aho'eitu to power did not come easy, for it involved bitter rivalry and conflict between him and his Langi brothers. These conflicting tendencies were literally expressed in his brother's jealousy of his enormous beauty and great skills in sport, probably symbolic of his Langi and Maama attributes⁷⁵. Such conflicts were literally and openly manifested in the killing and eating of his body, symbolically suggesting revenge on the part of his Langi brothers. This symbolic act of revenge is further reflected in the throwing of his head (*'ulu*) to the clump of *hoi* plants, which then, according to traditions,

⁷¹. See Gifford 1929a:29-30; Ve'ehala and Fanua 1977:33 for accounts concerning the chiefly connections of the sport.

⁷². Gifford 1929a:63.

⁷³. See Spennemann 1989.

⁷⁴. Helu 1972c; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973.

⁷⁵. Cf. Bott 1972:205-237, 277-282; 1982:89-92.

became poisonous (*kona*) to this day⁷⁶. Idiomatically, the terms *'ulu* and *kona* are respectively used in Tonga to mean leader, as in *'ulumotu'a* (*ulu-motu'a*; lit. head-[of]-old; senior patrilineal head of a *kāinga*) (see Chapter Six), and a state of anger and bitterness, as in the expression *'Oku kona kiate au ho'o lea* (I am poisoned by your words)⁷⁷, one holds towards an enemy. Thus, in real terms, the brothers were probably bitter (*kona*) about 'Aho'eitu being made leader (*'ulu*).

Consequently, a form of settlement, with Tangaloa 'Eitumātupu'a acting as an intermediary, appears to have been reached after these bitter conflicts⁷⁸. Such a compromise arrangement is probably symbolic of the conciliatory medium of the bowl (*kumete*), used for ceremonial *kava* drinking where contradictions in social relations are resolved and standardised⁷⁹, and the healing effects of the *nonu* leaves, whose utilisation in Tonga is for medical purposes. By presiding over the peace settlement, Tangaloa 'Eitumātupu'a was able to propose a more acceptable solution, resulting in the allocation of specific duties among the brothers. While 'Aho'eitu was to become Tu'i Tonga, the supreme sacred and secular ruler of Tonga, Talafale was assigned the position of Tu'ifaleua and Matakehe, Maliepō, Tu'iloloko and Tu'ifolaha were to constitute the first Tongan Falefā⁸⁰. They were to serve the Tu'i Tonga, god and king, who would in turn support them for their subsistence.

On the diachronic level, the myth of the origin of 'Aho'eitu has been the subject of political manipulation. This can be observed in a version of the myth recorded by Bott from a conversation with Queen Sālote. In this variant of the myth, it is obvious that Queen Sālote deleted some parts and altered others. The most evident interference with the text, as documented by Bott⁸¹, is the deletion of the Niuatoputapuan connections of 'Aho'eitu and the insertion of the

⁷⁶. Ula [Tāufanau] 1973.

⁷⁷. See, for example, Māhina (1986:43-71) for discussions of the origin of *kava* myth.

⁷⁸. See Māhina 1990:30-45.

⁷⁹. Bott 1972:205-237. Cf. Biersack 1990b:46-58; Māhina 1986:43-71.

⁸⁰. See, for example, Bott 1982:97-98; Gifford 1929a:63-69; Havea 1929:101-102; Tungi [Halatuituia] 1929:66-69; Ve'ehala and Fanua 1977:27-39.

⁸¹. Bott 1972:228-229, 1982:90-91. Cf. Māhina 1986:23-24, 1990:32-33.

statement that if one day 'Aho'eitu failed, Talafale would become Tu'i Tonga⁸². Such a manipulation can be understood in terms of the royal kinship relations on both the personal and political levels, especially between the three royal titles, structured by the social organising principles 'eiki and *tu'a* (see Chapter Six and Figure 6.2)⁸³, which presented Queen Sālote with real life contradictions in her present rule. Queen Sālote found poetry an effective psychological outlet for such contradictory tendencies (see Chapters One and Seven and Appendix A).

Queen Sālote, through her mother, Lavinia Veiongo⁸⁴, a direct descendant of the Tu'i Tonga, occupied an 'eiki position, but as a Tu'i Kanokupolu titleholder, she was *tu'a*, for the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and the Tu'i Kanokupolu are, by the Tu'i Tonga standard, *tu'a* to the Tu'i Tonga, the most 'eiki of the three royal titles⁸⁵. Despite her marriage to Tungī Mailefihi, a direct descendant of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, their children, who combined both Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu titles in their persons, would still be structurally and functionally *tu'a* to the Tu'i Tonga title. But Queen Sālote inherited the Tu'i Pelehake title as well through her father, Tāufa'āhau Tupou II, also a direct descendant of the Tu'i Pelehake through his father, Fatafehi Tautaitokotaha, a Tu'i Pelehake⁸⁶. Thus, on the personal level, while Queen Sālote's children, Tāufa'āhau Tupou IV and Fatafehi Tu'i Pelehake, combined the major Tu'i Tonga, Tu'i Pelehake, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu blood lines in their persons, they, in terms of title, still conventionally and practically stand in *tu'a* relationships to the Tu'i Tonga.

In more specific contexts, the contradictions faced by Queen Sālote can be partly seen in the connections of the Tu'i Tonga title with Niuafo'ou. Afā, the sister of Sioli Pangia⁸⁷, who would have become Tu'i Tonga had not the

⁸². All the other observed variants (see Collocott, King Taufa, MS, n.d:10-13; *Koe Fafagu*, 1907, 5:6-12, 26-32, 41-48, 60-64; Gifford 1924:25-29; Ve'ehala and Fanua 1977:27-28), with the exception of Queen Sālote's version, do not include the reference to Talafale becoming the Tu'i Tonga if the title failed, though some only have the Niuatoputapu connections (see Collocott, King Taufa, MS, n.d:10; Ve'ehala and Fanua 1977:27-28.)

⁸³. See, for example, Bott 1972:205-237, 1981, 91:7-81, 1982; Herda 1988; Māhina 1990:30-45; Rogers 1977, 86:157-182.

⁸⁴. Bott 1982:147; Helu, interview, 1988.

⁸⁵. Helu, interview, 1988; Lehā'uli, interview, 1988.

⁸⁶. Bott 1982:147.

⁸⁷. Cf. Pangia 1924:55, 1929:121-122. Also see Gifford 1924:55, 1929a:121-122.

title been terminated, married chief Fotofili of Niuafo'ou⁸⁸. And although the Tu'i Tonga title is now defunct, Sioeli Pangia continued to live a life in Mu'a befitting the Tu'i Tonga. At least, the people of Mu'a served Sioeli Pangia as their ancestors had done for the Tu'i Tonga in the past. In fact, the term *'eiki* associated with the Tu'i Tonga is defined in this context, where it is said that, by subjecting the people to servility, the Tu'i Tonga was not expected to engage in mental and physical exertion other than having sex and eating (see Chapter Six)⁸⁹. Traditions also add that two *matāpule*, Ta'e-mo-mimi (lit. Faeces and urine) and Va'e-'o-Tu'itonga (lit. Feet-of-Tu'itonga), were allocated the duties of wiping (*fakama'afu*) the Tu'i Tonga's arse/behind (*ma'afu*) after he had defecated. Following, Ta'e-mo-mimi applied sweet-scented oil to the king's arse, and the excreta, wrapped in plain bark cloth (*feta'aki*), was carried away by Va'e-'o-Tu'itonga and dumped in the *vaotapu* (*vao-tapu*; lit. woods-[of-the]-forbidden). As observed in her literary works, this sort of lifestyle aroused jealousy and anger in Queen Sālote so that she, by structurally manipulating the myth, determined to subdue it in practice (see Appendix A).

There is no doubt that the Tu'i Tonga title had failed, at least politically, through a revolution in which Tāufa'āhau overthrew the Tu'i Tonga, and became the first constitutional Tu'i Kanokupolu in 1845, combining the whole of Tonga under his rule⁹⁰. Despite the failure of the Tu'i Tonga, the value of the structuring concept *'eiki* was a useful tool for Queen Sālote in maintaining her power in the present. Practically, Queen Sālote's second son, Fatafehi, who holds the title Tu'i Pelehake, or Tu'ifaleua, connected with Talafale⁹¹, has been customarily installed with the ceremonies due to the title Tu'i Tonga, thus claiming all the regalia peculiar to the Tu'i Tonga office. One important aspect of this office is the Tu'i Tonga royal kava ceremony (*taumafa kava fakalotomu'a; faka-loto-mu'a/Mu'a*; lit. royal *kava* in-the-style-of-mu'a/Mu'a), known as *fulitaunga*⁹². In 1986 I witnessed a *fulitaunga* which was held for

⁸⁸. Bott 1982:153; Helu, interview, 1988.

⁸⁹. Helu, interview, 1988; Lehā'uli, interview, 1988.

⁹⁰. Lātūkefu 1974, 1975b; Wood 1943:51.

⁹¹. Collocott, King Taufa, MS, n.d:13; Gifford 1924:29; Helu, interview, 1988; Lehā'uli, interview, 1988; Ve'ehala and Fanua 1977:28.

⁹². Falekāono [Taipaletil] 1973; Helu, interview, 1988; Lehā'uli, interview, 1988. Cf. Gifford 1929a:62.

the second time after the overthrow of the Tu'i Tonga, performed in honour of Fatafehi Tu'i Pelehake and presided over by him in Pelehake.

Given the fact that the Tu'i Tonga title has failed, this event was a public declaration to the effect that Fatafehi Tu'i Pelehake, a descendant of Talafale by title, was now the Tu'i Tonga. In fact, Kalaniuvalu, who also holds the noble title Fotofili, is a direct descendant of the Tu'i Tonga line, and has been socially, politically and constitutionally reduced to mere noble (*nopete*) status⁹³. It is also relevant that Siu'ilikutapu, eldest daughter of Fatafehi Tu'i Pelehake, was married to Kalaniuvalu, through the social engineering of Queen Sālote. Although Siu'ilikutapu's children would be *tu'a* to her husband's sister and her children, this does not seem to matter, for Kalaniuvalu no longer has any legitimate claims to the Tu'i Tonga title. The children of Siu'ilikutapu would, however, be *'eiki* over her brother, who stands to ceremonially inherit the Tu'i Tonga honours from his father. This may be regarded as a further extension of the means by which the Tu'i Kanokupolu line has gained the upper hand over the Tu'i Tonga.

The synchronic and diachronic dimensions of the origin myth of 'Aho'eitu has been observed within the literal/symbolic-social/historical distinction. In examining the myth within the ecology-centred, historico-cultural concept, its essentially social and historical character has revealed a significant chapter in the early history of Tonga. As observed, 'Aho'eitu's rise to power marked a turning point in the diverse but related competing waves of regional influences, principally embodied in the persons of Havea Hikule'o, Tangaloa 'Eiki and Maui Motu'a, that powerfully shaped the local development in Tonga. But the change of name from Tongamama'o to Tonga suggests that 'Aho'eitu, the first Tu'i Tonga, god and king, unified the whole of Tonga under his rule. While 'Aho'eitu's unification claimed some form of independence for Tonga against Samoa and the Tu'i Manu'a, it was achieved through bitter struggle and conflict. The local development that followed was characterised by a period of nation building that peaked in Momo, the tenth Tu'i Tonga, who laid down the foundation of the Tu'i Tonga empire.

⁹³. On the Tongan Constitution see, for example, Lātūkefu 1975a. Cf. Powles 1990:145-169.

PART IV

**LATER TRADITIONAL-CLASSICAL HISTORY:
RISE AND FALL OF TUI TONGA EMPIRE; RISE OF NEW HAU**

CHAPTER FOUR

Imperial Birth; Lo'au and Momo

The ensuing development after the rise of the god and king, 'Aho'eitu, the first Tu'i Tonga, to political hegemony is understood as a relatively peaceful period marked by nation building. This may be explained by the situation that little is known about the reign of the Tu'i Tonga between 'Aho'eitu around AD 950 and the tenth Tu'i Tonga, Momo, about AD 1200¹. In fact, both oral traditions and archaeology testify to the extent of the dearth of information on this period². For this reason, Davidson³ and Poulsen⁴ have initially named this period the Dark Age Period (from the beginning of our era to AD 1000) and Spennemann⁵, on ethical grounds, later revised Poulsen's chronology and called it the Formative Period (AD 200 - AD 1200). Whichever way the descriptions go, they simply fit the occasion, for there is certainly a lack of information about this period. On a peaceful and formative basis, it probably involved a time of rebuilding. After all, such a local development of nation rebuilding naturally followed from a period of social upheaval that hegemonically and counter-hegemonically propelled the Tu'i Tonga to political supremacy on both local and regional levels.

The Niuatoputapuan connections of 'Aho'eitu, whose mother, formerly 'Ilaheva, was a daughter of the Niuatoputapuan chief, Seketo'a, shed some light on this problem⁶. In an analysis of the *me'etu'upaki* dance⁷, Helu⁸ makes a convincing case against the accepted belief that it was performed to arouse the

¹. Collocott, King Taufa, MS, n.d:19; Gifford 1929a:52; Māhina 1986:190; Wood 1943:5-6. Cf. Spennemann 1989.

². Bott 1982:91; Davidson 1979:94; Gifford 1924:29, 1929a:52; *Koe Fafagu*, 1907; Herda 1988:35; Kirch 1984a:220, 224; Māhina 1986:39; Poulsen 1977:8; Spennemann 1989; Wood 1943:6.

³. Davidson 1979:94. Cf. Kirch 1984b:220.

⁴. Poulsen 1977:23.

⁵. Spennemann 1986a, 29:250-251; 1986b:6. Cf. Spennemann 1989.

⁶. Collocott 1928a:56-58; Ve'ehala and Fanua 1977:3. Cf. Gifford 1924:83-84; Ma'atu 1924c:83-84.

⁷. See Collection of Tongan Song Texts (Ancient, Traditional-Classical and Modern), MS, n.d; Collection of Works by Tongan Poets, MS, n.d; Helu 1972b, 1980:27-31, 1986a, 1986c, 1978e:21; Malukava [Kavaefiafi] 1973; Pusiaki, *Me'etu'upaki*, TS, n.d; 1986.

⁸. Helu 1980, 4:27-31.

sexual appetite of the Tu'i Tonga, concluding that the text reveals the dance to be a felicitous prayer to celebrate the safe arrival of a migratory voyage between the northern Pacific and western Polynesia. The text of the dance, unintelligible to modern Tongans⁹, suggests that the migratory voyage originated in north western Oceania, and then passed through 'Uvea to Niuafo'ou. While traditions indicate a deeper interaction between 'Uvea and Niuafo'ou (*Niua-fo'ou*; New Niua or Later Niua), the nature of the name Niuatoputapu (*Niua-toputapu*; Most Sacred Niua) and its socio-political connections with the Tu'i Tonga may mean that both 'Uvea and Niuafo'ou were under some form of control from Niuatoputapu¹⁰.

In fact, most of the names of early Tu'i Tonga such as Lihau, Kofutu, Kaloa, 'Apu'anea, 'Afulunga, Ma'uhau and Momo are of 'Uvean-Niuan extraction¹¹. As observed, these are still common names in 'Uvea even today, and are not found elsewhere in Tonga other than Niuafo'ou¹². This probable intensive, two-way interaction between 'Uvea and Niuafo'ou, after possibly having eclipsed Niuatoputapu, could mean that both Niuafo'ou and Niuatoputapu were later colonised by 'Uvea. But this possibility cannot be feasible on two counts. Firstly, the stronghold of the Tu'i Tonga in Tongatapu was quite formidable so that probably Niuatoputapu and especially Niuafo'ou acted simply as a colonising arm of the Tu'i Tonga. Secondly, we know that although Samoa was, as a parallel development in later times, subjected to the Tu'i Tonga rule, the Samoan influences were nevertheless seen to have powerfully infiltrated local affairs, specifically the Tongan material art, chiefly language and social custom¹³.

It is reported that the initial landscape movement of the Tu'i Tonga was restricted to the shoreline area of the Fangakakau lagoon, where the literal names of the second and third Tu'i Tonga, Lolofakangalo and Fanga'one'one, may be symbolic of this leeward shoreline (*fanga*) movement (see Map 5 and Figure 4.1)¹⁴. From Popua the royal residence was shifted, through the Folaha

⁹. Cf. Helu 1980, 4:27-31; Pusiaki, *Me'etu'upaki*, TS, n.d., 1986.

¹⁰. Helu 1980:29-30.

¹¹. Helu 1980, 4:27-31; Māhina 1986:191, 1990:41.

¹². Helu 1980, 4:29, interview, 1988.

¹³. See Helu 1978a, 7:25-26, 1986b; 1987b, 1987c; Henry 1980:23-24; Māhina 1986; Moyle 1987; Taliai 1987, 1989.

¹⁴. Cf. Poulsen 1967, 1977, 1987; Spennemann 1986b; 1989.

and Malapo area, to Pelehake, when it took a turn inland to Toloa. The royal movement seems to have paused for a time in the Pelehake-Toloa area. While this may be responsible for the assertion that Pelehake-Toloa was the second Tu'i Tonga royal residence¹⁵, the retention of the sea-inland, Pelehake-Toloa area may also be suggestive of the sea-land, local-regional significance of maintaining the Tu'i Tonga rule. This inland movement, i.e., ascending from Pelehake to Toloa, may be symbolic of the name Pelehake (*Pele-hake*; Ascension of the spoiled/outstanding [child]), possibly referring to the extraordinary status of the Tu'i Tonga¹⁶.

After a time, the Tu'i Tonga moved to the leeward side (*liku*), starting from Fua'amotu and shifting along the *liku* to Lavengatonga. In all probability, the Pelehake-Toloa-Fua'amotu settlements were associated with Lihau, Kofutu and Kaloa, the fourth, fifth and sixth Tu'i Tonga, for the seventh Tu'i Tonga, Ma'uhau, is reported to have lived in Lavengatonga. Literally, the names Fua'amotu (*Fua-'a-motu*; lit. Carrying-[on people's back]-of-the-islands), Lihau (*Lī-hau*; lit. Throwing/undertaking-[of-the]-conqueror), Ma'uhau (*Ma'u-hau*; lit. Receiver/portion-[of-the]-conqueror/powerful) and Lavengatonga (*Lavenga/lave'anga-'o]-tonga/Tonga*; lit. Connecting-[all]-tonga/Tonga) are probably allegorical of power consolidation, involving the extraction of socio-economic resources through exploitation and oppression (see Figure 4.1)¹⁷. In fact, it is said that both Ma'uhau and Kaloa received tribute from within Tonga and possibly beyond Tonga, suggesting that, however sporadic, the Tu'i Tonga's power had been by now relatively reinforced locally and, to a certain extent, regionally.

This trend was probably cemented even more in the period between Ma'uhau and Momo, characterised by the movement of the Tu'i Tonga associated with 'Apu'anea and 'Afulunga, the eighth and ninth Tu'i Tonga, from Lavengatonga to Heketā at Niutōua. Such a local and regional consolidation is seen in the founding of the third royal residence in Heketā at Niutōua by Momo, the tenth Tu'i Tonga, around AD 1200¹⁸, representing the peak of local nation building and the contemporaneous laying down of the foundation of the

¹⁵. Helu, interview, 1988; Lehā'uli, interview, 1988; Mafimalanga, interview, 1988; Māhina 1986; Spennemann 1989:439. Cf. Gifford 1929a:52.

¹⁶. Cf. Lehā'uli, interview, 1988.

¹⁷. Helu, interview, 1988.

¹⁸. Gifford 1929a:52; Spennemann 1989:439; Māhina 1986; Wood 1943:6.

Tu'i Tonga empire¹⁹. Although the sea-land, south-east, windward direction of the Tu'i Tonga landscape movement may have been a reflection of the thrust of agricultural development, set in motion towards the end of the Tongan Late Lapita Period marking the associated emergence of hierarchy characteristic of Polynesia²⁰, it may also explain an intensive cultural interaction between the local consolidation of the Tu'i Tonga and the ongoing powerful regional influences connected with 'Eueiki and 'Eua islands lying off eastern Tongatapu²¹.

As a matter of fact, the events surrounding the tenth Tu'i Tonga, Momo, throw some light on this significant cultural exchange. Traditions are indicative of the situation that the islands of 'Eueiki and 'Eua had always been the focus of possible influences connected with eastern Polynesia, many of which reached Tonga via Samoa²². The earliest of these regional contacts, as seen in the Tongan *talatupu'a*, were initially linked with Nāfanua and the Maui Motu'a lineages²³, respectively Samoan and eastern Polynesian in origin²⁴. Besides Maui Kisikisi's agricultural exploits in 'Eua, some of his deeds symbolically relating to the domestication of animals such as fowls (*moa*) are evident in the landscape of both 'Eua and Lavengatonga in Tongatapu²⁵. This is seen in the symbolic reference to 'Eua as Fungate'emoa (*Funga-te'e-moa* ([Island]-Top-[of]-shit-[of]-fowls), while many of Maui Kisikisi's huge fowl throwing-stones (*maka tolomoa 'a Maui*) are still scattered in Lavengatonga, residence of Tu'i Tonga

¹⁹. See, for example, Māhina 1986, 1990:30-45. Cf. Campbell 1983, 92:155-167; Geraghty 1989; Gunson 1969, 4:65-82; Helu, Kings and Tombs, TS, n.d, 1986b, 1989a.

²⁰. Cf. Davidson 1979:82-109; Green 1979:27-60; Kirch 1984a:217-242; Kirch and Green 1987, 28:431-456; Groube 1971, 80:278-316; Poulsen 1967, 1977, 1987; Spennemann 1986b, 1989.

²¹. Helu, Kings and Tombs, TS, n.d, 1986b. Cf. Collocott, King Taufa, MS, n.d:14-18; Māhina 1986, 1990; Wood 1943:5-6.

²². Helu, Kings and Tombs, TS, n.d, 1986b. Cf. Bott 1982:92-93; Fevanga 1924:74; Gifford 1924:43-55, 71-75; Lavulo 1924a:72-74; Tonga 1924a:71-72; Wood 1943:6-7.

²³. See, for example, Fraser 1896, 5:171-183; *Les Missions Catholiques*, 1870; *Ko e Makasini Ko e Lo'au*, 1959:1-2; Monfat 1923; Reiter 1907, 2:743-754, 1917-1918, 12-13:1026-1046, 1919-1920, 14-15:125-142.

²⁴. Helu, Kings and Tombs, TS, n.d, 1986b; Māhina 1986, 1990:30-45.

²⁵. Helu, interview, 1988. Cf. Gifford 1929a:226.

Ma'uhau. While this may point to the said connection, it can also reflect Maui Kisikisi agitating against the Tu'i Tonga rule²⁶.

In a more specific context, the reign of Momo brought into perspective this intensive cultural contact between Eastern Tongatapu (*Vahe Hahake*), extending as well to Central Tongatapu (*Vahe Loto*), and the islands of 'Eueiki and 'Eua²⁷. Having represented the peak of local nation building and founded the Tu'i Tonga empire, Momo's rule also marked the height of the Samoanised eastern Polynesian influences which were not formally instituted until the succession of his son, Tu'itātui, the eleventh Tu'i Tonga, to power²⁸. So, it can be said that the local development was simply a period of transition from the first Tu'i Tonga, 'Aho'eitu, to Momo, the tenth Tu'i Tonga. Despite this local emphasis on rebuilding the country, it appears that the inflow of these powerful regional contacts was nevertheless continuous, even up to this point in time. While the first observable waves of influences were connected with the appearance of the three principal deities, Havea Hikule'o, Tangaloa 'Eiki and Maui Motu'a, peaking in the rise of the first Tu'i Tonga, 'Aho'eitu²⁹, the culmination of the probable second waves of such regional contacts heightened in the time of Momo, the tenth Tu'i Tonga³⁰.

Specifically, the second and last of these waves of influences were connected with the historical but controversial figure Lo'au³¹. Although Lo'au's local doings were predominantly Hawaiian (or Tahitian) in outlook, they look to have reached Tonga via Samoa³². There are no literal meanings of the name Lo'au in Tonga, though he is symbolically taken as the *Tufunga Fonua*

²⁶. Cf. Māhina 1990:30-45.

²⁷. Cf. Helu, Kings and Tombs, TS, n.d., 1986b. Cf. Māhina 1986, 1990:30-45.

²⁸. Cf. Māhina 1990:30-45.

²⁹. Māhina 1990:30-45.

³⁰. Helu, Kings and Tombs, TS, n.d., 1986b. Cf. Spennemann 1986b, 1989.

³¹. See, for example, Ata 1924:43; Biersack 1991, 100:231-268; Bott 72:205-237, 277-282; 1982:92; Collocott, King Taufa, MS, n.d.:52, 1928a:55; Gifford 1924:43-54, 139-152; 1929a:52, 130-131; Havea, Notes on the History and Custom of Tonga, MS, 1870; Herda 1988:36-37; Leach 1972:239-275; Māhina 1986:43-71; *Koe Makasini a Koliji*, 1876, 3:58-61; Tongavalevale 1924a:49-52; Tupou 1924b:140-145; Ve'ehala and Fanua 1977:31-32; Vivi 1988.

³². Helu, Kings and Tombs, TS, n.d., 1986b. Cf. Collocott, King Taufa, MS, n.d.:14-18; Wood 1943:1-7.

(Carpenter [of-the] Land)³³, referring to his lasting marks in the Tongan social organisation. This idiom is locally used to refer to rare and outstanding people, as in the case of Queen Sālote, considered the modern Lo'au of Tonga³⁴, who have made permanent contributions to society. *Kava* ceremony is, in fact, called *lo'au*³⁵. Given his possible Hawaiian and Samoan connections, the name Lo'au may be the respective Samoan and Hawaiian variations for La'au (plant, tree; as in *la'au ola* tree [of] life; Tonganised in the personal name 'Akau'ola) and Lu'au (young taro tops) or Luau'i (true parents)³⁶. Both variations, while being literal in meaning, are social in character, and their localisation was probably symbolic of social organisation. In fact, the idiomatic use of the literal term 'akau (tree), as in the expression '*Oku va'ava'a ē tangata hangē ha 'akau* (Human beings branch out like a tree), symbolically refers to social reproduction through procreation³⁷.

The other local manifestations of Lo'au are related to the islands of 'Eueiki and 'Eua, respectively lying off at the east and southeast of Heketā in Niutōua, the third royal Tu'i Tonga residence³⁸. Linguistically, the name 'Eueiki may be a variation of the Samoan Savai'i, known mainly in eastern Polynesia in various forms such as Hawai'i, Havai'i, Avaiki, Havaiki³⁹. This Samoan-eastern Polynesian, Savai'i-Lo'au connection over Tonga is all the more evident in the events that followed in the rule of Tu'itātui, who seems to have begun extending his regional imperial rule to Fiji and then to Samoa through Savai'i⁴⁰. In this incident, Lo'au did, in fact, play a very influential role. On the other hand, the name 'Eua is said to be linked with the Hawaiian island of 'Oahu, whose old name was 'Eua⁴¹.

³³. Bott 1982:92. See also Biersack 1991, 1200:231-268; Havea, Notes on the History and Customs of Tonga, MS, 1870:625; Herda 1988:36-37; Māhina 1986.

³⁴. Bott 1982:92; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973.

³⁵. Falekāono [Taipaleti] 1973; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973.

³⁶. Helu, interview, 1988.

³⁷. Ula [Tāufanau] 1973. Cf. *Ko e Kava, Lea Tonga mo e Koloa Faka-Tonga*, n.d.; *Ko e Ngaahi Palovepi Faka-Tonga*, n.d.; Helu 1987b.

³⁸. Helu, Kings and Tombs, TS, n.d, 1986b.

³⁹. Spate 1988:12-13.

⁴⁰. Gifford 1924:47-54, 1929a:52; Malupo 1924:47-49. See also Kramer, The Samoan Islands, MS, 1902:132.

⁴¹. Helu, Kings and Tombs, TS, n.d, 1986b.

Considering that all the events regarding Momo, the tenth Tu'i Tonga, and later his son, Tu'itātui, were directly and indirectly connected with Lo'au, it is thus important to establish his rather enigmatic identity and his crucial role in the local affairs of Tonga⁴². Tongan traditions simply refer to Lo'au as a foreigner (*muli*)⁴³. Although it is reported that there were possibly three Lo'au, two have been identified with certainty, Lo'au Tuputoka (*Tupu-toka*; lit. Grow-[and]-defeated; or a variation of *taputoka*; *tapu-toka*; lit. [one-who]-never-conceded-defeat) and Lo'au Tongafisifonua (*Tonga-fisi-fonua*; lit. Tonga-[the]-seer-[of]-land)⁴⁴. Lo'au Tuputoka, who was at Savai'i in Samoa in search of the sun (*la'a*) during the time of Tu'itātui, was associated with Momo⁴⁵. The other, Lo'au Tongafisifonua, went with Kae and Longopoa on a voyage seeking the horizons (*tafatafa'akilangi*; *tafatafa'aki-langi*; lit. all-round-boundaries-[of]-sky)⁴⁶. Literally speaking, the names Lo'au Tuputoka and Lo'au Tongafisifonua were probably symbolic of hegemony and counter-hegemony, effected through long distance voyaging.

The activities of both Lo'au Tuputoka and Lo'au Tongafisifonua revolved around long two-way, regional distant voyages, possibly for locally maintaining regional social, economic and political links in Tonga. The tradition is that Lo'au Tuputoka went to Savai'i in Samoa on a voyage seeking the sun. In literal terms, the idiomatic use of the term *la'a* socially refers to power, as in the case of the extensive rule of the Tu'i Manu'a, who was symbolically considered to be the only sun in the whole world, rising from the east in Saua/Manu'a and setting in the west at Falealupo/Savai'i⁴⁷. Again, the same

⁴². Cf. Biersack 1991, 100:233; Bott 1982:92; Gifford 1929a:130-131; Herda 1988:36-37; Māhina 1986.

⁴³. See, for example, Collocott, King Taufa, MS, n.d:52; Bott 1982:92; Gifford 1924:71-75, 1929a:52, 130-131; Ve'ehala and Fanua 1977:31; Vivī 1988. Cf. Havea, (Notes on the History and Customs of Tonga, MS, 1870:625), describes Lo'au as *'eiki muli mo poto 'aupito* (a foreign and very clever chief).

⁴⁴. Gifford 1924:50, 1929a:52, 130-131; Malupo 1924:50.

⁴⁵. Gifford 1929a:52. Cf. Gifford 1924:50; Malupo 1924:50.

⁴⁶. Gifford 1924:139-152, 1929a:130; *Koe Makasini a Koliji*, 1876, 3:58-61; Tupou 1924b:140-145. Cf. Ve'ehala and Fanua 1977:31.

⁴⁷. Foma'i, interview, 1989; Ofisa, interview, 1989; Lafa'i, pers. comm., 1991; Va'a, pers. comm., 1992. See also Abraham 1924:111-116; Fanua 1975b:27-37; Fifita 1924:118-119; Tapueluelu 1924:114; Tupou 1924:116 for accounts concerning Sisimata'ila'a (*Sisi-mata'i-la'a*; lit. Sisi/waist-band-[the]-eye-[of-the]-sun), the son of the sun. In these stories, the sun is featured thematically in terms of social mobility, involving hegemony and counter-hegemony between groups. Cf. Collection of Queen Sālote's Poetry, MS, n.d; Collection of Tongan Song Texts (Ancient, Traditional-

idiom occurs in Tonga, where living and dead monarchs are respectively referred to as the rising and setting sun⁴⁸. In one of Queen Sālote's poems, she, in social terms, poetically alluded to the rule of Tu'itātui, who resided at the most eastern tip of Tongatapu, as the rising spot of the sun (*hopo'anga ē la'a*)⁴⁹. Symbolically, while Lo'au's search for the sun may be connected with his eastern/*hahake* Polynesian connection, the sun's rising place, it also probably means that Lo'au was in Samoa on a social or diplomatic mission seeking better power relations between the Tongan and Samoan ruling elites. This might well have been the case, for at the time of the rule of Tu'itātui the Tongan-Samoan relations appear to have been in disharmony, while the Tongan-Fijian connections were relatively intact.

Lo'au Tongafisifonua, Kae and Longopoa, all of Samoan and eastern Polynesian descent, are said to have engaged on a voyage searching for the horizons, where they ended up in what appears to be the antarctic and New Zealand⁵⁰. From Tongatapu they sailed through Ha'apai, Vava'u, Niuatoputapu, Samoa, 'Uvea and finally reached the horizons. The voyage ended in disaster. Kae and Longopoa survived by clinging to a pandanus tree (*fa*) on the edge of the ocean, but Lo'au Tongafisifonua was lost without trace. Eventually, Kae and Longopoa found their way back to Tonga via Samoa. Both the Samoan and 'Uvean traditions relate similar contacts, in the case of Samoa, Maui Ti'eti'e i Talaga sailed to the antarctic and New Zealand and the two 'Uvean brothers, Maui 'Atalaga and Maui Kisikisi, came from New Zealand through Tonga and found 'Uvea, then went back to Tonga via Samoa⁵¹. As reported, this was long before the Tongan chief Hoko or Tu'uhoko established the first 'Uvean king, Tauloko, around AD 1450⁵². This Tongan-Samoan-'Uvean connection of Maui Kisikisi may explain the assertion in Tongan traditions concerning the offshore

Classical and Modern), MS, n.d; Collection of Works by Tongan Poets, MS, n.d, for examples of the sun still being used as a symbol for power. For the cases of Samoa and Tahiti see, for example, Henry 1928:431-438; Stair 1895a, 4:48-49.

⁴⁸. Cf. Helu 1987b.

⁴⁹. See, for example, Collection of Queen Sālote's Poetry, MS, n.d; Collection of Tongan Song Texts (Ancient, Traditional-Classical and Modern), MS, n.d; Collection of Works by Tongan Poets, MS, n.d; Helu 1972b, 1972c, 1989b, 1989c.

⁵⁰. Helu, interview, 1988. Also see Gifford 1924:139-152; *Ko e Makasini 'a Koliji*, 1876, 3:58-61. Cf. Ve'ehala and Fanua 1977:31-32.

⁵¹. Henquel, Talanoa ki Uvea, TS, n.d:1-2; Henry 1980:21-23.

⁵². Henquel, Talanoa ki Uvea, TS, n.d:1-2; Kulitea, interview, 1989; Malau, interview, 1989; Napole, interview, 1989; Pilioko, interview, 1989.

island of Koloa in Vava'u, the Maama residence of Maui 'Atalanga and Maui Kisikisi, and the island settled by a Samoan lineage, renowned for their women's physical beauty, that gave rise to Ha'afuluhao, the symbolic name for Vava'u⁶³.

The original Lo'au, Tuputoka, is said to have been the Tu'i Ha'amea, who came originally from an unknown place called Ha'amea, and resided at Ha'amea in Central Tongatapu⁶⁴. It has been said also that Lo'au was actually a Tu'i Ha'amoā (King of Samoa), probably of eastern Polynesian descent, who came from Samoa to Tonga⁶⁵. That is, the Lo'au Culture could have originally been eastern Polynesian in character, but later became infiltrated with Samoan influences. According to some traditions, Lo'au resided at Lifuka in Ha'apai at a place called Ha'alo'au (*Ha'a-lo'au/Lo'au*; lit. Lineage-[of]-lo'au/Lo'au), where people living there are said to be descendants of Lo'au⁶⁶. Other accounts relate that, while residing in Ha'amea in Tongatapu, Lo'au sent three of his sons, Tāufatofua (*Tāufa-tofua/Tofua*; lit. Tāufa-[of]-tofua/Tofua), Fanualofanga (*Fanua-lofanga/Lofanga*; lit. Fanua/Fonua-[of]-lofanga/Lofanga) and Kavamo'unga'one (*Kava-mo'unga'one*; lit. Kava-[of]-mo'unga'one/Mo'unga'one), to be respective chiefs of the islands of Tofua, Lofanga and Mo'unga'one in the Ha'apai group⁶⁷.

The residential compound of Lo'au in Ha'amea at Central Tongatapu was called Ma'ananga (lit. Omniscience; All-knowing)⁶⁸. Such a designation symbolically refers to his rare ability of "seeing" the future (*kaha'u*), where he, in social terms, mastered the operation of things in society with great insight and predicted the fall of events in the course of time. Socially speaking, Lo'au, by "seeing" the future, was man of broad-mindedness, i.e., of permanence and

⁶³. Faleola, pers. comm. 1990; Helu 1986b:26; Wood 1943:5.

⁶⁴. Ata 1924:43; Bott 1982:92; Gifford 1924, 43, 71, 1929a:130; Havea, Notes on the History and Customs of Tonga, MS, 1870:625; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973; Māhina 1986.

⁶⁵. Helu, interview, 1988; Mafimalanga, interview, 1988; Cf. Helu, Kings and Tombs, TS, n.d., 1986b.

⁶⁶. Gifford 1929a:130-131.

⁶⁷. Gifford 1929a:130.

⁶⁸. Gifford 1929a:130; Havea, Notes on the History and Customs of Tonga, MS, n.d.:625; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973. Cf. Herda 1988:36-37; Māhina 1986.

culture as opposed to mediocrity and crudeness⁵⁹. These essentially socio-political attributes were also shown to have been inherited by his powerful grandsons, Fasi'apule and Tu'itātui, which were mutually reflected in many of their ingeniously respective diplomatic skills and permanent achievements during their time (see Chapter Five).

The omniscient aspect of Lo'au can be better understood within the human conception of space and time, where spatio-temporality is unilaterally classified into the notions of past, present and future⁶⁰. Realistically speaking, there is no future, only past and present. But even if there are claims of a future, itself a form of idealism, they are based on actual past and present human experiences, moralities or values, as it is in the conceptualisation of heaven and hell, or, in the case of ancient Tonga, Pulotu and Maama⁶¹. It is in this context that the real past is idealised in the actual present, which is, in turn, projected in the same way to the future⁶². In strict terms, such an idealistic appropriation of these human spatio-temporal concepts thus becomes an excellent apparatus of social control (see Chapter Seven)⁶³. Thus, the ability of Lo'au to "see" the future simply refers to his past skills, which he utilised in his socio-political involvements with respect to the present state of society. And because his achievements were permanent, they stood to last in the time to come.

The lasting achievements of Lo'au are, in part, responsible for the confusion about his identity⁶⁴. Although two Lo'au, Lo'au Tuputoka and Lo'au Tongafisifonua, have been identified as persons, the general Lo'au influences have continued to further compound his identity. Bott⁶⁵ identifies two, or perhaps three, Lo'au, respectively associated with Momo, Kau'ulufonua I Fekai and the second or third Tu'i Kanokupolu. Whether Lo'au was an actual

⁵⁹. Cf. Helu 1986d, 1991:55-65; Māhina 1990:30-45; Nietzsche 1968a, 1968b, 1973; Stumpf 1979:78-91.

⁶⁰. Cf. Dening 1989, 1:134-139; Keesing 1989, 1:19-42; Sahlins 1985a. See also Herda 1988:37.

⁶¹. Cf. Anderson 1962; Baker 1979, 1986; Helu 1983:43-56; Larrain 1983.

⁶². Cf. Keesing 1989, 1:19-42; Tudor 1972; Howard 1983, 16:176-203.

⁶³. Cf. Anderson 1962; Baker 1979, 1986; Helu 1983:43-56, 1991:55-65; Howard 1983, 16:176-203; Larrain 1983.

⁶⁴. Biersack 1991, 100:231-268; Bott 1982:92.

⁶⁵. Bott 1982:92.

individual or simply represented waves of cultural influences is something we may never know⁶⁶. But if the original Lo'au was a real person, which is likely to have been the case, then he must have been a high chief of the assumed Hawaiian or Tahitian lines of kings that, through their 'Eueiki-'Eua connection, played an important role in the development of the Tu'i Tonga at Heketā in Niutōua⁶⁷. If Lo'au was not a person, he might then have been an embodiment of the cultural influences pertaining to a group collectively known as the Lo'au⁶⁸.

We can assume from the above that the Momo-Lo'au connections had something to do with the original Lo'au, whether in the person of Lo'au Tuputoka or Lo'au Tongafisifonua or as a set of powerful Lo'au cultural influences. But the later references to Lo'au were probably associated with the permanent achievements of the Lo'au Culture, derived from the original Lo'au, which were used for guidance or as a repository of refined knowledge for ruling and for effecting major social reforms similar to those that the original Lo'au had carried out in the time of Momo and Tu'itātui. According to one tradition, Tu'i Tonga Pau refused to pass on this body of knowledge (*tala-ē-fonua*) to his son, Fatafehi Fuanunuiava (see Chapter Six)⁶⁹.

There still exists in Tonga today, as it must have been in the past, the practice of associating major social undertakings of great consequence with past heroes⁷⁰. Such a customary practice is expressed in idioms such as *Ko e ola 'o e tavatava-i-manuka or Manu'a*, in its Samoan context (lit. The result of the secret-whisper-at-manuka/Manu'a), referring to how Maui Kisikisi obtained the magical fishhook from Manu'a (see Appendix A), and *Ko e ola 'o e tukufonua 'a e 'Uluaki Fa* (lit. The result of placing/reforming-of-the-land of the Prime/First Pandanus-fruit)⁷¹, a reference to the constitutional reforms of Tāufa'āhau Tupou I, symbolised as the Prime/First Pandanus-fruit. Socially, the rationalisation behind the first idiom points to the achievements of the present ruling Tu'i Kanokupolu line, of both Tongan and Samoan descent, as something

⁶⁶. Cf. Herda 1988:36-37; Māhina 1986, 1990:30-45.

⁶⁷. Helu, Kings and Tombs, TS, n.d, 1986b.

⁶⁸. See, for example, Herda 1988:36-37; Māhina 1986, 1990.

⁶⁹. Helu, interview, 1988. Also see Lātūkefu 1974:13.

⁷⁰. Cf. Helu 1987b.

⁷¹. See, for example, Anonymous 1977:1-2; Bott 1982:89-90; Fraser 1897b, VI:71; Reiter 1917-1918, 12-13:1026-1046, 1919-1920, 14-15:125-142.

that was sanctioned through the connections of Maui Kisikisi, the Tongan hero, with the Tu'i Manu'a in Samoa. On the other hand, the second idiom is actually taken by Tongans to mean that the freedom (*tau'atāina*) they enjoy at present originated in the major reforms derived from the overthrow of the oppressive Tu'i Tonga by Tāufa'āhau I⁷².

While the influences of Lo'au are diverse and conflicting in nature, his connections with Momo can, however, be specifically observed in three distinct but closely connected contexts⁷³. In these specific contexts, the Lo'au-Momo connections, both actual and symbolic, are related in three myths: the myth of the tenth Tu'i Tonga, Momo, and the chief Lo'au; the myth of the origin of *Kava*; and the myth of the eleventh Tu'i Tonga, Tu'itātui, and his half-brother, Fasi'apule⁷⁴. The one thing which these myths share in common is exchange, whether of women between groups, or between complementary and opposed social groupings such as *hou'eiki* and *tu'a*. Such exchanges involve alliance formation, where kinships relations are defined in terms of the structural and functional relationships between groups⁷⁵. Thus, the economic exchanges between such unified and opposed social groups are ultimately political in character⁷⁶.

The myth of the tenth Tu'i Tonga, Momo, and the chief Lo'au⁷⁷ illustrates the political character of the socio-economic exchange of women between groups. Here is a resume of the principal events of the myth:

The Tenth Tu'i Tonga, Momo, and the Chief Lo'au Myth

(Told and translated by the author)

There lived in Ha'amea at Central Tongatapu Lo'au, the Tu'i Ha'amea. He had two daughters, the eldest was Nua and the younger was not known. Nua, of extreme beauty, was married to Ngongokilitoto, a chief of Malapo. They

⁷². Cf. Collection of Queen Sālote's Poetry, MS, n.d.; Collection of Tongan Song Texts, MS; Collection of Works by Tongan Poets, MS, n.d.; Helu 1988d; *Ko e Kava, Lea Tonga mo e Koloa Faka-Tonga*, n.d.; *Ko e Palovepi faka-Tonga*, n.d.

⁷³. Cf. Biersack 1991, 100:231-268; Bott 1972:207-237, 277-282, 1982:92-93; Herda 1988:36-37; Leach 1972:239-275; Māhina 1986, 1990.

⁷⁴. See, for example, Ata 1924:43; Bott 1972:215-216, 1982:92-93; Fakauta 1924:43-46; Fevanga 1924:74; Gifford 1924:43-46, 71-75; Lavulo 1924a:72-74; Leach 1972:248-249; Māhina 1986:45; Tonga 1924a:71-72.

⁷⁵. See, for example, Friedman 1981, 23:275-295; Kaeppler 1978b, 11:246-252; Kirch 1984a:217-242; Kirch and Green 1987, 28:431-456. Cf. Poulsen 1967, 1977, 1987; Spennemann 1986b, 1989.

⁷⁶. Helu 1992.

⁷⁷. Ata 1924:43; Fakauta 1924:43-46; Gifford 1924:43-46; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973.

lived in a place called Ha'angongo, where they had a son named Fasi'apule. The rumour about beautiful Nua reached Momo, who was eager to have her as a wife. One day Momo wanted to make a yam plantation. So he sent his *matāpule*, Lehā'uli, to ask Lo'au for some yam seedlings (*pulopula'i 'ufi*) to cultivate (*ohi*). That is, Momo wanted to marry Lo'au's daughter, Nua. In reply, Lo'au said to Lehā'uli to tell Momo that, as for his only two yam seedlings, while the one, [being useless for planting], **has already been sprouted**, the other is **not yet ready** [to be cultivated] (*kuo 'fena" ē ta'u, kei 'mula" ē 'ta'u*'; lit. the "year" has "sprouted", the "year" is still "immature"). In real terms, Lo'au said that his eldest daughter, Nua, had already had a child, while his younger daughter was too young to marry. But Momo, by sending back Lehā'uli to Lo'au, responded that though [the "year"] had "sprouted", yet she still remained Nua (*'fena" pē, ka ko Nua*; lit. though "sprouted", yet Nua). Actually, Momo meant that despite Nua having already had a child, he still wanted her because of her enormous beauty. Lo'au came to Malapo to fetch her daughter for Momo. Although Momo and Nua got married, Ngongokilitoto continued to have an affair with Nua. The arrangement was that if Nua heard water dripping on a *kape* leaf on a rainy night, her former husband was around the royal compound for a secret meeting. Later Momo and Nua had a son, Tu'itātui, who succeeded his father, Momo, as the eleventh Tu'i Tonga.

The events in the myth are themselves self-explanatory, though not in terms of its structural and functional elements which may emphasise that the maintenance of kinship bonds are evident and, thus, warrant no explanation⁷⁸. Rather the events are self-evident in the sense that there is an inherent distinction, built into the myth, between its literal/symbolic and social/historical aspects. Given that the exchange of women between the Tu'i Ha'amea and the Tu'i Tonga led to an alliance formation⁷⁹, there remains to be seen the constraints that had generated the kinship bonds between them. Thus, there is still a need to identify the extent to which the socio-economic exchange between the Tu'i Ha'amea and the Tu'i Tonga structurally and functionally emphasised or undermined the political relations between them.

The exchange of yam seedlings, given the fact that yams (*'ufi*) are a chiefly symbol⁸⁰, suggests that the exchange was between equals⁸¹, the two lines of kings, Tu'i Ha'amea and Tu'i Tonga. This is further indicated by the mutually tributary relationships between them, where Momo proposed to marry

⁷⁸. Cf. Leach 1972:239-241.

⁷⁹. Cf. Biersack 1982, 91:181-212; Bott 1981, 1982; Helu 1992; Kaeppler 1978b, 11:246-252.

⁸⁰. For example, *kahokaho*, as compared to the commoner yams *tua* and *palai*, is the most chiefly yam. While the idiomatic expression *pala pē 'a kahokaho* (lit. bruised of a *kahokaho* [yam]) refers to the fact that, as compared with the other yams, it can still be used for yam cuttings if parts of it are bruised or rotten, it is also symbolically used for persons who may be ugly yet they are of chiefly descent.

⁸¹. Cf. Helu 1983:43-56.

Nua, the daughter of Lo'au, who, in turn, presented her to him. Considering Lo'au's great skills, both cultural and technological⁸², Momo must have been under enormous pressure to form an alliance with him. The development that followed, which was characterised by the many lasting achievements of Lo'au and those derived from him, points in this direction. While the Tu'i Ha'amea appears to have gained from this enforced arrangement, the Tu'i Tonga, in the long run, benefited from it.

There is an indication in the myth that the arrangement angered or was opposed by a certain section, represented by Ngongokilitoto, chief and elder, the husband of Nua, of the Tu'i Ha'amea's *kainga*. This is reflected in the featuring of the *kape* plant in the Ngongokilitoto-Nua secret affairs over the Momo-Nua arranged marriage. The idiomatic use of *kape* in Tonga as in the expression '*Oku veli hoku ngākau hangē na'a ku kai kape fifisi ho'o lea pehē mai kiate au!* (lit. I feel itchy as if my bowel has been affected from eating *kape* with hot effects (of *fifisi*) when you said that to me!'⁸³, and in the myth of the origin of *kava*, describes a state of mind characterised by anger and opposition.

The political significance placed on the socio-economic exchange of women between groups is literally seen in the symbols of the myth. As observed literally, the highly symbolic exchange of yam seedlings between Lo'au and Momo for *planting*, is, in social terms, the exchange of women for *procreative* purposes between two powerful, foreign and local groups⁸⁴ embodied by the Tu'i Ha'amea and the Tu'i Tonga. On the literal level, the theme of the myth is *cultivation*, involving the *generative* capacity of yams, which is, in social terms, thematically expressed by marriage and the *reproductive* power of women. By literally and symbolically cultivating the yams, an allegory of the chiefly order, Momo, through marrying Nua, was able to socially and physically reproduce the hegemony of the Tu'i Tonga over the rest of society.

Besides the analogous, literal/symbolic and social basis of the procreative capacity of yams and women, the literal attributes of the different stages of the growth of yams are taken by Tongans to be symbolic of the physical changes in the vaginas (*pali*)⁸⁵. Their use in the myth reveals the literal, symbolic and

⁸². Cf. Adler and Cain 1961:3; Helu 1987c; Māhina 1990:30-45.

⁸³. See, for example, Māhina 1986:60.

⁸⁴. Cf. Helu 1992.

⁸⁵. Helu, interview, 1988; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973.

social connections between yams and women, and, more importantly, the value society as a whole places on the role of women in the reproductive process⁸⁶. The *pali* of older, often married, women and young, mostly virgin, girls are said to respectively resemble the sprouted yam cuttings (*fena*) and young immature yams (*mula*). As far as this vagina-yam analogy is concerned, it is observed that the yam cuttings, having been fully grown, become wrinkled (*mingi/fena*), while the young yams, because they are young and immature, remain smooth and soft (*mula/mulomula*).

The second Lo'au-Momo connection revolves around the myth of the origin of *kava*. While the myth reveals a consolidation of the structural and functional relationships between chiefs and commoners, respectively characterised by a life of servility and hegemony on the part of the *tu'a* and *hou'eiki*, the myth also highlights one of Lo'au's permanent contributions to society⁸⁷. The following is a precis of the main events in the myth⁸⁸:

The Myth of the Origin of *Kava*

(Told and translated by the author)

One day the Tu'i Tonga, Momo, went out bonito fishing (*hi'atu*) with his fishermen in a *tafa'anga* canoe. Having caught nothing, they were exhausted and hungry. They landed at the island of 'Eueiki, where they went ashore to rest and look for something to eat. They placed their fishing gear against a huge *kape* plant, under which Momo sheltered himself from the sun. Meanwhile, his fishermen went inland to fetch some food. At the time, a serious drought struck the island, causing a great famine. Neither did the Tu'i Tonga party find any food, nor they sight anyone, except a couple, Fevanga and Fefafa, with their only leprous daughter, Kavaonau. Having learned of Momo's presence on the island, the couple, seeing they had nothing other than the one *kape* plant, were desperate in their attempt to make a presentation to the Tu'i Tonga. When they rushed down to get the plant, the couple found the Tu'i Tonga leaning against it, so they could not use it for it was *tapu*. Considering the constrained circumstances, the couple had no other alternative but to kill their daughter to make way for their presentation. After killing Kavaonau, they baked her in an *'umu*. After learning of the incident, Momo had sympathy towards the couple, then ordered them to leave the *'umu* uncovered, making it their daughter's grave. Time passed when two plants, one from the head and the other from the feet, grew from her grave. One day they saw a mouse bit the first plant, wavered and fed on the second one, after which it regained its balance, when they were found to be the *kava* and sugarcane (*to*) respectively. In the meantime, Lo'au came to the island, advising them to take the plants and present them to the Tu'i Tonga in Heketā at Niutōua, where the *kava* was to be made a ceremonial drink and the *to* was to be eaten with it. Lo'au spoke

⁸⁶. See, for example, Helu 1992.

⁸⁷. Cf. Helu 1987c; Māhina 1990:30-45.

⁸⁸. The myth of the origin of *kava* can be found in Biersack 1991, 100:232-233; Bott 1972:215-216, 1982:92-93; Fevanga 1924:74; Gifford 1924:71-75; Lavulo 1924a:72-74; Leach 1972:248; Māhina 1986:45; Tonga 1924a:71-72.

to the couple in the following archaic verse: *Kava ko e kilia mei Fa'imata* (Kava, the leper from Fa'imata); *Ko e tama 'a Fevanga mo Fefafa* (The child of Fevanga and Fefafa); *Fahifahi pea mama* (Chopped and chewed); *Ha tāno'a mono'anga* (A bowl as a container); *Ha pulu mono tata* (Some coconut fibre as strainer); *Ha pelu ke tau'anga* (A fold of young banana leaves as cups); *Ha mu'a ke 'apa'apa* (Someone as a master of ceremony); *Ha 'eiki ke olovaha* (A chief to preside over the ceremony); *Fai'anga 'o e fakataumafa* (A place of conduct of ceremony).

As in the origin myth of 'Aho'eitu, the myth of the origin of *kava* has been the focus of much psychoanalytic (Freudian), structuralist-functionalist (symbolic) and realist (historical) interpretations⁸⁹. Despite the fact that Bott's analysis of the two myths has been dismissed by Leach as purely intuitive⁹⁰, certain aspects of the psychoanalytic interpretation of the myths by Bott are most convincing⁹¹, for instance, the manner in which Bott connects the two myths with dream, particularly the condensing of symbolism that runs parallel between them, where opposed thoughts and emotions are released and resolved, disguising and transforming them as well so that the conflicting tendencies are accommodated and dealt with in the process⁹². Such an interpretation merges with both the synchronic and diachronic dimensions of the myths, when they first arose out of particular sets of constraint circumstances at different times in the same way they still continue to resolve, conceal and transform conflicts.

Bott⁹³, in connecting the myth of the origin of *kava* and the origin myth of 'Aho'eitu, contends that the royal *kava* ceremony symbolically displays the wider structural and functional relationships between the political titles that had their origin in 'Aho'eitu. There is then a recognition of the synchronic and diachronic dimensions of the two myths, though this recognition goes as far as the mere mention of the former to address the latter. According to Bott⁹⁴, the *kava* ceremony, while standardising social principles and expressing fundamental contradictions in human relationships, conserves social institutions as it accommodates major structural and functional shifts in the political relationships between titles brought about by the inevitability of change.

⁸⁹. Biersack 1991, 100:231-268; Bott 1972:205-237, 277-282; Leach 1972:239-275; Māhina 1986:43-71.

⁹⁰. Leach 1972:239-242.

⁹¹. Bott 1972:205-237, 177-282, 1982:92-93.

⁹². Bott 1972:205-206. Cf. Biersack 1991, 100:233; Māhina 1986.

⁹³. Bott 1972:217-233. Cf. Bott 1982:92-93.

⁹⁴. Bott 1972:217-233.

By connecting the two myths, Bott brings out this fundamental human character quite convincingly. Both Bott and I have extensively dealt with these basic social and mental conflicting tendencies in our discussions of the two myths⁹⁶. Although Biersack⁹⁶ attempts to address the same problems, elaborating on some of the grounds both Bott and I have covered, she, by practically leaving the synchronic dimension of the myth relatively untouched, tends to lean towards the symbolic interpretation of the Tongan kinship *per se*. Both Bott⁹⁷ and Leach⁹⁸, however, share a preoccupation, the subjection of synchrony to diachrony, i.e., the subsuming of the specific sets of social, economic and political circumstances that gave rise to the myths in the first place to their relative functional value in sustaining order through time⁹⁹.

Although Bott rightly points out the diachronic connections of the two myths, seeing the creation of the *kava* ceremony reinforced the rule of Momo, the tenth Tu'i Tonga, whose hegemony had continued from the first Tu'i Tonga, 'Aho'eitu, the respective synchronic contexts in which the two myths arose, though related, were quite independent¹⁰⁰. Whereas the origin myth of 'Aho'eitu, in particular, expresses the hegemony and counter-hegemony of the first Tu'i Tonga, who unified Tonga against the supremacy of Samoa and the Tu'i Manu'a, the myth of the origin of *kava* specifically manifests an important turning point in the local development in Tonga. Such a turning point was marked by the peak of the local nation building, when Momo laid down the foundation of the Tu'i Tonga empire. In other words, the myth of the origin of *kava*, in terms of the creation of the *kava* ceremony, reflects the attempt to cement the structural and functional relationships between the Tu'i Tonga and other groups in society and beyond Tonga, locally providing a sound political platform on which to extend his rule beyond Tonga.

⁹⁵. Bott 1972:2-5-237, 277-282; Māhina 1986:43-71.

⁹⁶. Biersack 1991, 100:231-268. Cf. Biersack 1990:80-105, 1990b:46-58; Leach 1972:239-275; Valeri 1989, 4:209-247, 1990a:45-80, 1990b:213-250.

⁹⁷. Bott 1972:205-237, 277-282.

⁹⁸. Leach 1972:239-275.

⁹⁹. See, for example, Māhina 1986:43-71, 1990:30-45.

¹⁰⁰. See, for example, Anonymous 1977:1-2; *Ko e Fafagu* 1907, 5:6-12, 26-32, 41-48, 60-64; Fonua 1924:38-43; Gifford 1924:25-43.

Both the synchronic and diachronic aspects of the *kava* ceremony are reflected in the myth itself and its present form¹⁰¹. Whereas it is obvious in the myth that the *kava* roots were chewed (*mama*), where the diluted stuff was strained with coconut fibre (*pulu*), and the beverage served in folded banana leaves (*pelu*)¹⁰², in recent times the *kava* roots were bounded (*tuki*) with stones (*maka*), then prepared with a hibiscus fibre strainer (*fau*) and consumed from coconut shell cups (*ipu nge'esi/nga'asi niu*)¹⁰³. At present, the roots are bounded with iron bars (*ukamea*), and the mixture is strained with a piece of cloth (*konga tupenu*) and served in plastic cups (*ipu pelesitiki*). The *'olovaha* (presiding high chief) and *'apa'apa* (presiding *matāpule*; conductors of the ceremony) have been kept intact, although some aspects of its original form and composition have been transformed according to social, economic and political circumstances at different points in time¹⁰⁴. The most conspicuous of these transformations is indicated by a few marked differences between the Tu'i Tonga *kava* ceremony and the Tu'i Tonga-derived Tu'i Kanokupolu *kava* ceremony.

The attempt to consolidate the *hou'eiki-tu'a* relations¹⁰⁵ is itself witnessed by the theme of the myth, i.e., the consolidation of the structural and functional relationships between *hou'eiki* and *tu'a*, which were defined by a life of service (*fatongia*) on the part of the *tu'a*, and reinforced by the interplay of the heroic and slave moralities and values respectively pertaining to the two largely complementary and opposed classes. The interplay of such moralities and values, for instance, the scarcity of food as opposed to the choice of giving up their only source of livelihood (*kape* plant), and the *tapu* generated by the presence of the Tu'i Tonga as opposed to the desperate execution of the couple's *fatongia*, led to the couple's sacrifice of their only daughter¹⁰⁶. While the names of the couple, husband and wife, Fevanga (lit. Act/respond-[especially-[in/to]-critical/difficult-situations) and Fefafa (lit. Multiple-carrying-[of]-burden) reflects

¹⁰¹. Helu, interview, 1988; Falekāono [Taipaleti] 1973. Cf. Ferdon 1987:51-67; Gifford 1929a:156-171; Martin 1981, II:331-342.

¹⁰². See, for example, Mariner 1981, II:331-342; Gifford 1929a:71-75; Tonga 1924a:71-72; Vivi 1988.

¹⁰³. See, for example, Biersack 1991, 100:240-246; Bott 1972:207-215; Gifford 1929a: 156-170.

¹⁰⁴. See, for example, Bott 1972:205-237.

¹⁰⁵. Cf. Helu 1992.

¹⁰⁶. See Māhina 1986:43-71.

division of labour, they also indicate a constrained way of life¹⁰⁷. In killing their daughter, which expresses sacrifice in its ultimate form, the life of Kavaonau was transformed to something of permanent value in society, the *kava* ceremony¹⁰⁸. But the *kava* ceremony, in its political context, materially reinforced and reproduced the social order principally in the interests of the Tu'i Tonga¹⁰⁹. In fact, the *kava* ceremony, as heralded by Lo'au in verse, mirrors the rigid formation of the Tu'i Tonga political standing in the wider society.

While the couple's sacrifice may be better understood from the angle of the general thrust of the Tongan heroic value system which prescribes that life (*mo'ui*) was not a value, and that it must be readily given up to establish the much accepted and promoted values of dignity (*langilangi*) and reputation (*ongoongo*)¹¹⁰, it also expresses the clash between the specific sets of heroic and slave moralities and values corresponding to *hou'eiki* and *tu'a*¹¹¹. In this context, the chiefs' system of values included certain attributes such as *fiepule* (to be domineering), *fielahi* (aggressiveness), *ula* (shrewdness), *manavahē'ia* (to be feared), *to'a* (bravery) and *hoihoifua* (physical beauty), while some of the commoners' values included *faka'apa'apa* (respect), *mateaki* (loyalty), *taliangi* (obedience), *'ofa* (love), *loto māfana* (warm-heartedness) and *fatongia* (specific duties)¹¹².

On the one hand, the execution of the commoners' duties is not always one of cooperation, for at times it can often generate feelings of hostility and bitterness towards their superiors¹¹³. The Tongan idiom *ngulungulu fei'umu* (lit. grumbling-[of-the]-cooks) illustrates such a fundamental conflicting human situation. It is a case where *tu'a*, while complaining about the oppressive nature of their *fatongia*, continue to carry them out, mainly perhaps for fear

¹⁰⁷. See, for example, Māhina 1986:68. Cf. Herda 1988:38.

¹⁰⁸. The myth of the origin of *kava* belongs to what Helu (1983:43-56) calls the ecological myths, where sacrifice always involves permanent contributions to society.

¹⁰⁹. See, for example, Māhina 1986, 1990:30-45. Cf. Bott 1982; Spennemann 1989.

¹¹⁰. See, for example, Helu 1981; Kolo 1990:1-11; Māhina 1986. Cf. Biersack 1991; Bott 1972.

¹¹¹. Cf. Helu 1981; Kolo 1990:1-11; Māhina 1986; Nietzsche 1928a, 1928b, 1973; Stumpf 1979:78-91.

¹¹². Helu 1981. Cf. Kolo 1990:1-11; Māhina 1986.

¹¹³. Cf. Bott 1982:93.

of punishment¹¹⁴. That is, the will of the commoners, whether they liked their allocated duties or not, was of no consequence to society and the chiefs. In fact, Tongan history itself witnesses the cruel and harsh treatment of *tu'a* by *chiefs*¹¹⁵. But the series of murders of certain Tu'i Tonga, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu¹¹⁶ testify to the fact that human interests cannot be subsumed to some kind of unified and totalitarian interest¹¹⁷.

Such basic contradictory social realities and attitudes are manifested in the literal and symbolic use of objects and physical attributes such as *kape*, leprosy (*kilia*) and *kava* and its antidote, *to* (respectively in terms of bitterness [*kona*] and sweetness [*melie*]), especially when people engage in ugly confrontation. The idiomatic use of *kape* and *kilia*, in expressing hostility and revenge by people, are observed in the expression '*Oku kilia hoku ngākau hangē na'a ku kai kape fifisi ho'o tu'utau mai kiate au!* (lit. My bowl is leprous as if I have eaten *kape* with hot effects when you oppose me!)¹¹⁸. Similarly, the notions *kona* and *melie* are, in opposed and complementary terms, utilised in idioms such as '*Oku kona kiate au ho'o lea!* (lit. Your words embitter my feelings!) and '*Oku melie kiate au ho'o lau!* (lit. Your words are sweet to me!)¹¹⁹.

Having locally reinforced the hegemony of the Tu'i Tonga through alliance, foreign-local, Lo'au/Nua-Momo formation and the creation of the *kava* ceremony¹²⁰, Momo thus provided the foundation for the powerful expansion of the Tu'i Tonga empire beyond Tonga. Thus, the death of Momo brought the local nation building to its height, marking the birth of the Tu'i Tonga empire. At his death, the peak of Lo'au-Momo connections was brought to bear on the mutual reunion of Tu'itātui and his half-brother, Fasi'apule, who combined in force to effect the regional expansion of the Tu'i Tonga empire. The reunion of

¹¹⁴. Cf. Helu 1981.

¹¹⁵. Lātūkefu 1974:22-23; Martin 1981, I:62-63.

¹¹⁶. Bott 1982; Gifford 1929a; Māhina 1986, 1990; Wood 1943.

¹¹⁷. Cf. Anderson 1962; Baker 1979, 1986; Helu 1983:43-56, 1991; Māhina 1986, 1990.

¹¹⁸. Cf. Māhina 1986:60.

¹¹⁹. Cf. Bott 1982:93.

¹²⁰. See Biersack 1991, 100:231-268; Bott 1972:205-237; Māhina 1986:43-71.

the two brothers in mourning the death of Momo is related in the following myth¹²¹:

Tu'itātui and His Half-brother, Fasi'apule, Myth

(Told and translated by the author)

At the death of Momo, the people from all over the Tu'i Tonga dominion came to pay their last respect to him. They brought with them tribute of yams and other products. Amongst them were the people of Ha'angongo, descendants of Ngongokilitoto, led by Fasi'apule, half-brother of Tu'itātui. A *kava* ceremony presided over by Tu'itātui was held one morning, where Fasi'apule presented himself on behalf of his people. In the course of the ceremony, Fasi'apule made a speech, introducing himself to Tu'itātui who hitherto had not known him. Fasi'apule was carrying a basket, filled with a cutting of the pithy inside of the banana, a *mamae* fruit, a fruit of *toto* and a piece of black charcoal. In the course of his speech, while holding up each item, he said, "We are united like this fibrous inside of the banana, and we will continue to be so to the end of time. But this *toto* fruit shows that, through our mother, Nua, we are of the same blood. Also, I brought this *mamae* fruit to establish that our common blood connections are governed by respect. Finally, although this piece of black charcoal suggests that you have been kept in the dark about me, you must now know that I am your brother, Fasi'apule". When the ceremony was over, Fasi'apule was summoned by the *matapule* to Tu'itātui. After having embraced for the first time, Fasi'apule continued to live with Tu'itātui in Heketā at Niutōua.

The ecology-centred concept of historico-cultural ordering¹²² is made evident by the Fasi'apule-Tu'itātui exchange at the mourning for the death of Momo, where their Lo'au/Nua-Momo social connections were politically standardised and conserved via the medium of the *kava* ceremony¹²³. By literally referring to the *uho'i fusi* (lit. pithy inside [of] banana [bunch]), fruit of *mamae* (lit. respect) fruit of *toto* (lit. blood) and *fo'i malala'i'aku* (lit. piece [of] black charcoal), Fasi'apule symbolically restructured the social relationships between his kingly half-brother, Tu'itātui, and himself¹²⁴. In fact, this is the theme of the myth. Synchronically, the myth is structured around the culmination of the Lo'au-Momo connections in the reunion of Fasi'apule and Tu'itātui, who, in synchronic terms, mutually reproduced the social order through the regional expansion of the Tu'i Tonga empire.

¹²¹. The myth of the eleventh Tu'i Tonga, Tu'itātui, and his half-brother, Fasi'apule, can be found in Fakauta 1924:43-46; Gifford 1924:43-46.

¹²². See, for example, Helu 1986b. Cf. Hau'ofa 1977; Māhina 1986, 1990; Mulvaney 1991; Sahlins 1981, 1985a, 1985b; Thaman 1991; Weiner 1991.

¹²³. See, for example, Biersack 1991, 100:231-268; Bott 1972:205-237, 1982:92-93; Māhina 1986:43-71.

¹²⁴. Cf. Sahlins 1981, 1985a, 1985b.

The period of local nation building is spelled out by the landscape movement of the Tu'i Tonga from Popua, via Pelehake and Toloa, to Heketā in Niutoua. As observed, this period of local development, following the hegemony of the first Tu'i Tonga, marked a transition between 'Aho'eitu and Momo, the tenth Tu'i Tonga. This is probably reflected by the fact that little is known about the early Tu'i Tonga, except that some of their 'Uvean-Niua names suggest that Niuatoputapu, Niuafou and 'Uvea were subjected to some kind of Tu'i Tonga control. The local nation building period, which was contemporaneous with the laying down of the foundation of the Tu'i Tonga empire, peaked in Momo, whose reign was practically reinforced by the foreign-local, Nua-Momo, Lo'au-Momo alliance formation and the formalisation of the *kava* ceremony. At the death of Momo, the hegemony of the Tu'i Tonga was structured in the reunion of Tu'itātui and his half-brother, Fasi'apule, who synchronically built on it to expand the power of the Tu'i Tonga beyond Tonga.

CHAPTER FIVE

Imperial Expansion; Tonga and Beyond

The death of Momo, the tenth Tu'i Tonga, brought the peak of local development characterised by the foreign-local, Samoan/eastern Polynesian-Tongan, Heketā-'Eueiki/Eua, Tu'i Ha'amea-Tu'i Tonga, Lo'au-Momo connections to bear on the rule of his son, Tu'itātui, around AD 1200¹. This power transference, where such past connections were linked with the activities of Tu'itātui and later Tu'i Tonga, was politically formalised and conserved in a *kava* ceremony² during the mourning for Momo's death, at which Fasi'apule and his kingly half-brother, Tu'itātui, reunited through socio-economic exchange, locally combined forces to expand the Tu'i Tonga power beyond Tonga³.

Despite the powerful religious and political standing of the Tu'i Tonga, sanctioned by his double, god-king, sacred-secular role, the subsequent Tu'i Tonga imperial expansion was far from smooth⁴. In fact, the local and regional consolidation of the Tu'i Tonga rule was one of uncertainty and insecurity. Such an imperial expansion developed hand in hand with conflict and resolution, specifically reflected in the fate of certain Tu'i Tonga and, on a broader level, the continuity of the local and regional configurations of imperial consolidation⁵.

The mutual Tu'itātui-Fasi'apule connections, where Lo'au also played a crucial role, were evident in the reign of Tu'itātui. Such connections are structured on a number of closely related myths⁶. Similarly, most of the doings of the subsequent Tu'i Tonga have been, in the main, literally and symbolically

¹. Collocott, King Taufa, MS, n.d.:21; Gifford 1929a:52; Helu, Kings and Tombs, TS, n.d.; Herda 1988:36-40; Ledyard 1982:17; Māhina 1986:72-92, 1990; Ve'e'hala and Fanua 1977:33; Wood 1943:6.

². Cf. Biersack 1991, 100:231-268; Bott 1972:205-273; Leach 1972:239-275; Māhina 1986:43-71.

³. See Māhina 1986. Cf. Friedman 1981, 23:275-295; Kaepler 1978a, 11:246-252.

⁴. Cf. Campbell 1982, 17:178-194, 1989a, XXIV:150-163; Māhina 1986, 1990:30-45.

⁵. See, for example, Bott 1982; Gifford 1929a; Herda 1988; Māhina 1986, 1990:30-45. Cf. Lātūkefu 1974; Marcus 1975b, 1976-1977, 47:220-241, 284-299, 1980a.

⁶. See, for example, Bain 1967:148-149; Collocott, King Taufa, MS, n.d.:32-34; Fakauta 1924:43-46; Gifford 1924:43-46; Leach 1972:249-252; Ledyard 1982:17.

transmitted in related literary genres'. And while the events surrounding the rule of Tu'itātui are literal and symbolic in appearance, they are essentially social in character⁸. That is, the formal language, while transcending events to the surreal and the miraculous, systematically conceals the social, economic and political exchange which synchronically and diachronically generated the expansion of the Tu'i Tonga empire.

Tongan traditions relate that Tu'itātui had an exceptionally "large head" (*'ulu folahi*)⁹. Symbolically, the reference may be related to "largeness of view", or "broad-minded thinking", an attribute which Tu'itātui inherited from his grandfather, Lo'au Tuputoka, the great "seer" of events to come¹⁰. Literally, the expression *'ulu lahi* (lit. head-[of-the]-large-[size]) symbolically refers to a person who can manipulate situations for his or her own benefit. Such broad-minded attitudes are manifested in the permanent activities associated with Tu'itātui, involving the beginning of the regional expansion of the Tu'i Tonga empire and the local building of the royal residence at Heketā in Niutoua. Such a regional and local development, where periphery and centre were connected by maritime activities, defining the Tu'i Tonga empire, were contemporaneous with major structural and functional reforms in the centre¹¹.

The beginning of Tu'i Tonga regional expansion developed hand in hand with major structural and functional reforms in the centre, which, because of sensitivity to the diversity of the situation, tended to accommodate changes in the wider society¹². Given such regional expansion and local consolidation of an imperial nature, this major reshuffle in the central administration of Tu'i Tonga was a natural response to the situation. The first reform was the development of the so-called Lo'au-Tu'itātui Land Tenure System (*Vahe Fonua*

⁷. See, for example, Bott 1982:94-96; Collocott, King Taufa, MS, n.d; Gifford 1924:55-68, 1929a:51-61; Kuli 1924a:67-68; Murley 1924a:58-60; Pahulu 1924:65-67; Pangia 1924:55; Tamaha [Amelia] 1924a:46-47, 1924b:60-62; Tongavalevale 1924b:62-65; Ve'ehala and Fanua 1977:34-39; Wood 1943:7-10. Cf. Herda 1988; Māhina 1986.

⁸. See, for example, Helu 1983:43-56, 1988b, 1990a; Kolo 1990:1-11; Māhina 1986, 1990:30-45.

⁹. Collocott, King Taufa, MS, n.d:27; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973; Wood 1943:6.

¹⁰. Gifford 1929a:130; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973. Cf. Collocott, King Taufa, MS, n.d:51-54; Bott 1982:92; Ve'ehala and Fanua 1977:31-32.

¹¹. See, for example, Campbell 1983, 92:155-167; Gunson 1969, 4:65-82; Māhina 1986, 1990. Cf. Helu, Kings and Tombs, TS, n.d; Spennemann 1989.

¹². See Helu, Kings and Tombs, TS, n.d; Māhina 1986, 1990:30-45.

'a *Lo'au*)¹³, where titles were matched with lands. With the second reform, Tu'itātui reorganised Falefā, the administrative machinery of the Tu'i Tonga, adjusting the centre with respect to the periphery. By sending out chiefly people from the centre to respective islands, the political existence of the Tu'i Tonga was thus maintained through the enforced socio-economic exchange between periphery and centre (see Chapter Six). As in the *kava* ceremony, where the political relationships between titles are reinforced in the wider society¹⁴, the development of the land tenure system further cemented the power of the Tu'i Tonga.

Lo'au took a crucial role in the development of the *kava* ceremony, land tenure system and the first reorganisation of the Falefā (see Chapter Six)¹⁵. Both institutions, *kava* ceremony and land tenure system, were appropriated as political tools for the sustenance of Tu'i Tonga imperial rule. By establishing the political stance of the Tu'i Tonga through the redefined structural and functional role of the Falefā in the wider society, the flow of the social and material support from periphery to centre was, at least, guaranteed to reproduce the social order often in the interest of the Tu'i Tonga¹⁶. This freed up the Tongans, especially chiefs, to engage in leisure time activities such as *Iova vaka* (boat racing), *sika'ulutoa* (javelin throwing sport) and *heu lupe* (pigeon snaring sport), as well as other adventurous doings such as long distance voyaging (*fai folau*)¹⁷.

According to traditions, the rule of Tu'itātui was one of cruelty and oppression. By expanding the Tu'i Tonga empire beyond Tonga, Tu'itātui is said to have subjected the people of Tonga, Niuafo'ou, Niuatopotapu, Fiji, Rotuma,

¹³. Collocott, King Taufa, MS, n.d.:53; Gifford 1929a:131, 63-70; Havea, Notes on the History and Customs of Tonga, MS, 1870:625; Helu 1972a; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973. Cf. Bott 1982:92; Faka'osi 1991; Māhina 1986; Ve'ehala and Fanua 1977:33.

¹⁴. Cf. Bott 1972:205-273, 277-282; Māhina 1986.

¹⁵. See, for example, Bott 1982:92-93; Collocott, King Taufa, MS, n.d.:53; Fevanga 1924:74; Gifford 1924:71-75, 1929a:131, 63-70; Havea, Notes on the History and Customs of Tonga, MS, 1870:625; Helu 1972a; Lavulo 1924a:72-74; Tonga 1924a:71-72; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973.

¹⁶. See Māhina 1986, 1990:30-45.

¹⁷. See, for example, Gifford 1929a; Martin 1981, I & II; Ferdon 1987; Smith 1892b, 1:107-117.

Futuna, 'Uvea and Samoa to his rule¹⁸. Besides the extraction of the surplus economic resources such as fish, food and fine mats, the principal source of this form of imperialism was slave-labour (*pōpula*)¹⁹. The extraction of such surplus socio-economic resources from the periphery was for purposes of politically sustaining the Tu'i Tonga in the centre. While slave-workers were brought from these island groups to carry out the tasks of building the imperial centre, the Tongans had the duties of operating the Tu'i Tonga fleet²⁰, thereby enforcing the imperial links between periphery and centre.

There is mention in traditions of the love Talatama and Talaiha'apepe, two sons of Tu'itātui, had for boat racing²¹. The two brothers are said to have owned and operated the two famous *kalia*, Tongafuesia and 'Ākihehu²², which led the imperial activities of the Tu'i Tonga. In literal terms, the names of the *kalia*, Tongafuesia (*Tonga-fuesia*; lit. Tonga-[the]-carrier-[of]-burden) and 'Ākihehu ('Ā-*hihe-uho*; Wake-up-[to]-*kava*-roots), are symbolic of the despotic rule of Tu'itātui²³. Both names can be seen as a reflection of the socio-economic dimension of Tu'i Tonga imperialism (*fakaēhaua*), i.e., they point to the extent of the enforced appropriation of both social and economic surpluses for the consolidation of the Tu'i Tonga empire. In fact, the literal term *fuesia* (to carry a burden on one's back) is symbolically used to denote the heavy exaction of power, pertaining to the coercive and exploitative character of specific duties allocated to people²⁴.

It was, and still is, customary in Tonga to consume *kava* at every major social undertaking such as all types of construction as in the case of house-building and boat-building and events relating to life crises such as funerals

¹⁸. Helu, Kings and Tombs, TS, n.d; Herda 1988:40-41; Lehā'uli, interview, 1988; Mafimalanga, interview, 1988; Māhina 1986; Ve'ehala and Fanua 1977:33; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973.

¹⁹. Helu, Kings and Tombs, TS; Lehā'uli, interview, 1988; Mafimalanga, interview, 1988; Māhina 1986; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973.

²⁰. Helu 1992; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973.

²¹. Collocott, King Taufa, MS, n.d:35; *Ko e fafagu*, 1907; Gifford 1924:30; Helu 1972a; Kirch 1984a:227; Māhina 1986; Scarr 1990:65; Taufapulotu and Tongavalevale 1907; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973.

²². Gifford 1924:46-47; Helu 1972a; Tamaha [Amelia] 1924a:46-47; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973.

²³. Cf. Helu, Kings and Tombs, TS, n.d; Māhina 1986, 1990.

²⁴. Cf. Helu 1987b; *Ko e Kava, Lea Tonga mo e Koloa Faka-Tonga*, n.d.; *Ko e Ngaahi Palovepi Faka-Tonga*, n.d.

and weddings²⁵. While the able-bodied men are at work, the elders have *kava*. The elderly persons not only provide moral support, but their advice is often sought over a dispute, or on difficult decisions. In traditional times, it was common practice for chiefs and *matāpule* to wake up to a *kava* reception for a good part of the day, while the common people were hard at labour in the field²⁶. This practice of symbolic naming of literal objects of great social significance, where the symbols of power are preserved in the events, is still very much alive in Tonga today. Literally, the names of the Tongan vessels Aoniū (*Aoniū*; lit. All-embracing-[power]), Hifofua (*Hifo-fua*; lit. Unhindered-strike; nickname of Tāufa'āhau Tupou I) and Fuakavenga (*Fua-kavenga*; Carrier-[of]-burden) are symbolic of power, which is representative of the ruling order²⁷.

Such an oppressive situation is reflected by the material expression of his power at Heketā in Niutōua, which is said to have been built by Tu'itātui (see Appendix C)²⁸. This included the great trilithon, Ha'amonga-'a-Maui (lit. Burden-of-Maui), the grand gateway to the royal compound, as well as the two royal tombs, Langi Heketā and Langi Mo'ungalafa. Inside the compound were built the Tu'i Tonga house (*falefataki*; *fale-fataki*; lit. house-[of]-carrying) and the huge sitting stone called *makafākinanga* (*maka-fākinanga*; lit. Rock-[of]-refuge), erected in an upright position²⁹. Possibly, the *falefataki* and *Makafākinanga* were some kind of palace and throne³⁰. Also, Tu'itātui is attributed with the construction of the royal *mala'e* (ceremonial village green) and *mala'e sika* (course for the *sika'ulutoa* game) in the king's compound³¹.

²⁵. See, for example, Ferdon 1987; Kaeppler 1978b:178-202; Martin 1981, I & II; Vason 1910.

²⁶. See, for example, Vason 1910. Cf. Biersack 1991, 100:231-268; Bott 1982, 1972:205-237; Falekāono [Taipaletiti] 1973; Feldman 1980, 89:101-103; Ferdon 1987:51-67; Helu 1989a; Māhina 1986; Martin 1981, II:331-341; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973.

²⁷. Cf. Helu 1987b.

²⁸. Bott 1982:94; Collocott, King Taufa, MS, n.d.:21-27; Gifford 1929a:52-53; Helu, Kings and Tombs, TS, n.d.; Herda 1988:39-40; Ledyard 1982:17; Māhina 1986; Ve'ehala and Fanua 1977:32-33; Wood 1943:6-7. Cf. Poulsen 1977; Spennemann 1989.

²⁹. Cf. McKern 1929; Poulsen 1977; Spennemann 1989.

³⁰. Spennemann 1989.

³¹. Gifford 1924:46; Tamaha [Amelia] 1924a:46; Ve'ehala and Fanua 1977:33.

Literally speaking, the name Tu'itātui (*Tu'i-tā-tui*; lit. King-hit-knees)³² symbolically testifies to the extent to which his subjects were subjugated to his tyrannical rule. Tu'itātui's nickname was derived from a situation where, in leaning his back against the protection of the *makafākinanga*, the king (*tu'i*) would keep away would-be assassins such as the Falefā for fear of being murdered by hitting (*ta*) their knees (*tui*). In real terms, however, the literal situation may be symbolic of the fact that Tu'itātui was able to put people in their proper places, submitting them on their knees to his rule³³. In fact, it was a common practice for commoners to lower themselves on their knees when addressing their superiors in traditional times³⁴, as in the idiomatic expression *tu'ulutui* (*tu'ulu-tui*; lit. falling-forward/face-down-[on]-knees).

This despotic situation is further reinforced by the metaphoric name of Niutōua, Ha'amene'uli (*Ha'a-mene-'uli*; lit. Lineage-[of-the]-rectum-with-dirt)³⁵, so labelled for reasons that they crawled (*heke*) on their posteriors when serving Tu'itātui. The idiomatic use of the term *heke* (crawl, lame, crippled) refers to people literally burdened with sanctioned duties, as reflected in the saying *Kuo heke ē kakai he lahi ē fua kavenga* (lit. People have been crippled by carrying [on their backs] excessive duties)³⁶. Literally speaking, it is my contention that the name of the royal centre Heketā (*Heke-tā*; lit. Crawl-[and]-hit) - of people literally being hit to crawl on their scrotum, or of commoners having been suppressed with excessive duties - is a symbolic reflection of this utterly oppressive situation.

Although Velt³⁷ suggests that the Ha'amonga-a-Maui originally had no astronomical significance other than being a gateway to the royal compound, the naming of the majestic trilithon after the constellation of Orion, known as

³². See, for example, Collocott, King Taufa, MS, n.d.:21; Gifford 1924:47, 1929a:53; Helu, Kings and Tombs, TS, n.d.; Herda 1988:39; Ledyard 1982:17; Lehā'uli, interview, 1988; Ma'atu 1924a:47; Mafimalanga, interview, 1988; Māhina 1986; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973; Wood 1943:6.

³³. Cf. Helu, Kings and Tombs, TS, n.d.

³⁴. See, for example, Gifford 1929a; Martin 1981, I & II; Ferdon 1987.

³⁵. See, for example, Collocott, King Taufa, MS, n.d.:15; Lehā'uli, interview, 1988; Mafimalanga, interview, 1988; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973.

³⁶. Cf. Helu 1987b; *Ko e Kava, Lea Tonga mo e Koloa Faka-Tonga*, n.d; *Ko e Ngaahi palovepi Faka-Tonga*, n.d; Taliai 1987, 1989; Tongia 1988.

³⁷. Velt 1990:85-86. Cf. Collocott, King Taufa, MS, n.d.:25-27; Gifford 1929a:52-53; Helu, Kings and Tombs, TS, n.d.; Ledyard 1982:17-18; McKern 1929:63-66; Poulsen 1977:13; Spennemann 1989; Wood 1943:6-7.

the 'Alotolu (*'Alo-tolu*; lit. Rowers-[of]-three) or Ha'amonga-'a-Maui (lit. Burden-of-Maui), may signify two things³⁸. Firstly, there is a possibility that the naming of the grand gateway after Orion was to single out the importance of long distance, inter-island voyaging as a vehicle for the regional expansion of the Tu'i Tonga power. In view of Tu'i Tonga imperialism, navigation was central in sustaining the socio-economic, peripheral-central links in the political interest of the Tu'i Tonga.

Secondly, the grand gateway, Ha'amonga-'a-Maui, in size, displays in symbolic terms the glory and power of the Tu'i Tonga, reflecting as well tyranny and oppression. As observed, Maui Kisikisi, being a non-conformist or proletarian hero³⁹, had always stood on the side of the commoners, liberating the oppressed from the coercion and oppression of the priestly classes and landed aristocracy⁴⁰. Thus, the synchronic Tangaloa-Maui, Langi-Maama distinction is diachronically mirrored in the Tu'i Tonga (Tangaloa)-Ha'amonga-'a-Maui, Tu'itātui-commoner relations, where the Tu'i Tonga, through his secular and sacred roles, exerted his political rule by means of religious legitimation over the whole of society.

At the closing stages of Tu'itātui's reign, he fled to 'Eua where he later died, after having been pursued by his unknown brothers for committing incest with their sister, Lātūtama. Traditions⁴¹ relate that Lātūtama and her retainers (*kau fononoga*) went to Tu'itātui's house, the *falefataki* (*fale-fataki*; lit. house-[of]-carrying) or *falefehi* (*fale-fehi*; lit. house-[made-of]-fehi), when Tu'itātui tricked Lātūtama into coming up to the loft (*fata*) where they could watch boats coming from Vava'u and Ha'apai. While her retainers waited below the storeyed house, Tu'itātui raped his sister in the *fata*. Her *kau fononga* noticed blood, obviously from Tu'itātui having deflowered Lātūtama, trickling down the post. When asked about it, Tu'itātui replied that it was *toi'ipeka* (*toto'ipeka*; lit. blood-of]-flying-fox), and as a commemoration of the event, the place was afterward named Toi'ipeka.

There is no doubt that literally the incident is symbolic of the dynastic practice of closed, exogamous marriage within the royal families, for the

³⁸. Cf. Māhina 1986:83-91.

³⁹. See, for example, Luomala 1940a, 1940b, 1949, 1959, 1980.

⁴⁰. See Helu 1987c.

⁴¹. Gifford 1924:46-47, 1929a:53; Herda 1988:39; Ledyard 1982:17; Tamaha ['Amelia] 1924a:46-47; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973.

political purposes of maintaining the social order. In Tonga, this highly symbolic and political situation is practically referred to as the act of sustaining the flow of the *'toto'i*" *'eiki* (royal or chiefly "blood") within the confines of the aristocratic circle, as in the case of the morally-accepted *kitetama* (cross-cousin) marriage⁴². But the brother-sister, Tu'itātui-Lātūtama incest is reminiscent of the Hawaiian brother-sister marriage, *pi'o* or *ni'au pi'o*⁴³, which further points to the likelihood of eastern Polynesian influences in Tongan local affairs. The term *pi'o/ni'au pi'o* (lit. coconut-leaves-[that]-bends) literally refers to a young coconut leaf growing out and its top coming back to itself, which is, in literal and symbolic terms, characteristic of the brother and sister socially united in marriage⁴⁴.

The role of Fasi'apule is evident within the local and regional expansion of the Tu'i Tonga empire, especially through the extraction of a surplus of slave-labour from Niuafo'ou, Niuatoputapu, Fiji, Rotuma, 'Uvea and Samoa for the building of the royal centre. While the subjugation of Vava'u, Ha'apai, Niuatoputapu, Niuafo'ou and 'Uvea probably began with 'Aho'eitu, and was then reinforced by Tu'i Tonga between 'Aho'eitu and Momo⁴⁵, the inclusion of Fiji and Samoa can be attributed to the rule of Tu'itātui. Evidently, this possibility is seen in the Fasi'apule-Tu'itātui connections during Tu'itātui's reign.

The first of the Tu'itātui-Fasi'apule connections is related to the initial extension of the Tu'i Tonga rule to Savai'i in Samoa. These specific connections synchronically revolved around the myth of the Turtle Sangone⁴⁶, whose text has been provided and partially explicated in Chapter One. As observed, the theme of the myth is structured on oppression and exploitation, which involved the extraction of socio-economic resources, specifically surplus slave-labour and material goods (*koloa* and *ngāue*)⁴⁷, from the periphery for the political

⁴². *Ko e Makasini Ko e Lo'au*, 1959:7-8; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973. Cf. Bott 1982:35-36.

⁴³. See Kirch 1984:289.

⁴⁴. Kalani, interview, 1990.

⁴⁵. Cf. Helu 1980 1979, 4:27-31.

⁴⁶. See, for example, Bain 1967:145-149; Collocott, King Taufa, MS, n.d.:3-34; Gifford 1924:49-55; Kaeppler 1967a:160-168; Tongavalevale 1924a:49-52; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973; Utuvai 1924:52-55.

⁴⁷. Cf. Gailey 1981, 1987a, 96:67-79, 1987b; Māhina 1986, 1989.

sustenance of the Tu'i Tonga in the centre⁴⁸. Furthermore, the myth is also thematically about conflict, diplomacy and treaty, which naturally followed from such oppressive and exploitative syphoning of both human and material resources on a large scale.

The principal episodes of the myth begin with beautiful Hinahengi, who, with her mother, Sangone, a turtle, came to Tonga from Pulotu. Meanwhile, there lived in Samoa a man by the name of Lekapai, who had a plantation consisting of *mei* (breadfruit), *hopa* (plantains), *'ufi* (yams), *kape* (giant taro) and *talo* (taro)⁴⁹. Every year, Lekapai's plantation was destroyed by the powerful south winds (*matangi tonga*), blowing from the direction of Tonga. Lekapai, being fed up with the destructive winds, determined to set out for Tonga, searching for the *matangi* to wage war against them and their source.

Arriving in Tonga, Lekapai found Hinahengi drying herself in the sun in a nearby beach, with her long hair (*lou'ulu*) entangled in the surrounding trees⁵⁰. Lekapai and Hinahengi, then got married, after which Lekapai learned from Hinahengi that the winds and their source were Hinahengi's children and father⁵¹. Lekapai challenged them to a physical confrontation, where he wrestled them one by one, beginning with 'Āhiohio (Whirlwind), then Mofuike (Earthquake), and ending with Afā (Hurricane)⁵². Lekapai, being utterly exhausted, bruised and unable to withstand the strength of the winds, begged Hinahengi to end his ordeal.

After his failed encounter Lekapai wanted to return to Samoa. His wife agreed and made way for her mother, Sangone, to transport him back to Samoa. Provisions of coconut were supplied for Lekapai to sustain himself while on his return voyage home. This arrangement was to be made on strict conditions that Lekapai would not crack open a coconut on Sangone's back, and

⁴⁸. See Māhina 1986. Cf. Māhina 1990:30-45.

⁴⁹. See Gifford 1924:52; Utuvai 1924:52.

⁵⁰. Cf. The cases of 'Ilaheva (Va'epopua), 'Ulukihelupe (Va'elaveamata), Fatafehi (daughter of Tu'itatui and sister of Tu'i Tonga, Talatama and Talaiha'apepe) and Sinaitakala-'i-Langileka (daughter of 'Uluakimata [Tele'a] and sister of Tu'i Tonga Fatafehi).

⁵¹. This implies that Tu'itatui's wife, Sangone, was from Fiji, and that their daughter, Hinahengi, was presented to the Samoan chief, Lekapai. Also, it suggests that, even at this early stage, the Tongan, Fijian and Samoan elite families had engaged in some kind of socio-economic exchange, as was the case in later times.

⁵². See, for example, Grey 1885 for the account of the Rangi-Papa Myth relating to the Maori notion of the wind. See also Stair 1896, 5:56-57, for the case of Samoa.

that she, after dropping him in Samoa, should safely return to Tonga, bringing for Hinahengi a bunch of coconuts, bark cloth (*fola'osi*), some oil (*lolo*) and a coconut-leaf mat (*takapau*). Instead, Lekapai left Sangone stranded on the beach, where the people of Sangone in Savai'i killed and ate her, then buried her shell (*'uno*) under a nearby candlenut tree (*tuitui*)⁶³.

At the time Lo'au Tuputoka, who witnessed the incident, is said to have gone to Samoa to seek the sun (*la'a*)⁶⁴. Also, amongst the witnesses was a little boy named Lafai. Lo'au Tuputoka turned to Lafai, placed his hands on his head and said '*Lafai, te ke pana, pea ke pana, kae 'oua kuo ilo ē 'uno 'o Sangone!*' ("You Lafai shall grow stunted, and be for ever stunted, until the shell of Sangone will be found!")⁶⁵. Having been so fated by Lo'au Tuputoka, Lafai, though growing old in age, remained short in stature. Lafai outlived not only his own age group but also many generations after him, so the villagers of Sangone named him Lafaipana.

On returning to Tonga, Lo'au Tuputoka reported the matter to Tu'itātui, his grandson, the Tu'i Tonga. This prompted Tu'itātui to send his half-brother, Fasi'apule, to Samoa to recover Sangone's shell. After having been briefed by Lo'au Tuputoka, Fasi'apule and his party then set off to Samoa in a canoe⁶⁶. And as they came close to Samoa, Fasi'apule advised his followers that, in case they would be received in a *kava* ceremony, he himself would be in charge of directing the ceremony, including the distribution of the *kava* and food (*fono*).

When Fasi'apule and his party arrived at Sangone in Savai'i, they were honoured at a *kava* ceremony at which Fasi'apule was in charge. During the presentation, Fasi'apule, knowing that Lafaipana would be the only person to know his speeches on account of his age, made the following exceptionally esoteric remarks, which the Samoans, at first, could not understand: *Kisu kava! Ke 'omi ha "fūfū" mo "kokohu"!* (Secret *kava!* Thou bring forth a "clap" and "fume"!), *Kisu kava! Ke 'omi ha kau "pōngia" 'i "vao"!* (Secret *kava!* Thou bring forth a bunch of "fainted" in the "bush"!), *Kisu kava! Ke 'omi ha lou "tāngia" mo "koki"!* (Secret *kava!* Thou bring forth the leaves of "cry" and "parrot"!), *Kisu kava! Ke 'omi ha "kapakau tatangi"!* (Secret

⁶³. Candlenut is used in Tonga for making sweet-scented, body oil called *lolo tuitui*, specifically used by chiefly women.

⁶⁴. Gifford 1924:50, 1929a:130; Tongavalevale 1924a:50.

⁶⁵. Gifford 1924:50; Tongavalevale 1924a:50. See also Ula [Tāufanau] 1973.

⁶⁶. See Collocott, King Taufu, MS, n.d:32; Gifford 1924:50; Tongavalevale 1924a:50. Ula [Tāufanau] 1973.

kava! Thou bring forth wings of "high-pitch"!), and finally *Kisu kava! Ke 'omi ha 'ngulungulu' mo 'tokoto'!* (Secret *kava!* Thou bring forth a "grunt" and "lie down"!)⁵⁷.

After each speech, the young Samoans sought Lafaipana to solve the puzzles for them, which he revealed with the utmost skill. Lafaipana told the Samoans that Fasi'apule, in actual terms, respectively meant the following: *uho'i kava* (*kava* roots); *kau hopa ohi* (a second generation bunch of plantains); *muka'i talo* (young tops of taro leaves); *moa kaivao* (a wild chicken); and *puaka toho* (a huge pig)⁵⁸. These items were presented to the *kava* ceremony as *fono*, and Fasi'apule distributed portions amongst the chiefs in the circle which were to be eaten with *kava*. When asked about the haste of the given tasks, the Samoans said that it was Lafaipana who ingeniously interpreted them.

Having identified Lafaipana, Fasi'apule and the Tongans took him to the burial site of Sangone's shell. But before the shell was exhumed, Lafaipana asked Fasi'apule if he would do him a favour, a request which Fasi'apule obliged. Lafaipana said that he wanted a perch (*tu'ula*)⁵⁹ for his pigeon (*lupe*), in case he died without providing one for it⁶⁰. So, Fasi'apule, on the same day, went with his party to Niuafo'ou and Niuatoputapu to fetch one for Lafaipana. Literally, Fasi'apule brought a branch of a *toa* tree for Lafaipana's pigeon's perch. But Lafaipana exclaimed that he mistook his intentions, for what he meant was a woman to sleep with before he died. The Tongans, however, exhumed the shell, and as soon as the shell was in sight, Lafaipana then died.

Now, Fasi'apule and his party were ready to depart from Samoa for Tonga. Before leaving, the Samoan chiefs made a presentation to Fasi'apule of two fine mats (*'ie togakie Tonga*), Hau-o-Momo (lit. Power-of-Momo) and

⁵⁷. See Bain 1967:147-148; Collection of Queen Sālote's Poetry, MS, n.d.; Collection of Tongan Song Texts (Ancient, Traditional -Classical and Modern), MS, n.d.; Collection of Works by Tongan Poets, MS, n.d.; Collocott, King Taufa, MS, n.d.:32-33; Gifford 1924:50; Kaeppler 1967a:163-163; Tongavalevale 1924a:50;

⁵⁸. See Bain 1967:147-148; Collocott, King Taufa, MS, n.d.:32-33; Gifford 1924:50; Kaeppler 1967a:62-63; Tongavalevale 1924a:50; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973.

⁵⁹. The idiomatic use of the literal term *tu'ula*, *tula* in Samoan, in both Tonga and Samoa refers to women, often as wives (see Kramer, The Samoan Islands, TS, 1902-1903:204). It originated in the *heu lupe*, a sport reserved for chiefs (see Havea, Notes on the History and Customs of Tonga, MS, 1870:648; Helu 1987b; Lehā'uli, interview, 1988; Mafimalanga, interview, 1988; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973. Cf. Spennemann 1989)

⁶⁰. Collocott, King Taufa, MS, n.d.:33-34; Gifford 1924:51-52, 54; Tongavalevale 1924a:51-52; Utuvai 1924:54.

Laumata-'o-Fainga'a (lit. Eye-lid-of-Fainga'a)⁶¹, which were designated as gifts for the Tu'i Tonga. On arrival at Heketā in Tonga, Fasi'apule then offered the 'uno of Sangone, wrapped up in the fine mat, Hau-'o-Momo, to his half-brother, Tu'itātui, the Tu'i Tonga. Eversince the two fine mats and the shell have been invaluable possessions of the Tu'i Tonga, and ultimately passed to the custody of Queen Sālote. It is reported that the fine mat, Hau-'o-Momo, and the 'uno of Sangone are now displayed in the Toloa Museum at Tupou College⁶².

Given that the turtle Sangone, mother of beautiful Hinahengi, belonged to the Tu'i Tonga, Tu'itātui, it points to the situation that, because of their Puluotu origin, Fiji occupied a tributary position to Tonga. That is, Fiji, by presenting Sangone to Tu'itātui, stood in a wife-giving relation to Tonga. Considering the servile role of the Fijians at this time, the mention of Puluotu, symbolic of Fiji⁶³, suggests that, while being contemporaneous with the colonisation of Samoa, the subjugation of Fiji to Tu'i Tonga imperial control had already been underway.

But the yearly destruction of Lekapai's plantation in Samoa by the south winds (*matangi tonga*), blowing from Tonga and whose source was the Tu'i Tonga, is indicative that Samoa paid strict yearly tribute to the Tu'i Tonga. In fact, the idiomatic use of the destructive effects of the winds in Tonga⁶⁴, in real terms, refers to the oppressive exaction of control on the part of the ruler, corresponding in degree to the exploitative extraction of socio-economic resources from the ruled⁶⁵. Similarly, the names of the two Samoans, Lekapai (*Leka-pai*; lit. Short-[and]-dwarfed; i.e., doubly short) and Lafaipana (*Lafai-pana*; lit. Lafai-[the]-stunted-[in-growth]) are symbolically used in Tonga to mean people being burdened with duties, especially inferiors in serving their superiors⁶⁶.

Granting this oppressive situation, it seems that Lekapai went to Tonga to make representations of dissatisfaction to the Tu'i Tonga on behalf of Samoa. The marriage of Lekapai to the Tu'i Tonga's daughter, Hinahengi, suggests that

⁶¹. Bain 1967:149.

⁶². Helu, interview, 1988.

⁶³. Cf. Gunson 1977:90-113.

⁶⁴. See Collocott and Havea 1922; Helu 1987b; *Ko e Kava, Lea Tonga moe Koloa Faka-Tonga*, n.d.; *Ko e Ngaahi Palouepi Faka-Tonga*, n.d. Cf. Taliai 1987, 1989; Tongia 1988.

⁶⁵. Cf. Gailey 1981, 1987a, 96:67-79, 1987b; Howard 1983, 16:176-203; Larrain 1983; Māhina 1986, 1990.

⁶⁶. Cf. Helu 1987b. See also Bott 1972; Māhina 1986 for similar discussions.

some kind of peace settlement was reached. But the fact that Lekapai and the Samoans did not observe the rigid instructions about Sangone, the wife of the Tu'i Tonga, points to a situation that the terms of the peace settlement were unacceptable to the Samoans. Moreover, this irreconcilable situation is implied by the killing (*tamate'i*) and eating (*kai*) of Sangone, and the burying (*tanu*) of her shell, all of which are literally utilised in Tonga as symbolic vehicles for actual feelings of revenge and hostility⁶⁷. Having subjected Sangone, symbolic of the ruling order, to this kind of indignity was itself a direct attack on the Tu'i Tonga.

The voyage of Lo'au Tuputoka to Samoa in search of the *la'a*, itself symbolic of power⁶⁸, was probably a desperate attempt to restore the political relationships between Tonga and Samoa. Having set a political agenda, subjecting the "youthful" Lafai to his "old age" self, Lafaipana, Lo'au Tuputoka was probably successful in putting up a case for the Tu'i Tonga that - while being opposed by the *tulafale* - was more acceptable to the *matai*. In fact, such a situation of dissent amongst the Samoan chiefs, especially between the young and the old, or between the low status *tulafale* and the high ranking *matai*, is reflected in the events that followed.

In a further response to the Samoan opposition, Tu'itātui sent his half-brother, Fasi'apule, on a diplomatic mission to patch up the now apparent sour relations between Tonga and Samoa, as well as to win back the loyalty of the Samoans to the Tu'i Tonga. The name Fasi'apule (*Fasi'a-pule*; lit. Pretending-[of-the]-master; i.e., Master of rhetoric/politics) reflects his skills in diplomacy⁶⁹, which he inherited from his grandfather, Lo'au Tuputoka, the great "seer" of events to come⁷⁰. It was only appropriate that Fasi'apule and his party were to be received in the context of a *kava* ceremony, where differences between

⁶⁷. Cf. Bott 1972: 205-237, 1982:93; Māhina 1986, 1990:30-45.

⁶⁸. See Abraham 1924:114-116; Anaise 1924:111-113; Fanua 1975b:27-37; Fifita 1924:118-119; Gifford 1924:111-119; Tapueluelu 1924:114; Tupou 1924:116 for accounts concerning the sun. Literally, the sun is symbolically featured in terms of socio-economic exchanges involving social mobility, which is, in the final analysis, about power. Cf. Collection of Queen Sālote's Poetry, MS, n.d; Collection of Tongan Songs Texts (Ancient, Traditional-Classical and Modern), MS, n.d; Collection of Works by Tongan Poets, MS, n.d, where the sun is symbolically featured in poetry as imagery for power politics. See also Stair 1895a:48-49 for the same imagery, allegorically appropriated in terms of the power of the Tu'i Manu'a. In fact, the Tu'i Manu'a is said to have been the only sun in the whole world, meaning the entirety of Samoa. For the case of Tahiti, see, for example, Henry 1928:431-433.

⁶⁹. Helu, interview, 1988.

⁷⁰. Gifford 1929a:130.

Tonga and Samoa, be they social, economic or political, were reinforced via resistance or resolved through exchange⁷¹.

In fact, Fasi'apule built his mission on the political platform which his grandfather, Lo'au Tuputoka, had established, for his intentions in the course of the *kava* ceremony were to find Lafaipana. But his attempt did not come easily. The fact that the presiding younger *tulafale* did not actually understand Fasi'apule's literal/symbolic terms of reference might signify opposition to his diplomatic mission⁷². Having intervened in this process of ideological exchanges, Lafaipana, that is, Lafai the elder, was able to translate such political differences in communication to relatively smooth socio-economic transactions. It was through Lafaipana's skilful intervention that the shell of Sangone, symbolic of the Tu'i Tonga power, was located, exhumed and taken back from Samoa to Tonga. Such a situation symbolically reflects that Fasi'apule was able to regain some form of respect from the Samoans for the Tu'i Tonga.

While that might have been the case, the acquired peace settlement was aligned with a new set of conditions. Lafaipana himself set out one of these conditions, i.e., that Fasi'apule had to provide him a wife from Tonga before he died. Considering that Lafaipana, destined by Lo'au Tuputoka, would not die unless the shell of Sangone was found meant that Fasi'apule had to meet Lafaipana's demand⁷³. So, Fasi'apule responded likewise. He went to Niuatoputapu and Niuafu'ou, both under the rule of the Tu'i Tonga⁷⁴, and "literally" brought a woman for Lafaipana. Finally, Lafaipana, by honouring Fasi'apule's mission, exchanged his life for the shell of Sangone, thereby reinstating the loyalty of Samoa to the Tu'i Tonga.

The political act of Lafaipana, however, paved the way for further socio-economic exchanges between Fasi'apule and the Samoan chiefs, the most important of which were the two fine mats, Hau-'o-Momo and Laumata-'o-Fainga'a, mutually bearing the names of two prominent members of the Tongan and Samoan elite families, Momo, the tenth Tu'i Tonga, father of Tu'itātui, and Fainga'a⁷⁵. Wrapped up in these two *kie Tonga*, symbolically linking the

⁷¹. See Bott 1972:205-237; Māhina 1986. Cf. Biersack 1991, 100:231-268.

⁷². Cf. Bott 1972-205-237; Māhina 1986.

⁷³. See, for example, Gifford 1924:54; Utuvai 1924:54.

⁷⁴. Helu 1980, 5:29.

⁷⁵. See, for example, Stair 1896, 5:41.

Tongan and Samoan elite families, was the *'uno* of Sangone, representing the Tu'i Tonga. In the final analysis, the Tu'i Tonga politically stood to gain from these socio-economic arrangements⁷⁶. This pattern of group economic exchange, which is essentially social and political in character, emerged in later times, especially between the Tongan, Samoan and Fijian elite families.

The second Fasi'apule-Tu'itātui mutual connection is put in the context of Fasi'apule's political exploits in Fiji, which led to the subjection of the Fijians to a life of service to Tu'itātui and later Tu'i Tonga. As will be observed later, certain Tu'i Tonga paid the price for their oppressive rule with their life by falling as victims at the hands of some powerful Fijians⁷⁷. Traditions report that Fasi'apule fled to Fiji after serving his local god and goddess, Sisi and Fainga'a, of Samoan descent. Possibly, this situation reflects that Fasi'apule, after having successfully completed his diplomatic deeds in Samoa, now moved on to consolidate the Tu'i Tonga power in Fiji. Literally, the symbolism inherent in the accounts of this incident, which is also linked with the death of Tu'itātui, points in this direction.

According to traditions⁷⁸, Fasi'apule was enslaved by Sisi and Fainga'a, demanding that he attend to their wishes and serve them at all times. Fasi'apule was exhausted from his servile life, so he decided to trick them. He wove two baskets, where, inside each basket, he placed Sisi and Fainga'a, then positioned them at each end of a pole which he carried on his arm. After a while, he hung the pole with the two baskets on a tree trunk. While the clouds kept moving across the sky above them, the couple thought that Fasi'apule was still carrying them, but little did they know that Fasi'apule had escaped to Fiji. At least, Sisi and Fainga'a were not aware of his escape until they fell through the now worn baskets, landing hard on the earth below. In fact, the couple only came to learn of their ideal/sky/*langi*/sacred situation when they experienced it in actual/earth/*maama*/secular terms⁷⁹. While in Fiji Fasi'apule acquired a

⁷⁶. See Māhina 1986, 1990:30-45.

⁷⁷. See, for example, 'Afitofa, interview, 1991; Bott 1982:94-95; Gifford 1929a:54; Herda 1988:46-47; Māhina 1986:95-96; Ve'ehala and Fanua 1977:34; Wood 1943:9.

⁷⁸. See Fakauta 1924:45; Gifford 1924:45. Cf. Gifford 1924:196-200; *Koe Makasini a Koliji*, 1875, 2:96, 97; Murley 1924d:199-200 for variants of the myth of Fasi'apule and his god and goddess, Sisi and Fainga'a, where the Samoan, Pasikole, is the principal protagonist.

⁷⁹. See, for example, Māhina 1986:108-111, 1990:30-45. Cf. Anderson 1962; Baker 1979, 1986.

new look by cutting his hair and shaving his beard, befitting his new imperial task.

After his exile in Fiji Fasi'apule returned to Tonga, bringing with him a Fijian attendant⁶⁰. On arrival at Heketā he learned that Tu'itātui had fled to 'Eua. Looking at 'Eua that night, they saw light that illuminated the southern side of the island. When arriving in 'Eua, they found that the light came from the torches lit for the funeral rite of the death of Tu'itātui, who had died while he was in Fiji. Fasi'apule then named the place Tutu (lit. lighting-[fire])⁶¹. Fasi'apule wanted to take Tu'itātui for burial in Tongatapu, but the people of 'Eua, reflecting division within the 'Eua-Malapo, Lo'au/Nua-Ngongokilitoto lineage, fiercely opposed him. As they were preparing for his half-brother's burial, Fasi'apule killed his Fijian servant, then replaced it with the body of Tu'itātui. Fasi'apule then prepared to head off for Tongatapu.

The odyssey of Fasi'apule was literally enshrined in his 'Eua-Tongatapu landscape movement, which began with his carrying the corpse of Tu'itātui from Tutu to the beach⁶². Worn out from the weight of Tu'itātui's body, he stopped on the way to fetch some hibiscus fibre (*fau*) to have the corpse tied to his body to ease the burden, thus naming the spot Fautapu (*Fau-tapu*; lit. *Fau*-[of-the]-sacred). A piece of bark cloth called *holo* (lit. wipe) used for perfuming the body of Tu'itātui with scented-oil dropped in a place along the way, which he named Holotapu (*Holo-tapu*; lit. *Holo*-[of-the]-forbidden).

Arriving at the beach, Fasi'apule placed the body of Tu'itātui in his canoe, then paddled towards Tongatapu⁶³. Being tired from the tedious journey, Fasi'apule stopped to rest on a nearby island. In remembrance of the event, he called the island Motutapu (*Motu-tapu*; lit. Island-[of-the]-prohibited). After leaving Motutapu, Fasi'apule continued further, and became so wearied and exhausted that he sought to rest on the next island. To commemorate this leg of the journey, Fasi'apule named the island Mo'ungatapu (*Mo'unga-tapu*; lit. Mountain-[of-the]-sacred. From Mo'ungatapu to Ha'angongo in Malapo, where Tu'itātui is reputedly said to have been buried, Fasi'apule thus completed the last leg of his 'Eua-Tongatapu odyssey.

⁶⁰. Gifford 1924:45; Ve'ehala and Fanua 1977:33; Wood 1943:7.

⁶¹. Gifford 1924:45.

⁶². See Gifford 1924:45-46; Helu 1972a; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973.

⁶³. Helu 1972a; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973.

As it is in the Tongan saying '*Oku 'eiki ē tangata he'ene mate* (People become chiefly when they die)⁸⁴, the death of Tu'itātui, as usual with high chiefs, certainly brought into sharp focus the complementary role of the religious and political elements of the social life, which were vested in the double, sacred-secular, office of the Tu'i Tonga. Customarily, when a high chief dies, *tapu* befalls the land far and wide, declaring through religious sanction a long period of mourning. Also, this politically involves the enforced mobilisation of people and material goods on a large scale during such a period⁸⁵. Thus, the literal accounts of Fasi'apule's long odyssey symbolically suggests that the whole of the neighbouring islands, which must have been the entire Tu'i Tonga dominion, were politically subjected via socio-economic means to observe the death of a sacred king.

The death of Tu'itātui, following his exile in 'Eua, certainly left a number of discrepancies with respect to the Tu'i Tonga movement and succession⁸⁶. Specifically, such problems relate to the shift of the royal residence from Heketā in Niutōua to Lapaha in Mu'a. Furthermore, this shift also caused an irregular power handover in the succession to the Tu'i Tonga title *vis-a-vis* the twelfth Tu'i Tonga, Talatama, Tu'itonganui-Koe-Tamatou, the wooden and thirteenth Tu'i Tonga, and Talatama's younger brother, Talaiha'apepe, the fourteenth Tu'i Tonga.

After the death of their father, Talatama and Talaiha'apepe are said to have moved the royal residence from Heketa, along the coastal line of the leeward side (*fanga*), to Lapaha⁸⁷. The shift of the imperial centre is said to have been connected with two main reasons⁸⁸. Firstly, the two brothers, given the rough and cliffy shoreline of Niutoua, wanted to search for a safer anchorage for their two *kalia*, Tongafuesia and 'Ākiheuhu. Secondly, Talatama and Talaiha'apepe were prompted by a request of their sister, Fatafehi, who preferred the "quietness" (*longonoa*) of Mu'a to the "noisiness" (*longoa'a*) of Niutoua. Hence, these respective places were symbolically named Fangalongonoa

⁸⁴. See, for example, Kaepler 1978b, 11:174; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973.

⁸⁵. See, for example, Kaepler 1978b:174-202; Māhina 1986:181-186. Cf. Gifford 1929a; Martin 1981, I & II.

⁸⁶. Cf. Bott 1982:94; Collocott, King Taufa, MS, n.d:34-35; Gifford 1929a:53; Herda 1988:43; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973; Ve'ehala and Fanua 1977:33; Wood 1943:8.

⁸⁷. Cf. McKern 1929; Spennemann 1989.

⁸⁸. See, for example, Collocott, King Taufa, MS, n.d:34-35; Gifford 1924:30, 1929a:53; Herda 1988:43; Kirch 1984a:237; Māhina 1986. Cf. Spennemann 1989.

(*Fangalongoa*; lit. Beach-[of-the]-complete-silence) and 'Utulongoa'a (*'Utulongoa'a*; Clifly-shore-[of-the]-noisy)⁸⁹.

The wish of Fatafehi for a "quiet" place refers to the tradition that she cried everyday, which led her brothers to suspect she might suffer a physical ailment⁹⁰. So, a litter (*fata*) made of *fehi* wood⁹¹, hence her name Fatafehi (*Fata-fehi*; lit. Platform-made-of]-*fehi*-woods), was constructed for her attendants to carry her, but the attempt was to no avail. Fatafehi kept on crying; she did not stop weeping until her intentions were made clear that she wanted to have the royal residence moved from "noisy" Heketā to "quiet" Lapaha.

Given that the exile of Tu'itātui in 'Eua and his death there arose out of a power crisis at Heketā in Niutōua, the literal search for a safer port for the Tu'i Tonga fleet and the symbolic urge Fatafehi had for a quiet place indicates a confrontation. Such a possibility can be explicated in terms of the idiomatic use of the terms *longoa'a* and *longonoa*. Literally, the respective terms are used as symbols for social "upheaval" and political "peace", as in the corresponding expressions '*Oku longonoa/nonga ē fonua!* (lit. The country is quiet/peaceful!) and '*Oku longoa'a[longolongoa'a/vāvākē] fonua* or '*Oku vāvātau ē kakai!* (lit. The country is [beginning to be] noisy or People are at the verge of physical confrontation!)"⁹².

The social and political instability in Heketā is reflected in the ensuing succession to the Tu'i Tonga title. Although traditions relate that Talatama and Talaiha'apepe were responsible for the initial development of Lapaha, it is likely that Talaiha'apepe, the fourteenth Tu'i Tonga, founded Lapaha. The Tu'i Tonga movement from Heketā took a north-westerly, coastal route along the periphery of the *fanga* side, through the Niutao/Makaunga area where it paused for a time, to Lapaha⁹³. Tu'itonganui-Koe-Tamatou, the wooden and thirteenth Tu'i Tonga, is said to have been buried in Langi Tamatou in the

⁸⁹. *Koe Fafagu*, 1907; Gifford 1924:30; Taufapulutu and Tongavalevale 1907; Ula [Taufanau] 1973; Wood 1943:7-8. See also Māhina 1986.

⁹⁰. See, for example, Helu, '*Avanga*, MS, n.d., 1984 for discussions of certain forms of Tongan illnesses, whose diagnoses are found to be psychotherapeutic rather than physiotherapeutic in basis.

⁹¹. Literally, *fehi* is symbolic of chiefs, as was the case of the double-canoes, *kalia*, Lomipeau, which is said to have been made of *fehi* woods from a place in 'Uvea called Ifilaupakola.

⁹². Cf. Helu 1987b.

⁹³. See, for example, McKern 1929; Spennemann 1989.

Makaunga/Niutao area. Given all that, Talatama, the twelfth Tu'i Tonga, must have been the last Tu'i Tonga to have lived at Heketā, while Talaiha'apepe was the founder of Lapaha.

Talatama, the eldest of the two sons, succeeded his father as the twelfth Tu'i Tonga. The name Talatama (*Tala-tama*; lit. Telling/traditions-[of-the]-child) probably refers to some kind of inherited ruling ideology. Upon his death there was no successor to the title, as it was supposed to pass from father to son⁹⁴, for Talatama had no children. Literally, a piece of *tou* wood, as if it was a real king, was made to symbolically succeed Talatama. The investiture of the wooden king to the title was conducted with proper protocol and ceremony; a woman was even assigned to cohabit with him as a wife⁹⁵. After a time the Falefā, having fixed the period of his reign, proclaimed his death. Tu'itonganui-Koe-tamatou's burial was observed, as was the case with the other Tu'i Tonga, with great honour and dignity. Talaiha'apepe, the second son of Tu'itātui and brother of Talatama, assumed to be the son of Tu'itonganui-Koe-Tamatou, then became the fourteenth Tu'i Tonga.

As observed in both earlier and later times with respect to the patterns of constrained power transference amongst the powerful ruling ideologies⁹⁶, it seems that the problem of succession to the Tu'i Tonga title was symbolic of title dispute between Talatama and Talaiha'apepe. Such a dispute might have left the title unoccupied for a time⁹⁷, which was, in this case, literally represented by the highly ceremonial wooden king. The assertion in traditions that Talatama had no children was possibly a symbolic denial of the political rights of his descendants to the Tu'i Tonga title. Also, the event reflects as well how Talaiha'apepe seized power, formally forging his rights to the title by means of the wooden king.

While the Lo'au-'Eueiki/'Eua influences *vis-a-vis* Momo/Tu'itātui-Heketā affiliations point to the inflow of Hawaiian influences via Samoa, the names

⁹⁴. Bott 1982:94; Gifford 1929a:53; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973; Ve'ehala and Fanua 1977:33; Wood 1943:8.

⁹⁵. *Koe Fafagu*, 1907; Gifford 1924:30; Taufapulotu and Tongavalevale 1907. Cf. Gifford 1924:55; Pangia 1924:55.

⁹⁶. Cf. Māhina 1986, 1990:30-45.

⁹⁷. There are numerous cases in modern Tonga of title dispute, where titles are left vacant for a time due to discrepancy in succession. These are usually left vacant in the hands of care-takers until conflicts are settled. Some notable cases are those of the noble titles Ata, Fohe, Fulivai, Lavaka, Luani, Ma'atu, Niukapu, Nuku and 'Ulukalala.

Tu'itonganui-Koe-Tamatou (*Tu'i-tonga/Tonga-nui-Koe-Tama-tou/Tou*; lit. Tu'i-tonga/Tonga-[of]-greatness/highness-The-Child-[of]-*tou/Tou*-[tree]) and Talaiha'apepe (*Tala-i-ha'apepe/Ha'apepe*; lit. Telling/traditions-[at]-ha'apepe/Ha'apepe, or Ha'apepa in its Tahitian context) reflects the penetration of Tahitian influences through Samoa in the Tongan socio-political affairs⁹⁸. Tu'itonganui-Koe-Tamatou (Niutamato in Samoa) is said to have married Leutogitupa'itea, whose mother, Lefailapaitagato, was from the village of Vaisala⁹⁹. An important title in Samoa, the Tonumaipa'a, is reported to have been brought to Savai'i by To'osega or Fa'asega, the son of Tu'itonganui-Koe-Tamatou and Leutogitupa'itea.

In fact, Tahitian traditions¹⁰⁰ are full of accounts relating to two-way contacts between Tahiti and Hawaii, as well as Hawaiian influences shaping local development in Tahiti. Specifically, the term *nui*, as in Tahiti Nui (lit. Tahiti-[the]-Great) and *ari'i nui* or *ari'i rahi* ("high" or "senior" chief), is Tahitian in outlook¹⁰¹. Again, the *tou* tree, as in the case of the *toa* tree literally used in Tonga as chiefly symbols, had a similar symbolic and cultural significance in Tahiti. The *tou* trees, like the *toa* trees in Tonga, were planted around the enclosure of the chief's compound, specifically for cooling purposes¹⁰². The name Talaiha'apepe is possibly connected with a body of ruling traditions from Ha'apepa, one of the major districts of the island Tahiti Nui¹⁰³.

Despite the internal strife within the Tu'i Tonga line, the imperial expansion of the Tu'i Tonga continued to consolidate especially in Samoa. This imperial consolidation was evident in the tyrannical rule of Talakaifaiki, who succeeded his father, Talaiha'apepe, as the fifteenth Tu'i Tonga. The rule of Talakaifaiki, known in Samoan as Tala'aifei'i¹⁰⁴, is said to have been one of harshness and cruelty. He oppressed his Samoan subjects, working them as

⁹⁸. See, for example, Helu, Kings and Tombs, TS, n.d, 1986b. Cf. Māhina 1986, 1990:30-45.

⁹⁹. Tuimaleali'ifano 1990:30.

¹⁰⁰. See, for example, Henry 1928:437. Cf. Nicholas 1892a, 1:20-29, 1892b, 1:65-67, 1897.

¹⁰¹. See, for example, Beaglehole 1967:clxxviii; Henry 1928:70.

¹⁰². See, for example, Gifford 1929:63. Cf. Ferdon 1981; Henry 1928:54.

¹⁰³. Henry 1928:74.

¹⁰⁴. See, for example, Ella 1899, 8:231-233; Collocott, King Taufa, MS, n.d:37-38; Henry 1980:40-43; Kramer, The Samoan Islands, TS, 1902-1903:108.

slaves¹⁰⁵. His slaves were forced to dig a large pit called Pu i Vaimoana, where some of them were thrown daily. Some of the unfortunate prisoners are reported to have been literally killed for his daily meal, so that he has the symbolic reputation of being a cannibal in Samoa.

In order to secure his power, Talakaifaiki ordered the Samoans to build him *'olo* (forts) all over Samoa. His political strongholds were situated at Safotu and Lalovi, which stood respectively in Savai'i and at Mulifanua in 'Upolu. The most famous Tu'i Tonga port in Samoa was Nu'usugale, a place near Lalovi.

The tyranny of Talakaifaiki grew unbearable for the Samoans, so that his cruel rule was beyond the endurance of his Samoan subjects. Their need of a powerful leader came at a time when Tuna and Fata, sons of Atiogie, an old chief of Falefata, had won the support of a majority of the people of Savai'i and 'Upolu¹⁰⁶. By increasingly gaining the respect of the Samoans, Tuna and Fata became more powerful, something even Talakaifaiki saw as a threat to his power. There were minor encounters between Talakaifaiki and the two brothers, but the Tu'i Tonga was able to suppress them.

With the brothers posing a threat to his rule, the Tongan king determined to get rid of them. Tuna was required to remove a huge rock which rolled down from a nearby mountain, blocking his royal Samoan residence, Malae o Malau¹⁰⁷. The conditions were that if Tuna failed to clear the huge rock, he would be thrown in the pit Pu i Vaimoana. Although Tuna was unable to carry out the allotted task, he enlisted the help of Ulumasi, the son of their sister, Atiatigie, who performed the deed for him with great ease.

Fearing to be ousted from Samoa, Talakaifaiki set out to counter any possible insurgence by the Samoans, primarily targeting Tuna and Fata. This did not deter the two brothers. Instead, messengers were sent to all parts of Samoa to join Tuna and Fata at Aleipata, where a united Samoan military front was to be organised and staged against the ruthless Tongans. The Samoan motto for their campaign against the Tongans was *sa'olotoga*, meaning struggle for freedom¹⁰⁸. Thus, a plot was designed to coincide with the

¹⁰⁵. See Henry 1980:40.

¹⁰⁶. See, for example, Ella 1899, 8:231-233; Henry 1980.

¹⁰⁷. Henry 1980:41.

¹⁰⁸. Henry 1980:42.

upcoming celebration of the Tu'i Tonga's birthday, where feasting and entertainment were to be held at a *mala'e* in Aleipata.

When the day came, all the Tongans are said to have been present, not knowing of the Samoan ill-fated plans. Already war-painted Samoans in their hundreds had hidden behind the bushes, enthusiastically waiting for the moment they would be signalled to attack. The signal was that as soon as the Samoans performed the Tongan dance called in Samoan *matamatame*¹⁰⁹, the assault was to begin. As the dance started, the Samoan war party led by Tuna and Fata emerged from their hiding place, slaying two hundred Tongans in the *mala'e*. The Tongans were in complete disarray; they fled in all directions, some pursued by Tuna along the south coast, the others, chased by Fata, fled along the north coast.

Talakaifaiki escaped with some of his warriors to Nu'usugale, where his *kalia* were berthed. There he stood on a rock, which was since named Tulatala, looking out for Tuna and Fata. When the two brothers were in sight, the king embarked his canoe, and got ready to sail to Tonga. While his navigators prepared for the return voyage, Talakaifaiki, impressed by the bravery and courage of Tuna and Fata, praised them by saying '*Malie Toa, Malie Tau, Afai e o'o mai Toga, E sau i le Aouliuli folau, Ae le sau i le Aouliuli tau*' (lit. "Brave warrior! Bravely you fought! If the Tongans ever come back, It will be for friendly visit, But never again to fight you)¹¹⁰. His compromising speech was known in Samoan as *Mavaega na i le Tulatala*¹¹¹, a kind of alliance formation at the rock Tulatala. In commemorating the Samoan victory, Savea, a descendant of Atiogie and Tuvai'upolu, was installed the first Malieto'a (Malieto'a in Tongan; *Malie-to'a*; lit. Outstanding-bravery)¹¹².

The beginning of the Tongan occupation of Samoa, while enigmatic in nature, remains a matter of great interest. It seems that the Tongan occupation of Samoa succeeded the overlordship of Tu'i Manu'a, Fitiaumua, who is

¹⁰⁹. Henry 1980:42.

¹¹⁰. Henry 1980:42-43; Lafa'o'i, pers. comm., 1991.

¹¹¹. Ella 1899, 8:231-233; Henry 1980:43; Lafa'o'i, pers. comm., 1991. Cf. Freeman 1944a, 1947.

¹¹². Ella 1899, 8:231-233; Henry 1980:43. See also Bott 1982:94; Collocott, King Taufa, MS, n.d.:28; Wood 1943:5-6.

reputedly said to have ruled Samoa, Tonga, Fiji, Tahiti and the Cooks¹¹³. All these islands are said to have paid yearly tribute (*'umiti*), consisting of fish and foods, to the Tu'i Manu'a¹¹⁴. Following the Tu'i Manu'a sovereignty over all Samoa, which ended about AD 900, was the first political organisation of Upolu by Pili and his sons, Tua, Ana, Tuamasaga and Tolufale, who are believed to have lived between AD 850 and AD 950¹¹⁵. Later Savai'i was politically organised by Alali, also a descendant of Pili, a relation of the Tu'i Manu'a.

Then about AD 950 came the first Tu'i Tonga, 'Aho'eitu, who is reported to have refused to pay Tonga's *'umiti/inasi* to the Tu'i Manu'a, declaring Tonga's independence from Samoa and the rule of the Tu'i Manu'a. Henry¹¹⁶ attributes the beginning of the occupation of Samoa by the Tongans to 'Aho'eitu, predominantly through conquest. This was probably ended with the expulsion of Talakaifaiki around AD 1250, when the differences between Tonga and Samoa were largely reconciled in alliance formation. Such a trend in social formation was reinforced even more in later times through the exchange of women between the Tongan, Fijian and Samoan ruling families¹¹⁷.

By the time of Talakaifaiki the whole of Samoa appears to have been subjected to Tu'i Tonga rule. The twelfth Tu'i Tonga, Talatama (Ali'atama in Samoa), is believed to have lived in Manu'a¹¹⁸. Manu'an traditions relate that a certain Tu'i Tonga, Fakapouri (not known in Tonga), died from bathing in the Tu'i Manu'a's *vaisa* (sacred pool), which was reserved only for him. The Tongans and Samoans are said to have engaged in a bloody war at Leone in Tutu'ila, which was under the administration of Latuvunia, brother of a Tu'i Tonga¹¹⁹. As stated, the cause of the dispute was triggered by the great warrior Fua'au, resident of Pago Pago, when the Tongans took his would-be wife, Tau'oloasi'i, daughter of Tuiafono, to Tonga, presumably for the Tu'i Tonga.

¹¹³. Collocott, King Taufa, MS, n.d:18; Henry 1980:28; Wood 1943:5-6. Cf. Fraser 1897b, VI:68-72; Nicholas 1892a, 1:20-29, 1892b, 1:65-67, 1897; Smith 1899, 29:6; Stair 1895a, 4:50, 1895b, 4:99-131.

¹¹⁴. Fraser 1897b, VI:70; Henry 1980:28; Wood 1943:5-6.

¹¹⁵. Henry 1980:36.

¹¹⁶. Henry 1980:36-37.

¹¹⁷. See, for example, Friedman 1981, 23:275-295; Kaeppler 1978a, 11:246-252. Cf. Bott 1982; Mähina 1986, 1990:30-45.

¹¹⁸. Gifford 1929a:53; Herda 1988:43; Kramer, *The Samoan Islands*, TS, 1902-1903:936.

¹¹⁹. Henry 1980:43-44. See also Fraser 1898, VII:21-22; Gifford 1929a:53-54.

The case of Talakaifaiki recorded the first ever open hostilities between Tonga and Samoa, reflecting as well the extent of the subjugation of Samoa to the Tu'i Tonga imperial expansion by conquest¹²⁰. Considering the degree of conflict between Tonga and Samoa, the covenant between Talakaifaiki and the two brothers, Tuna and Fata, on the rock Tulatala points to the formation of some kind of treaty¹²¹ between the Tongan and Samoan ruling families. The ensuing events suggest that, after the expulsion of Talakifaiki from Samoa, the axis of the Tu'i Tonga imperial expansion was changed from conquest to conquest-alliance formation.

The next three Tu'i Tonga, Talafapite, Tu'itonga-Ma'akatoe and Tu'itonga-Puipui, married high-ranking Samoan women and resided in Samoa¹²². Talafapite was married to a woman from Salelologa. Following him was Tu'itonga-Ma'akatoe, who is said to have married Popoa'i and Tau'akitoa, the two daughters of Tui Atua, from eastern 'Upolu. Born to the marriage between Tu'itonga-Ma'akatoe and Popoa'i were two sons, Tu'iavi'i and Tonga'alelei. While Tu'iavi'i went to live in Samoa, Tonga'alelei moved to reside in Niue, suggesting that Niue was under the Tu'i Tonga rule. Tau'akitoa, the other sister, had a son to Tu'itonga-Ma'akatoe, Tu'itonga-Puipui, who succeeded him as the next Tu'i Tonga. His investiture to the title angered his two half-brothers, so that they engaged in a war that killed Tonga'alelei, causing Tu'iavi'i to retreat to Samoa. Two daughters of Tu'itonga-Puipui are said to have married Samoan chiefs after this incident.

Havea I, the nineteenth Tu'i Tonga, succeeded Tu'itonga-Puipui. While his name (Savea in Samoan) reflects Samoan infiltration, the events surrounding his death speak of the Tu'i Tonga conquest. He is said to have been assassinated probably by a Fijian¹²³ while having a bath in Tolopona, a pool near 'Alakifonua at Pelehake, residence of Talafale's descendants. His killer cut him into halves and threw them into the sea, where the top half was recovered, while the other was not found. A *kalae* bird pecked his face while floating, for which the beach was named Houmakalae¹²⁴. Lufe, a Fijian-descent chief of the

¹²⁰. Bott 1982:94; Gifford 1929a:54; Ve'ehala and Fanua 1977:34; Wood 1943:8-9.

¹²¹. See, for example, Herda 1988:45-46.

¹²². Herda 1988:46.

¹²³. 'Afitofa, interview, 1991.

¹²⁴. *Koe Fafagu*, 1907; Gifford 1924:31; Taufapulotu and Tongavalevale 1907.

village of Folaha and a relative of Havea I's mother¹²⁵, requested that they cut him in half, taking his lower section to the Falefā in order to make Havea I's body whole before he was buried. While this incident points to Fijian servility to the Tu'i Tonga, his murder by the Fijian was indicative that the Fijian attitude to the Tu'i Tonga was one of ambivalence.

The next Tu'i Tonga was Tatafu'eikimeimu'a, who succeeded his father, Havea I, as the twentieth in line. Tatafu'eikimeimu'a had two sons, Ngana'eiki and Nganatatafu, suggesting connections with the Samoan chief Ngana, whose daughter was the mother of Iro, of both Samoan-Cook Island descent¹²⁶. Some traditions relate that the handsome Nganatatafu accompanied his elder brother, Ngana'eiki, who went to Samoa to court beautiful Hina¹²⁷. Nganatatafu was told to watch the Tongan canoe, while Ngana'eiki went ashore to woo Hina. Later, Hina's attendants found Nganatatafu, and were struck by his great beauty. Hina secretly sent for Nganatatafu, with whom she had an affair.

Angered by the incident, Ngana'eiki ordered that they return to Tonga. Before the Tu'i Tonga party left for Tonga, Hina gave Nganatatafu two bonitos (*atu*) as her present. As they were passing the island of Ha'ano in Ha'apai, Ngana'eiki threw Nganatatafu, his Fijian attendant, and the two bonitos into the sea, for which a reef nearby was named Hakaufisi (*Hakau-fisi/Fisi*; lit. Reef-[of]-fiji/Fiji)¹²⁸. As they were swimming ashore, the Fijian died from exhaustion, where a reef close by was called Ma'ukuomate (*Ma'u-kuo-mate*; lit. Found-dead)¹²⁹ as a remembrance of his death. Again, this incident reflects the Fijian life of service to the Tu'i Tonga. Ngana'eiki, however, continued to 'Uiha, where he founded the title Malupō, while Nganatatafu became the founder of the Tu'iha'angana title at Ha'ano¹³⁰.

The successor of Tatafu'eikimeimu'a was Lomi'aetupu'a, the twentyfirst Tu'i Tonga, whose rule is not known¹³¹. However, his name, Lomi'aetupu'a, as

¹²⁵. Bott 1982:94; *Koe Fafagu*, 1907; Gifford 1929a:31; Herda 1988:46; Mahina 1986; Taufapulutu and Tongavalevale 1907; Wood 1943:9.

¹²⁶. See, for example, Nicholas 1892, 1:20.

¹²⁷. See, for example, Bott 1982:94-95; Gifford 1929a:54; Herda 1988:46; Mahina 1986; Ve'ehala and Fanua 1977:34; Wood 1943:9.

¹²⁸. Hingano, pers. comm., 1988.

¹²⁹. Gifford 1929a:57, 60; Murley 1924a:60.

¹³⁰. Ve'ehala and Fanua 1977:34. Cf. Bott 1982:95; Gifford 1929a:54.

¹³¹. Bott 1982:94; Herda 1988:46-47; Māhina 1986.

in Tangaloa 'Eitumātupu'a¹³², suggests continuing Samoan influences in Tonga. Lomi'aetupu'a was succeeded by Havea II, who, like Havea I, was murdered by a Fijian attendant, Tuvuvota, who shot him with an arrow (*ngahau*)¹³³. His name, as in the Samoan Savea, is indicative of further Samoan penetration in the Tongan social formation. The death of the Fijian and the Fijian-descent Lufe in their respective services to Nganatatafu and Havea I reflects a continuance of Fiji's subjugation to the Tu'i Tonga rule. This was the case despite the powerful Fijian opposition, resulting in the death of Havea I and Havea II. But the death of Havea II was apparently the peak of the Fijian counter-hegemonic campaign for their freedom from Tu'i Tonga imperialism. Thus, Fiji, as in the case of Samoa, now began to enter into some kind of alliance formation with Tonga.

The successor of Havea II was Takalaua, the twentythird Tu'i Tonga, who was likewise murdered for his reputedly oppressive rule. Takalaua is also remembered for his marriage to Va'elaveamata, formerly known as 'Ulukihelupe. This love story is recorded in the myth of Takalaua and Va'elaveamata¹³⁴.

The Myth of Takalaua and Va'elaveamata

(Told and translated by the author)

A couple, Lesinga and Lemata, lived in Fahefa. They had a pet pigeon (*lupe*), whom they worshipped as their god. One day Lemata got pregnant. She had cravings for pigeon meat, so she killed their pigeon by wringing its neck and breaking its head (*'ulu*), while Lesinga was out fishing. This prompted the couple to move and live in 'Ata, where Lemata gave birth to a baby girl. Her head resembled that of a pigeon. So they named her 'Ulukihelupe, who is said to have been extremely beautiful. She grew her hair long to her heels, covering her whole feet. 'Ulukihelupe had the habit of swimming in the beach, after which she would dry herself in the sun. One day the Tu'i Tonga fisherman went out fishing, when not long they spotted her in the beach, doing her daily routines. Struck by her great beauty, the fishermen returned in haste to Lapaha. When asked why they returned so soon and without fish, they replied *'Ko e toutai kuo 'ikai ola 'i moana, ka kuo ola 'i fanga!*" ("The fishing has had no result in the sea, rather it has had a result in the beach!"). Having understood what his fishermen meant, Takalaua sent them back to bring beautiful 'Ulukihelupe to be his wife. Feast and entertainment were prepared for her reception. A *me'etu'upaki* dance was performed, with Takalaua playing the wooden drum. On the party's arrival, 'Ulukihelupe joined the dancing, starting from the back row and moving to the front ones. Takalaua was so overcome by her great beauty that, by staring at her feet, he wounded his eyes

¹³². Cf. Moyle 1974, 83:155-179; Stair 1896, 5:34, 1897:211.

¹³³. *Koe Fafagu*, 1907; Gifford 1929a:31; Herda 1988:47; Māhina 1986; Taufapulotu and Tongavalevale 1907;

¹³⁴. Variants of the myth of Takalaua and Va'elaveamata can be found in Bott 1982:95; Collocott, King Taufa, MS, n.d:43; Gifford 1924:31-32, 60-65; Herda 1988:47.

with his drum-beating sticks. As a commemoration of the event, the name of 'Ulukihelupe was changed to Va'elaveamata, when afterwards they were married.

The theme of the myth is certainly structured on social mobility (*tanusia*)¹³⁵, involving the improvement of the social standing of the couple's lineage through the presentation of their daughter, 'Ulukihelupe, to the Tu'i Tonga, Takalaua. Socially speaking, it is a story of transformation. The couple were probably of the *tu'a* class, their only qualification being their daughter's beauty (*hoihoifua*), one of the limited factors open for the lower classes to move up the social hierarchy¹³⁶. Indeed, it was 'Ulukihelupe's well-proportioned feet (*va'e*), one of the few criteria for considering beauty¹³⁷, that literally wounded the eyes (*mata*) of Takalaua. The cravings Lemata had for pigeon (*lupe*) and the naming of their daughter 'Ulukihelupe (*'Ulu-kihe-lupe*; Head-to-a-pigeon), where *lupe* is a chiefly symbol¹³⁸, are suggestive not only of the couple's aspirations (through worshipping their pet pigeon) for improving their social lot, but also the elevation of the social status of their lineage through their daughter's marriage to the Tu'i Tonga.

This situation is reflected in two instances, the first involves 'Ulukihelupe's gradual progression, while performing in the *me'etu'upaki*¹³⁹, from the back rows to the front ones, and the second is connected with the change of name from 'Ulukihelupe to Va'elaveamata (*Va'e-lavea-mata*; lit. Feet-wounding-eye). In fact, the organisation of dance in Tonga, on the broader level, mirrors the rigid social hierarchy, for chiefly and beautiful women are,

¹³⁵. Helu, interview, 1988. Cf. Herda 1988:47 asserts that the myth is thematically a demarcation of divinity. Also Gunson, as quoted by Herda (1988:47), puts forward a view that Va'elaveamata was, in fact, the Samoan Tu'i Manu'a, considering her exalted rank.

¹³⁶. Ula [Tāufanau] 1973.

¹³⁷. Helu 1972a; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973.

¹³⁸. In addition to *lupe* (pigeon, connected with the *heu lupe* sport and conducted on the *sia heu lupe*, pigeon-snaring mounds), the *toa* (ironwood tree, providing shades for chiefs, and associated with the *sika'ulutoa* sport), *sia* (mound), *'esi* (sitting/resting mound), *'ufi* (yams, usually ranked in terms of the *'eiki* and *tu'a* principles), *kakala* (sweet-scented flowers, often plaited and designed into a complex of other symbols, classified into *hou'eiki* and *tu'a* classes), *kie Tonga* (fine mats), *mo'unga* (mountain, as used to refer to Tu'i Kanokupolu's *mala'e* [tombs]), *la'a* (sun) and so on are literally used as status symbols for chiefs.

¹³⁹. For accounts about the *me'etu'upaki*, see, for example, Helu 1980, 5:27-31; Pusiaki, Collection of Papers, MS, n.d, *Me'etu'upaki*, TS, n.d, *Me'etu'upaki*, MS, n.d, 1986.

according to rank, positioned in the front rows, while women of commoner status are situated in the back rows¹⁴⁰. Her beauty, reinforced by her marriage to Takalaua, earned 'Ulukihelupe a front spot in the dance and a 'eiki position in society. It was also because of her beautiful *va'e* that her name was transformed from 'Ulukihelupe to Va'elaveamata, i.e., from *tu'a* to 'eiki, through her marriage to Takalaua.

This enforced social mobility was consolidated even more by the birth of their children, Kau'ulufonua, Mo'ungāmotu'a, Lātūtoevave, Melino'atonga and Lotau'ai¹⁴¹. While Kau'ulufonua became the next Tu'i Tonga, Mo'ungāmotu'a founded the second royal title, the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua (*Tu'i Ha'atakalaua/Takalaua*; King [of-th]-Lineage-[of]-takalaua/Takalaua), named after their father, Takalaua.

As stated in traditions, the rule of Takalaua was cruel and ruthless, for he subjected his people to hard labour, especially the building of his *langi* during the yam planting seasons¹⁴². While having a meal at the island of Mata'aho, Takalaua was murdered by Tamasia and Malofafa, descendants of Talafale from Pelehake¹⁴³. A woman messenger was sent to Takalaua's children, who were racing boats along the coast of Niutao/Makaunga. The woman prostrated herself before Kau'ulufonua, where she sat sideways (*fāite*) with her head bowed, relating the message of the plight of Takalaua to him. To which Kau'ulufonua replied '*Ko e tala me'a fo'ou 'eni!*' (lit. This is telling something new!)¹⁴⁴. Eversince the beach has been named Fungāfaite (*Funga-fāite*; Place/beach-[of]-sitting-side-ways), and the village nearby was called Talafo'ou (*Tala-fo'ou*; lit. Telling-[of]-[things]-new)¹⁴⁵.

Kau'ulufonua, however, vowed not to have his father buried until he tracked down the assassins and avenged his father's death. In doing so, Kau'ulufonua and his brothers pursued their father's murderers, fighting their

¹⁴⁰. Helu 1986a; Malukava [Kavaefiafi] 1973; Pusiaki, pers. comm., 1988.

¹⁴¹. *Koe Fafagu*, 1907; Gifford 1924:31-32; Herda 1988:47; Taufapulotu and Tongavalevale 1907; Wood 1943:9.

¹⁴². Ula [Tāufanau] 1973.

¹⁴³. Bott 1982:95; Collocott, King Taufa, MS, n.d:45; Gifford 1929a:55; Lehā'uli, interview, 1988; Mafimalanga, interview, 1988; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973.

¹⁴⁴. Gifford 1924:65-67; Lehā'uli, interview, 1988; Mafimalanga, interview, 1988; Pahulu 1924:65-67; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973; Wood 1943:10.

¹⁴⁵. Lehā'uli, interview, 1988; Mafimalanga, interview, 1988; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973; Wood 1943:10.

way from Vava'u to 'Eua, Ha'apai, Vava'u, Niuatoputapu, Niuafo'ou, Niue, Fiji, Futuna and finally 'Uvea, where they caught Tamasia and Malofafa¹⁴⁶. Having brought the murderers to Tonga, they were placed in a royal *kava* ceremony, where they were tried for the murder and the power of the Tu'i Tonga was restructured, especially in view of the structural-functional relationships *vis-a-vis* periphery and centre¹⁴⁷. Kau'ulufonua plucked out their teeth and ordered them to chew the dried *kava* roots for the ceremony with their bare gums. After consuming the bloody beverage, Kau'ulufonua then killed them, preparing their flesh as relish (*fono*) for the ceremony. As for his aggression, Kau'ulufonua was thus nicknamed Fekai ("Ferocious")¹⁴⁸, hence Kau'ulufonua Fekai, or Tuitoga Faisautele (*Faisautele*; lit. Making-great-cannibal-feasts)¹⁴⁹, as he was then known in Samoa.

In real terms, the literal and highly symbolic significance of the murder of Takalaua and especially the aggression of Kau'ulufonua points to extreme oppression, utter cruelty or absolute tyranny, rather than actual cannibalism. Literally, the term *fekai* is idiomatically used in Tonga to refer to a domineering person of aggressive (*fitā'a*) disposition, itself an excellent tool of coercion, oppression and cruelty¹⁵⁰. Furthermore, Kau'ulufonua's ferocious disposition can point to his desperate attempt to restore the loyalty of the Tu'i Tonga dominion, now evidently threatened by the extreme nature of Takalaua's oppressive rule.

The fact that the murderers were not caught in the other islands until they reached 'Uvea meant that the murder of Takalaua was, considering his tyrannical rule, supported by the whole of his dominion¹⁵¹. This is reflected by the name of his son, Kau'ulufonua (*Kau-'ulu-fonua*; lit. Combing-all-lands/islands), suggesting the extensive regional subjugation of the said islands to the Tu'i Tonga imperial activities. And as 'Uveans and Futunans served as

¹⁴⁶. Bott 1982:95; Collocott, King Taufa, MS, n.d:45-47; Herda 1988:48; Leha'uli, interview, 1988; Mafimalanga, interview, 1988; Māhina 1986; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973; Wood 1943:10.

¹⁴⁷. See Māhina 1986, 1990:30-45.

¹⁴⁸. Gifford 1929a:55; Herda 1988:48; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973; Wood 1943:10.

¹⁴⁹. Kramer, *The Samoan Islands*, TS, 1902-1903:937.

¹⁵⁰. Cf. Bott 1972:205-237; Māhina 1986, 1990:30-45.

¹⁵¹. Helu, interview, 1988.

stonemasons for the building of the royal tombs¹⁵², the 'Uvean-Futunan inspired murder of Takalaua can thus be understood in terms of the subjugation of 'Uvea and Futuna. In fact, it was in Futuna that Kau'ulufonua was defeated, when he retreated to Tonga with only a handful of his fighting men¹⁵³.

While Tonga's connections with Samoa and, to a certain extent, Fiji were maintained on the basis of alliance formation, the imperial rule of the Tu'i Tonga seems by now to have been, however sporadic, extended predominantly via conquest to other islands. Such islands included 'Uvea, Futuna, Niue, Tokelau, Tuvalu in western Polynesia, as well as some parts of Melanesia such as Tikopia and 'Anuta and other islands in eastern Polynesia such as the Cooks and the Marquesas¹⁵⁴. But the death of Takalaua effected another important shift in the axis of Tu'i Tonga imperial expansion, which was a change from conquest-alliance formation to alliance formation.

The rule of Tu'itātui marked the beginning of the regional expansion of the Tu'i Tonga empire, whose local foundation was laid down during the rule of his father, Momo. This regional expansion of the Tu'i Tonga imperial rule was initiated through Fiji and Samoa, where powerful opposition from those islands shaped the local and regional configurations of the Tu'i Tonga empire. While Fiji, despite the ambivalent attitudes of the Fijians towards the Tu'i Tonga, continued to be subjugated to the Tu'i Tonga rule, the open conflicts between Tonga and Samoa virtually changed the axis of imperial expansion from conquest to conquest-alliance formation. Further constraints in the imperial rule of the Tu'i Tonga, resulting in the murder of Takalaua, radically transformed the orientation of Tu'i Tonga imperialism from conquest-alliance formation to alliance formation. The latter is seen to have been brought to bear on the rule of Kau'ulufonua Fekai, who succeeded his father, Takalaua, as the twentyfourth Tu'i Tonga.

¹⁵². See Māhina 1986.

¹⁵³. Keletaona, interview, 1989; Malau, interview, 1989. Cf. Gifford 1924:34; Pahulu 1924:65-67; Wood 1943:10.

¹⁵⁴. See, for example, Burrows 1936, 1937; Handy 1923, 1927, 1930; Henry 1928; Henry 1980; Māhina 1986, 1990:30-45; Smith 1892a, 1:33-52, 1892b, 1:107-117, 1902a, 14:202-204, 1902b, XI:80-106, 163-178, 195-218, 1903a, XII:1-31, 85-119; 1903b:Appendix. Cf. Bott 1982; Collocott, King Taufa, Ms, n.d.; Herda 1988; Kirch 1984a; Spennemann 1989; Wood 1943.

CHAPTER SIX

Imperial Decline; Tu'i Tonga and Hau

Kau'ulufonua Fekai, i.e., Kau'ulufonua the "Ferocious", succeeded his father, Takalaua, as Kau'ulufonua I, the twentyfourth Tu'i Tonga, around AD 1470 (see Figure 6.4)¹. His succession to the title came at a time when the power of the Tu'i Tonga, where the 'Eiki/sacred/priest and Hau/secular/conqueror offices were combined in his person, began to decline. While the name of Kau'ulufonua (*Kau-'ulu-fonua*; lit. Combining-all-lands/islands) literally points to the peak of the Tu'i Tonga power, his metaphoric aggression², in pursuing his father's assassins, suggests Kau'ulufonua I's desperation to restore respect and honour to the Tu'i Tonga imperial rule in the face of hostilities and indifference generated by the tyrannical rule of Takalaua. Thus, the periphery-centre links of the Tu'i Tonga empire were under tremendous constraints, posing immediate threats to the flow of socio-economic support that was essential for politically maintaining the Tu'i Tonga.

The inevitability posed by such threats, however, forced Kau'ulufonua I to restructure the regional-local links between periphery and centre, where he opted to change the axis of the Tu'i Tonga imperialism from conquest-alliance formation to alliance formation³. With this task at hand, Kau'ulufonua I then utilised the regional alliance connections in order to consolidate the local power base of the Tu'i Tonga in the centre. By responding to the situation, Kau'ulufonua I reorganised the nation⁴, attempting to redefine the power of the Tu'i Tonga in terms of the socio-economic links between periphery and centre. As in the cases of Tu'itātui, 'Aho'eitu and Havea Hikule'o⁵, Kau'ulufonua I

¹. Collocott, King Taufa, MS, n.d:49; Gifford 1929a:56; Wood 1943:66. Cf. Bott 1982:95; Herda 1989; Ledyard 1982:18; Māhina 1986; Ve'ehala and Fanua 1977:35.

². See, for example, Bott 1982:95; Herda 1988:48-51; Māhina 1986:104-108; Ve'ehala and Fanua 1977:35. Cf. Kirch 1984a:224-225; Poulsen 1977; Spennemann 1989.

³. See Māhina 1986, 1990. Cf. Biersack 1982, 91:182-212; Bott 1982; Friedman 1981, 23:275-295; Kaeppler 1978a, 11:246-252.

⁴. See, for example, Bott 1982:92. Cf. Collocott, King Taufa, MS, n.d:49; Gifford 1929a:55; Havea, Notes on the History and Customs of Tonga, MS, 1870:707-709; Ve'ehala and Fanua 1977:35.

⁵. See, for example, Māhina 1986. Cf. Biersack 1991, 100:231-268; Bott 1972:205-237, 277-282, 1982:89-97; Valeri 1989, 4:209-247, 1990a:40-80, 1990b:213-250.

similarly effected major structural and functional reforms in the centre, where broader changes in the periphery were to be accommodated in the event.

Thus, Kau'ulufonua I began his task of reform by altering the centre, with the creation of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua royal title (see Figures 4.2, 5.1 and 6.3)⁶. His next reform involved the major reshuffle of the Falefā, the administrative machinery of the Tu'i Tonga, as well as assigning specific tasks to his relatives in the central court of the Tu'i Tonga⁷. Finally, Kau'ulufonua I, through elaborate exchange networks, made a parallel change in which he sent out people from Mu'a to the outer islands as governors⁸. They were given the duties of overseeing the social organisation of production, thereby maintaining the flow of social, economic and political support from periphery to centre.

With his first reform, Kau'ulufonua I appointed his younger brother, Mo'ungāmotu'a, as the first Tu'i Ha'atakalaua⁹. The allocated duties of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua were to oversee the secular affairs of the nation, while the Tu'i Tonga retained the sacred office. Unequivocally, the inherent structural and functional constraints in the centre led to this enforced separation in the double 'Eiki and Hau role of the Tu'i Tonga, who devolved the latter on the emerging Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, the new Hau¹⁰. The earthly duties of the rising Hau were, in social, material and political terms, to serve and protect the Tu'i Tonga, symbolically and practically occupying the 'Eiki office, but they also included

⁶. Bott 1982:96; Collocott, Royal and Chiefly Genealogies, MS, n.d:300-302, King Taufa, MS, n.d:49; Gifford 1929a:55, 68; Herda 1988:51; Mafimalanga, interview, 1988; Māhina 1986:104; Lehā'uli, interview, 1988; Tungi [Halatuituia] 1929:68; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973; Ve'ehala and Fanua 1977:34.

⁷. See, for example, Bott 1982:97-98; Collocott, Royal Genealogies, MS, n.d:300-302; Gifford 1929a:55, 65-71; Havea 1929:64-65; Māhina 1986:104; Tungi [Halatuituia] 1929:66-69.

⁸. Bott 1982:96-97; Collocott, Chiefly Genealogies, MS, n.d:300-302; Gifford 1929a:55, 63-71; Herda 1988:50; Kirch 1984a:232; Mafimalanga, interview, 1988; Māhina 1986:111-117; Lehā'uli, interview, 1988; Tungi [Halatuituia] 1929:65-69; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973; Ve'ehala and Fanua 1977:34.

⁹. Bott 1982:96; Collocott, Chiefly Genealogies, MS, n.d:300-302; Gifford 1929a:55-56; Mafimalanga, interview, 1988; Malukava [Kavaefiafi] 1973; Lehā'uli, interview, 1988; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973; Wood 1943:11.

¹⁰. See, for example, Bott 1982:96; Campbell 1982, 17:178-194, 1989a, 92:155-167; Wood 1943:11-12. Cf. Herda 1988; Kirch 1984a; Māhina 1986; Spennemann 1989.

the allocation of land to major *ha'a*¹¹. These major social groupings were, in turn, designated specific duties to the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, especially the social organisation of production relating to *polopolo* and *'inasi*. For this purpose, the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua was also called Tu'i Kelekele, literally King of the Soil, the Tenderer of the Land.

After the appointment of Mo'ungāmotu'a as the first Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, Kau'ulufonua I then sent him to live at Fonuamotu (*Fonua-motu*; lit. Land-[the]-island), an island at the edge of the lagoon at Lapaha in Mu'a¹². Fonuamotu is also known as Fonuatanu (*Fonua-tanu*; lit. Land-filled-[with-earth]), for reasons that it was joined to the mainland by an artificial causeway. Lauaki (lit. Bound-[to-happen]/inevitable), who was sent as a *matāpule* of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, built his house, Tukumotofā (*Tuku-motofā*; lit. Parting-with-the-royalty), beside the residence of Mo'ungāmotu'a. The residences of the Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, 'Olotele and Fonuamotu, were respectively located at the inland side (*kauhala'uta*; *kau-hala-'uta*; lit. side-[of]-road-[of-the]-upper) and the sea side (*kauhalalalo*; *kau-hala-lalo*; lit. side-[of]-road-[of-the]-lower) of the main road (*hala*) to Hahake (see Appendix D).

There is no doubt that the spatial dimensions, specifically defining the structural and functional relationships between the Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Ha'atakalaua in the broader social context, are basically political in outlook. As observed, the spatio-temporal, structural-functional division in the residences of the Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Ha'atakalaua metaphorically reflects the new social, economic and political relationships between the two royal titles. Following these spatial, structural and functional reforms in the centre, the respective Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, including their descendants and *ha'a* deriving from them, have been symbolically called *Kauhala'uta* and *Kauhalalalo*¹³.

¹¹. Bott 1982:96; Gifford 1929:55-56; Ve'ehala and Fanua 1977:35; Wood 1943:11-12. Cf. Havea 1929:64-65; Helu 1972a, 1975d, 1975e; Herda 1988; Māhina 1986; Tungi [Halatuituia] 1929:66-69.

¹². Helu, interview, 1988; Mafimalanga, interview, 1988; Māhina 1986; Lehā'uli, interview, 1988; Malukava [Kavaefiafi] 1973; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973; Wood 1943:11.

¹³. Bott 1982:79-80; Collocott, Royal and Chiefly Genealogies, MS, n.d.:300-302; Gifford 1929a:40; Helu 1972a, 1988e; Herda 1988:54; Kirch 1984a:227; Mafimalanga, interview, 1988; Māhina 1986; Lehā'uli, interview, 1988; Ula [Tāufanau] 1988; Wood 1943.

Moreover, the name of the royal residence of the Tu'i Tonga, 'Olotele, at Lapaha in Mu'a points to the persistence of the Samoan and Hawaiian influences in the local development in Tonga. 'Olotele occurs in Samoa and Hawaii respectively as Olotele and Olokele, mountains in the Samoan and Hawaiian islands of Tutu'ila and Maui (also in Samoa, Olotele means Great Fortress or Great Town)¹⁴. The literal naming of the Tu'i Tonga's royal residence after the mountains, ['Olotele] Olotele and 'Olokele, is symbolic of the political standing of the Tu'i Tonga, for the metaphoric use of the word *mo'unga* (mountain) in Tonga refers to hegemony. This is seen in the idiomatic expressions *tu'umo'unga* (*tu'u-mo'unga*; lit. rising-mountain) and *mo'unga'i tangata* (lit. mountain [of-the] man)¹⁵, referring to people who rise above others in terms of achievements, prestige and power. The name Mo'ungāmotu'a (*Mo'ungā-motu'a*; lit. Mountain-[of]-old/senior) reflects the continuity of a past associated with the powerful Tu'i Tonga, but now manifested in the person of the first Tu'i Ha'atakalaua.

Similarly, the names of the last and permanent royal centre Lapaha and the kingly district Mu'a, the privileged space occupied by the Tu'i Tonga, are also of the same political nature. Lapaha, taken by some¹⁶ to be the Fijian Lambasa, is indicative of the Fijian sacrificial and political role in the local consolidation of the Tu'i Tonga power. Literally, the term Mu'a (*Mu'a/mu'a*; lit. Front-[space]) symbolically refers to the sacred front space the Tu'i Tonga occupied in Mu'a, in particular, and society generally. Certain groups of people of chiefly origin were collectively called *kau mu'a* (lit. people [of-the] front), children born to the union between high chiefs and *matāpule*¹⁷. In fact, it was *tapu* to walk in front (*mu'a*) of the Tu'i Tonga, so people, especially the commoners, were made to go past his back (*tu'a*), symbolically called *takafalu*¹⁸. Hence, the commoners (*tu'a*) are, in symbolic and practical terms, spatially and socially situated in this secular, *tu'a* space.

¹⁴. Collocott, King Taufa, MS, n.d:29; Gifford 1924:29, 1929a:71.

¹⁵. Cf. Collocott and Havea 1922; *Ko e Kava, Lea Tonga mo e Koloa Faka-Tonga*, n.d; *Ko e Ngaahi Palovepi Faka-Tonga*, n.d; Helu 1987b; Ula [Taufanau] 1973.

¹⁶. 'Ahio, interview, 1988; Collocott, King Taufa, MS, n.d:35.

¹⁷. Lātūkefu 1974:9.

¹⁸. Helu 1972a; Malukava [Kavaefiafi]; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973. Cf. Collection of Queen Sālote's Poetry, MS, n.d; Collection of Tongan Song Texts, MS, n.d; Collection of Works by Tongan Poets, MS, n.d; Tupou III [Queen Sālote] 1986:20-23.

After creating the Tu'i Ha'atakalana, Kau'ulufonua I reorganised the Falefā for the second time¹⁹ (the first reorganisation being by Tu'itātui) since it was originally formed by 'Aho'eitu. Lo'au is said to have been behind both reforms of the Falefā²⁰. While Lo'au, in person, certainly took part in the first reorganisation, the second reform in of the Falefā was probably carried out in reference to a body of refined knowledge of ruling associated with the original Lo'au, passed down through the Tu'i Tonga. Again, the creation of the Tu'i Kanokupolu is believed to have been connected with such a repository of ruling traditions. The extent and nature of Kau'ulufonua I's reforms are contrary to the suggestion by Leach²¹ that in pre-European times there was no unified office in Tonga similar to the present Tu'i Kanokupolu British-modelled monarchy.

The duties²² of the Falefā, as were the tasks of the original Falefā, were to attend to protocol and serve the needs of the Tu'i Tonga in his rule. Moreover, they were to guard the Tu'i Tonga, and govern the country on his behalf. In return for their work, the Tu'i Tonga sustained them with food, shelter and clothing. The Falefā are said to have supervised work in the Tu'i Tonga's garden, as well as other related activities elsewhere. They were to accompany the Tu'i Tonga when he spent some of his leisure time under the shade of the *toa* trees in his royal compound²³.

Moreover, the Falefā had considerable leverage in the affairs of the Tu'i Tonga²⁴. They were instrumental in the declaration of the succession of the Tu'i Tonga Fakana'ana'a and Fatafehi Fuanuniava to the Tu'i Tonga title. As related, the Falefā had an influential role in instituting Tāufa'āhau Tupou I to the Tu'i Kanokupolu title in 1845, before the death of Laufilitonga in 1865, the last and thirtieth Tu'i Tonga. Tu'itātui is reported to have feared falling as

¹⁹. Cf. Bott 1982:97-98; Gifford 1929a:55-56; Herda 1988:53; Māhina 1986; Tungi [Halatuituia] 1929:66-69; Wood 1943:10.

²⁰. See, for example, Bott 1982:97; Herda 1988:53; Māhina 1986. Cf. Gifford 1929a: 64; Havea, Notes on the History and Customs of Tonga, MS, 1870:625; Ve'ehala and Fanaua 1977:32-36.

²¹. Leach 1972:243.

²². See, for example, Bott 1982:97-98; Gifford 1929a:63-71; Havea 1929:64-65; Tungi [Halatuituia] 1929:66-69. Cf. Herda 1988; Māhina 1986; Ve'ehala and Fanaua 1977:33.

²³. Gifford 1929a:63.

²⁴. Gifford 1929a:57.

victim in the hands of certain Falefā²⁵, causing him to symbolically carry a big stick to keep would-be murderers at a safe distance.

Some descendants of the original Falefā, whose names indicate their secular duties, continued to be active in the affairs of the Tu'i Tonga²⁶. These included Tu'u'hokokilangi (*Tu'u-hoko-ki-langi*; lit. Stand-[on-earth]-next-to-the-sky; signifying the Langi-Maama connections of Tu'i Tonga and his Langi brothers), chief *matāpule* of Tu'iloloko, and Tu'ifolaha's principal ceremonial spokesmen, 'Aholangamakahiva (*'Aho-langa-maka-hiva*; lit. Day-[of]-raising-stone-[of]-nine; connected with *langi* building) and Mailau (*Mai-lau*; lit. Bring-[and]-count; associated with the *polopolo* and *'inasi* presentation). 'Aholangamakahiva and Mailau often raised the dissatisfaction of their members for the lack of food allocated to them, the stonemasons. Even the descendants of Matakehe, who formed the Tu'i Tonga guards, engaged in a number of wars in which the Tu'i Tonga took part²⁷. Maliepō's principal *matāpule*, Lauaki, was sent to Fonuamotu to serve the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua.

Of the original Falefā, Tu'iloloko, or Fale-'o-Tu'i-Loloko (lit. House-of-Tu'i-Loloko), was the only house (*fale*) that survived after Kau'ulufonua I's reforms²⁸. Replacing Matakehe, Maliepō and Tu'ifolaha were Fale-'o-Tu'i-Matahau (lit. House-of-Tu'i-Matahau), Fale-'o-Tu'i-Talau (lit. House-of-Tu'i-Talau), and Fale-'o-Tu'i-'Amanave (lit. House-of-Tu'u-'Amanave). The Falefā, the administrative body of the Tu'i Tonga, making up the core of the permanent court, built their respective *fale* around the royal residence, with Fale-'o-Tu'iloloko and Fale-'o-Tu'i-Matahau on the right and Fale-'o-Tu'i-Talau and Fale-'o-Tu'i-'Amanave on the left. This spatial-residential, structural-functional division is mirrored in the *taumafa hava*²⁹, where Fale-'o-Tu'i-Loloko and Fale-'o-Tu'i-Matahau sat on the right-hand side (*to'omata'u*) of the Tu'i Tonga, and Fale-'o-Tu'i-Talau and Fale-'o-Tu'i-'Amanave sat on his left-hand side.

²⁵. Gifford 1929a:53; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973.

²⁶. Gifford 1929a:64; Havea 1929:64.

²⁷. Gifford 1929a:64; Havea 1929:64. Cf. Herda 1988.

²⁸. See, for example, Bott 1982:97-98; Collocott, King Taufa, MS, n.d:50; Gifford 1929a:63-71; Havea 1929:64-65; Tungi [Halatuituia] 1929:66-69; Ve'ehala and Fanua 1977:33.

²⁹. See, for example, Bott 1982:97. Cf. Gifford 1929a:66-69; Tungi [Halatuituia] 1929:66-69. Cf. Biersack 1991, 100:231-268; Bott Discussions of Tongan Custom, 1958-1959, with Her Majesty Queen Sālote Tupou, The Honourable Ve'ehala, MS, 1958-1959; 1972:205-237; Māhina 1986.

The *matāpule* of the first Falefā of the right, Fale-'o-Tu'i-Loloko, was Malupō, of Fijian origin, who came with Tu'i Motuliki, later known as Tu'i Talau³⁰. Their main duties were to blow the *tolutolu* (conch shell; *kele'a*), and sing at the Tu'i Tonga's funeral, as well as preparing the body scented-oil for his death. Also, they were to divide and allocate his food, and officiate at *taumafa kava* held at title installations (*pongipongi hingoa*), *'inasi* festivals and wars (*tau*).

The second Falefā of the right was Fale-'o-Tu'i-Matahau, whose principal *matāpule* were 'Apihala, originally from Rotuma, and Veamatahau³¹. 'Apihala became a Tu'i Tonga priest (*taula*), and looked after one of the Tu'i Tonga gods, a bird called *kalae*, while Veamatahau became a gardener (*fa'a*) for the Tu'i Tonga. Other *matāpule* of this house who had come from Fiji with Tu'i Motuliki were Fakahafua, 'Ālusa and 'Āhiohio or 'Āhio. Their duties were to perform the Motuliki dance for the Tu'i Tonga, as well as dancing at the removal of the Tu'i Tonga's funeral *tapu*. 'Uveans and Futunans, renowned for being skilful with their hands (*nimamea'a*), were assimilated in the technical wing of the Falefā, mainly as stonemasons (*tufunga tamaka*) and boat-builders (*tufunga fo'uvaka*)³².

The first Falefā of the left was Fale-'o-Tu'i-Talau, whose members were originally also from Fiji³³. Tu'i Motuliki, who later became Tu'i Talau, Fainga'a, Mapu and Soakai were the major *matāpule*. Their duties were to officiate at the *taumafa kava* of the Tu'i Tonga, and divide and distribute *ngāue* and *koloa* at his funeral. Soakai, because of his *muli/Langi/'eiki* origin, had the privilege of eating with the Tu'i Tonga, hence his Tongan name, Hoakai (*Hoakai*; lit. Pair-[together]-eating), while 'Uhatafe, on the same basis, was allowed to eat the leftovers from their meal. As foreigners, Soakai and 'Uhatafe were immune from the *tapu* connected with the Tu'i Tonga, while the Tongans were forbidden from such privileges because of their local/ Maama/*tu'a* origin.

The Fale-'o-Tu'i-'Amanave was the second Falefā of the left, whose main *matāpule* were Kavapele, Tu'ivai, Lehāpoto and 'Uhatafe, all of Samoan

³⁰. Gifford 1929a:65; Havea 1929:65. Cf. Bott 1982:97; Ve'ehala and Fanua 1977:33.

³¹. Bott 1982:97; Gifford 1929a:66; Tungi [Halatuituia] 1929:66.

³². See, for example, Bott 1982; Māhina 1986.

³³. Bott 1982:97; Gifford 1929a:65; Tungi [Halatuituia] 1929:65.

origin³⁴. Lehā'uli is also said to be a *matāpule* of this house. Their main duties were to receive and direct people from different islands of his dominion who came to Lapaha, assigning them appropriate tasks, and also officiating at *sika'ulutoa* and other chiefly sports³⁵. Besides eating the remaining food of the Tu'i Tonga, 'Uhatafe's other role involved the beating (*ta*) of the drum. Lehāpoto (*Lehā-poto*; lit. Lehā-[the]-skilled) became a canoe-builder, while Lehā'uli's duty was to imitate the rail (*veka*), covering his head and crying (*ki*) like one. Other members are said to have performed sacrificial acts at his funeral, where they were, by remaining inside the tomb, buried with the Tu'i Tonga³⁶. The idea was for them to call out, reporting on the rate of the corpse's decomposition, so that appropriate measures were observed during the Tu'i Tonga's funeral rite.

Besides the central reform *vis-a-vis* the composition of the Falefā, some of the other relatives were delegated specific duties for the Tu'i Tonga³⁷. The first was Paku, who was installed as Tu'i Faletahi (*Tu'i Fale-tahi*; lit. King [of-the]-House-[at]-sea). His *fatongia* were to superintend the Tu'i Tonga's *kau toutai*, both navigators (*toutai vaka*) and fishermen (*toutai ika*) alike. Then there were Hele and Monuafe, whose duties were to carry out net fishing (*toutai kupenga*) for the day to day opening meals (*fuke'aho*) of the Tu'i Tonga and related chiefly persons. But the normally designated-tasks of Loka, Kavaliku and Lutu were to prepare the daily opening meals, and the fourth, Manumu'a, who helped them from time to time. Lastly, there were the fishermen Vailahi and Lufe, whose duties were to fish for the Tu'i Tonga's *'inasi*.

Kau'ulufonua I's next reform was to send out of chiefs from Mu'a on political assignments to regional outposts³⁸. Generally, their duties were to reinforce and maintain through networks of exchange the social, economic and political relationships between centre and periphery. The following were the assignments - title followed by duty and place in brackets: Lo'au (Tu'i Ha'amea

³⁴. Bott 1982:97; Gifford 1929a:66; Tungī [Halatuituia] 1929:66.

³⁵. Ve'ehala and Fanua 1977:33.

³⁶. Helu 1972a; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973.

³⁷. Gifford 1929a:67-68; Tungī [Halatuituia] 1929:67-68.

³⁸. Bott 1982:96-97; Collocott, Royal Genealogies, MS, n.d.:300-302; Gifford 1924:47-49; Malupo 1924:47-49; 1929a:68-71; Tungī [Halatuituia] 1929:68-69. Cf. Herda 1988; Māhina 1986.

[lit. King [of] Ha'amea, Central Tongatapu, Vaheloto); unknown person (Tu'i Hihifo [lit. King [of-the] West], Western Tongatapu, Hihifo); Maumau (Tu'i Hahake [lit. King [of-the] East], Eastern Tongatapu, Hahake); Takalaua, Kau'ulufonua's younger brother, ('Eua); Te'epange (Tu'i Houmangavalu [lit. King [of] Houmangavalu], Nomuka, Ha'apai); Afeaki, Kofe, Kolomoe'uto and Mata'uvave (Ha'apai); Afu, Fotu, Haveatuli and Niutongi or Niutongo (Vava'u); Kaufanga, Sika and Talapalo (Niuatoputapu); Fotofili, Haufano and Masila (Niuafou); 'Elili and Fakahenga ('Uvea). Also, Kau'ulufonua I finally sent one to Rotuma, one to Futuna and one to Samoa.

The duties of these titled people, in their capacity as feudal rulers, were to enforce the process of production, ensuring the flow of socio-economic support from the periphery for the sustenance of the Tu'i Tonga rule in the centre³⁹. At first, these deputed people would strategically establish themselves in those areas by marrying daughters of local chiefs. In time their daughters were, in turn, married to the chiefs from Mu'a, which further politically reinforced the social and economic ties between periphery and centre⁴⁰.

By marrying their women to people closely related to the Tu'i Tonga in Mu'a, symbolic of the sacred Tu'i Tonga, the most '*eiki* person and title in Tonga, the local rulers stood to improve their political standing in society. But, in the final analysis, the Tu'i Tonga, in both material and political terms, considerably gained from this form of social arrangement⁴¹. Inextricably, the process of production was developed hand in hand with the exchange of women between periphery and centre, thus providing a social buffer for the extraction of material goods for the political existence of the Tu'i Tonga.

The '*Eiki* office occupied by the Tu'i Tonga, as opposed to the new Hau, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, and generally the rest of society, operated in such a way that the periphery stood in tributary relationships to the centre⁴². This signifies the political usefulness of the social notion '*eiki* in ordering human relationships, often in terms of socio-economic exchanges between groups. Such social and economic patterns of exchange are structured by the interplay of the complementary and opposed social principles '*eiki* and *tu'a*, respectively

³⁹. See, for example, Bott 1982; Kirch 1984a:217-242; Mähina 1986. Cf. Poulsen 1977:4-26; Spennemann 1989.

⁴⁰. See, for example, Bott 1982; Kaepler 1978a, 11:246-252; Kirch 1984a; Mähina 1986; Herda 1989; Spennemann 1989.

⁴¹. See, for example, Kirch 1984a; Mähina 1986.

⁴². See Kirch 1984a.

pertaining to the 'Eiki and Hau offices, whose dialectic brings about permanence and change in human relationships⁴³. Although the separation in the double, structural-functional, 'Eiki-Hau offices highlighted decline in the power of the Tu'i Tonga, he, in social and economic terms, emerged out of the situation better off⁴⁴.

As observed, the socio-economic resources required for sustaining the Tu'i Tonga rule were, both local and regional, extracted from his entire imperial dominion, specifically from beyond Tonga. However sporadic this process might have been, the rule of Talakaifaiki, via his major reforms, certainly brought more systematic patterns of exchange relations between periphery and centre⁴⁵. Such patterns were modelled on the now apparent alliance formation axis of Tu'i Tonga imperialism. A number of foreigners, mainly from Fiji, Samoa, Rotuma, Futuna and 'Uvea, were assimilated in the Falefā, the thinking tank of the Tu'i Tonga, while certain relatives of the Tu'i Tonga were sent as feudal overlords to outer islands.

The concentration of Kau'ulufonua I's reforms was apparently on the local level, where the regional alliance formation beyond Tonga was conducted to a certain extent through a process of assimilation, whether in terms of membership of the Falefā or, as seen in later times, exchange of women through marriage between the Tongan, Samoan and Fijian ruling families⁴⁶. At this time the extensive nature of the Tu'i Tonga imperial activities was considerably reduced mainly to the confines of Fiji and Samoa, and, to a certain extent, Futuna and 'Uvea⁴⁷.

This means that the adventurous Tongan navigators⁴⁸ began to be less mobile, devoting much of their time to the regionally-generated local consolidation of the Tu'i Tonga power. Thus, the Tongans, particularly men, increasingly became involved in the emerging systematic patterns of the social

⁴³. See Māhina 1986, 1990:30-45. Cf. Helu, Kings and Tombs, TS, n.d.

⁴⁴. Helu, Kings and Tombs, TS, n.d.

⁴⁵. See, for example, Māhina 1986.

⁴⁶. See, for example, Bott 1982; Friedman 1981, 23:275-295; Herda 1988; Kaepler 1978a:11:246-252; Kirch 1984a; Māhina 1986.

⁴⁷. Cf. Māhina 1986.

⁴⁸. Smith 1892b, 1:109.

organisation of production, especially in terms of agriculture⁴⁹, brought about by the reforms of Kau'ulufonua I. Equally, a corresponding shift in the roles of women also became evident, though the main thrust of the overall transformation remained patriarchal in emphasis.

The reforms of Kau'ulufonua I, in specific terms, thus brought into perspective the division of labour and gender relations generally, characterising the antagonism in the socio-economic mode of production, set in motion by the emergence of Havea Hikule'o, Tangaloa 'Eiki and Maui Motu'a⁵⁰. As supported by archaeology⁵¹, as far as this transformation is concerned, women were responsible for the agricultural works, symbolic of Havea Hikule'o being the goddess of fertility and harvest, while men were engaged in such activities as deep-sea fishing and long distance voyaging⁵². Symbolically, this transformation is seen in the antagonism between the three principal deities, which relegated Havea Hikule'o to a more sacred position, metaphoric of the production of *koloa*, while the Tangaloa 'Eiki and Maui Motu'a lineages, in secular terms, became associated with agriculture, symbolically called *ngāue*⁵³.

With the enforced structural and functional separation of the 'Eiki and Hau offices *vis-a-vis* Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, chiefly women increasingly occupied a more '*eiki* position *vis-a-vis* chiefly men in the process, even surpassing the most sacred Tu'i Tonga in terms of rank⁵⁴. Although the humble beginning of this transformation in the socio-economic mode of production took place earlier, it did not begin to have a more settled form until the time of Kau'ulufonua I. With the foundation laid down by Kau'ulufonua I's reforms, following those carried out by Tu'itātui around AD 1200, this transformation did not reach its peak until the rule of Fatafehi, the thirtieth Tu'i Tonga, and the collateral segmentation of a third kingly title, the Tu'i

⁴⁹. See, for example, Helu 1992; Spennemann 1986a, 29:250-251, 1986b, 1989. Cf. Poulsen 1967, 1977, 1987.

⁵⁰. Cf. Māhina 1986, 1990:30-45.

⁵¹. See, for example, Spennemann 1986b, 29:250-251, 1986b, 1989. Cf. James 1990:93-100.

⁵². See, for example, Helu 1992; Spennemann 1989.

⁵³. Cf. Gailey 1981, 1987a, 96:67-79, 1987b; Mahina 1986, 1990:30-45.

⁵⁴. Cf. Bott 1982; Māhina 1986.

Kanokupolu⁵⁵. Synchronically, this was also the height of the development of hierarchy, whose origin can, in diachronic terms, be traced back to this earlier period. Similarly, following the reforms of Kau'ulufonua I, several permanent social institutions of great economic and political significance began to emerge on the scene, marking the classical outlook of Tongan society⁵⁶.

In fact, the reforms of Kau'ulufonua I can, in a more specific context, be viewed in terms of the emergence of the complementary and opposed institutions of *polopolo*, Fahu and 'Ulumotu'a⁵⁷. The institutions of Fahu and 'Ulumotu'a arose out of the social organisation of production in terms of *polopolo*, the economic process through which women were socially exchanged, often by male-dominated groups, for purposes of firmly securing group political standing in society. Thus, it was in this aristocratic context that these institutions were developed, i.e., in the context of the sending out of chiefly men for maintaining the socio-economic links between periphery and centre, facilitated by the exchange of women between the local overlords and chiefs in the centre⁵⁸.

The *polopolo* (lit. setting-aside [the first of shares, yields or catch]) institution was a tribute system, which involved the enforced, nation-wide, all-year round presentation of the first fruits of the land (*fuatapu 'o e fonua*; lit. sacred-fruits of the land)⁵⁹ to the Tu'i Tonga. Such a tribute system depended on the seasonal productions and the availability of other economic resources such as fish and the like. It was only after the sacred portions destined for the Tu'i Tonga (and the non-producing classes) had been extracted that the *tapu* placed on the resources was lifted, allowing the leftovers for the use of the commoner-producers⁶⁰. The local chiefs were responsible for the enforcement of the production of *polopolo*, which was then channelled up the hierarchy,

⁵⁵. Cf. Māhina 1986. See also Bott 1982; Collocott, King Taufa, MS, n.d; Gifford 1929a; Herda 1988; Lātūkefu 1974; Wood 1943.

⁵⁶. See, for example, Gifford 1929a:349-350; Helu 1986b, 1987b, 1988e, 1989a; Māhina 1986; Poulsen 1977:4-26; Spennemann 1986b, 1989. Cf. Bott 1982; Campbell 1989; Herda 1988.

⁵⁷. See, for example, Bott 1982; Gifford 1929a; Māhina 1986, 1990:30-45; Wood 1943:11.

⁵⁸. See, for example, Bott 1982; Friedman 1981, 23:275-295; Kaeppler 1978a, 11:246-252; Kirch 1984a:217-242; Herda 1988; Māhina 1986.

⁵⁹. See, for example, Gifford 1929:102-108; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973; Wood 1943:11. Cf. Māhina 1986.

⁶⁰. Cf. Gailey 1981, 1987a, 96:67-79, 1987b.

through the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, who then appropriated it to the Tu'i Tonga, the representative of the gods on earth. In return, the gods were supposed to give their assurance of land fertility and better harvest in the time to come⁶¹.

Specifically, the institutions of Fahu and 'Ulumotu'a, arising out of such complex socio-economic exchange networks, were built on the respective complementary and opposed interests of sisters/women and brothers/men⁶². The roles of the local chiefs, who would, in economic terms, socially present their sisters to the Tu'i Tonga chiefs, were formally instituted in the 'Ulumotu'a (*'Ulu-motu'a*; lit. Head-[of-the]-matured/senior; eldest brother and his descendants) and Fahu (probably based on the Fijian *vasu*; often eldest sister and her descendants)⁶³ institutions. Given the interplay of the *'eiki* and *tu'a*, sacred and secular social organising principles, as far as the Fahu-'Ulumotu'a dialectic is concerned, the sister is thus *'eiki* ("chiefly, higher, sacred", [authoritative] status) over her brother, while the brother is, in turn, *tu'a* ("commoner, lower, secular", [political] power) to his sister⁶⁴.

The sister, through her *'eiki* position, is entitled to economic support and socio-psychological deference from her brother, who, by displaying his *tu'a* status through executing his sister-bound duty, further consolidates his political stance within the group⁶⁵. It is, therefore, in this irreconcilable social context that the complementary and opposed institutions, Fahu and 'Ulumotu'a, can be defined. Thus, Fahu is the socio-economic manipulation of women, by society, in the political interests of men, while 'Ulumotu'a is, in turn, the political manipulation of men, by society, in the socio-economic interests of women⁶⁶. While, on the one hand, Fahu and 'Ulumotu'a are unified with each other, they are by nature opposed to one another, on the other.

Furthermore, such irreconcilable situations can be seen in their respective roles in the productive (and reproductive) process. While women are engaged

⁶¹. See, for example, Lātūkefu 1974:4. Cf. Māhina 1986; Wood 1943:11.

⁶². Cf. Māhina 1986, 1990:30-45.

⁶³. See, for example, Lātūkefu 1974:3; Nayacakalou 1975:166.

⁶⁴. See, for example, Bott 1982:56-88. Cf. Aoyagi 1966, 75:141-176; Biersack 1982, 91:181-212; Gailey 1981, 1987a, 96:67-79, 1987b; Helu, Kinship, Household and Family, TS, n.d., 1989a, 1992; Herda 1987, 22:195-208, 1988; James 1983, 92:233-243, 1990:93-100; Kaeppler 1971b, 10:173-217; Māhina 1986; Rogers 1977, 86:157-182.

⁶⁵. See, for example, Helu 1992; Māhina 1986, 1990:30-45. Cf. Gailey 1981, 1987a, 96:67-79, 1987b.

⁶⁶. See, for example, Māhina 1986.

in the production of *koloa* (ceremonial durables such as fine mats and bark cloth), men are involved in the production of *ngāue* (economic products such as food and pigs), respectively connected with their *'eiki* and *tu'a* status⁶⁷. In exchanging *koloa* and *ngāue*, sisters/women and brothers/men exert various degrees of binding control over each other, though conflicting at times, characterised by *pule* (authoritative status) and *mafai* (political power). By exercising her *pule* through her *'eiki* status, the sister appropriates economic support and social and moral deference from her brother. Similarly, the brother, in honouring his duties prescribed by his *tu'a* position, reinforces his *mafai* even more within the group.

That is to say, sisters/women and brothers/men, by engaging in different spheres of production *koloa* (preservable/exchangeable "status [chiefly]/*'eiki*" goods) and *ngāue* (consumable/usable "power [commoner]/*tu'a*" objects), politically consolidate their respective *pule* and *mafai* within the group, thereby socially and psychologically reinforcing their inseparably opposed *'eiki* and *tu'a* positions in it⁶⁸. It must be pointed out, however, that both "status" and "power", corresponding to *'eiki* and *tu'a*, on the one hand, and *pule* and *mafai*, on the other, associated with *koloa* and *ngāue*, are basically political concepts⁶⁹. These (productive and reproductive) concepts are elaborated by the Tongan sayings *'Oku 'a 'falehanga' 'a fafine, pea 'oku 'hanga'*; *ka 'oku 'a 'tōkanga' 'a tangata, pea 'oku 'manga'*! (lit. *Falehanga* belongs to women, measured by *hanga*; *tōkanga* belongs to men, measured by *manga*!)⁷⁰ and *'Oku fakahokohoko 'toto' 'a fafine; ka 'oku fakahokohoko 'hingoa' 'a tangata!* (Women pass on [offspring]"blood"; but men pass on [name]"title"!)⁷¹. The terms *falehanga* and *tōkanga* respectively refer to the spheres of production of *koloa* and *ngāue*, respectively involving hand (*hanga*) and feet (*manga*) measurement of mats and plots of land.

Such sister/woman-brother/man exchange is best articulated on two levels, which I have called the domestic-mundane and societal-ceremonial. On the former level, sister/woman-brother/man relations are characterised by kinship

⁶⁷. Cf. Gailey 1981, 1987a, 96:67-79, 1987b; Helu 1992; Mahina 1986.

⁶⁸. See, for example, Māhina 1986. Cf. Māhina 1990:30-45.

⁶⁹. Helu 1992. Cf. Helu 1975c; Māhina 1986, 1990.

⁷⁰. Helu, interview, 1988; Moala, interview, 1988.

⁷¹. Ula [Tāufanau] 1973.

terms *mehekitanga* (brother's children speaking)⁷² and *fa'ētangata/tu'asina* (sister's children speaking), father's sister (*tuofefine*) and mother's brother (*tuonga'ane*). This reflects the extension of the sister-brother relations to the sister's children (*'ilamutu*; brother's speaking) and brother's children (*fakafotu*; sister's speaking). The sister-brother exchange, in the form of *mehekitanga* and *fa'ētangata/tu'asina*, reinforces the generalised patterns of exchange between sisters and brothers and their children on a day to day basis. It is possible that *mehekitanga* and *fa'ētangata/tu'asina* were local equivalents of societal Fahu and 'Ulumotu'a practices, which extended these concepts to the lower, commoner *tu'a* classes of society⁷³. On the societal-ceremonial level, sister/woman-brother/man relations assume a more formal appearance, referred to as Fahu and 'Ulumotu'a, specifically elaborated by the general female-male, sister-brother exchange on formal occasions such as weddings and funerals.

The dialectic between Fahu and 'Ulumotu'a *vis-a-vis* the interplay of *'eiki* and *tu'a*, and the corresponding language levels (*fungavaka lea*)⁷⁴ and the heroic-slave moralities (see Figure 6.2)⁷⁵, can be made evident within the complementary and opposed vertical and horizontal axes of the three dimensional Tongan social organisation⁷⁶. The celestial or upward arrangement of people into hierarchies or stratifications (with *tu'i* at the top, *hou'eiki* in the intermediary, and *tu'a* at the bottom of the social heap) forms the vertical axis, while the terrestrial or earth-bound organisation of people into categories or units (ranging from the smallest *'api*, through *fāmili*, *kāinga*, *fa'ahinga*, *matakali*, to the largest *ha'a*) constitutes the horizontal plane. Fahu and 'Ulumotu'a are concepts of categorisation or unitisation, but *'eiki* and *tu'a* are principles of heirarchisation or stratification⁷⁷.

There has been confusion in the usage of the terms in the horizontal axis; some are used interchangeably by people to mean various things in different

⁷². See, for example, Hecht 1977, 86:183-206 on the Pukapukan *Mayakitanga*. Cf. Rogers 1977, 86:157-182 on the case of Tonga.

⁷³. See, for example, Helu 1992. Cf. Helu, Kinship, Household and Family, TS, n.d.

⁷⁴. See, for example, Taliai 1987, 1989; Tongia 1988.

⁷⁵. See, for example, Helu 1981; Kolo 1990:1-11. Cf. Biersack 1991, 100:231-268; Māhina 1986.

⁷⁶. Cf. Māhina 1986, 1990:30-45.

⁷⁷. Cf. Bott 1982:56-88; Lātūkefu 1974:9. Cf. Rogers 1975, 1977.

contexts⁷⁸. Generally, the terms *'api* and *fāmili* (English "family"), are employed interchangeably in the same way that *fāmili* and *kāinga*, on the one hand, and *kāinga*, *fa'ahinga*, *matakali* (Fijian *mataqali*, a primary village division or sub-clan)⁷⁹ and *ha'a*, on the other, are interchanged. The terms *fāmili* and *matakali*, often used in place of *'api* and *fa'ahinga*, were introduced through contact with Europe and Fiji.

These social units, though bilateral in operation, are patrilineal descent-based groups, where *'api/fāmili* belongs to a *kāinga*, a *kāinga* to a *fa'ahinga/matakali*, on the local level, and finally a *fa'ahinga* belongs to a major *ha'a*, derived from chiefly brothers of the three main royal titles, on the societal level. Such units, headed by males of chiefly descent such as *'eiki si'i* (petty chiefs), *motu'a tauhifonua* and *tupu'anga* (chiefly ancestral people)⁸⁰, or ones prescribed by the principle of 'Ulumotu'a, as in the case of *'api* and *kāinga*, are defined by either residence or descent or both. For every social unit headed by a (patrilineal) 'Ulumotu'a, there is always a (matrilineal) Fahu; both positions in each unit become redundant as you move from one unit to the next, i.e., from a smaller to a larger group, until you get to the largest unit. Also, the interplay between the celestial *'eiki* and *tu'a* concepts over the terrestrial Fahu and 'Ulumotu'a principles operate in a similar manner.

The multiplexity of the interplay of the vertical and horizontal axes, of the counterpoising of the transcendent *'eiki* and *tu'a* principles above the earth-bound dialectic between Fahu and 'Ulumotu'a, culturally orders permanence as it, in historical terms, restructures change in human relationships.

There has been a serious confusion in demarcating the literal/symbolic from the social/political relating to these interconnected concepts - Fahu, 'Ulumotu'a, *'eiki* and *tu'a* - in the existing literature on Tongan gender relations⁸¹. The treatment of the issue has been by far too individualistic and idealistic in emphasis. This is often to the extent that sisters/women are

⁷⁸. Bott 1982; Rogers 1975, 1977.

⁷⁹. Nayacakalou 1975:165.

⁸⁰. Ula [Tāufanau] 1973.

⁸¹. See Aoyagi 1966, 75:141-176; Biersack 1982, 91:181-212, 1990a:80105, 1990b:46-58, 1991, 100:231-268; Bott 1981, 91:7-81, 1982; Beaglehole 1961, 1967; Decktor Korn 1974, 83:5-13, 1977, 1978, 13:107-113; Gifford 1929; Herda 1987, 22:195-208, 1988, 1990:21-29; James 1983, 92:233-243, 1990:93-100; Ralston 1990:110-117; Rogers 1975, 1977, 86:157-182; Wood Ellem 1982, 1983, XVIII:163-182, 1987, 22:209-227.

isolated from brothers/men within a group context, and the sisters'/women's positions are transcended over and above the actual experience basically conditioned by a multiplicity of tensions in social life. Such scholars take their cue from Baker⁶², who defines Fahu as being above the law. Consequently, these scholars forge the issue by removing the positions of sisters/women to the confused realm of the mystical⁶³, perhaps informed by a missionary moralistic mentality, when, in fact, they are essentially social and political in character⁶⁴.

The next four Tu'i Tonga, Vakafuhu, Puipufatu, Kau'ulufonua II and Tapu'osi I, all married high-ranking Samoan women and resided in Samoa (see Figure 6.4). Herda⁶⁵ asserts the possibility of a Tu'i Ha'atakalaua takeover, which led to a period of exile of these Tu'i Tonga in Samoa. Traditions recorded several encounters between the Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, notably the battle at 'Utungake in Vava'u, resulting in the expulsion of Tu'i Tonga by the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua to Samoa⁶⁶. Kau'ulufonua II married Taupomasina, whose daughter, Va'etoe'ifanga, was the mother of Salamasina, said to be the only Samoan woman to have been Tafa'ifa (lit. Four-in-one), combining the four highest titles (*papa*), A'ana, Tui Atua, Tamasoali'i and Gatoa'itele, in her person⁶⁷. Kau'ulufonua I himself married Samoan women, Taufaitoa and Vainu'ulasi, probably suggesting that he also resided in Samoa.

The names of Tapu'osi I, the twentyeighth Tu'i Tonga, as those of Tapu'osi II or Kau'ulufonua III, Tu'ipulotu-i-Langi-Tu'ofefafa, Tu'ipulotu-i-Langi-Tu'oteau, the respective thirtyfirst, thirtythird and thirtyfifth Tu'i Tonga, suggest some form of Fijian influences through alliance formation, following the Fijian revolts surrounding Havea I and Havea II. Both Pulotu and Tu'i Pulotu indicate Fijian origin.

Succeeding Tapu'osi I was 'Uluakimata I or Tele'a, the twentyninth Tu'i Tonga. His literal name 'Uluakimata (*'Uluaki-mata*; lit. First-face/eye) symbolically points to a situation that he was probably the "first" Tu'i Tonga

⁶². Baker 1897:32.

⁶³. Cf. Biersack 1982; Bott 1981; James 1983, 1990; Herda 1987; Rogers 1977; Wood Ellem 1987.

⁶⁴. See, for example, Helu 1992; Māhina 1986, 1990:30-45. Cf. Gailey 1981, 1987a, 96:67-79, 1987b.

⁶⁵. Herda 1988:52.

⁶⁶. Ula [Tāufanau] 1973.

⁶⁷. Tuimaleali'ifano 1990:31.

to have restored a respectable "face" to the Tu'i Tonga rule (see Figure 6.4). This is likely to be the case, for he was connected with further imperial expansion, both regional and local. Some of his imperial activities are contained in the myth of the great legendary, double-canoe, *kalia*, Lomipeau, which related the subjugation of both Fijians and 'Uveans, specifically for the building of his tomb Langi Paepae-'o-Tele'a, symbolising his "greatness". 'Uluakimata I, in conjunction with his son, Fatafehi, also developed the Mohefo, Tu'i Tonga Fefine, Tamahā and 'inasi institutions.

At the death of 'Uluakimata I, his son, Fatafehi, succeeded him as the thirtieth Tu'i Tonga. Fatafehi was presented with Kaloafutonga, the first Mohefo, daughter of Mo'ungātonga, the sixth Tu'i Ha'atakalaua⁸⁸. On the one hand, Fatafehi married his sister, Sinaitakala-'i-Langileka, the first Tu'i Tonga Fefine, to the Tu'i Lakeba, Tapu'osi, of Waciwaci in Fiji⁸⁹. The child born to the Sinaitakala-'i-Langileka-Tapu'osi marriage was Fonomanu, the first male Tamahā and founder of the title Falefisi (*Fale-fisi/Fisi*; lit. House [of] fiji/Fiji)⁹⁰. The complex of social exchange between the Falefisi and the three royal titles gave rise to the Tamatauhala. Considering the 'eiki-tu'a principles, the Tu'i Tonga Fefine, Tamahā and Tamatauhala all surpassed the Tu'i Tonga in rank, with the Tamatauhala as the most 'eiki person in Tongan society, followed in order by Tamahā and Tu'i Tonga Fefine.

Traditions⁹¹ relate that Sinaitakala-'i-Langileka, because of her high status, had no one in Tonga equal to her in rank that she could marry. She was thought to have suffered from a physical ailment, for she was crying day and night without stop. Her brother, Fatafehi, ordered her retainers to carry her on a *fata*, which did not even help. When asked for the last time about why she crying, Sinaitakala-'i-Langileka said that she was madly in love with a Fijian, Tapu'osi, with whom she once had an affair. Tapu'osi (*Tapu-'osi*; lit. Prohibition-lifted) was then brought from Fiji to be her husband. The move to create a foreign title, according to some observers such as Kirch⁹², was possibly to resolve any possible claims by the Tu'i Tonga Fefine's children, who would

⁸⁸. See, for example, Bott 1982:99.

⁸⁹. See, for example, Bott 1982:32-33; Collocott, Royal and Chiefly Genealogies, MS, n.d.:532; Gifford 1929a:80; Herda 1982:68-69; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973.

⁹⁰. Bott 1982:32; Herda 1988:68; Kirch 1984a:238.

⁹¹. See, for example, Bott 1982:32-33; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973.

⁹². See, for example, Kirch 1984a:238.

be higher in rank to the Tu'i Tonga, to the title. By suggesting that the Tu'i Tonga Fefine was entitled to sleep with whoever she chose, Leach⁹³, informed by a structuralist persuasion, overlooks the fact that the case of Sinaitakala-i-Langileka was typically symbolic of the politicisation of sex, where women were socially exchanged for economic and political gain.

Another important development at this time, following threats to the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and the Tu'i Tonga, was the formation of a third kingly title, the Tu'i Kanokupolu (see Figures 4.2 and 6.1). As a response to these constraints, Mo'ungāmotu'a invested his son, Ngata, as the first Tu'i Kanokupolu, then sent him to 'Āhau/Kanokupolu in Hihifo. His duties were to suppress any insurgence from the people of Hihifo, and oversee the social organisation of production, syphoning social and material support via the now elaborated *polopolo* and *'inasi* institutional practices to the centre. The mother of Ngata (lit. Termination) was Tohu'ia, daughter of 'Ama, a Samoan chief from Safata in 'Upolu, hence the name Tu'i Kanokupolu (*Tu'i Kano-kupolu/'Upolu*; lit. King [of-the] Flesh/Umbilical-cord-[of]-'Upolu)⁹⁴.

As an institutional practice, Mohefo involved the presentation often of the eldest daughters/sisters of the newly-emerged Hau, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and later Tu'i Kanokupolu, as wives of Tu'i Tonga. By presenting their daughters/sisters to Tu'i Tonga, both Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu raised their political standing in the wider society. In doing so, both Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu, as far as the *'eiki-tu'a*, Fahu-'Ulumotu'a distinction is concerned, were bound to socially and materially support the Tu'i Tonga. Given this situation, the power base of Tu'i Tonga was, in the final analysis, thereby politically sustained in the event. Following the Fatafehi-Kaloafutonga Mohefo marriage, this form of dynastic women exchange took place eight more times⁹⁵, Tapu'osi II or Kau'ulufonua III-Takala, 'Uluakimata II-Toa, Fakana'ana'a-Tongotea, Tu'ipulotu-'i-Langi-Tu'ofefafa-Laumanukilupe, Tu'ipulotu-'i-Langi-Tu'ofefafa-'Anaukihesina, Pau-Tupoumohefo, Fatafehi Fuanunuiava-Tupouveiongo and Laufiletonga-Halaevalumata'aho (see Figure 6.3).

The eldest children, both male and female, born to the marriage between Tu'i Tonga Fefine and Ha'a Falefisi were, in theory, called Tamahā (*Tamahā*; lit. Child [of-the] extraordinary), probably derived from the Samoan Tamasa

⁹³. Leach 1972:246.

⁹⁴. Ula [Tāufanau] 1973. Cf. Tuimaleali'ifano 1990:31. See also Bott 1982:113; Gifford 1929a:87; Wood 1943:11.

⁹⁵. See, for example, Gifford 1929a:60; Kirch 1984a:224; Māhina 1986:192.

(lit. Sacred-child)⁹⁶. A host of individuals like Fonomanu, Lātūnipulu and 'Amelia Fakahiku'o'uiha's brothers, Fa'otusia and Veasi'i, were often referred to as Tamahā. This is contrary to Queen Sālote's view⁹⁷, which asserted that there were, in practice, only three Tamahā, all females, Tu'imala, Lātūfuipeka and 'Amelia Fakahiku'o'uiha.

Tu'imala was born to the marriage between Tu'i Tonga Fefine 'Ekutongapipiki and Fonomanu, son of Tu'i Tonga Fefine Sinaitakala-i-Langileka and Tapu'osi, the Tu'i Lakeba. Lātūfuipeka was the daughter of Tu'i Tonga Fefine Nanasipau'u, half-sister of Tu'i Tonga Pau, and Tu'ilakepa Lātūnipulu. 'Amelia Fakahiku'o'uiha was, again, the daughter of Nanasipau'u and Tu'iha'ateiho Haveatungua. These female Tamaha all married Tu'i Kanokupolu Mataeletu'apiko, Tupoulahisi'i and Tuku'aho respectively, thus completing a state of circulating connubium⁹⁸ within the tripartite titles, Tu'i Tonga, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu.

Then came the Tamatauhala (*Tama-tauhala*; lit. Child-wrongly-estimated; symbolically reflecting his uniqueness), the most 'eiki person in the whole of Tonga⁹⁹. In fact, there was only one Tamatauhala, Makamalohi, son of Tu'i Tonga Fefine Fatafehi Lapaha, daughter of Tu'i Tonga Paulaho and Mohefo Tupoumohefo, and Tu'iha'ateiho Fa'otusia, a male Tamahā. Another Tu'i Tonga Fefine, Sinaitakala-i-Fekitetele, older sister of Fatafehi Lapaha, had children with Tu'iha'ateiho Fa'otusia, who should, according to the principles of stratification, be higher in rank to Makamalohi. But this was not the case, for Sinaitakala-i-Fekitetele's children were neither Tamahā nor Tamatauhala.

Losaline Fatafehi, granddaughter of the last Tu'i Tonga, Laufilitonga, as related to Queen Sālote and recorded by Bott¹⁰⁰, said the reasons for this unique occurrence were that Fatafehi Lapaha, though younger, had been adopted (*ohi*) by Tu'i Tonga Ma'ulupekotofa and his wife, Tu'ilakepa Fefine (Female Tu'ilakepa). Unequivocally, this qualified her son, Makamalohi, to be the sole Tamatauhala, who was, in theory, a child of a Tu'i Tonga Fefine-(Male) Falefisi marriage adopted by a Tu'ilakepa/(Falefisi) Fefine, who would be higher in rank than her brother, a male Falefisi.

⁹⁶. Lafoa'i, pers. comm., 1991; Schoeffel 1979:321; Va'a, pers. comm., 1991.

⁹⁷. Bott 1982:34.

⁹⁸. See, for example, Biersack 1982:210; Bott 1982.

⁹⁹. Bott 1982:35; Helu, interview, 1988. Cf. Helu 1989a.

¹⁰⁰. Bott 1982:36.

The emergence of the Mohefo, Tu'i Tonga Fefine, Tamahā, Falefisi, Tamatauhala and Tu'i Kanokupolu was contemporaneous with the development of the institution of *'inasi*¹⁰¹. While Fahu, 'Ulumotu'a and *polopolo* institutions were, in the main, societal in nature, the Mohefo, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua/Tu'i Kanokupolu and *'inasi* were peculiarly Tu'i Tonga institutional practices¹⁰². Both the societal and Tu'i Tonga institutional practices, however, ultimately served the political interests of the Tu'i Tonga¹⁰³. Whereas the societal institutional practices emerged from the exchange between the local rulers and the Tu'i Tonga chiefs, those relating to the Tu'i Tonga arose out of the exchange between the Tu'i Tonga and Hau, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu. So the institutions of Mohefo, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua/Tu'i Kanokupolu and *'inasi* were modelled on the Fahu, 'Ulumotu'a and *polopolo* institutions. Similarly, the Tu'i Tonga Fefine/Tamahā/Tamatauhala and Tu'i Tonga structural and functional relations *vis-a-vis* Falefisi were, in turn, based on Mohefo, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua/Tu'i Kanokupolu and *'inasi* institutional practices.

As in the case of the all-year round *polopolo* tribute system, *'inasi* was a bi-annual religious festival of harvest, where specific first fruits of the land were presented to the goddess of fertility and harvest, Havea Hikule'o, via the Tu'i Tonga. The idea was to seek the favour of Havea Hikule'o, goddess of Pulu, the Tongan afterworld, who was believed to have the divine control of land fertility and harvest, and whose wrath could result in natural disasters and social calamity.

The duties of the deputed chiefs were to oversee the social organisation of production. In this context, both local chiefs and priests (*taula*) mutually worked in the interests of the Tu'i Tonga¹⁰⁴. By announcing the date for the *'inasi*, the *taula* gave instructions on timing the cutting of yam seedlings (*tofi pulopula*), planting (*to ta'u*) and harvesting (*utu ta'u*). During the announcement, people were supposed to cease from work. Accordingly, they obeyed orders, sat down in complete silence, and were prohibited from

¹⁰¹. See Māhina 1986. Also see, for example, Beaglehole 1967:145-154; 913-917; Martin, II:342-346 for original observations of the *'inasi* ceremonies by Cook, Anderson and Mariner.

¹⁰². See, for example, Māhina 1986.

¹⁰³. See, for example, Bott 1982:39; Gifford 1929a:103-108; Kirch 1984a:237; Māhina 1986:170-186; Martin, II:342-346; Thomas, History of Tonga, MS, 1870:10-13; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973.

¹⁰⁴. See, for example, Māhina 1986; Martin 1981, II:342-246; Thomas, History of Tonga, MS, n.d.:10-13; Lātūkefu 1974:4.

movement, or paid the penalty of death. The same applied during the proceedings of the festival, and in the case of death, burial had to be delayed until the entire celebration was over. At the end of the instruction giving, the priests then asked for the favour of the gods to engage in the enterprise they were about to undertake.

There were two *'inasi*, firstly, the *'inasi 'ufi mui* (early yam *'inasi*), held in June-July, and secondly, the *'inasi 'ufi motu'a* (late yam *'inasi*), took place in October-November¹⁰⁶. The chief product for the *'inasi* was *kahokaho*, a chiefly yam socially classified according to hierarchy, and thought to have originated in Pulotu. Besides the yams, there were other items¹⁰⁶ for presentation such as pearl (*mata'itofe*) from 'Uvea, a type of fish called *'ava* from the sacred lake at Nomuka in Ha'apai, best quality iron-wood (*ahi*) from Niuafo'ou, and a host of other products which included dried fish (*ika momoa*), mats (*fala*), bark cloth (*ngatu*) and bundles of stained pandanus leaves (*takainga lou'akau fakalanu*).

Like *polopolo*, *'inasi* was presented by the local chiefs to the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu, who, via the Tu'i Tonga, offered it to Havea Hikule'o. With chiefs and priests in full command, the entire population of the Tu'i Tonga's imperial dominion was mobilised, bringing with them what was due to the gods, whose representative on earth was the Tu'i Tonga. The *'inasi* were then transported from all the islands and different parts of Tongatapu to 'Alakifonua, a port at Pelehake near Mu'a¹⁰⁷. Poles were prepared, and decorated with plain or dyed ribbons made from hibiscus plant (*fau*). The yams were tied to these poles, then carried by the people, who were led by the chiefs and priests. From 'Alakifonua, the united front of chiefs and priests and their subjects walked in one line to Lapaha, where they were received by the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and the Tu'i Kanokupolu.

The festival was held on the Tu'i Tonga's *mala'e*, Feingakotone, where the *'inasi* were received in a *taumafa kava*. After the *'inasi* were laid in the middle, the priests performed their duties of acknowledging the favour of the gods, begging for even better returns in times to come. In due recognition of the gods' role, they were offered the best of shares, which were then sent to the *langi* at Heketā and Lapaha, the concrete expression of the past, the proper

¹⁰⁵. See, for example, Kirch 1984a:237; Urbanowicz 1972:83-83; Māhina 1986:178.

¹⁰⁶. See, for example, Gifford 1929a:102-108; Kirch 1984a:237; Martin 1981, II:345.

¹⁰⁷. Ula [Tāufanau] 1973.

realm to which the ancestors and the gods belonged¹⁰⁹. Once the shares of the gods were appropriated, the *tapu* imposed on the nation's production was removed for use by the people. The other portions were presented to the Tu'i Tonga, who, after taking his share, redistributed the rest to the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu for their material sustenance.

This was then followed by all types of activities which included human sacrifice (*feilaulau tangata*)¹⁰⁹, beauty contests (*fakaliku*), sports and entertainment, running for days, even up to more than a week. The beauty contest was held in the *liku* (windward-side beach), hence the term *fakaliku* (*faka-liku*; lit. in-the-style-[of-the]-*liku*)¹¹⁰. Beautiful women were made to walk naked on the sand, then squat exposing their genitals, after which the *matāpule* judged the proportion of the body by the weight on their footprints, as well as examining to see if they had *pali kuku* (clenched vagina). Those who passed the tests were presented as bed-maids to cohabit with the Tu'i Tonga during the festival.

In the *mala'e* Feingakotone, a large ring was formed in which club fighting with coconut midribs (*tautā palalafa*), boxing (*fuhu*), and wrestling (*fangatua*) were held in the presence of the Tu'i Tonga and the chiefs¹¹¹. Besides the performance of these sports, entertainment such as poetry recitals (*lau maau/ta'anga*), dancing (*pōula*) and singing (*pōhiva*) were also conducted in honour of the Tu'i Tonga. Again, *pōula* (*pō-ula*; lit. night-[of]-merriment), usually a night of feverish singing and dancing, also provided another medium for the selection of more bed-maids for the Tu'i Tonga.

The presentation of the *'inasi*, via the Tu'i Tonga, to Havea Hikule'o was Fahu-'Ulumotu'a, Moheofo-Hau, Tu'i Tonga Fefine-Tu'i Tonga in outlook. Havea Hikule'o stood in Fahu and *'eiki* relations over the Tu'i Tonga, direct descendant of Tangaloa 'Eiki, who occupied an 'Ulumotu'a and *tu'a* position to Havea Hikule'o, his half-sister. The binding sacred and secular socio-economic exchange through *'inasi* between Havea Hikule'o and Tangaloa 'Eiki reinforced Havea Hikule'o's sacred *'eiki/pule* presence in Pulotu in terms of her control

¹⁰⁹. Dening 1989, 1:134-139; Keesing 1989, 1:19-42. Cf. Martin 1981, II:298-314.

¹⁰⁹. See Beaglehole 1967:154 for Cook's witness of human sacrifice involved in *'inasi* festivals.

¹¹⁰. Helu, interview, 1988; Lehā'uli, interview, 1988.

¹¹¹. Lehā'uli, interview, 1988; Mafimalanga, interview, 1988; Malukava [Kavaefiafi] 1973; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973. Cf. Faka'osi 1988; Ferdon 1987:184-191; Martin 1981, I & II for accounts of Tongan contact and other sports.

of fertility¹¹². That is, Havea Hikule'o enabled the Tu'i Tonga to perform his *ngāue* via her religious assurance of successful harvests. But in presenting the *'inasi* to Havea Hikule'o, the Tu'i Tonga thus consolidated his secular/*tu'a/mafai* on earth in Tonga. In real terms, the *'inasi* was utilised as a socio-economic yardstick for political purposes, as it concealed the very fact that the Tu'i Tonga himself, and not Havea Hikule'o, was the main benefactor of the practice.

The next Tu'i Tonga after Fatafehi were Tapu'osi II or Kau'ulufonua III, 'Uluakimata II, Tu'ipulotu-i-Langi-Tu'ofefafa, Fakana'ana'a and Tu'ipulotu-i-Langi-Tu'oteau, the thirtyfirst, thirtysecond, thirtythird, thirtyfourth and thirtyfifth Tu'i Tonga (see Figure 6.4). In addition to Tapu'osi II or Kau'ulufonua III and Tu'ipulotu-i-Langi-Tu'ofefafa, Tu'ipulotu-i-Langi-Tu'oteau also points to a further Fijian concentration in local politics. But Tu'ipulotu-i-Langi-Tu'ofefafa's brother, Tokemoana, founded the now defunct Ha'a'uluakimata, probably signifying a similar collateral segmentation to the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu (see Figures 4.1 and 7.1)¹¹³. Fakana'ana'a, whose mother was a daughter of Kavamo'unga'one, chief of Mo'unga'one and Ofolanga islands in Ha'apai, was notified by the Falefā of his accession to the title while being tattooed at Mo'unga'one.

The succession to the title of Pau or Paulaho, the thirtysixth Tu'i Tonga, who ruled at the time of Cook's and Maurelle's respective visits to Tonga in 1773 and 1781¹¹⁴, witnessed another significant phase in the development of the Tu'i Tonga¹¹⁵. This developmental phase was undoubtedly contemporaneous with further consolidation of the power of the Tu'i Kanokupolu¹¹⁶. As a consequence of this powerful Tu'i Kanokupolu consolidation, the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and the Tu'i Tonga were slowly but ultimately phased out in the process, paving the way for the triumphant rise of the Tu'i Kanokupolu to political supremacy over the whole of Tonga (see Figure 4.2).

¹¹². See, for example, Māhina 1990:30-45.

¹¹³. See, for example, Gifford 1929a:57.

¹¹⁴. Gifford 1929a:57.

¹¹⁵. See, for example, Māhina 1986.

¹¹⁶. See, for example, Collocott, King Taufā, MS, n.d; Bott 1982:115-155; Gifford 1929a:87-108; Herda 1988; Lātūkefu 1974.

The rise of the Tu'i Kanokupolu to political hegemony was a combination of many factors, but two of these causal elements seem to stand out¹¹⁷. Firstly, the unusual move of Tupoumohefo, Pau's principal wife, to secure the accession of her son, Fatafehi Fuanunuiava, to the Tu'i Tonga title, while his father, Pau, was still alive. The investiture of Ma'ulupekotofa, the younger brother of Pau, to the Tu'i Tonga title might also be a determinant factor in her attempt to install her son. Secondly, the radical move by Tupoumohefo, daughter of Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupoulahi, to declare herself Tu'i Kanokupolu against Mumui, caused extreme dissension amongst Tu'i Kanokupolu high chiefs. Consequently, the disapproval of her political declaration led to years of civil war, which brought about the eventual plight of the Tu'i Tonga.

Traditions¹¹⁸ relate that Tupoumohefo advised the Falefā and Sina'e (made up of the children of the Tu'i Tonga who did not succeed to the title), to invest her son, Fatafehi, on the grounds that Pau spent most of his time in Vava'u and Ha'apai, leaving the Tu'i Tonga's seat of power in Tongatapu unattended. Accordingly, the Falefā and Sina'e, by endorsing the act, formally installed Fatafehi Fuanunuiava, making him eat from young banana leaves in the context of a *taumafa kava*. Normally, this was the form of Tu'i Tonga's installation, called *fakaloufusimata* (*faka-loufusi-mata*; lit. in-the-style-of-banana-leaves-[of-the]-green)¹¹⁹. Cook and Anderson, eyewitnesses, assert the contrary, saying that Pau himself invested his son with the title¹²⁰. The fact that Pau was of weak disposition, given his wife's powerful influence and the Falefā's and Sina'e's approval, might mean that he was simply a passive actor in the event. Certainly the received version is that Pau was so angered by the whole move that he *kisu e tala-e-fonua* (withheld the refined-body-of-ruling)¹²¹, refusing to pass it on to his son.

Tupoumohefo's radical move to declare herself Tu'i Kanokupolu is said to have been caused by her disapproval of the accession to the title of Mumui,

¹¹⁷. Helu 1988c, 1988e; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973. Cf. Lātūkefu 1974:13.

¹¹⁸. Helu 1972a; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973.

¹¹⁹. Helu 1972c; Lehā'uli, interview, 1988; Malukava [Kavaefiafi] 1973; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973.

¹²⁰. Beaglehole 1967:153, 913.

¹²¹. Queen Sālote mentions this incident in one of her poems *'Oletele ē kuo monumonuka; Talu ai pē 'eku tautaufā* ('Oletele has been extremely angered; Eversince I blindly felt my way), where she refers to Pau, symbolised by 'Oletele, whose great fury has denied Queen Sālote such a refined body of ruling known as *tala-ē-fonua*.

whose mother was considered of low rank, a situation where Tupoulahi and Maealiuaki, of the same father with Mumui, took precedence¹²². Leaving 'Eua for Tongatapu, Tuku'aho drove Tupoumohefo to Vava'u, where she lived under the patronage of the 'Ulukālala family. Tuku'aho then made his aged father, Mumui, the thirteenth Tu'i Kanokupolu. At the death of his father, Tuku'aho became the next Tu'i Kanokupolu, who ruled with cruelty¹²³. Tupouniua and Finau 'Ulukālala II, both Tu'i Kanokupolu high chiefs, made the case of Tupoumohefo an excuse to end the tyranny of Tuku'aho. Tupouniua, with the aid of Finau 'Ulukālala II (Fangupō), murdered Tuku'aho in 1799 during the 'inasi festival in Mu'a¹²⁴. His murder sparked off other assassinations which engaged Tonga in a long and bloody civil war between 1799 and 1852.

After the death of Tuku'aho, Finau 'Ulukālala II, Tu'i Vava'u and later Tu'i Ha'apai, continued to consolidate his power in Tongatapu through two major wars, *Tau he Toafa* (lit. Battle-at-the-Sea-flats) and *Tau Fakalelemao* (lit. Battle [of-the] Running-fowls) between 1799 and 1800¹²⁵. In addition to more fighting between 1800 and 1805, Finau 'Ulukālala II, with the help of William Mariner, destroyed the fortress of Nuku'alofa in 1807. In 1808 his father's sister, Toe'umu, took charge of Vava'u, which 'Ulukālala II regained control of in 1809, when he died. Tuapasi, brother of Moengangongo, became Finau 'Ulukālala III (Finau 'Ulukālala-'i-Pouono) in 1811 and retained power until his death in 1833.

During the period between 1820 and 1833, Tāufa'āhau consolidated his power as Tu'i Ha'apai through a series of war in Ha'apai. His main opponent was Laufilitonga, the last and thirtyninth Tu'i Tonga, long after the death of his father, Fatafehi Fuanunuiava, Tu'i Tonga between 1806 and 1810. The most important of these wars was the final Battle at Velata (*Tau 'i Velata*)¹²⁶, a fortress at Lifuka in Ha'apai, where Laufilitonga was defeated, when he retired to Vava'u, then to Tongatapu where he died in 1865. Some¹²⁷ said that shortly before Finau 'Ulukālala III died in 1833, he nominated Tāufa'āhau to succeed

¹²². Lātūkefu 1974:13.

¹²³. Lātūkefu 1974:13; Wood 1943:26. Cf. Collocott, King Taufa, MS, n.d.

¹²⁴. Gifford 1929a:89-91, 1929l:89-91; Helu 1981; Kolo 1990:1-11; Lātūkefu 1974:15; Wood 1943:28-29.

¹²⁵. Lātūkefu 1974:17; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973; Wood 1943:31-32.

¹²⁶. See Helu 1988e; Lātūkefu 1976.

¹²⁷. Example, Wood 1943:47.

him as Tu'i Vava'u, but others¹²⁸ believed that he was only appointed as a trustee until young Matekitonga, who became Finau 'Ulukālala IV, succeeded as Tu'i Vava'u. However, Tāufa'āhau officially became both Tu'i Ha'apai and Tu'i Vava'u in 1833.

Following his conversion to Christianity in 1834 and the defeat of Laufiletonga, Tāufa'āhau, being transformed from a fairly unknown, pre-Velata Tāufa'āhau to a well-known, post-Velata Tāufa'āhau¹²⁹, began his campaign to turn the whole of Tonga into a Christian country. His campaign met strong opposition, especially from the powerful chiefs of Tongatapu¹³⁰. In 1837 Tāufa'āhau captured the fortresses of Nuku'alofa, Ngele'ia and Hule at Nukunuku, then Kolovai and Pea in 1840. Finally, in 1852 he seized Houma and recaptured the fortress of Pea. At the death of Aleamotu'a, Tāufa'āhau became Tu'i Kanokupolu in 1845. In 1839 Tāufa'āhau introduced the Vava'u Code, followed by the Parliament and Code of 1862, shortly before the death of the last Tu'i Tonga in 1865¹³¹. With the granting of the Constitution in 1875, in which Shirley Baker¹³² played a crucial role, culminating in the 1839 Vava'u Code and Parliament and Code of 1862 developments¹³³, the demise of the Tu'i Tonga was politically declared.

Tāufa'āhau, under the Constitution, became George Tupou I, the first constitutional Tu'i Kanokupolu, *Tu'i 'o e 'Otu Tonga*, King of the whole of Tonga¹³⁴. Thus, Tāufa'āhau George Tupou I, in Nietzsche's terminology¹³⁵, turned the Tu'i Tonga values upside down, constitutionally transforming them into a new social order, which saw the Tu'i Kanokupolu rise to political ascendancy

¹²⁸. Afuha'amango, pers. comm., 1988; Faleola, pers. comm., 1990.

¹²⁹. This distinction is based on the two competing views, Tu'i Tonga/Kauhala'uta/Catholic and Tu'i Kanokupolu/Kauhalalalo/Methodist, derived from the 'Eiki and Hau offices (see, for example, Helu 1972c, 1988c, 1988e).

¹³⁰. See, for example, Collocott, King Taufa, MS, n.d; Lātūkefu 1974; Wood 1943 among others.

¹³¹. See Lātūkefu 1974:118-132. Cf. Lātūkefu 1975b.

¹³². Whereas Lo'au was the Baker of Tu'i Tonga, Baker was the Lo'au of Tu'i Kanokupolu. Cf. Rowland 1988; Rutherford 1971, 1977:154-172; Vivi 1988.

¹³³. See, for example, Lātūkefu 1974, 1975a, 1975b. Cf. Powles 1990:145-169; Rutherford 1971, 1977.

¹³⁴. See. Gifford 1929a:59, 1929e:59; Lātūkefu 1974, 1975b. Cf. Collocott, King Taufa, MS, n.d; Whitcombe, Tonga Tabu - Documents Historiques, Mu'a, TS, 1925.

¹³⁵. See, for example, Nietzsche 1968a, 1968b, 1973; Stumpf 1979:78-92.

over the Tu'i Tonga. The emerging social order came with the creation of a new nobility, amongst whom the present direct descendant of the Tu'i Tonga line, Kalaniūvalu, has been socially and politically reduced to mere noble status. By setting these changes in motion, Tāufa'āhau George Tupou I has gained the label Maker of Modern Tonga, Grand Old Man of the Pacific¹³⁶.

As a response to the decline in the power of the Tu'i Tonga, Kau'ulufonua I articulated the alliance formation axis of Tu'i Tonga imperialism by redefining the structural and functional relations of periphery and centre. In a major reform in the centre, Kau'ulufonua I tended to accommodate the changes in the wider Tu'i Tonga imperial dominion. With these reforms emerged a number of permanent social institutions of extreme economic and political importance. Having elaborated such institutions, the later Tu'i Tonga gave Tongan society its classical outlook. While the development of these social institutions sustained the Tu'i Tonga power base for some time, the internal strife amongst the closely related but competing royal titles squeezed out Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and eventually brought the downfall of Tu'i Tonga, propelling Tu'i Kanokupolu to political hegemony. Despite such political hegemony and conter-hegemony, Tu'i Kanokupolu is still culturally confronted by Tu'i Tonga, historically connecting an actual past with a real present.

¹³⁶. Lātūkefu 1974:31; Luke 1954:45.

PART V

**IMPLICATIONS: STRUCTURE AND EVENT IN EXCHANGE;
DIALECTICAL PAST AND PRESENT**

CHAPTER SEVEN

Culture and History

The formal connections between two distinct but related human phenomena - culture and history - are here examined within the structural and historical relationships between the three royal titles, Tu'i Tonga and Hau, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and especially Tu'i Kanokupolu¹, linking the dialectical past and present in a social context (see Figures 6.3 and 7.1)². With the structurally and functionally enforced collateral segmentation of Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu, the 'Eiki and Hau, sacred and secular, offices pertaining to Tu'i Tonga were separated in the event. And while the Tu'i Kanokupolu politically overthrew the Tu'i Tonga, the fact remains that the latter has, by means of the social notion 'eiki, continued to play a crucial role in structuring the emerging social order (see Figures 6.3 and 7.1)³. Specifically, this exchange between structure and event is manifested in the real life contradictions Queen Sālote experienced during her reign between her Tu'i Tonga descent, on the one hand, and herself being a Tu'i Kanokupolu titleholder, on the other⁴.

As human phenomena, both culture and history are simply different social, mental and material expressions of one and the same thing: social organisation⁵. In fact, this is the basic issue. Wherever there is organisation of people, there is bound to be opposing human demands and conflicting social interests. Thus, the fabric of the social process is subjected to a multiplicity of tensions, the fundamental character of human society⁶. By observing culture and history, whether in terms of systems of beliefs and artistic creations or series of events and happenings, we always come back to some kind of human fiat⁷.

¹. See, for example, Bott 1982; Campbell 1982, 17:178-194, 1899a, XXIV:150-163; Māhina 1986, 1990:30-45; Marcus 1975b, 1976-1977, 47:220-241, 284-299, 1980a. Cf. Lātūkefu 1975a, 1975b.

². See, for example, Dening 1989, 1:134-139; Helu 1983:43-45, 1988b, 1990a; Keesing 1989, 1:19-42.

³. Cf. Biersack 1982, 91:181-212; Bott 1981, 91:7-81, 1982; Gailey 1981, 1987a, 96:67-79, 1987b; Herda 1988; Māhina 1986, 1990:30-45; Rogers 1977, 86:157-182.

⁴. See, for example, Helu 1988e, 1989b, 1989c. Cf. Lātūkefu 1967, 3:135-143; Wood Ellem 1981, 1983, XVIII:163-182, 1987; Wood and Wood-Ellem 1977:190-209.

⁵. Cf. Helu 1983:43-56, 1988b, 1990a, 1992; Kolo 1990:1-11; Māhina 1986, 1990:30-45.

⁶. Cf. Anderson 1962; Baker 1979, 1986; Helu 1983:43-56.

⁷. See, for example, Helu 1983:43-56, 1992. Cf. Anderson 1962; Baker 1979, 1986.

Thus, it brings us to a situation where the interplay of demands in a social setting, marked by opposed interests which generate permanence and change, conventionally and practically give rise to culture and history⁸. Given that the formal connection between culture and history is change, the only difference lies in the various rates of change experienced by each human entity. Neither can we escape the human situation nor can we elude spatio-temporality. There is then no setting aside a privileged position for either symbols or events. Hence, there is nothing above change, for everywhere in the social world is conflict⁹.

While exchange between social groups develops permanence in human association, the imbalance in such a transaction tends to effect change in the event. Such a situation is, in the words of Heraclitus, one of process, exchange and cycle, where conflicts remain the driving force behind the constant tension between permanence and change¹⁰. This gives the social process a sense of continuity and infinite complexity, characteristic of both harmony and strife.

Logically speaking, this makes the distinction between culture and history arbitrary, for both human phenomena are about events subjected only to different rates of change. Thus, anthropology and history are formally connected in this context¹¹. Both disciplinary practices engage in the study of two types of change, characterised by the preserved symbols and transforming events, which interlock with one another, clinging together in a social context. Though the subject matters defined by the rate of change for anthropology and history may be different, the form to which they adhere remains the same, i.e., the treatment of the symbolic and the historical as interpenetrating and conflicting human tendencies.

While the anthropological conception of culture¹², being the standardisation of techniques, habits and artistic creation, may account for the synchronic dimension of different forms of social activity, it fails to characterise the

⁸. Cf. Levi-Strauss 1963:18.

⁹. See, for example, Anderson 1962; Baker 1979, 1986.

¹⁰. See, for example, Anderson 1962; Baker 1979, 1986; Burnet 1968.

¹¹. See, for example, Levi-Strauss 1963:1-27 for his discussion of the two disciplinary practices, anthropology and history, respectively pertaining to the unconscious and conscious expressions of social life. Cf. Carr 1961; Denning 1989; Helu 1988b, 1990a; Keesing 1981; Sahlins 1985a; Wolf 1982.

¹². See, for example, Levi-Strauss 1963, 1977; 1944, 1948. Cf. Keesing 1981.

diachronic aspect of the human situation¹³. While the functionalist view¹⁴ attempts to explain the interconnectedness between social institutions, particularly their functions in promoting co-operation, the structuralist approach¹⁵ undertakes to search for the contradictions in the underlying structure of the working mind, which outwardly manifests as cultural phenomena. There is then a tendency for the former to set aside culture as complete and ideal, while the latter rightly tends to connect culture and history by means of the logic of opposition.

The functionalist explanation is reminiscent of Hegel's dialectical rationality progressing towards the Absolute, which Marx, in a structuralist mode, relates to history, emphasising conflicts in the material base as the driving force behind the reproduction of society¹⁶. Both Hegel and Marx, as far as the rationalist and materialist accounts of human existence are concerned, were realistic in stressing the centrality of dialectics and conflicts in human affairs. But, on idealistic grounds, they were equally at fault in emphasising the Ultimate and the end to history. Such faults are extended to Hegel for upholding the social and the mental over the material factors and Marx, who takes the material above and beyond the social and the mental elements¹⁷.

Sahlins¹⁸, by reconciling these diverse theoretical trends, offers a critique of the rationalist and materialist conceptions of social and cultural phenomena. He champions the pivotal role of symbols which, expressed as either kinship or economy, transform both "primitive" and modern societies. While Sahlins view may be applicable to human affairs *per se*, it fails to account for the fundamental role of theory, itself a form of social activity, characterised by the penetration through symbols to the assertion of 'what is the case'¹⁹.

¹³. Cf. Helu 1991.

¹⁴. See, for example, Malinowski 1944, 1948. Cf. Keesing 1981; Kirk 1970:6-7; Tudor 1972:52-60.

¹⁵. See, for example, Levi-Strauss 1963, 1977, 1987. Cf. Keesing 1981; Kirk 1970:6-7; Tudor 1972:52-60.

¹⁶. See, for example, Cuff and Payne 1979; Larrain 1983.

¹⁷. See, for example, Cuff and Payne 1979; Larrain 1983. Cf. Goldman 1970; Sahlins 1958.

¹⁸. Sahlins 1976. Cf. Sahlins 1981; 1985a, 1985b.

¹⁹. Cf. Anderson 1962; *'Atenisi University Catalogue and Student Handbook*, 1981:1-2, 1987; Baker 1979, 1986; Helu 1983:43-56.

The failure of the rationalist conception, in its varied forms such as structuralism, functionalism, dualism and idealism, to account for the fundamental character of human affairs has an implication for the characterisation of *tala-ē-fonua*²⁰. Naturally, the formal character of *tala-ē-fonua*, consisting of both hegemony and counter-hegemony, is akin to the classical view of culture, which penetrates the literal, via the symbolic, to the social.

This classical view of culture has its roots in the Greek cultural revolution, marking the birth of science and philosophy around the fifth and sixth centuries BC²¹. It was a revolt against the prevailing ideas at the time, where mythology and theology were central in ordering the lives of people. This scientific and philosophic revolution saw the emergence of reason, which dispelled the subjective explanation of things in terms of human interests in place of their being objectively understood simply in their own terms. Heraclitus, in his pluralistic view of reality, sees the role of objective understanding in favour of subjective interests. In reality, Heraclitus stresses that all things - gods, men or atoms - are subjected to the same laws of history²². Thus, nothing, whether culture or history, occupies a privileged position in the scheme of things, i.e., none is above matters of fact.

Nietzsche²³ extends this view in his famous dictum - **God is dead** - which upholds that social affairs can only be understood in purely human terms. He found in both the life of Socrates and Homer's account of Apollo and Dionysus the interplay of two types of moralities, passion and reason²⁴. The tension between them defies the notion of equality, for there can be no common good other than what, as differentiated from the common herd, is **rare for the rare**. It is in this context, in turning values upside down as embodied in his concept of the *superman/overman (Übermensch)*, exhibiting **will to power** which peaks in the development and manifestation of the intellectual, physical and emotional strength, that culture unfolds itself in history.

²⁰. See, for example, Helu 1988b, 1990a; Kolo 1990:1-11; Māhina 1986, 1990:30-45.

²¹. 'Atenisi University Catalogue and Student Handbook, 1981:1-2, 1987; Burnet 1968; Helu 1986d. Cf. Anderson 1962; Baker 1979, 1986; Herodotus 1972; Ricker 1973a, 1973b; Sophocles 1947; Stumpf 1979.

²². See, for example, Anderson 1962; Baker 1979, 1986; Burnet 1968; Stumpf 1979.

²³. See, for example, Nietzsche 1968a, 1968b, 1973. Cf. Stumpf 1979:78-92.

²⁴. See Herodotus 1972. Cf. Burnet 1968; Stumpf 1979.

The issue concerning the continuity of culture and history, where the exchange between structure and event is synonymous with the dialectical past and present, is put in context within four of the famous poems (*ta'anga lakalaka*)²⁵ by Queen Sālote (1900-1965)²⁶: *Takafalu*; *Maile*; *Kalauni*; and *Peato*²⁷. Thus, the manner in which Queen Sālote romanticised an actual past to serve her cultural, historical and political purposes in the real present is explored in this context. Considering the structural and historical relationships between past and present, Queen Sālote found poetry an effective tool for reconciling the conflicting tendencies within her own situation²⁸.

The tensions between culture and history, which permanently haunted Queen Sālote in her time, operated on the level of the political relationships between the three major titles, Tu'i Tonga, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu. Although the descent of Queen Sālote, through her mother, Lavinia Veiongo, of direct Tu'i Tonga descent, positions her in an *'eiki* space, her Tu'i Kanokupolu title prescribes her to be *tu'a*, for Tu'i Tonga is the most *'eiki* of all the three royal titles. While Queen Sālote, through her father and her marriage to Tungī Mailefihi, entitles her children to the Tu'i Pelehake and Tu'i Ha'atakalaua titles²⁹, they still occupy a *tu'a* position *vis-a-vis* Tu'i Tonga.

The first poem entitled *Takafalu* was composed in 1932, for the celebration either of the twelfth birthday of the present king, Tāufa'āhau Tupou IV, or his investiture with the title Tupouto'a at that age, or both³⁰. The word *takafalu* is an honorific term for the back (*tu'a*) of the Tu'i Tonga, which is in contrast to the term *mu'a*, the front space facing the king. It was *tapu* for

²⁵. *Ta'anga lakalaka* is one of the Tongan literary genres. Its poetry (*ta'anga*) is sung (*hiva'i*) and danced (*haka'i*). This form of dance is called *lakalaka*, believed to have emerged out of the now extinct ancient dance form, *me'elaufola* (see Kaeppler 1967a).

²⁶. For a (biographical) history of Queen Sālote see Wood-Ellem 1981, 1983, 1987. Also Wood and Wood-Ellem 1977.

²⁷. These *lakalaka* texts can be found in Collection of Queen Sālote's Poetry, MS, n.d.; Collection of Tongan Song Texts (Ancient, Traditional-Classical and Modern), MS, n.d.; Collection of Works by Tongan Poets, MS, n.d.; Helu 1989b, 1989c; Malukava [Kavaefiafi] 1973.

²⁸. Helu 1989b, 1989c.

²⁹. Bott 1982:13. Also 'Ahio, interview, 1988; Lehā'uli, interview, 1988. Also Helu, interview, 1988.

³⁰. 'Ahio, interview, 1988; also Pusiaki, pers. comm., 1988; Helu, interview, 1988.

people to walk in front of the Tu'i Tonga, so they were made to pass behind his *takafalu*³¹, hence the symbolic use of the term. The text is as follows:

TAKAFALU

(Recorded and translated by the author)

1. *Ke fakatulou mo e Takafalu*
Excuse me your Majesty
Mo e 'otu laine toputapu
And the sacred-of-sacred dynasties
Ne fetaulaki 'o tapatolu
Which converged to form a triangle
*Holo pē nofo he lau 'otu*³²
Don't be offended by row counting
5. *Ne kamata 'ia 'Aho'eitu*
For it started with 'Aho'eitu
Afe 'i tuliki Fonuamotu
Turning at the corner of Fonuamotu
Tu'u mo e tapa 'i 'Ahau
Stood and flashed at 'Ahau
*Piliote 'i Pangai*³³ *ē fa'u*
Drawing history to a close at Pangai
Tuku atu ē fonua mo e tala
I hand over land and traditions
10. *Lauaki ē Motu'apuaka*
To you both Lauaki and Motu'apuaka
Ka te u faiva mo tukuhua
But let me dance and make merry
He tangata 'o e Kauhala'uta
For the man of Kauhala'uta
'Oku taku 'i he tala ē fonua
It's mentioned in land's traditions
'Oku fio 'i he 'alofi tupu'a
He intermingles in ancient *kava* circle
15. *Hoto 'ofa he 'aho fakamanatu*
My love of this day of commemoration
*He palatiniume 'o Ha'a Ma'afu*³⁴

³¹. Helu, interview, 1988.

³². The concept of *lau 'otu* (lit. row counting) originated in Lapaha, Mu'a, where the organisation of dance was in a semi-circular shape. Its organisation was based on social hierarchy, with the highest ranking dancers in the front rows, followed by rank in intermediary and back positions. This was to enable the Tu'i Tonga and his sister, Tu'i Tonga Fefine (Female Tu'i Tonga), while both were being entertained, to sit opposite each other because of brother-sister prohibition (Malukava [Kavaefiafi] 1973; Helu, interview, 1988).

³³. Pangai: symbolic name for the Tu'i Kanokupolu, hence Pangai (Nuku'alofa) and Pangai (Ha'apai). Originally Pangai was a place at Hihifo in Tongatapu, the seat of the Tu'i Kanokupolu, where the *koka* tree, under which the investiture of Tu'i Kanokupolu was performed, stood.

³⁴. The use of the term *palatiniume* (platinum), a device of standard measurement, was to indicate that the then Prince Tupouto'a, now Tāufa'āhau Tupou IV, as the eldest son, was the head of Ha'a Ma'afu, which derived from Ma'afu'otu'itonga, the sixth Tu'i Kanokupolu, consisting of Queen Salote's children and their descendants.

Dear platinum of Ha'a Ma'afu
Fāhina 'o lotu Neiafu
 White pandanus fruit of central Neiafu
'Oku fotu 'i he Langi Tu'oteau
 Which emerges at the Langi Tu'oteau
'Oku hopo 'i he Tu'alikutapu
 It rises at Tu'alikutapu
 20. *'O maama he Houma'utulau*
 Lighted up Houma'utulau
Na'e tapa ē 'uhila ho'ata³⁶
 Flashed with lightning at mid-day
'O fekau ke u 'alu 'o tala
 Sending me to go and tell
'Ofa lotu he Futukovuna³⁶
 My love inside for Futukovuna
'Otu langi mo e vao kakala³⁷
 The royal tombs and bush of flowers
 25. *Ki he taukei ē Angitōa³⁸*
 To the expert of Angitōa
Haifine he ongo kauhala
 Hyphen between the two road-sides
Pe'i langatoli mai si'a fine 'o Lapaha
 Arise! Go flower-picking ye women of Lapaha
Mo ha taha taukei mei he Kolokakala³⁹
 And any experienced person from Kolokakala
He kuo oso 'a e Hau mo Pangai kuo tava
 For the Hau's merry and Pangai's joyful
 30. *Ko e ha'ofanga ē luva'anga e kakala⁴⁰*
 Herein the chiefly circle for yielding *kakala*
He ko Molimohe'a⁴¹ mo hono siale moto
 There is Molimohe'a and its budding *siale*
Pea mo e langakali ē 'api ko Lotunofa⁴²
 As well as *langakali* of residence Lotunofa

³⁵. This stanza refers to two things: either Queen Sālote was summoned to come to Lapaha by her chiefly ancestors in Mu'a or she was deflowered by her husband, Tungi Mailefihi, in the day time (Malukava [Kavaefiafi] 1973; Helu, interview, 1988).

³⁶. Futukovuna: a *futu* tree in Mu'a, symbolic of Tu'i Tonga.

³⁷. Mu'a is full of the Tu'i Tonga tombs (*'otu langi*) and sweet-selling flowers (*kakala*), as permanent features of the royal residence.

³⁸. Angitōa: they are the *toa* trees along the palace ground in Nuku'alofa, a symbol of the Tu'i Kanokupolu.

³⁹. Kolokakala (*Kolo-kakala*; lit. Village-[of]-flowers): a symbolic name given to Lapaha, Mu'a, as sweet-smelling flowers are a permanent feature of its geography.

⁴⁰. *Kakala*: a poetic name for sweet-scented flowers, which are, in turn, plaited into garlands and waist-bands (*sisi*), hierarchically arranged according to the social order.

⁴¹. Molimohe'a: residence of the Tu'i Tonga Fefine, Tu'i Tonga's sister, in Lapaha, plentiful of *siale* flowers.

⁴². Lotunofa: one of the Tu'i Tonga's residences, known for its *langakali* flowers.

- 'A 'Utulifuka⁴³ mo e huni kautoto
 There's 'Utulifuka and its blood red-stalked *huni*
Fefe 'a Namoaala⁴⁴ mo e pulu tomomoho?
 How is Namoaala and its falling ripen *pulu*?
 35. *Si'i 'api ko Malila⁴⁵ mo hono paongo*
 Dear tract Malila and its *paongo*
Matala ē kukuvalu he vai 'o Moheofo⁴⁶
Kukuvalu flowering at spring of Moheofo
'Ofa 'i Takuilau⁴⁷ heilala kilitoto
 I love Takuilau for its red blood-skinned *keilala*
Si'i fā'onelua papai⁴⁸ ha taha hoko
 Dear *fā'onelua* the necklace for a successor
Te u tui 'a e alamea⁴⁹ ki he taukei 'o Lelea
 I string *alamea* for the experienced of Lelea
 40. *Tuitu'u⁵⁰ pē te u luva ki he maka ko Loupua*
 But *tuitu'u* I shall give forth to rock Loupua
Ko e ve'eve'e⁵¹ pē si'i Makamaile
 And *ve'eve'e* is for poor Makamaile
Kae tuku ē lavalava⁵² mo'o Nu'useilala
 But reserve the *lavalava* for Nu'useilala
Ko e fakaofilani⁵³ kakala 'o Vailahi
 The *fakaofilani* as garland for Vailahi
Ko e tuingahea⁵⁴ Fakamalu-'o-Katea
 A necklace of *hea* for Fakamalu-'o-Katea
 45. *Sia-ko-Veiongo⁵⁵ ko au te u lele*
 Mound-of-Veiongo I must hastily return
Luva atu ē kakala he fai ho'o pule

⁴³. 'Utulifuka: one of the residences of the Tu'i Tonga, well-known for its sweet-scented trees of *huni*.

⁴⁴. Namoaala: one of the royal tombs in Lapaha, with its *heilala* falling ripen fruits.

⁴⁵. Malila: another residence of the Tu'i Tonga in Lapaha, grown with pandanus trees, pervading it with its sweet-smelling *paongo*. It was named after Tu'i Malila, a turtle Captain Cook presented to the Tu'i Tonga Pau(laho).

⁴⁶. Moheofo: a spring in Lapaha, named after the wives of the Tu'i Tonga and known for its *kukuvalu* flowers.

⁴⁷. Takuilau: another residence in Lapaha, characterised by its *heilala* flowers.

⁴⁸. *Fa'onelua*: a chiefly *kakala*, a type of garland reserved for high chiefs.

⁴⁹. *Alamea*: a *kakala 'eiki*.

⁵⁰. *Tuitu'u*: a chiefly *kakala*.

⁵¹. *Ve'eve'e*: an *'eiki kakala*.

⁵². *Lavalava*: a chiefly *kakala*.

⁵³. *Fakaofilani*: a *kakala* of chiefly status.

⁵⁴. *Tuingahea*: another *kakala* of chiefly rank.

⁵⁵. *Sia-ko-Veiongo*: a mound in Nuku'alofa, a symbol of the Tu'i Kanokupolu.

I yield the *kakala* for you to decide
*Levei hoku loto nofo he Paepae*⁵⁶
 Reminisce, my heart remains with Paepae
*Fakafiu 'eku tu'a'ofa ki 'Olotele*⁵⁷
 Abided my plain-love for 'Olotele
Ka hengihengi malū ko hai te ne lava?
 Who can dare withstand serenity at dawn?
 50. *Fe'ao 'i loto Mu'a he mausa he kakala*
 Accompanying Mu'a's sweet-scented *kakala*
*'Ete hifo pē 'o tu'u langonga*⁵⁸ *he lala*
 Descending and stand on the deserted dockyard
'Ete tu'u 'o vakai fakaholomamata
 Standing I look on what an eye-pleasing view
*Laumanu ka mahiki mei Halakakala*⁵⁹
 Flock of birds arising out of Halakakala
*Talolo pē 'o tu'u he maka 'i Heketā*⁶⁰
 Settling they alight on the rock in Heketā
 55. *He uisa! Hoto kaume'a ko si'oto mamana*
 Alas! My dear companion my most beloved
*He uini ē Fangahahake*⁶¹
 There are the winds of Fangahahake
*Hopo'anga ē hopo'anga ē la'a*⁶²
 It's the rising spot, the sun's rising place
He tā 'oku 'ilo 'e he poto 'a e mo'oni 'o e fika
 For only the skilled knows the mathematics' answer
He ko e si'i 'aho 'eni 'o e vale 'ia tama
 Today's dear for being fooled in joy for the child

Queen Sālote begins with the usual *lakalaka* salutation (*fakatapu*), paying her respect to the Tu'i Tonga, symbolised as *takafalu* (line 1). She extends her obeisance to the three kingly titles (lines 2-3), which, through *blood* relations, the *fale'alo* combined in their persons via their parents, Queen Sālote (Tu'i Kanokupolu) and Tungī Mailefihi (Tu'i Ha'atakalaua), and

⁵⁶. Paepae (-'o-Tele'a): a royal tomb in Lapaha, symbolising the Tu'i Tonga.

⁵⁷. 'Olotele: the principal residence of the Tu'i Tonga in Lapaha. Also names of mountains at the islands Savai'i and Maui, named Olotele and 'Olokele, in Samoa and Hawaii.

⁵⁸. *Langonga*: the now-deserted dockyard for the fleet of the Tu'i Tonga maritime empire.

⁵⁹. Halakakala (lit. Path-of-sweet-smelling-flowers): the sea between Heketā, 'Eua and 'Eueiki, now called *Tonga Deep*, where the shark-fishing called *no'o'anga* (shark-noosing) was held. Garlands of sweet-smelling flowers, hence the name Halakakala, were thrown into the sea, while calling the sharks to the boats in order for them to be caught.

⁶⁰. Heketā: the royal residence of the Tu'i Tonga at Niutōua, eastern tip of Tongatapu.

⁶¹. Fangahahake: a beach at Heketā, Niutoua.

⁶². This stanza refers to Momo and his son, Tu'itātui, the tenth and eleventh Tu'i Tonga, who, with the aid of Lo'au, laid down the foundation of the Tu'i Tonga empire.

Queen Sālote's mother, Lavinia Veiongo (Tu'i Tonga)⁶³. Line 4 is a request for the kingly lines, specifically the Tu'i Tonga, not to be disturbed by the hierarchical organisation of the dance for the Tu'i Tonga remains very much at the apex of the three titles.

A brief account of the socio-political origin and history of the three dynasties is related in a human-environment mode, beginning with 'Aho'eitu, the first Tu'i Tonga, followed by the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu, symbolised by Fonuamotu and 'Āhau and Pangai (lines 5-8).

Fonuamotu, also known as Fonuatanu⁶⁴, was the residence of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, situated on the lower side, while the Tu'i Tonga's residence, 'Olotele, was on the upper side, of the main road to Hahake. Such spatial divisions gave rise to Kauhala'alo (*Kau-hala-lalo*; lit. Side-[of]-road-[of-the]-lower) and Kauhala'uta (*Kau-hala-'uta*; lit. Side-[of]-road-[of-the]-upper), symbolically characterising the socio-political relationships between the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua (and Tu'i Kanokupolu) and Tu'i Tonga⁶⁵. 'Āhau, a village near Kanokupolu, was the residence of the Tu'i Kanokupolu in Hihifo. The ceremonial ground, Pangai, of the Tu'i Kanokupolu was situated in Kanokupolu. In Pangai stood the *koka* tree under which the investiture of Tu'i Kanokupolu was carried out⁶⁶. Queen Sālote's reference to Pangai (line 8), now a symbol of power identified with the Tu'i Kanokupolu, points to the political victory of her titled line, Tu'i Kanokupolu, over the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Tonga, which, through blood relations, are combined in the persons of her children.

It was through the Tu'i Tonga's defeat that the guardians of Tongan traditions are now in the hands of Lauaki and Motu'apuaka, the principal ceremonial spokesmen (*matāpule*) of the Tu'i Kanokupolu (lines 9-10). At the same time Queen Sālote recognises the cultured people of Lapaha, whose traditional role was to entertain the Tu'i Tonga (lines 11-12), emphasising the surpassed *'eiki* status of the ancient dynasty (lines 13-14). On this occasion (line 15) Queen Sālote standardises the genealogy of her eldest son (platinum), then Tupouto'a, the head of Ha'a Ma'afu (line 16), associating it with places where his ancestors (*fanga kui*) once lived. Through his father, Tungī

⁶³. Bott 1982:147.

⁶⁴. Wood 1972 [1943]:11.

⁶⁵. Bott 1982: 79; Wood 1972 [1943]: 11.

⁶⁶. 'Aho, interview, 1988; Lehā'uli, interview, 1988; Mafimalanga, interview, 1988; also Helu, interview, 1988.

Mailefihi, Queen Sālote traces her son's descent back to 'Ulukālala (Neiafu), Tu'i Tonga (Lapaha; Langi Tu'oteau) and Tungī Mailefihi's ancestors (Tu'alikutapu) [lines 17-19] (see Mapa 5). Her use of *fāhina* (white pandanus), a *kakala vale* (commoner *kakala*), to symbolise 'Ulukālala is to demonstrate that, though a very powerful Kanokupolu chief (line 17), he was of low status compared to the Tu'i Tonga, represented by Langi Tu'oteau (line 18).

As a direct descendant of Mo'ungāmotu'a, the first Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, Tungī Mailefihi stood in a *mokopuna* relationship to the Tu'i Tonga. That is, 'Ulukālala is his *kui* (ancestor). This connection was reinforced by the marriage of Kaloafutonga, presented as a Mohefo, daughter of the sixth Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, Mo'ungātonga, to Fatafehi, the thirtieth Tu'i Tonga⁶⁷. Fua'amotu, a village on the coast of Tu'alikutapu, was the residence of Fatukimotulalo, father of Tungī (Vaivai) Halatuituia, father of Tuku'aho, whose son was Tungī Mailefihi, father of then Prince Tupouto'a⁶⁸. Tupouto'a's ancestor, Tau'atevalu, lived in the village of 'Utulau, along the coast of Houma'utulau (line 20) (see Map 5)⁶⁹.

By means of the physical union between Queen Sālote and Tungī Mailefihi (line 21) and the corresponding relationships, the '*eiki* substance (line 22), symbolising the Tu'i Tonga (lines 23-24), manifested itself in her son (line 25), who combined both Kauhala'uta and Kauhālalo in his person (line 26). Queen Sālote, then, goes on to evoke an imagery of the flower-picking women of Lapaha, the village-of-flowers (*Kolokakala*) [line 27-28]. On this celebrated occasion her son's social status is displayed, by way of garlands of chiefly flowers, through his connection to the Tu'i Tonga (line 29-30). The '*eiki* status of the Tu'i Tonga is denoted by sweet-scented chiefly *kakala* (*kakala 'eiki*), corresponding to places associated with the Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Tonga Fefine, plentiful in Lapaha (lines 31-37). Being the eldest son he wore the *fa'onelua* garland, befitting his chiefly status and his status as a successor.

His high position is publicly declared by marking his '*eiki* status, with the allocation of the *kakala* to all parts of Tonga (lines 39-44). It proceeds as follows, with garlands followed by places, real and symbolic, as bracketed: *alamea* (Vava'u; Lelea) [line 39]; *tuitu'u* (Ha'apai; Loupua) [line 40]; *ve'eve'e* (Nuku'alofa; Makamaile) [line 41]; *lavalava* (Niuatoputapu; Nu'useilala) [line

⁶⁷. Gifford 1971 [1929]:60.

⁶⁸. Bott 1982: 13; Helu, interview, 1988.

⁶⁹. Helu, interview, 1988; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973;

42]; *fakaofilani* (Niuafo'ou; Vailahi) [line 43]; and *tuingahea* (Eua; Fakamalu-'o-Katea) [line 44]. Of all the garlands *ve'eve'e* is the lowest in rank, a *kakala vale* (lit. fool's *kakala*; commoner *kakala*), which was allocated to Nuku'alofa, resided in by the *tautahi* (lit. sea-warriors [of Vava'u and Ha'apai]) chiefs, after Tāufa'āhau I overthrew the Tu'i Tonga. For despite the new emerging social structure, resulting in Tāufa'āhau I's counter-hegemony, the old Tu'i Tonga order surpassed them all in terms of *'eiki*.

Such *'eiki* status was highly valued by Queen Sālote; so she leaves Nuku'alofa, symbolised by Sia-ko-Veiongo (line 45) to the care of her son (line 46), in order to seek her connections with the Tu'i Tonga, represented by Paepae and 'Olotele (lines 47-48), her source of chiefly rank. She, by portraying an unbreakable union between human beings and Nature (line 55), presents a romantic view in terms of the beautiful scenery of Mu'a and adjoining areas such as the *langonga*, Halakakala, Heketā and Fangahahake, which were once centres of the Tu'i Tonga imperial activities (lines 49-57). These activities, by means of the physical union reflected on the level of anthropo-ecological harmony, were responsible for generating the *'eiki* status of the Tu'i Tonga, which she found herself socially, emotionally and politically bound to it. Queen Sālote, in an anthropo-ecological mode, formulates these genealogical links as a riddle (*tupu'a*), which is known only to a privileged few (line 58). The celebrated theme of the occasion, revolving around her son, then Prince Tupouto'a, who is, in turn, implicated in these links, overcomes her with joy (line 59).

The second poem is entitled *Maile*, believed to have been composed in 1935, commemorating the 90th year of Tāufa'āhau Tupou I as the first constitutional Tu'i Kanokupolu, or in 1938 for celebrating 20 years of Queen Sālote's rule⁷⁰. *Maile* is a type of myrtle, known for its sweet-smelling, and classified as a chiefly *kakala*. The text is provided below:

Maile

(Recorded and translated by the author)

1. *Tapu ange mo Ha'a Moheofo*
I pay my respect to Ha'a Moheofo
- Pea tapu mo Ha'a Siulangapō*
And sacred be Ha'a Siulangapō
- Mo e kātoa 'o e huelo*
Including all the rays
- Hotau la'a ni te'eki ke tō*
For the sun has not yet set
5. *Fakatapu 'ena kuo atō*

⁷⁰. Helu, interview, 1988.

My obeisance has thus been conveyed
Mo e talanoa hotau 'aho
 And the tale for today's commemoration
Kuo mālie hotau hua
 Our conversing has been pleased
Pea holo mo hotau ha'ofanga
 And peace prevails in our social circle
Tuku ke u lau ē mātanga
 Let me enumerate the beautiful spots
 10. *Kae holo ai si'omo 'eva*
 While it pleases your leisure trip
He telia si'a sola 'oku taka
 In case strangers are about
'Oku nofo fakatupu ta'elata
 Who stays and becomes homesick
'I he ngatuwai si'ono kakala
 By the fragrant of the *kakala*
'O 'ikai ke hu'ia 'e ha taha
 Not allowed to be undone by anyone
 15. *Ha maile Hangaitokelau*⁷¹
 Dear myrtle of Hangaitokelau
*Pea mo e hingano 'i 'Anamanu*⁷²
 And the *hingano* of 'Anamanu
*Louhuni ē 'Otumotulalo*⁷³
Huni leaves of 'Otumotulalo
Na'e pelu 'o ka huni ē lolo
 Plaited by folding when it's calm
Sei 'o ha taukei nivanua
 Hair decoration for experienced native chiefs
 20. *Ne mamata he Teau'imo'unga*⁷⁴
 Who did witness Teau'imo'unga
*Kumi'opo'oi*⁷⁵ *pea mo Fele'unga*⁷⁶
 Kumi'opo'oi and Fele'unga
*Halatoa*⁷⁷ *ne maumau koula*
 Halatoa which wasted gold
Muimui kau taki ā koe

⁷¹. Hangaitokelau: wind-ward coastal areas of the villages of Holonga, Ha'alaufuli and Tu'anekeviale in Vava'u, known for their sweet-scented *maile*.

⁷². 'Anamanu: a cave in the coast of Ha'alaufuli in Vava'u, where *hingano*-producing pandanus trees are plentiful.

⁷³. 'Otumotulalo: the offshore islands surrounding the entrance to the port of Neiafu in Vava'u, known for its plentiful *huni* trees.

⁷⁴. Teau'imo'unga (*Teau-'i-mo'unga*; lit. hundred-on-the-mount): refers to the high island of Tofua in Ha'apai, where Tungi Mana'ia is said to have deflowered his hundredth maiden.

⁷⁵. Kumi'opo'oi: the deep sea between the islands of Mo'unga'one and Ha'ano in Ha'apai.

⁷⁶. Fele'unga: a rock in the port of Ha'ano island in Ha'apai.

⁷⁷. Halatoa: (*Hala-toa*; lit. Road-[of]-casuarina-trees), a place at Ha'ano island in Ha'apai, where Fatafahi-'o-Lapaha was buried (Helu, pers. comm., 1988).

Follow me I shall lead the way
*Ki he fanga 'oku tu'u he mape*⁷⁸
 To the shore located in the map
 25. *'O hake 'i Manavanga*⁷⁹ *fakahe*
 Going ashore at mind-troubled Manavanga
*Ke ke lanu 'i he Vai'olupe*⁸⁰
 That you wash at Vai'olupe
*Fanongo he fetau mo e tue*⁸¹
 Tuned in to both rivalry and applause
*'A e manu ē Feingakotone*⁸²
 Of the birds of Feingakotone
He'ikai ngalo ho'o manatu
 You would not fail in memory
 30. *Efiafi pea tō ē malū*
 When in the evening calm falls
Hangē ha manu 'oku kakau
 Like a bird that swims
*Si'i 'ata 'o e 'ovava kulu*⁸³
 The memorable shade of 'ovava kulu
*'I he fungavai ko Hoaheu*⁸⁴
 On the water surface of spring Hoaheu
Vatau'anga 'o e finetoli
 Where flower-picking women noisily-talk
 35. *Toileti 'o e Pakimoeto'i*⁸⁵
 It's the toilet of Pakimoeto'i
Ko e me'a ia kuo u 'ilo'i
 This is the one thing I am sure
He'ikai ha'o to e fie foki
 You would never wish to retreat
Te u puke 'a e matangi tonga
 I shall hold steadfast the south wind
Ke 'oua 'e folau ha vaka

⁷⁸. Captain Cook's landing place, said to have been marked by a tall 'ovava tree, named Malumalu'ofulilangi which was used by navigators as a guiding mark in their voyage to Tongatapu for the presentation of 'inasi (Lehā'uli, interview, 1988; Malukava [Kavaefiafi] 1973; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973).

⁷⁹. Manavanga: an opening to the Mu'a sector of Fanga'uta lagoon, known for its troubled swift current.

⁸⁰. Vai'olupe (*Vai-'o-lupe*; lit. Water-of-pigeons): one of the self-contained water holes on the branches of Malumalu'ofulilangi, which attracted pigeons (*lupe*). The other one is Vai'olulu (*Vai-'o-lulu*; lit. water-of-owls), where owls (*lulu*) used to congregate.

⁸¹. This line refers to the Tu'i Tonga having sex with young and beautiful maidens, presented to him as secondary wives.

⁸². Feingakotone: the Tu'i Tonga *mala'e* at Lapaha in Mu'a, where the festival of 'inasi was held; a symbol for the Tu'i Tonga.

⁸³. 'Ovava kulu: a type of 'ovava tree.

⁸⁴. Hoaheu: a spring in the beach of Lapaha; a symbol for the Tu'i Tonga.

⁸⁵. The term *toileti* (toilet), reminiscent of its French origin, refers to the fact that Lapaha, referred to here as Pakimoeto'i, is chock full of sweet-smelling flowers.

Lest a boat sets sail
 40. *Ko e pā ē Puatalefusi*⁸⁶
 Here's the shield Puatalefusi
*Fanga'ihesi*⁸⁷ *pea mo Paluki*⁸⁸
 Fanga'ihesi and Paluki
'Alu ā koe kau nofo au
 Parting you leave I shall stay
Te u 'atu ē muimui folau
 I give my regards to follow your voyage
*Ko e ekiaki*⁸⁹ *'o Kolongāhau*⁹⁰
 The white seagulls of Kolongāhau
 45. *'Oku mānoa 'i he salusalu*
 Tied around the necklace of flowers
Ke toli homou vaha peau
 Plucked along the open sea waves
'A e ikavuka ē vahapalavu
 The *ikavuka* of the distant ocean
*Ka fana'i 'e Lofia*⁹¹ *pea tau*
 When shot by Lofia and got hit
*Pea nofo 'ia Tu'uakitau*⁹²
 And there it remained with Tu'uakitau
 50. *Ka puna 'o hao tuku ke ne 'alu*
 If broke away when flying, let it go
*Siutaka 'i he 'Utukalongalu*⁹³
 And encircled at 'Utukalongalu
*'I he sia ko Kafoa mo Talau*⁹⁴
 Around mound Kafoa and mountain Talau
Fusi 'a e ekiaki ke ha'u
 Make the seagulls to come
*Ha'u 'o tu'ula 'i Pale'amahu*⁹⁵
 Come back and perch at Pale'amahu

⁸⁶. Puatalefusi (Tonganised form of Port-of-Refuge): a symbol for Vava'u.

⁸⁷. Fanga'ihesi: a symbol for Ha'apai.

⁸⁸. Paluki: a beach at Tongoleleka in Ha'apai; also a symbol for Ha'apai.

⁸⁹. [Laumanu]Ekiaki: white [seagulls], a symbol for the royal children (*fale'alo*; lit. house-[of]-royal-children).

⁹⁰. Kolongahau: a port in Lapaha at Mu'a; a symbol for the Tu'i Tonga.

⁹¹. Lofia: the crater of the active volcanic island of Kao in Ha'apai; a symbol for Ha'apai.

⁹². Tu'uakitau: son of Mumui, the thirteenth Tu'i Kanokupolu, to Tule, residing in Ha'apai (Bott 1982:152). He is, by the Tongan principle of social organisation, in a relationship of *kui* (ancestor) to the royal children, who stand in a *makapuna* relation to him.

⁹³. 'Utukalongalu: the port of Neiafu in Vava'u; a symbolic name for Vava'u.

⁹⁴. Kafoa and Talau: a mound and a mountain in Vava'u; symbolic of Vava'u.

⁹⁵. Pale'amahu: a place close to Fonuamotu at Lapaha in Mu'a; a symbolic name for the Tu'i Tonga.

55. *Ko e fuifui 'ena kuo 'alu*

There's the flock departed

*'O tāmāfua 'i Hakautapu*⁹⁶

Searching for food at Hakautapu

*Heua ē sia ko Halaēvalu*⁹⁷

Busily-snaring pigeons at mound Halaēvalu

Ala 'i mala'e pea mo e hau

Skilful on both *mala'e* and *hau*

Tau haka 'i he langi kuo tau

Let us dance for it has been pleasing

60. *Si'etau taka 'i fonua malu*

For we dwell in the land of the secured

Queen Sālote, once again, takes this occasion (lines 6-8) to consolidate her activity of *lau'eiki* (*lau-'eiki*; lit. counting/enumerating-chiefs), a concept associated with tracing one's descent from the chiefs. But, for Queen Sālote, it is a case of playing her cards on the level of the relationships between the three kingly lines, where the Tu'i Tonga was considered the most *'eiki* by far of all the three titles. She begins with the normal *fakatapu* (lines 1-14), intending to trace her genealogical links by enumerating the beautiful places where her ancestors once lived (lines 9-10). Her respect is extended to Ha'a Mohefo and Ha'a Siulangapō (lines 1-2), which combined in her children (line 3), through herself, a Tu'i Kanokupolu (line 1) and her Tu'i Ha'atakalaua descent husband, Tungī Mailefihi (line 2).

Ha'a Mohefo is the direct line of Tu'i Kanokupolu, of which Queen Sālote is an incumbent⁹⁸, and Ha'a Siulangapō constituted the direct descendants of the fourth Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, Siulangapō, whose son and grandson, Vakalahimohe'uli and Mo'ungātonga, were fifth and sixth Tu'i Ha'atakalaua⁹⁹. But the first Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, Mo'ungāmotu'a, whose eldest brother, Kau'ulufonua Fekai, was the twentyfourth Tu'i Tonga, was a son of Takalaua, the twentythird Tu'i Tonga¹⁰⁰. Tungī Mailefihi, in turn, directly descended from

⁹⁶. Hakautapu (*Hakau-tapu*; lit. Reef-[of-the]-sacred): a reef reserved for the Tu'i Kanokupolu to fish for the Tu'i Tonga *'inasi*; a poetic name for the Tu'i Kanokupolu.

⁹⁷. Halaevalu: a Tu'i Kanokupolu pigeon-snaring mound at Kanokupolu in Hihifo; symbolic of the Tu'i Kanokupolu.

⁹⁸. 'Aho, interview, 1988; Lehā'uli, interview, 1988; Mafimalanga, interview, 1988; Malukava [Kavaefiafi] 1973; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973; also see Bott 1982:79; also Helu, interview, 1988.

⁹⁹. Helu, interview, 1988.

¹⁰⁰. See Bott 1982; Gifford 1929a; Wood 1972 [1943].

this line¹⁰¹. While Mo'ungātonga's daughter, Kaloafutonga, was presented as Mohefo to Fatafehi, the thirtieth Tu'i Tonga, the son of Mo'ungāmotu'a, Ngata, became the first Tu'i Kanokupolu¹⁰². As a Tu'i Kanokupolu, Queen Sālote is also Tu'i Tonga by descent, but through her marriage to Tungī Mailefahi, a direct descendant of Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, her children are entitled to both Tu'i Kanokupolu and Tu'i Ha'atakalaua titles and linked with Tu'i Tonga by descent¹⁰³.

These genealogical links, connoted by *huelo* (rays) [line 3], have given Queen Sālote, who is a living evidence of them (line 4), a sense of pride as a celebrated theme on this occasion (lines 6-8). This has prompted her to recount these human links in terms of the environment which her ancestors once inhabited (line 9). By recounting these chiefly connections, again, she should be able to give her children pride and joy in their leisure tour of these places (line 10). She publicly declares these connections, in case the uninformed (line 11) are deprived of her children's chiefly links (line 12). Such environmentally-connected genealogical links through physical procreation by which her children were conceived, have been cemented by the 'eiki substance (line 13) so that they too are beyond challenge (line 14).

Queen Sālote highlights the fact that her children assumed 'eiki status in terms of the chiefly *kakala* (*maile, hingano, louhuni*) associated with Vava'u, symbolised by Hangaitokelau, 'Anamanu and 'Otumotulalo (lines 15-17). These chiefly flowers are plaited and strung by the generous, warm-hearted people of Vava'u (line 18) to be worn by the royal children (line 19), who continue on their trip to Ha'apai, represented by Teau'imo'unga, Fele'unga and Halatoa (lines 20-22). From Ha'apai the *fale'alo* (*fale-alo*; lit. house-[of]-royal-children) are led to Tongatapu (line 23), specifically Pelehake and Mu'a, with symbols such as Cook's landing place, Manavanga, Vai'olupe and Feingakotone (lines 24-28). The occasion they are celebrating, which was held in Tongatapu, is believed to have involved the people of Vava'u and Ha'apai.

Queen Sālote, as in the *Takafalu*, evokes here romantic imagery in terms of the beautiful scenery of Mu'a, reinforced by a sense of continuity between human beings and their environment (lines 29-39). This philosophy of

¹⁰¹. Lehā'uli, interview, 1988; Helu, interview, 1988. Also see Bott 1982:13.

¹⁰². Bott 1982:12.

¹⁰³. Bott 1982:147.

continuity¹⁰⁴ is seen on the level of physical union between people associated with places, corresponding to the development of social institutions and people's attitudes towards each other. Out of the multiplicity of the anthropo-ecological associations (lines 29-35) emerged the *'eiki* status of the Tu'i Tonga, which Queen Sālote knows (line 36) and, through natural union, attracted socially, emotionally and politically (line 37). On these levels she, on this occasion, publicly reminds the Vava'u and Ha'apai voyagers (line 39) about her high social status, deriving from the Tu'i Tonga (line 38).

This is Queen Sālote's shield (line 40). By giving it to the people of Vava'u and Ha'apai symbolically representing Puatalefusi and Paluki (lines 40-41), she bids them farewell on their return journey north (line 42). Some of her royal children, if not Queen Sālote herself (line 43), whose *'eiki* status has now been declared (lines 44-45), accompany them home with great honour (lines 46-47) to Vava'u and Ha'apai, probably for other occasions held there¹⁰⁵. Arriving at Ha'apai, represented by Lofia and Tu'uakitau (lines 48-49), they move on (line 50) to 'Utukalongalu, the mound Kafoa and mountain Talau, symbolising Vava'u.

But when the events are over, the *fale'alo*, through their Tu'i Tonga connection, must return to Mu'a, where they, in terms of *'eiki*, socially belong (lines 53-54). But politically, because the Tu'i Tonga has been overthrown, they must move on to Hihifo (line 55), the residence of the Tu'i Kanokupolu, symbolised by Hakautapu and the mound Halaēvalu (lines 56-57). The Tu'i Kanokupolu, by inheriting the Tu'i Tonga's social attributes, *'eiki*, is now in power, assuming full control of the affairs of the country (line 58). This, according to Queen Sālote, has secured her place in history (line 60), a source of joy in terms of her political position (line 59).

The third poem, which is titled *Kalauni*, meaning crown, a modern symbol for kingly lines, was probably composed in 1942¹⁰⁶. It is said that the poem was composed to celebrate the successful return of Prince Tupouto'a, now Tāufa'āhau Tupou IV, at the completion of his education in Australia in 1942. The text is given below:

KALAUNI

(Recorded and translated by the author)

1. *Tapu mo e kalauni ē fonua*

¹⁰⁴. See Helu 1983, 1986b.

¹⁰⁵. Helu, interview, 1988.

¹⁰⁶. 'Ahio, interview, 1988; also Helu, interview, 1988; Pusiaki, pers. comm., 1988.

Remain sacred crown of the land
*'Oku fakamalu 'i lalo mo 'uta*¹⁰⁷
 Shading both upper and lower road-sides
Laukau'anga ē Tonga ki tu'a
 Pride's source for Tonga to the world
*Ha ai ē taufatungamotu'a*¹⁰⁸
 Showing her body-of-ancient-traditions
 5. *'O tukunga tonu 'ete fiefia*
 Upon which my joy is placed
Kei tangitangi 'a e mo'onia
 While the genuine's budding
'O fotu 'a 'ofa 'i he mahenia
 For love blooms out of acquaintance
Ko hoto kahoa fakataukei
 My garland for experiencing
Ne'ine'i 'a taka ē matangi
 No wonder the winds woke and roamed
 10. *'O fakahoha'a ki he 'otu langi*
 And bothered the royal tombs
'O mafola 'a hono ongoongo
 Thus spreading its reputation
*Lea 'a e toa Vaha'akolo*¹⁰⁹
 Casuarina trees of Vaha'akolo spoke
Uoi! Uoi! He ko e folau
 Alas! Alas! There's a voyage
'Oku 'ai lā fakamanumanu
 Sails are up with style and grace
 15. *'Oku hua liliu 'i Hakautapu*
 It changes tack turning at Hakautapu
Mapaki ē hea tongi 'e he manu
 Falling hea disfigured by birds
Angina he afu 'o e tokelau
 Blown by wave sprinkles of the north
*Lu'ia 'i Longolongofolau*¹¹⁰
 Shaken in distress at Longolongofolau
*Kulukona*¹¹¹ 'o Tavakefai'ana
 Kulukona trees of Tavakefai'ana

¹⁰⁷. The terms *'uta* and *lalo* are shortened for Kauhala'uta and Kauhala'alo, spatial divisions of the social, economic, psychological and political relationships between Tu'i Tonga and Hau, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu.

¹⁰⁸. Taufatungamotu'a: (*Tau-fatunga-motu'a-e-fonua*; lit. Continuing-collection-[of]-old-[of-the]-land) refers to the body of traditions that survives through time, taken to be Tongan culture (*'ulungaanga fakafonua*).

¹⁰⁹. Vaha'akolo (*Vaha'a-kolo*; lit. Boundary-of]-villages): The spatial division between Kolomotu'a (*Kolo-motu'a*; lit. Village-[of]-old), residence of some Kanokupolu chiefs, and Kolofo'ou (*Kolo-fo'ou*; lit. Village-[of]-new), inhabited by the chiefs of Vava'u and Ha'apai, which is collectively known as the *tautahi* (*tau-tahi*; lit. sea-warriors). They constituted the warriors that both 'Ulukālala and Tāufa'ahau led in their battles in Tongatapu. The division is marked by *toa* (casuarina) trees.

¹¹⁰. Longolongofolau: wind-ward coastal area along the village of Ha'alaufulu, Vava'u.

¹¹¹. *Kulukona*: a sweet-smelling tree of chiefly status, numerous at Tu'anuku in Vava'u, symbolically known as Tavakefai'ana.

20. *Na'e toli 'e he matangi māfana*¹¹²
 Plucked by the warm winds
Ko hai 'e ofo he'ene ngangatu
 Who is to be surprised by its fragrant
*'O fakatoukatea 'i Monotapu*¹¹³
 Which double-hulled at Monotapu
'Oku 'ilo 'e ha taha fuoloa
 A person of old and experience knows
*'A e fā he liku 'o Maluhola*¹¹⁴
 Of the pandanus on coastal Maluhola
25. *Fio heilala Tatakamotonga*
 Blended of *heilala* from Tatakamotonga
He fakama'unga 'o Nuku'alofa
 Remaining a mark for Nuku'alofa
Ta'ahine tu'u hake 'o teu
 Ye maiden arise and decorate
Kae tuku ke u luva 'e au
 But leave it for me to yield
*'A e faka'ilonga tuitu'u*¹¹⁵
 The design of garland *tuitu'u*
30. *Metali ē pito'ingalau*¹¹⁶
 Medal of *pito'ingalau* necklace
Ho teunga ki ha pō fetau
 Your costume for night of rivalry
Lafitani 'o e Lomipeau
 Lieutenant of the Lomipeau
*'Isa! 'Oku hanu 'a 'Anamatangi*¹¹⁷
 Alas! 'Anamatangi complains
*Mo Kolongāhau*¹¹⁸ *hona li'aki*
 And Kolongāhau for being deserted
35. *Na'a kuo ngalo ange 'apē kinaua*
 In case both have been forgotten
*He naua ē uafu ko Vuna*¹¹⁹
 By the big waves of Vuna wharf
Launoa pē si'enau tā
 So pleased in their breaking

¹¹². The phrase *matangi mafana* (lit. winds-[of-the]-warm) socially and psychologically refers to the warm-heartedness of the people of Vava'u, symbolically known as *Fatafatamafana* (*Fatafata-mafana*; lit. Breast-[of-the]-warm-hearted), which also happens to be warm (*mafana*) because of its northerly position.

¹¹³. Monotapu: Tu'i Pelehake's tomb in Foa; a symbol for the Tu'i Pelehake.

¹¹⁴. Maluhola: a tract along Tu'alikutapu where Fua'amotu, the ancestral village of Tungī Mailefihi, stands; a poetic name for Tungī Mailefihi.

¹¹⁵. *Tuitu'u*: a chiefly *kakala*.

¹¹⁶. *Pito'ingalau*: an *'eiki* garland, worn only by high chiefs.

¹¹⁷. 'Anamatangi: a cave in the wind-ward side of Lapaha; being a symbol for the Tu'i Tonga.

¹¹⁸. Kolongāhau: a port at Lapaha in Mu'a, which is symbolic of the Tu'i Tonga.

¹¹⁹. Vuna: a wharf in Nuku'alofa, symbolic of Queen Sālote.

Ka 'e ngalo ē kava 'i 'Atatā?
 Who can forget the *kava* at 'Atatā?
'Oku fotu 'o hangē ko e la'a
 For it stands out like the sun
 40. *Fai'anga 'o e pātapāta*
 As it's a source of jubilant
Pe'i 'eva he funga 'o mamani
 While you tour the world's surface
Ka ko 'ofa te tau fehokotaki
 It's love through which we unite

In the beginning Queen Sālote, through the usual *fakatapu*, pays tribute to the ruling dynasty, the Tu'i Kanokupolu (line 1). As an incumbent of the Tu'i Kanokupolu title, Queen Sālote claims to have combined both Kauhālālalo and Kauhala'uta in her person (line 2). This piece of history, defined by the physical, social, mental and political union between the three kingly lines, is known to the world (line 3), the core of which constitutes Tongan culture (line 4). The return of her eldest son, Prince Tupouto'a, after successfully completing his education at the University of Sydney in Australia, the first Tongan to gain a university degree, graduating BA and LLB, further promotes this basic Tongan global image¹²⁰. Queen Sālote finds pride in it (line 5), reaffirming her son's status (line 6), which manifests in his person through the physical union between the high chiefs (lines 7-8). Her son's success (line 11) is extended (line 9) to the chiefs of the '*Otu Langi* in Lapaha, represented by the Tu'i Tonga (line 10), notifying them of the celebration, from her palace in Nuku'alofa, allegorised by Vaha'akolo (line 12).

Queen Sālote, by digressing, finds the occasion an opportunity to mourn the sudden death of her husband, Tungī Mailefihi, in 1941 (line 16)¹²¹. In doing so she, once again, traces the genealogy of Tungī Mailefihi through the places where his *fanga kui* used to live (lines 13-26). Starting with his Vava'u connection, symbolised by *tokelau*, Longolongofolau and Tavakefai'ana and *matangi mafana* (lines 17-20), Queen Sālote moves on by sailing from Vava'u (lines 13-14) and changing tack at Hakautapu, characterised by her marriage to him (line 15). His untimely death, symbolised by the disfiguration of the *hea* sweet-scented fruit by the birds (line 16), was wept over by the people of Vava'u, portrayed by the sprinklings of *tokelau* (line 17).

The mention of Tavakefai'ana, representing 'Ulukālala's estate at Tu'anuku in Vava'u, signifies that he is 'Ulukālala's *mokopuna* (lines 19-20).

¹²⁰. Taulahi 1979; Wood and Wood-Ellem 1977:206.

¹²¹. Wood and Wood-Ellem 1977:196.

Through both his father, Tuku'aho, and mother, Melesiu'ilikutapu¹²², Tungī Mailefihi is Fahu over the Tu'i Pelehake, symbolised as Monotapu (line 21-22). For it is only the informed (line 23) who know Tungī Mailefihi's high status, which, through the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, is connected to Fua'amotu, represented by Maluhola along the Tu'alikutapu coast, and the *heilala* of Tatakamotonga (lines 24-25). Tungī Mailefihi's status, as a husband, is symbolised by Nuku'alofa, for he has remained an idol for Queen Sālote (line 26).

The flower-picking women of Lapaha prepare the *kakala* (line 27), being their traditional *fatongia*, so that Queen Sālote can put them on her son (line 28). They are the garlands *tuitu'u* and *pito'ingalau* (lines 29-30), the costume of Tupouto'a in his rivalry with the high chiefs (line 31), the last *kakala* being the medal worn by Tupouto'a (line 30), the lieutenant of the Lomipeau, which was the *kalia* of the Tu'i Tonga (line 32). Mu'a, the old capital and residence of the Tu'i Tonga, symbolised by 'Anamatangi and Kolongāhau, who complained about moving the capital to Nuku'alofa, represented by the wharf of Vuna. But Tāufa'āhau Tupou I's overthrow of the Tu'i Tonga made this inevitable. Testifying to this was, in the form of an oath, the drinking of *kava* by Longani, a great Ha'apai warrior, at the island of 'Atatā, before they invaded the fortress of Hule in Hihifo (lines 48-49)¹²³. This has given the Tu'i Kanokupolu political hegemony (line 40), with the Tu'i Tonga conceding defeat (line 41) to Queen Sālote and the then Crown Prince, rationalising that *love* still unites both Kauhala'uta and Kauhahalalo as one (line 42).

The fourth and last poem, *Peato*, symbolising Sioeli Pangia who died in 1935¹²⁴, was probably composed in the early 1930s¹²⁵. The word *peato* (pieta) is a Tonganised form of a Latin term, meaning images of dead saints which have been laid down to rest¹²⁶. In this context Queen Sālote likens Sioeli Pangia, a direct descendant of the Tu'i Tonga and, if it were to be continued, a legitimate successor to the title, to a *peato*. He was regarded as an image of adoration, which people, by serving him, worshipped. For Sioeli Pangia, on the basis of his being *'eiki*, continued living like a Tu'i Tonga, reinforced by people's dedicated life of service to him. Sioeli Pangia, like the Tu'i Tonga, was

¹²². Bott 1982:147, 154.

¹²³. Helu, interview, 1988; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973.

¹²⁴. Bott 1982:12.

¹²⁵. 'Ahio, interview, 1988; also Helu, interview, 1988.

¹²⁶. Helu, interview, 1988; Tāufa, pers. comm., 1988.

not expected to exert physical and mental energy other than by being entertained, eating and sex. This constitutes the secular or social basis of *'eiki*, a privilege all Tu'i Tonga, including the untitled Sioeli Pangia, enjoyed at all levels¹²⁷. Queen Sālote, in this poem, with a slight degree of jealousy, politically condemns Sioeli Pangia in the form of rivalry (*fetau*) for his Tu'i Tonga life-style. The fact that Sioeli Pangia had no children, for Queen Sālote, is an end to this Tu'i Tonga social, economic and political display of *'eiki*. The text is given hereafter:

PEATO

(Recorded and translated by the author)

1. *Tapu ange mo 'etau fakataha*
Sacred be our celebrated gathering
'A e 'alofi na pea mo e taka
For both circle of chiefs and strangers
Ka maheikau atu 'a e tala
Lest this verse goes astray
*Ko e hia ka 'oku 'i Fanakava*¹²⁸
The wrong-doer has been to Fanakava
5. *Te u talanoa ka mou silapa*
I shall talk but you interpret
*Ki he 'omeka*¹²⁹ *mo e 'emalata*¹³⁰
About the omega and emerald
*'Io, ko e Tamatou he na'e fafa*¹³¹
Yes, the Tamatou was carried on the back
*Pea mo e kakala tō 'i hala*¹³²
And the *kakala* dropped along the way
*'Io, na'e tuitu'u pea lavalava*¹³³
Yes, it was strung while walking and worn
10. *Ko e tui 'a e ongo Ha'angana*¹³⁴

¹²⁷. Lehā'uli, interview, 1988; also Helu, interview, 1988.

¹²⁸. Fanakava: a sanctuary situated in Lapaha, where wrong-doers of any degree, on reaching there, would receive complete pardon (see 'Ahio, interview, 1988; Gifford 1971 [929]:324; Lehā'uli, interview, 1988; Mafimalanga, interview, 1988).

¹²⁹. *'Omeka* (omega): a symbol for the Tu'i Tonga, Sioeli Pangia in this case.

¹³⁰. *'Emalata* (emerald): a symbol for the Tu'i Tonga, which is, in this case, Sioeli Pangia.

¹³¹. Queen Sālote likens Sioeli Pangia to Tu'itonganui-Koe-Tamatou, the wooden and welfth Tu'i Tonga, who was said to have been carried by its retainers.

¹³². This line refers to the bringing of *heilala* from Pulotu, and from which *kakala* known as *tuitu'u* and *lavalava* were made.

¹³³. *Tuitu'u* and *lavalava*: chiefly *kakala*.

¹³⁴. The Two Ha'angana (Ongo Ha'angana) are lineages derived from the twentieth Tu'i Tonga, Tatafu'eikimeimu'a, whose two sons, Ngana'eiki and Nganatatafu, resided at 'a'ano and 'Uiha in Ha'apai after returning from Samoa, where Ngana'eiki unsuccessfully

A plaited-*kakala* by the two Ha'angana

*Ko e Sina'e*¹³⁵ *'oku ne tala*

And the Sina'e who tells

*Ko 'ena ē lopa ē Hifofua*¹³⁶

There is the rope of Hifofua

*Lolotonga no'o 'i he 'ovava*¹³⁷

It's now tied at the 'ovava

*'O tau he Langi Taetaea*¹³⁸

And berthed at Langi Taetaea

15. *Ko e Peato fafangu ke 'a*

There is the Peato, wake him up

*Pea tu'u 'a Filimoemaka*¹³⁹

And stand you Filimoemaka

He kuo matangi si'ono vuna

For it has been fair winds

He tapuaki monu'ia

As the blessed luck

*'A e hou'eiki ki Falefā*¹⁴⁰

Of chiefs to the Falefā

20. *'O falala he koka nofo'anga*

Leaning on the sitting-investing *koka*

He na'e mana pea 'uhila takai

It was thunder and lightning around

Kae takatu'u 'a hoku loto

With worries unsettling my heart

Pea u fifili koe ha nai?

And I wondered what and why?

*'Eke 'e he pā 'a Ha'angongo*¹⁴¹

Asked by the shield of Ha'angongo

25. *Pea tala 'e he moli ko Mamali*

And told by the *moli* of Mamali

Ko e nānunga hotau 'aho

The observance of today's celebration

He ko e popoto mo manu fekai

wooded the beautiful Samoan princess, Hina.

¹³⁵. Sina'e: constitutes the younger brothers of the Tu'i Tonga, who do not hold the title Tu'i Tonga (see Bott 1982).

¹³⁶. Hifofua: a symbol for Siieli Pangia.

¹³⁷. 'Ovava: a tree known to have been used by the Tu'i Tonga, as was Siieli Pangia, for shelter from the sun. It symbolises the Tu'i Tonga.

¹³⁸. Langi Taetaea: one of the Tu'i Tonga's tombs at Lapaha in Mu'a; symbolic of Tu'i Tonga.

¹³⁹. Filimoemaka: a rock stood nearby Fonuamotu in Lapaha, and close to the ship's dock.

¹⁴⁰. Falefā (*Fale-fā*; lit. House-of-four), constituted the sky brothers of the first Tu'i Tonga, 'Aho'eitu, the advisory body and administrative machinery of the Tu'i Tonga (see Bott 1982).

¹⁴¹. Ha'a Ngongo: descendants of Ngongokilitoto, a chief of Malapo in Tongatapu, the first husband of Lo'au's daughter, Nua, who remarried Momo, the tenth Tu'i Tonga.

Like befriended to ravenous animals

He ko e fetā'aki 'a e helo

It is the rivals of the heroes

Kae kata pē hoku 'atamai

But I smile in my mind

30. *He'eku 'ofa 'i he Vaha'akolo*

My love for Vaha'akolo

'I he 'ikale 'o e 'atā

And the eagle flying above

Pea mo e laione le'o Tongafuesia¹⁴²

And the guarding lion Tongafuesia

He kuo 'ikai tau mai 'a 'Akihehuo¹⁴³

For 'Akihehuo hasn't yet arrived

Ke mo takitaha 'o heka ai

That you each take and ride on

35. *Ka tau folau he kuo hako*

But let's voyage for it's gusty

'O muia ē kapakau'otafahi¹⁴⁴

And follow *kapakau'otafahi*

Ka kumi 'a Tofua mo Kao

Searching for Tofua and Kao

Fuipā¹⁴⁵ ke taumu'a ki ai

Fuipā to which we steer

'O fetau he Tataumo'alo¹⁴⁶

And rival at Tataumo'alo

40. *Ke mo 'eva fa'iteliha ai*

Therein you walk freely in leisure

Kau lave 'o tu'ulahoko

I shall turn with one sail on

'O vakai ha tafatasa'akilangi

And search for a horizon

'O salute ki he manuo

And salute to the warship

Ka ai ha vaka 'e fie folau

But if a ship wants to voyage

45. *'Unu ke mama'o he kaupeau*

Keep away from the waves

He 'ikai te he ola he ta'au

Withstand you not the crests

Ko e fakapō he Lomipeau

Pity be the Lomipeau

'A he! 'A he! Tama faka'ofa

Alas! Alas! Poor high chief

¹⁴². Tongafuesia: one of the two famous *kalia* of Talatama and Talaiha'apepe, the fifth and fourteenth Tu'i Tonga, two sons of Tu'itātui, the eleventh Tu'i Tonga.

¹⁴³. 'Akihehuo: the other of Talatama's and Talaiha'apepe's *kalia*.

¹⁴⁴. *Kapakau'otafahi*: a navigational star, for voyagers to both Niuatoputapu and afo'ou (see Velt 1990).

¹⁴⁵. *Fuipā*: another voyaging star in ancient navigation, symbolic of Niuatoputapu and afo'ou (see Velt 1990).

¹⁴⁶. Tataumo'alo: flat top of Mt. Talau in Vava'u; a symbol for Vava'u.

With the usual salutation Queen Sālote pays tribute to all the high chiefs, including the ordinary people, present on this celebrated occasion (lines 1-2). Knowing that she, by means of rivalry with Sioeli Pangia of the Tu'i Tonga title, plays with fire (line 3), Queen Sālote seeks the protection of the high priest of the sanctuary Fanakava (line 4). Secure in her position she begins to characterise the *'eiki* status of this untitled Tu'i Tonga chief, Sioeli Pangia, in terms of valued objects and places associated with him (lines 5-19). His high social status is, in the form of counter-hegemony, encountered by the rise of the Tu'i Kanokupolu in her person, represented by the *koka* tree (line 20).

But Queen Sālote, by admitting that the Tu'i Tonga ever remains the most *'eiki* of all the kingly titles, regards it an obstacle in her struggle to maintain her power in the present (lines 21-28). It is as risky as befriending ravenous animals, meaning the high status of Sioeli Pangia (line 27). And yet she is contented (line 29) with the fact that the Tu'i Kanokupolu, symbolised by Vaha'akolo, has decisively won the battle between the heroes (line 28). She socially downgrades Sioeli Pangia, for the fact that his sister, Afā, married Fotofili of Niuafou¹⁴⁷. Queen Sālote suggests that they both ride on the Tu'i Tonga's two *kalia*, Tongafuesia and 'Ākiheuho (lines 32-34), and sail, through Ha'apai (Kao mo Tofua) and Vava'u (Tataumo'alo) [lines 37-39], to Niuafou, represented by Kapakau'otafahi (line 36). They, in their northerly voyage through Ha'apai and Vava'u to Niuafou, are to steer their *kalia*, Tongafuesia and 'Ākiheuho, to the guiding stars, *fuiipā* and *kapakau'otafahi*¹⁴⁸.

By politically elevating her position (line 41) Queen Sālote, likened to a modern warship (line 43), regards herself as further expanding her social horizons (line 42). And as a *manuao* (line 43) there are no other ships that can either compete with it (line 44) or equal its power (line 45). The waves generated by the warship are so huge (line 45) that the crests would overturn nearby sailing ships (line 46), even the huge Lomipeau (line 47). Lomipeau is a symbol for the Tu'i Tonga's power and social status, represented by Sioeli Pangia. Queen Sālote pities him, for, because he had no children, he further risked the continuity of the Tu'i Tonga title (line 48).

The formal relationships between culture and history are taken as products of the interplay of human demands in a social context, where both

¹⁴⁷. Helu, interview, 1988. See also Bott 1982:153, for this genealogy (*hohoko*).

¹⁴⁸. See Velt 1990.

distinct but related human phenomena are differentiated only by varying degrees of change. Such various rates of ordered and altered patterns within the range of all human activities are understood in terms of the exchange between structure and event, on the one hand, and the dialectic between past and present, on the other. In this plural context, anthropology and history are formally connected, though their subject matters may be different. As observed, the continuity of past and present is reflected in the case of Queen Sālote, whose ongoing structuring of the new social order has been culturally and historically informed by the structural and functional relationships between Tu'i Tonga and Hau, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu. Thus, the role of the past in the present, both actual and ideal, is appropriated as political tools for furthering power and control.

CONCLUSION

The received Tongan traditional history has been examined in terms of the vernacular ecology-centred, historico-cultural concept *tala-ē-fonua*, which espouses a philosophy of continuity between human beings and their environment¹. In short, the *tala-ē-fonua* conceptualises the environment and human beings as forming a unified system, i.e., an eco-system². Such anthropo-ecological relationships are understood in terms of the exchange between people and their natural habitat, where the environment plays a crucial role in social survival in the same way that human beings are bound to contribute an equal amount to their environment for sustaining the eco-system. Thus, the ordered and altered patterns in human movement are continuous with the landscape configurations, marking various rates of exchange between human beings and their environment.

These ordered and altered anthropo-ecological relationships, characterising permanence and change in the exchange between human beings and their environment, on the one hand, and hegemony and counter-hegemony, on the other, are passed down through generations by word of mouth³. As an exaggerating device, being the most natural way of expressing human freedom, orality tends to clothe events with surreal and symbolic characters⁴. In this context, the *tala-ē-fonua* can be regarded as a vernacular human landscape, which symbolically records the movement of people in terms of the literal and familiar environment. While the *tala-ē-fonua* is literal and symbolic in appearance, it is essentially social and historical in character⁵.

Such formal characters of *tala-ē-fonua* have been explored in its own distinctive ways, establishing as well its scholarly value and the position of the historian in it⁶. The basic problems concerning the representation of *tala-ē-fonua* in academic discourse have been critically considered, especially in terms

¹. See, for example, Hau'ofa 1977; Mulvaney 1991; Thaman 1991; Weiner 1991.

². Cf. Helu 1983:43-56.

³. See, for example, Helu 1988b, 1990a. Cf. Borofsky 1987; Brown and Roberts 1980, 4:1-30; Finnegan 1970, 9:195-201; Heinge 1971, 12:371-389; Kaeppler 1967a, 80:160-168; Kolo 1990:1-11; Lātūkefu 1968, 3:135-143; Māhina 1990:30-45; Meleisea 1987; Monberg 1974, 83:427-442; Parmentier 1987; Piddington 1956, 65:200-203; Vansina 1965.

⁴. Helu 1988b, 1990a.

⁵. See, for example, Kolo 1990:1-11; Māhina 1990:30-45.

⁶. See Kolo 1990:1-11.

of how the concept is understood and practised by a privileged few such as *punake* and *matāpule* in Tongan society⁷. Given the subjection of events to synchrony and diachrony, these matrices of relationships have been put in context within the formally complementary and opposed relationships of myths and history.

Also, the local origin of this ecology-centred concept of cultural and historical structuring has been traced through *talatupu'a*, the Tongan creation myth, focusing on the interplay of two regional cultures, Pulotu and Langi, over Maama or Lolofonua⁸. In a broader context, this consideration calls for a committed dialogue between *tala-ē-fonua* and archaeology and related disciplines, specifically in view of the question relating to the long-debated issues of Polynesian origin, settlement and hierarchy⁹.

The rise of the first Tu'i Tonga, 'Aho'eitu, god and king, around AD 950, unified in his person the double, 'Eiki-Hau, sacred-secular, priest-conqueror roles¹⁰. This was the peak of earlier diverse religious and political tendencies, historically linked with powerful Samoan and eastern Polynesian influences, which characterised the emergence of hierarchy¹¹. These religio-political tendencies were manifested in the related but competing Havea Hikule'o, Tangaloa 'Eiki and Maui Motu'a lineages¹². 'Aho'eitu was, on the basis of his Langi and Maama origin and 'Eiki and Hau offices, able to subdue Tonga to his rule, thus proclaiming her independence from Samoa and the Tu'i Manu'a¹³.

Following the formation of the Tu'i Tonga dynasty was a period of local nation building, which culminated in the reign of Momo, the tenth Tu'i Tonga. Similarly, Momo was politically connected with the enigmatic but historical

⁷. See, for example, Helu 1972a, 1972c, 1988b, 1990a, 1989b, 1989c; Malukava [Kavaefiafi] 1973; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973.

⁸. See, for example, Māhina 1986, 1990:30-45.

⁹. See, for example, Davidson 1979:82-109; Green 1979:27-60; Groube 1971, 80:278-316; Kirch 1980, 89:291-308, 1984a, 1986, 95:9-40; Kirch and Green 1987, 28:431-456; Poulsen 1967, 1977:4-26, 1987; Spennemann 1986a, 29:250-251; 1986b, 1989.

¹⁰. See, for example, Biersack 1990a, 91:181-212, 1990b:46-58, 1991, 100:231-268; Bott 1982; Māhina 1986, 1990:30-45; Valeri 1989, 4:209-247, 1990a:45-80, 1990b:213-250.

¹¹. Cf. Helu 1992; Spennemann 1986a, 29:250-251, 1989.

¹². See, for example, Māhina 1986, 1990:30-45.

¹³. See, for example, Henry 1980; Wood 1943. Cf. Māhina 1986, 1990.

figure Lo'au, whose permanent doings marked the second wave of continuing powerful Samoan and eastern Polynesian influences¹⁴. The Lo'au-Momo connection gave rise to the founding of the Tu'i Tonga empire (*Pule'anga Hau 'o e Tu'i Tonga*)¹⁵, symbolised by the creation of the *kava* ceremony (*taumafa kava*) which standardised and conserved the structural and functional relationships of Tu'i Tonga *vis-a-vis* the wider society and imperial dominion¹⁶.

On his succession, Tu'itātui, the eleventh Tu'i Tonga, combined forces with his half-brother, Fasi'apule, to expand the Tu'i Tonga imperial rule beyond Tonga via conquest. In doing so, Tu'itātui carried out in conjunction with Lo'au major social reforms within the central Tu'i Tonga administrative machinery, linking periphery and centre through systematic maritime activities. But the Tu'i Tonga imperial rule, in enforcing the extraction of slave labour, attracted powerful opposition from the periphery, transforming the axis of imperial expansion to conquest-alliance formation. Further contradictions in the *modus operandi* of the Tu'i Tonga imperial activities, resulting in the murder of certain Tu'i Tonga, subsequently changed the imperial axis to regional alliance formation for purposes of politically consolidating the local power base of Tu'i Tonga.

Having reached its peak in the time of Takalaua, the twentythird holder of the title, the power of Tu'i Tonga started to decline. As a response to a critical situation, Kau'ulufonua I, the twentyfourth Tu'i Tonga, began to effect major reforms in the centre, which accommodated broader changes in society. Evidently, the serious decline in the Tu'i Tonga power was reflected in the enforced structural and functional separation of the 'Eiki and Hau offices, with the Hau role devolving to a second kingly line, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, while Tu'i Tonga held the 'Eiki position¹⁷. These reforms provided a platform for the later emergence of permanent social institutions, sustained by a more systematic

¹⁴. Helu, *Kings and Tombs*, TS, n.d., 1986:25.

¹⁵. See, for example, Campbell 1983, 92:155-167; Gunson 1969, 4:65-82; Māhina 1986, 1990:30-45.

¹⁶. See, for example, Biersack 1991, 100:231-268; Bott 1972:205-237, 277-282; Mahina 1986.

¹⁷. Cf. Biersack 1990a:80-105, 1990b:46-48, 1991, 100:231-268; Bott 1982; Campbell 1982, 17:178-194, 1989a, XXIV:150-163; Valeri 1989, 4:209-247, 1990a:45-80, 1990b:213-250.

exchange of women between centre and periphery, whose economic and political effects gave Tongan society its classical outlook¹⁸.

Further constraints within the ruling order, as well as tensions between centre and periphery, saw the collateral segmentation of a third royal title, Tu'i Kanokupolu, occupying the office of Hau¹⁹. While the socio-economic exchange of women between the tripartite titles and between the Tongan, Fijian and Samoan ruling elites²⁰ *vis-a-vis* 'eiki and tu'a social principles politically sustained the Tu'i Tonga, additional contradictions within this mode of social organisation of production brought about another major transformation²¹. Consequently, this was materialised in the overthrow of Tu'i Tonga, which witnessed the rise of Tu'i Kanokupolu to political hegemony, squeezing out the now defunct Tu'i Ha'atakalaua in the process.

The emergence of the new social order was practically enforced by the introduction of the Constitution in 1875, which reinforced the structural and functional relationships between the ruling ideology and other groups in society in a certain way²². This is best illustrated with regard to the way in which Queen Sālote, in literary terms, featured the political relationships between the three royal titles²³. Moreover, these have been put in context within the exchange between structure and event, linking it with the processual interplay of past and present.

The case of Queen Sālote clearly demonstrates how the past is, in either actual or ideal terms, manipulated in the present, which is in turn ideally projected to the future²⁴. Obviously, such a unilateral human conception of space and time is, in this case, political in essence. While the past is as actual as the present, the authoritative assertions of the past function to conceal the contradictions in the present social order, thereby legitimising social control. On the other hand, the ideological projection of the present to the confused notion

¹⁸. See, for example, Gifford 1929a:349-350; Helu 1986b; Māhina 1986, 1990:30-45; Poulsen 1977:4-26; Spennemann 1986b, 1989.

¹⁹. Cf. Bott 1982; Māhina 1986.

²⁰. See, for example, Friedman 1981, 23:275-295; Kaeppler 1978a, 11:246-252.

²¹. Cf. Helu 1992; Spennemann 1986a, 1986b, 1989.

²². See, for example, Campbell 1982, 17:178-194, 1989a, XXIV:150-163; Lātūkefu 1975a, 1975b.

²³. See, for example, Helu 1989b, 1989c; Kaeppler 1967a, 80:160-168.

²⁴. Cf. Keesing 1989, 1:19-42; Tudor 1972.

of the future politically operates in a similar manner. Strictly speaking, the conception of the future, itself an expression of rationalism, is simply a product of actual human past and present experiences²⁵.

Whichever way the process of the human conception of time goes, we are always spatio-temporally bound to come back to some human situation²⁶. Whether it is the idealising of the past in the present or the projection of the present to a undefined and non-existent future, this often involves the maintenance of power, often in terms of coercion, exploitation and oppression²⁷.

By observing the objective nature of *tala-ē-fonua*, three points of intellectual significance have emerged. Firstly, that the non-material (*kakai/fonua*) and the material (*kelekele/fonua*) are interpenetrated, where neither non-materiality nor materiality is subordinated to the other. Rather, such a situation involves different ways of life fighting it out in the social struggle. Given that society is plural and never monolithic, this means that different ways of life cannot be subjected to a kind of absolute morality. The fact that different forms of living, though opposed to each other, are interlaced in a social context, provides the very interdisciplinary nature of scholarship. And while disciplinary practices in the social sciences and human studies may differ in subject matters of research, they are formally connected by the question of 'what is the case'²⁸.

Secondly, which follows from the first, the fact that *tala-ē-fonua* accounts for both hegemony and counter-hegemony, or synchrony and diachrony, points to the situation that culture and history, hence convention and action, are one and the same thing²⁹. Convention, the maintenance of power, which is the promotion of certain interests at the expense of others, is itself a form of action³⁰. But change is brought about by action through which order is, in turn, restored in the event. Thus, anthropology and history are both engaged in observing change, though of different degrees, defined by structure and event. With respect to the former, convention, the rate of change is imperceptibly slow,

²⁵. Cf. Anderson 1962; Baker 1979, 1986.

²⁶. Helu 1988b, 1990a. Cf. Kolo 1990:1-11.

²⁷. Cf. Anderson 1962; Baker 1979, 1986; Helu 1991:55-65.

²⁸. Cf. Anderson 1962; Baker 1979, 1986; Helu 1983:43-56.

²⁹. Cf. Sahlins 1985a.

³⁰. Cf. Mähina 1990:30-45.

while the degree of change for the latter, action, is recognisably fast. By observing the symbolic structure, anthropology often becomes unified in its orientation, thus lacking history, in the same way that history is sometimes too wrapped up with dating discreet and isolated events, without addressing the unfolding of history largely as a development of some human situation³¹.

Thirdly, the formal relationships between interpretation and fact are made evident by the objective character of *tala-ē-fonua*, signifying that interpretation and fact are one and the same³². That is, that interpretation is the search for other facts for the explanation of facts needing explanation³³. To maintain that interpretation and facts are distinct is itself problematic and dualistic. It is also in this context that the interplay between *tala-ē-fonua* and academic history, between symbolisation and actualisation, or between the literal/symbolic and the social/historical, as clearly expressed in the poems and oral traditions generally, are to be understood. Furthermore, this opposed, two-way process is generated within the continuity of the social and the physical, where, by reversing the social: symbolic: literal process, the relationships between human beings and their environment can be culturally and historically meaningful in a social context. Nothing, either culture or history, is above change; that the literal and the symbolic are themselves social and historical; that, because nothing is higher or lower than matters of fact, they are to be understood in terms of the substance of our everyday experience³⁴.

Furthermore, the objective character of *tala-ē-fonua* tends to illuminate the current environmental crisis in the modern world situation³⁵. Firstly, given the continuity of the social and the material, *tala-ē-fonua* offers a critique of either a Marxist model or a Weberian formulation of the problem, where the non-material are subsumed to the material features of society and vice versa³⁶. Nor is it a case of considering the non-material and material factors of society in isolation from each other. Rather, it is a situation where we observe the way in which the non-material and material factors, by means of

³¹. See, for example, Biersack 1991; Denning 1971; Sahlins 1985a; Māhina 1990:30-45. Cf. Anderson 1962; Baker 1979, 1986; Nietzsche 1968a, 1968b, 1973.

³². Cf. Carr 1961.

³³. Helu 1988b, 1990a.

³⁴. See, for example, Anderson 1962; Baker 1979, 1986.

³⁵. Cf. Mulvaney 1991; Thaman 1991.

³⁶. See, for example, Cuff and Payne 1979. Cf. Larrain 1983.

complementary and opposed tendencies, reproduce society both structurally and practically in a certain manner. As for Oceania, it follows that Sahlins³⁷ and Goldman³⁸, presumably following Marx and Weber, are to be reconciled on this factual working of society. On the basis of regional/total systems of social reproduction, Friedman³⁹, in a critique of both Sahlins and Goldman, offers an alternative view in which he himself becomes entangled in the same problem.

The danger posed by a Marxist model is, for example, reflected in the current reign of economic rationalism, the idealised material consideration of human activities in detachment from social and cultural developments, in the global scene. This form of idealism denies the very fundamental character of society, which is the continuity of the social and the natural, thought and action, or structure and history. In short, this is illiberalism; politically, it is a form of suppression⁴⁰. It is a denial of the natural working of society, basically defined by a multiplicity of tensions. Such tensions operate in the form of struggle, the medium through which liberty and independence can be meaningfully contextualised. It is only in a plural social context that culture, the embodiment of the liberal spirit⁴¹, can be fully realised. While there may be progress in some spheres of human activity, there is definitely retrogression in others⁴². Generally, culture, constituting permanence in all forms of human endeavour, is in the decline, and a new kind of barbarism is characteristic of our time.

On the political level, the rise of eco-feminism, taking men's brutal treatment of Nature as comparable to men's treatment of women, may be equally taken as a critique of economic rationalism. Based on the ongoing destruction of the ozone layers, the Greenhouse Effect has sounded a warning: the global warming!⁴³ Such a threat symbolically and practically suggests that

³⁷. Sahlins 1958.

³⁸. Goldman 1970.

³⁹. Friedman 1981, 23:275-295. Also see Scarr 1990:4-51.

⁴⁰. Cf. Mähina 1990:30-45.

⁴¹. See, for example, *'Atenisi University Catalogue and University Handbook*, 1981:1-2, 1987:1-2; Anderson 1962; Baker 1979, 1986; Helu 1986d; Nietzsche 1968a, 1968b, 1973. Cf. Dening 1989, 1:134-139.

⁴². *'Atenisi University catalogue and Student Handbook*, 1981:1-2, 1987:1-2; Helu 1986d.

⁴³. See, for example, Mulvaney 1991. Cf. Thaman 1991.

there has been an imbalance in the human-environment, sky-earth, or father-mother exchange. Is the symbolic father/mother unity antagonised through action on the level of the sky/earth harmony? One thing we know: the harmony between human beings and their environment has increasingly become less of a spiritual category; that is, the social and material continuity between them has been ruptured through practice. Thus, the imminent threat to our planet also places at risk the very foundation of the social and material reproduction of society.

While the literal and symbolic dimension of the historico-cultural concept cuts across the entire spectrum of traditional history, the development of the concept is perfected in the literary genre called *laumātanga*, pride in locality, Tongan Nature poetry⁴⁴. In this literary form, the *punake*, by means of effective imagery and symbolism, weaves the multiple strands of the social life in terms of the familiar environment into an artistic harmony of theme and form. The generic *laumātanga* is a form of humility, a kind of retreat from the rigidity of society, from society's ordering structure, values and moralities⁴⁵. It seems, thus, that society is anti-Nature; but like truth, Nature is not a respecter of persons, whether kings or commoners⁴⁶. In reality, as in Nature, there are no special positions given to rocks, human beings or animals; all are subjected to the same laws of history.

The poet of *laumātanga* discovers, with the minimum or absence of illusions, rhythmic patterns in Nature. But the *laumātanga*, by returning to Nature, is a constant reminder that we are part of Nature, that we are at "one" with Nature; and that it is in Nature that we find our roots. This, in historical terms, is true of the biblical myth of creation, which says that we were created from the dust of the earth, to which we return as dust after death. In short, the mother earth is our source of life, and at death we must return to be part of her. We, therefore, in both life and death, are inseparably at one with Nature.

In conclusion I stress that if we are to put forward a scholarly case for *tala-ē-fonua* in particular and vernacular traditional history in general, it must be because of its own worth. The issue cannot be settled either emotionally or politically, only intellectually. Scholarship is not a political

⁴⁴. Helu 1986b, 1989b, 1989c.

⁴⁵. Helu 1986b.

⁴⁶. See, for example, Anderson 1962; Baker 1979, 1986.

activity, rather it is an intellectual enterprise, though by engaging in objectivity it can be political because it often endangers security-seeking values that lie close to human interests. But the closer our observations are to our interests the more they become entangled in our own fears and hopes. To settle the issue on emotional and political grounds is itself a form of escapism, an escape from our own defeats in search of comfort and consolation, which is the failure to confront the problem head on. It is only through committed struggle and by independently confronting the complexity - vernacular traditional history - that actual solutions to real problems can be found. Scholarly respect for vernacular history can only be gained by considering it on its own terms, not in whether we subjectively approve or disapprove of it.

APPENDIX A

A SELECTION OF TONGAN POETRY, TA'ANGA

The poems given in this section can be classified as *laumātanga*, pride in locality¹, the Tongan Nature poetry, though they vary in poetical forms such as *fetau*, *hiva kakala* and *lakalaka*, or *lau'eiki* and *viki(viki)'eiki* styles (see Chapter One)². But the general form for these literary genres is *ta'anga* (ode), poetry of beautiful spots³. These poetical forms, by centring on a thematic ecology-centred concept of cultural and historical structuring, commonly express a philosophy of continuity between human beings and their environment⁴. In this context, Tongan poetry is characteristically social poetry or collective lyricism⁵. Within this anthropo-ecological context, permanence and change in patterns of various forms of social activity are continuous with ordered and altered configurations in spatial human settlement⁶.

These literary forms, by treating human-environment relationships, emphasise specificity, a form of empiricism or familiarity with the movement of people through the landscape. There is then a consistent absence of a generalised treatment of Nature. Featured in these poems are landscape connections between specific localities familiar and intimately known to the poets, often sites of great social, psychological, economic and political significance. The emphasis is on concreteness, specifically on experientially-derived localities; hence there is hardly any reference to places in general, or in the abstract⁷. Thus, definite social relationships are, in terms of permanence and change, emotionally and materially linked to actual places once connected with human movement.

In the *Vava'u mo Ha'apai* poem, the poet Falepāpāangi treats his theme in the form of *fetau*⁸, symbolically setting up Vava'u (*Sani mai ē fanga ko*

¹. Helu 1972b, 1972c, 198b; Malukava [Kavaefiafi] 1973.

². Helu 1972b, 1972c; Malukava [Kavaefiafi] 1973.

³. Helu 1972b, 1972c, 1978e:21.

⁴. Helu 1983:50. Also see Mulvaney 1990; Weiner 1991.

⁵. Helu 1978e:22-23.

⁶. Cf. Sahlins 1981, 1985a.

⁷. Helu 1986b:4.

⁸. Helu 1972b, 1972c.

*Keitahi*⁹) and Ha'apai (*Ke hangē ko e 'otu Ha'apai*) as social rivals. The poet structures his subject matter in terms of geographic features literally characteristic and symbolic of both islands of Vava'u and Ha'apai.

Falepāpālangi (*Fale-pāpālangi*; lit. House-[of-the]-European-[style]), a poet from Hihifo in Tongatapu, was a contemporary of Mamae'aepoto (*Mama-e-'ae-poto*; lit. Light-of-the-wise), who was from Vava'u. Both poets respectively had deformed feet and hands, and are believed to have lived in the early part of the nineteenth century¹⁰. Mamae'aepoto, while spending most of his time in Tongatapu, became a friend of the chiefs there, but Falepāpālangi was not. It is said that, in the context of night poetry recitals, they were often engaged in rivalry through *fetau*¹¹.

Tupou Posesi Fanua, in *Ko e Tala 'o e Toutai Kui*¹², forms her theme around *lau'eiki*, centring on Tāufa'āhau Tupou I and her relation to him, not in terms of chiefly flowers but through the ancient mariners (*'Isa kau kaivai 'o ono'aho na*). In doing so, Fanua, by means of the navigational skills of the Tongans (*He folau na'e fai ta'e kapasa; Mohu toutai poto mo taukei*) based on the stars (*Tukufua he ngaahi haveinga*)¹³, stresses the continuity of the social and the physical. Besides, Fanua also features the regional imperial connections (*Ha'amoā; 'Otulau*) of the Tongan aristocracy (*Me'a'anga ē kakala hingoā Fungani*), articulating as well the role of the past in the present (*Te u lea mu'a 'i he kuo hili na*). She highlights this role in the form of *fatongia* (*Fai'anga 'o e fai fatongia*), the traditionally-defined duties not only of brothers

⁹. *Keitahi*, situated in the east of the main land, is one of the most beautiful beaches in Vava'u.

¹⁰. Collocott 1928a:65; Helu 1972b, 1972c.

¹¹. Collocott 1928b:65; Helu 1972b, 1972c. Examples of *fetau* poems by the two poets can be found in Collocott (1928b:65-69).

¹². The navigator was Kaho, whose son, Po'oi, was also known as Niutupu'ivaha (*Niu-tupu-'i-vaha*; lit. Coconuts-growing-in-the-ocean). Literally, the name refers to coconut seedlings (*'uto*) carried at sea as provisions for voyagers. Lolohea was Kaho's boat. Taufa, shortened for Tāufa'āhau Tupou I, was nicknamed Ngininginifolanga (see Fanua 1979c:17).

¹³. On Tongan stars, see Collocott 1922a:157-173; Malukava [Kavaefiafi] 1973; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973; Velt 1990.

to sisters (*Ki he fua 'a 'Ulukilupetea; Tuitala ki he fanafana 'a 'Anau*) but also of *tu'a* to *hou'eiki* (*Tali kunima 'a e ongo matu'a*)¹⁴.

The *lakalaka* text *Matafi 'a e Tonga 'i Fale* was recorded by Wendy Pond at the Agricultural Show¹⁵ held in Niuatoputapu in 1969¹⁶. In this poem Sioeli Filianga¹⁷, the poet, after paying his respect to the aristocracy (*Matangi 'a e Tonga 'i Fale*), politically issues a strong heretical statement (*Kauiva'anga he maa'imoa*). This is his structured theme; and it revolves around the manner in which the Tongan outliers, Niuafou and Niuatoputapu, the most northerly groups, had been unfairly treated at the mental, social, economic and political levels (*Ko hono 'atunga 'ona ē; Si'i tokelau¹⁸ kuo ma'ilinoa*)¹⁹. On these levels both Niuafou and Niuatoputapu, peculiarly regarded as social outcasts²⁰, had been belittled and frowned upon by the southerly groups, Vava'u, Ha'apai and Tongatapu (*Hungaluōpea he 'one'one*).

For example, marriage between people of the northerly and southerly groups, is highly discouraged because Niuanans are regarded as being somehow inferior²¹. These attitudes are manifested in popular expressions such as *tokelau mama'o* (remote north) and *si'i motu li'ahi ko Niua* (poor deserted islands of Niua). But Filianga, however, effectively develops his theme through imagery by articulating the issue in terms of familiar geographic features, where he puts up a case for the past role of Niuafou and Niuatoputapu in the modern formation of Tonga, specifically the present ruling class (*Ono'aho ē ka ho onopō*). He,

¹⁴. 'Aho, interview, 1988; Helu 1975d, 1975e; Lehā'uli, interview, 1988; Mafimalanga, interview, 1988; Malukava [Kavaefiafi] 1973; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973.

¹⁵. See, for example, Māhina (1986:181-186) for a discussion of the Agricultural Show (*Faka'ali'ali Ngoue*) as Tu'i Tonga 'inasi under a new cover, now connected with Tu'i Kanokupolu.

¹⁶. *Faikava* 1979, 4:12.

¹⁷. See Filianga 1982a:2-3, 1982b:22-23 for his other poem.

¹⁸. *Tokelau* (north) is symbolic of Niua.

¹⁹. See Rogers 1981; Sevele 1973.

²⁰. The peculiarity attributed to Niuafou and Niuatoputapu by southerners is mainly due to their languages, which are more Samoan than Tongan, and behaviour. Northerners are said to be *ta'enā/ta'enanā* people, that is, they do not have regard for others (see Collocott 1922b:185-189; Dye 1980:349-357; Tsukamoto 1988).

²¹. Ula [Tāufanau] 1973.

therefore, demanded on that count the attention of the whole of Tonga (*Kuo 'osi 'eku faka'apa'apa, iō!*). Lastly, the poet says that the *knowledge* (*Misiteli he 'iiloa*) of this history of Niua's past (*He siana Vaipoa, 'iō!*) is only a possession of the rare (*'E ha taha fuoloa, 'iō!*), and thus signified the classical concept of *tala-e-fonua*.

Semisi 'Iongi writes the poem *Fonua Mana* in the form of *viki(viki)'eiki*, praising the heroic deeds of chiefs, both social and political²². The poem is *fetau* in tone, setting chiefs and commoners in a kind of dialectic. His theme is structured on the achievements of Queen Sālotē (*Lupe fano 'i he fetu'ufuka*), somehow destined for her by the past (*Ko e ola 'o e tavatava-i-manuka*)²³, which her royal grandchildren (*Fakafunga 'a e laumanu ekiaki*)²⁴ reap for the whole of Tonga, the magic-land, *fonua mana*.

This gives Semisi 'Iongi the label 'aristocratic poet' in the sense that he exclusively praises chiefs through symbols taken from *mala'e tau* (warfare) and traditional chiefly sports such as *lova vaka* (boat racing) and *heu lupe* (pigeon snaring) and *lafo* game²⁵. In effect, 'Iongi generates an emotional link with the past that had been actual, a past that Tongans were once physically part of. 'Iongi, because of his great choice of words, or word-painting, is regarded as the Shakespeare of Tonga²⁶. Though his diction is marvellous, often consisting of beautiful words with little content (*fakapakohokoho*), Semisi 'Iongi is nevertheless free from sentimentality, the distinguishing mark of bad literature²⁷.

²². Helu 1972b, 1972c.

²³. *Tavatava-i-manuka* is an expression derived from the Maui Kisikisi-Tonga Fusifonua connection, referring to how Maui had seduced Tonga's wife to have sex with him in Manu'a, Samoa, and through which Maui had obtained secrets surrounding the fishhook he used to fish up the Tongan islands and others elsewhere in western Polynesia.

²⁴. *Laumanu ekiaki*, white young seagulls, are a symbol for the royal children. Helu 1972b, 1972c; 'Iongi, pers. comm., 1972; Malukava [Kavaefiafi] 1973.

²⁵. See, for example, Faka'osi 1986; Ferdon 1987:173-204; Gifford 1929a:117; Helu 1987b; Lehā'uli, interview, 1988; *Ko e Makasini Ko e Lo'au*, 1959:4; Martin 1981, I & II; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973.

²⁶. Helu 1972b, 1972c, 1987b.

²⁷. Helu 1978e:22-23.

Semisi 'Iongi's second poem *Moto'i 'Umata*²⁸ is his only *hiva kakala*, love lyric. The poem, according to Semisi 'Iongi, was composed at the specific request of Queen Sālote, herself a renowned *hiva kakala* poet²⁹. Given that her husband, Tungī Mailefihi, had died young, Queen Sālote was barred by her high office from remarriage, or even having sex with other men. But on the natural level, Queen Sālote, as a human being, most probably found *hiva kakala*³⁰ an effective emotional outlet for her constrained situation.

Semisi 'Iongi then chooses love (*'ofa*), that is, sex in its ultimate sense³¹, as an appropriate theme for the symbolically celebrated occasion. With effective imagery and symbolism Semisi 'Iongi, in the form of *fetau*, structures his theme on a love affair (*Ki he potatala 'a e holi mo e ongo*) between the Queen and himself. Though, poetically speaking, this has been achieved with words, Semisi 'Iongi does, in fact, wake up to the unwelcome reality that such a relationship has never been possible (*Fu'u taukakapa ke fai ki ai ha ala*), considering her position as a Queen. He was only a plain fellow, a mere commoner.

The mode of the poem *Ko e Tutulu 'a 'ene 'Afio 'i he Pekia 'a e Tangata 'o Ha'amea*³² is one of *lau'eiki/viki'eiki*³³, the other forte of Queen Sālote³⁴. Besides the natural constraints, Queen Sālote also experiences real life contradictions on the social and political level. These contradictions are both implicitly and explicitly expressed in most of her *lakalaka* works (see Chapters

²⁸. Literally, the line *Moto'i 'umata he vesili koula* (Bud of a rainbow sets in a golden vessel) is a symbolic reference to the clitoris (*simo; moto'i 'umata*; bud of a rainbow) and the vagina (*pali; vesili koula*; golden vessel). Helu 1972b, 1972c; 'Iongi, pers. comm., 1972.

²⁹. Helu 1972b, 1972c, 1989b, 1989c; Malukava [Kavaefiafi] 1973.

³⁰. In *hiva kakala* the poet, through the portrayal of his or her subject matter, is always committed to die (*mate*). But when the *punake*, in *hiva kakala* context, wants to die it simply means that, literally, he or she is in love. Helu 1989b, 1989c; Malukava [Kavaefiafi] 1973.

³¹. Helu 1972b, 1972c; Malukava [Kavaefiafi] 1973.

³². *Tangata 'o Ha'amea* refers to Finau 'Ulukālala (Siaosi Ha'amea). See Bott 1982:155 for this genealogy.

³³. Helu 1972b, 1972c, 1989b, 1989c.

³⁴. See Bain 1967, 1953; Helu 1972b, 1972c, 1989b, 1989c; Luke 1954; Malukava [Kavaefiafi] 1973; Wood Ellem 1981, 1983:209-227; Wood and Wood Ellem 1977:190-209 for biographical accounts of Queen Sālote.

One and Seven). In fact, such contradictions (*Tuku ai pē Taungapeka; Na'a 'ilo ai si'ota tu'a*) have surfaced in this poem, which are a reference to the ancient seat of the Tu'i Kanokupolu symbolised by the sacred flying foxes (*taungapeka*) in Hihifo, Tongatapu. The Tu'i Kanokupolu was a mere working king, *Tu'i Kelekele*, the King of the Soil, Tenderer of the Land, living a life of service to the divine Tu'i Tonga³⁵.

The structure of the poem is built on the death of 'Ulukālala Ha'amea (*Ho'o tali tokoto'i au; Kihe anga ho'o folau hola; Te 'ofa he 'api kuo mohe*), with its theme revolving around the social, economic and political relationships between Ha'amea and Queen Sālote and her husband, Tungī Mailefihi (*He'eta fetaulaki he tapa*). These relationships are, in local and regional terms, symbolised by specific localities connected with them. This is extended beyond Tongatapu, Ha'apai, Vava'u, Niuaatoputapu and Niuafo'ou in Tonga to Samoa and Fiji.

Such connections constitute a past that had been moulded by the imperial Tu'i Tonga, but whose continuity is linked to the present, embodied by the Tu'i Kanokupolu. But it is a continuity ordered in the face of conflicts through which order is structured in the event (see Chapters One and Seven). Thus, the *past* (*Ha'amea e te u lea*) is reaffirmed in the *present* (*Ke ma'u ha 'ilo 'a e sola; Mo e to'utupu 'o e huonga*), often ideally, thereby legitimising political domination³⁶. But these references reflect the fact that *tala-e-fonua* is only the forte of a privileged few, Queen Sālote in this case.

The second poem, *Munilaiti 'i Vava'u*³⁷, by Queen Sālote is a *hiva kakala*. Essentially, *hiva kakala*, as a literary form, is nothing but love. This is the theme of this piece, one of her numerous love songs to her long dead husband, Tungī Mailefihi. Its theme is structured on her pervading love life memories (*Langa e manatu 'ikai me'ite*) of Tungī Mailefihi, whose deeper meaning is expressed in terms of an emotional union with Nature (*To'oa hoto loto peau*

³⁵. Helu, interview, 1988; Lehā'uli, interview, 1988; Mafimalanga, interview, 1988; Malukava [Kavaefiafi] 1973; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973.

³⁶. Cf. Keesing 1989:19-42.

³⁷. Concerning the beauty of Vava'u, Futa Helu (1986b:17) writes "Vava'u is certainly one of the most beautiful spots in the whole of the South Seas. Some parts of the main island, 'Uta Vava'u, and offshore smaller islands are incredibly idyllic and one would be hard put to find their equal in natural beauty --- anywhere ... To adapt Shelley's line for Italy: *Vava'u, thou has the fatal gift of beauty*".

mo'ua). She symbolically features in the poem the most beautiful landmarks of Vava'u, socially connected with her husband through 'Ulukālala, an ancestor (*kui*).

The scenic spots in Vava'u are, in effect, reminiscent of her beloved husband (*Hulungia ai Matangimālie*). Queen Sālote is hereby poetically making love to *Matangimālie* (*Matangi-mālie*; lit. Wind-[of-the]-aesthetically-pleasing), symbol for Vava'u and ultimately her husband. And for Queen Sālote, this symbolic source of love (*Malama e maama he fonua; Ho'ata ai leva 'a e pō*) is most physically satisfying (*Holo'anga 'o e 'eva mo e hua; Lata'anga ia 'o si'ete nofo*).

This literary theme is structurally seen in the next *hiva kakala, Ha'u Mu'a ke Ta Ō*³⁸. The author of the poem, again, about Vava'u, was a poet from the village of Tu'anekivale, east of mainland Vava'u. Again, the poet captures the familiar scenic beauties of his own area, where in one spot the ritualistic observance of the moonrise (*'O mata māhina hopo*) is conducted in strict silence. It is said that by rising the moon takes the image of a woman swimming in the sea, who then climbs onto the sky at the horizons. In cases where onlookers are noisy, the image makes a sudden disappearance into the surrounding clouds or waters³⁹.

But on the emotional-Nature harmony level, the poet recreates the lovely scenes and sweet-scented flowers, accompanied by the flying *teiko* (*'A si'ene siu he lilifa*), as a celebration of love (*Ke ta 'uta mo fanongo*)⁴⁰. The poet, by symbolically putting some order on Nature and understanding its way of working, imagined the *teiko* through its wild nocturnal cries (*Si'i le'o e teiko*) as making love (*Ko si'ene fakalavetala; To'onga fakalata*) to the fragrant *hingano* (red pandanus flowers) and *sialetafa* (coastal gardenia).

The next poem *Ko e Ngaahi Motu 'o Tongatapu: Ko e Laveofo*⁴¹ is another excellent example of *laumātanga*. Tufui, a court poet of the Tu'i

³⁸. The title, *Ha'u Mu'a ke Ta Ō*, has a tone of lovers, bound by the emotional and the physical, intimately conversing with each other.

³⁹. Ula [Tāufanau] 1973.

⁴⁰. Helu 1986b:19.

⁴¹. The term *laveofo* (*lave-fo*; epic-wonder) refers to the poet's divine inspiration through which he, with minimum of self-interest, discovered the beauty of Nature in its own setting.

Tonga⁴², was its author. Through *laumātanga* Tufui, with great precision, symbolically reproduces the power of the Tu'i Tonga through landscape connections between the scenic offshore islands of Hahake. This is, in fact, his theme. But his familiarity mostly with the eastern district (*Kau foki pē au ki Hahake*) implies that Tufui was from Hahake, the Tu'i Tonga stronghold. Tufui's compositions were celebrated in the *pōula* (*pō-ula*; night-dance), an occasion of night merriment and entertainment for the Tu'i Tonga⁴³. Tufui, though, represents an important literary transition in Tonga, the movement from *lave* to *ta'anga*, that is, from poetry of *events* to poetry of *places*⁴⁴.

The references to *Maui* (*Fusifonua*), *Niu'ui* and *Putufakatau* suggest that Tufui was later than Tu'itātui, the eleventh Tu'i Tonga, around AD 1200, the series of influences which started with the appearance of Tangaloa and Maui and culminated in the person of Tu'itātui, but introduced by the probable Hawaiian line of kings⁴⁵. But mention of the royal tombs points to the possibility that Tufui lived between Takalaua, the twentythird Tu'i Tonga, about AD 1450, and the twentyninth Tu'i Tonga, 'Uluakimata (Tele'a), around AD 1600⁴⁶, the period of the decline of the Tu'i Tonga's power and just before the consolidation of his rule in Hihifo through the Tu'i Kanokupolu (see Chapters Five and Six). This consolidation was effected by the sixth Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, Mo'ungāmotu'a, who sent his son Ngata, the first Tu'i Kanokupolu, from Fonuamotu in Mu'a to rule Hihifo⁴⁷.

But in this poem, Tufui offers us extremely important information about the past. Tufui tells us about the recreation resorts (*'Onevai* and *Veitoloa*) of the Tu'i Tonga, and the one he frequented for his turtle delicacy (*Mo'unu*) (see Chapter One). There are also *Pangaimotu*, *Makaha'a* and *Fafā*, the islands

⁴². Helu 1972b, 1972c.

⁴³. Helu 1972b, 1972c.

⁴⁴. Helu 1972b, 1972c.

⁴⁵. Helu Kings and Tombs, TS, n.d, 1972b, 1972c.

⁴⁶. See, for example, Herda 1986; Māhina 1986, 1990; Wood 1943 [1972].

⁴⁷. 'Ahio, interview, 1988; Lehā'uli, interview, 1988; Mafimalanga, interview, 1988; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973.

from which stones were cut for the *langi*⁴⁸. His references to *Niu'ui* and *Putufakatau* points to land allocation, possibly inherited from the Lo'au-Tu'itātui land tenure system⁴⁹, one of the major social reforms by Tu'itātui about AD 1200. *Niu'ui* is reported to have been one of the islands distributed to chiefs in a *fono* meeting⁵⁰. We also learn that most of the islands featured in the poem no longer exist; they have been either submerged or connected to the mainland⁵¹. While references to *Kalau* and *Mapafieto'a* suggest regional contact with Samoa and the Cooks, the mention of 'Ata, 'Eueiki and 'Eua are of great geological significance. The *Kalau* island is said to have been at the verge of having been stolen by a Samoan demi-god ('otua-mo-tangata; half-god and half-human)⁵².

The poem *Ko e Laulau 'a e Ta'ahine ko Melenaitē Tupomoheofo he Pehia 'a Tungī Fisi*⁵³ was composed by Tu'i Pelehake [Fatafehi]⁵⁴, as the lament of his wife, Melenaitē Tupoumoheofo, on the death (*Kuo to e kakapu he*

⁴⁸. Cf. The assertion in oral traditions that stones for the royal tombs were from 'Uvea, Gifford 1929 [1971]:56-57; Henquel, Talanoa ki 'Uvea, TS, n.d.:7-8; Lehā'uli, interview, 1988; Mafimalanga, interview, 1988; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973. Possibly, the reference here is more to the extraction of slave labour from Fiji and 'Uvea for the building of the *langi*.

⁴⁹. Helu, Kings and Tombs, TS, n.d., interview, 1988; Lehā'uli, interview, 1988; Mahina 1986; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973..

⁵⁰. It is said that, during a council meeting in which lands were allocated, one chief called out for the ownership of *Niu'ui* (*Niu-ui*; lit. Coconut-call), thinking that it was plentiful in coconut trees, but it turned out to be that it had none (Helu 1972b, 1972c, interview, 1988).

⁵¹. Helu, interview, 1988.

⁵². Traditions reported that *Kalau* island was the subject of dispute between two Samoan and Tongan demi-gods, respectively in the forms of crab (*paka*) and plover (*kiu*), with the Samoan pulling it, while the Tonga held on to it mightily. But Tafakula, an 'Euan demi-god, by performing an impromptu sunrise, exposed his arse hole from the hills of 'Eua, north-east of Tongatapu (Helu 1972b, 1972c; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973). Thinking it was dawn, the Samoan fled home, leaving the island behind. While this might have represented dispute on foreign ownership of lands by Samoan chiefs, it, in geological terms, could also be a mythical account of geographic features of the area, characterised by faults and uplifts (Helu 1972b, 1972c). Cf. Gifford 1924:90; Kuli 1924b:90.

⁵³. See *Faikava* 1979, 3:3-7 for an exposition of this poem by Tupou Poesi Fanua.

⁵⁴. Other works by Tu'i Pelehake can be found in *Faikava* 1979, 4:1, 8-9; Tu'i Pelehake [Fatafehi] 1979:1, 8-9.

funga fonua; Holo ē mo'unga 'o Lomani Pau; Ko kita ni 'a pē kuo to tau)⁵⁵ of Ratu Edward Cakobau, known in Tonga as Tungī Fisi. It shocks the royal house (*Louloua'a ē Heilala 'o Fangatapu*), as the message is relayed (*Ongo ki he ngalu'ea mo e peau*) from Fiji to Tonga (*Fanafana ē Tonga ki he Tokelau*). This theme was structured on the blood relations between Fatafehi, Melenaite and Tungī Fisi, represented by chiefly landmarks in both Fiji and Tonga (*Lomani Pau, Songolata, Fatanitavake, 'Alo-ki-talau, Fangatapu, Fatai, Tau'ahipulu* and *Talahaipau*).

Tungī Fisi is the love child of a Fijian princess, Adi [Lala] Cakobau, to Tāufa'āhau Tupou II, father of Queen Sālote Tupou III, mother of Tāufa'āhau Tupou IV and Tu'i Pelehake. Thus, Tungī Fisi is Queen Sālote's half-brother, *fa'etangata* of her children, who stand in Fahu relations to him. But because Tu'i Pelehake was in Fiji for the funeral, he gave up his Fahu privileges to Tu'ineketi and Nailasikau⁵⁶, son of Tungī Fisi, to give the orders of the day (*Tu'ineketi fai ha'o pule; Nailasikau kuo fefe*). But Tungī Fisi is also related to Melenaite through his mother, Takopau, daughter of Tupoutu'a, daughter of 'Inoke Fotu. 'Inoke Fotu's son is Sateki Veikune, father of 'Inoke, whose daughter is Melenaite⁵⁷. Tungī Fisi, by the Fahu standard, is therefore *'eiki* over Melenaite.

Finally, the poem *Ko e Fakana'ana'a 'o e Fanau 'a 'Ulukālala*⁵⁸ was written by an anonymous Vava'u poet in the *laumātanga* mode. As this piece was a lullaby for 'Ulukālala's children, exiled at Pea under the command of Takai and Fa'e, it can thus be dated to the time of William Mariner, 1806-1810, who lived in Vava'u under the patronage of powerful Finau 'Ulukālala-'i-Feletoa⁵⁹. In articulating the Vava'u social origin of the children, the poet recreates it with symbolic effects and imagery in terms of the natural beauty of the main land, 'Uta Vava'u, and its lovely engulfing offshore islands. With linguistic power equal to the task at hand, the undertaking to reproduce the great beauty of Vava'u in its own

⁵⁵. *Kakapu, holo* and *tau* are symbols for death.

⁵⁶. Nailasikau is also the Fijian demi-god featured in the myth of the great legendary double-canoe, *kalia*, Lomipeau, representing the tributary role of the Fijians in the building of the Tu'i Tonga empire.

⁵⁷. *Faikava* 1979, 3:3-7.

⁵⁸. See Helu 1986b:15-17 for an exposition of this *ta'anga*.

⁵⁹. See Martin 1981, I & II.

distinctive ways, the poet, in effect, makes a case worthy of the political standing of 'Ulukālala over the whole of Tonga.

The poet, in planting together the emotional and the physical, symbolically traces linked situations in Nature in their own manner. By discovering this philosophical character of reality, where the social is continuous with the material, the poet, in holistic terms, attempts to place some order on Nature, making sense of its *modus operandi*. The hovering of birds over schools of bonito (*Kuo kapa talifaki 'a manu; Fakapo kuo langa 'a 'atu*), or the crying of fishing birds (*Si'i manu ē si'ene ngā*), is interpreted in the traditional semiotic thought to mean that flocks of birds and schools of fish always go together⁶⁰. For Tongan fishermen, at least, this is simply the case. But, in analytical terms, the language of science refers to the same connected but distinct occurrences in terms of food chains, prey and predators.

The transisiton from *lave* to *ta'anga*, i.e., from poetry of *events* to poetry of *places*, especially in terms of the *laumātanga* genre, certainly brought into sharp focus the vernacular ecology-centred concept of cultural and historical ordering characteristic of *tala-ē-fonua* in general. In all these *ta'anga*, the formal relationships between interpretation and fact, which is the discovery of other facts for the explanation of the facts needing explanation, are made evident. That is to say, the interpretation of the literal/symbolic facts requires that we search for the social/historical facts for their explanation. Having failed to make the distinction between the literal/symbolic and the social/historical leads to their being fused together, more so in terms of the former, often leading to a state of confusion. On the one hand, these *laumātanga* poems, by emphasising human emotional dependence on Nature and harmony between human beings and their environment, articulates the philosophical character of reality, defined by the continuity of the social and the physical, thought and action, or past and present.

⁶⁰. Helu 1986b:17; Lehā'uli, interview, 1988; Malukava [Kavaefiafi] 1973; Ula [Tāufanau] 1973.

1.0

VAVA'U MO HA'APAI
(VAVA'U AND HA'APAI ISLANDS)⁶¹

by Falepāpālangi

(Anonymous translation, edited by the author)

*Hoto 'ofa talai ki he matangi
He me'a koā he hua 'o hai
'A 'etau nonofo he fonua ni?
Sani mai ē fanga ko Keitahi
Mo e ongo 'o Tausisivavaki...
Kohai koā kei lata ai?
Ke hangē ko e 'otu Ha'apai
Ka havili pea fengalomaki*

*Ka malū pea fehitengaki
Tau vakaia si'ene fetaki*

*Hangē ha hua fe'ilongaki
'Amusia Lofia 'i Vailahi
Na'e tulekina 'e he 'ohuafi*

*Pea tau mohe 'olunga ki ai
Tau ki Paluki ki he kasivaki*

*Mohe hia Loupua ki Pangai
Hengihengi pea felangaaki
'A e fefine 'oka tangitangi*

Toli 'a e siale 'oka mapaki

Tui pea tau kahoa ki tahi

*'O mamata he vaka papālangi
Pea mo e taulanga tongiaki
Ka funga Tokū leva ē matangi*

Pea fanongoa mei loto'a

Kuo peaua ē loto fanga

Fakanamuli kuo kaina

*Te tu'u 'i Alaimuitoa
Pea 'ulu'alo mai ē pua*

'I he funga vai 'i Velitua

Hangē ha kumi 'ohu fofola

My longing is told to the wind
Is it a thing in which one may joy
That in this land we abide?
Fair beckons the strand of Keitahi
And the wave-beat of Tausisivavaki...
Who is there content to stay here?
Let it be like the isles of Ha'apai
In the storm-wind one hidden from
other

But in calm they appear to each other
Let us see their dear clasping of
hands

Like the joy lovers take in each other
Blessed is Lofia in Vailahi
Its crest was stooped o'er by the fire
smoke

Let us go and sleep on the summit
Arrived at Paluki for the *kasivaki*
sport

Sleep at Loupua in Pangai
At dawn rise early together
The women, when flowers are
opening

Pluck *siale* when blossoms are
dropping

Plait it, and to the sea we go
garlanded

And see the ship of the white men
And the harbour of *tongiaki* fleet
When the wind blows direct from
Toku island

From the chief's compound you
straightway shall harken
To the waves in the midst of the
strand

Fakanamuli where people are
gathered

I shall stand at Alaimuitoa
Where there comes the fragrance of
pua

From the spring in Velitua

Like a bark cloth that is laid
outspreading

⁶¹. Collocott 1928a:104-105.

'A e tu'u 'a e Tongoleleka
 'Oka teitei to ē la'a
 Pea hama ē niu 'i Lifuka
 'Oka taulomaki ē tonga

Tepa he mo'unga 'o Tofua
 Mo Tokonakao kuo haina

Are the mangroves of Tongoleleka
 When the sun is near to its setting
 Beams glance on the palms of Lifuka
 When the south wind blows full
 swelling

Look aside at the mount of Tofua
 And Tokonakao that is peopled

2.0

KO E TALA 'O E TOUTAI KUI

(THE BLIND NAVIGATOR)⁶²

by Tupou Posesi Fanua
 (Translated by Tupou Posesi Fanua)

*Ke tulou mo e ngaahi mātanga
 He 'ikai teu lau kahala
 He ko e me'a ia 'oku tauhakapa
 Ka teu lavelave pe he fohe loa
 Fai'anga 'o e fai fatongia
 Te u ta'ovala he kefukefu 'o e
 fanga*

With respect to the scenic sites
 I shall not speak of flowers
 Since that is beyond my reach
 I shall dwell on the mighty oars
 For therein lies my duty
 To wear the beach grass *ta'ovala*

*Ko e 'ilo'anga ia si'oto founa
 Te u lea mu'a he kuo hili na
 He folau na'e fai ta'e kapasa
 Tukufua he ngaahi haveinga
 Fakapatonu he tolu'i Fanakena
 Tokelau, Lotolangi mo e Tonga
 'Isa ē kau kaivai 'o ono'aho na
 Na'e 'uli ki he fua 'a natula*

And let my origin be known
 I shall tell of the past
 Of sailing without compass
 Setting course by the stars
 Confirmed by the three *Fanakena*
 North, Midsky, South
 Oh! the ancient mariners
 Who steered by the signs of nature

*Tu'a 'ofa he si'i Lolohea
 'Ene toupili he vaka lahi na
 To mo hopo he funga naua
 Katekina he ngaahi faingata'a
 Ta'e ha kouna pe kolenga
 Muimui pe ho e fie'aonga
 Ki he fua 'a 'Ulukilupetea*

The dear little Lolohea
 Riding the great canoe's wake
 Tossed by the turbulent sea
 Braving the perils of the ocean
 Unappreciated and unasked
 Following only to be of use
 To the grandson of 'Ulukilupetea

*Vaka lahi ne lele 'i matangi
 Me'a'anga e kahala hingoa
 Fungani
 Mohu toutai poto mo taukei
 Poto'i tukufua he matangi
 Nonga falevaka 'ikai fifili
 He 'oku 'uli toutai maheni
 'Akau'ola mo Ula 'a e taukei*

The great canoe sped with the wind
 Carrying the pick of the nation's
 flowers
 Steeped in navigational skills
 Adept in setting course by the breeze
 Calmness rested in the cabin
 For salted seamen were at the helm
 None less than 'Akau'ola and Ula

⁶². *Faihava* 1979, 4:3-5, 15-17; *Fanua* 1979c:3-5, 15-17.

*Ne folau e Tu'asivivalu
Fai'anga e tā tatau 'o e Hau
Kuo lava ia pea nau ha'u
Muimui pe Lolohea he ta'au
Hange ha lou vehivehi he peau
Kehe pe ke ofi he tali fekau
Tuitala ki he fanafana 'a 'Anau*

*Hopo e la'a pea toe tō
Halani e mahina he langi ma'a
Fekita e po mo e 'ata 'a puaka
Tongia hake 'e he la'a
Lau pō lau 'aho fakanatula
Ngalingali fu'u ma'uloloa
Ha'ele ta'e kite fonua*

*'A kuo nga'uta 'a falevaka
Ongo mai leva 'a e folofola
"Akau'ola mo Ula, fēfē fua?"*

*Tali kūnima 'a e ongo matu'a
'Tama fakamolemole'i kimaua
Kuo pulia e taumu'a 'etau fua
'Ikai ha'ama lave'i 'a 'eni vaha"*

*Fekau leva 'e he Tama ko Taufā
'Ui Lolohea mo e motu'a taufā*

*Na'a kuo 'ilo 'e ia 'a e me'a
Kuo fufū mei he ā
Na'a sai ange e kui he vakai nā
Ke na 'uli mai mo hono foha"*

*Tuai e kemo kuo fakalava
'A e Lolohea ke tali folofola*

*Pea folofola mai leva e Tama
'Ko e fē 'eni kongā vaha?"
Fāfā e kui ki he tahi na
Fehu'i hake ki si'ono foha
'Po'oi fēfē tu'u 'a e la'a?"*

*Ha'u e tali 'a Niutupu'ivaha
'Lolotonga tu'u tonu e la'a"
Fakataufolofola Kaho kia Taufā
'Tahi Fisi lolotonga fai ai e lepa
Ki 'Otulau he tō 'a e la'a*

*Folofola 'a Taufā 'Hoko atu
Kae vakai e poto 'o e kui na"*

Hoko atu e ha'ele vaka

The course was set for Samoa
For the king to be tattooed
That done, they set for home
With Lolohea riding the wake
Like a leaf tossed by waves
Determined to be there when needed
Obedient to 'Anau's whispered plea

The sun rose then set again
The moon tracked the clear sky
Night greeted the early dawn
The sun again took its place
Night and day came and went
It seemed too long
Sailing without sight of land

The cabin became restless
And the royal voice was heard
"Akau'ola and Ula, how is the
course?"

With clasped hands they replied:
"Forgive us, sir,
We have lost our direction
And know not where we are"

Then Taufā ordered
"Call the fumbling man on the
Lolohea
He might know what
Is denied to those with eyesight
The blind may see better
To steer here with his son"

Within a wink it was done
The Lolohea was there for his
pleasure

And the king asked
"Where in the ocean are we?"
The blind dipped his hand in the sea
Then asked of his son
"What is the sun's position?"

Niutupu'ivaha promptly replied
"In the middle right overhead"
Then Kaho spoke to Taufā
"We're in the waters of Fiji
The Lau group will be sighted at
sunset"

Taufā snapped, "Continue as we are
Let us test the blind man's skill"

The voyage went on

| | |
|--|---|
| <i>Kae vakai'i e hala e la'a</i> | A watch was set on the course of the sun |
| <i>Fonohifo ke tō, pā e kalanga</i> | As it touched the sea a shout was heard |
| <i>'Fonua kite mei taumu'a!"</i> | "Land ahead!" |
| <i>Tā ko e 'Otulau e fonua</i> | And the Lau group it was |
| <i>Malimali e Tama ko Taufā</i> | Taufā smiled, he was pleased |
| <i>He tonu e 'uta 'a e tautaufā</i> | With the accuracy of the dipping hand |
| <i>Tau fonua 'oho ne fakaheka</i> | At landing provisions were loaded |
| <i>Folofola leva Nginginiolanga</i> | Then Nginginiolanga spoke |
| <i>'Kaho mo Po'oi ke mo takimu'a</i> | "Kaho and Po'oi, lead the way |
| <i>Mo toutai 'o fai e tukufua"</i> | Navigate and set our course" |
| <i>Tu'a'ofa he pale 'o e tonunga</i> | Oh, the reward for the conscientious |
| <i>Si'i muimui ki he fanau tama</i> | And the faithful to the past |
| <i>Kuo hoko 'eni ko e tu'u ki mu'a</i> | Is to be leader of leaders |

3.0

MATAFI 'A E TONGA 'I FALE

(THE CLOUDLESS SOUTHERN SKY OVER THE ROYAL HOUSE)⁶³

by Sioeli Filianga

(Recorded and translated by Wendy Pond)

| | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| <i>Matafi 'a e tonga 'i fale</i> | May the southern sky be cloudless over the royal court |
| <i>He ko hono 'atunga 'ona ē</i> | For it is its customary manner: |
| <i>Si'i tokelau ma'ilinoa</i> | The northern breeze blowing heedlessly hither and thither |
| <i>Kauiva'anga he maa'imoa</i> | Intruding on the royal preoccupation |
| <i>Si'ete ongo'i tu'unga fale</i> | We are sensible for being an empty house site |
| <i>Hungaluopea he 'one'one</i> | A strand strewn with driftwood and debris |
| <i>Pa'angangalu he tuenoa</i> | Destitute, like the waves breaking endlessly on the reef |
| <i>Kae 'alu pē 'o fakakuonga</i> | Each era passes in its own style |
| <i>Tau hake he Puatolinofo</i> | Let us climb the Puatolinofo |
| <i>Tu'u he funga Fotu'ō'ō</i> | Let us stand and gape from the summit look-out |
| <i>Sio ki Niua 'ene tokoto</i> | Seeing Niua spread out flat |
| <i>Mafola 'a si'i Fala'ongongo</i> | Ngongo's Mat unrolled |
| <i>'Aofi he Kumi'oveiongo</i> | Lined with Veiongo's Tapa |
| <i>Langanoa si'oku loto</i> | My heart aches |
| <i>He'ete manatu ki 'ono'aho</i> | Recalling the days of yore |
| <i>Tala atu he 'ikai ke ngalo</i> | I tell you, they are not forgotten |

⁶³. Faikava 1979, 4:1-3, 10-11; Filianga 1979:1-3, 10-15.

Ono'aho ē ka ko onopō

*He fakaloloma si'ete nofo
Niutōua 'oiaue*

*Vai'opaea ko e mo'oni pē
He teau tolu fitu ē Sāme
'I he ve'e vai Papilone
Tau uilou 'ae ha'ape
He vivili si'ete hopoate
Tangi ē manatu ki Saione*

*'Amusia pē si'i Vailahi
Hono toutou 'utu hi he Paki
Vangana he vunga mo e ahi*

Pea kuo tafe ko e matavai

*'Isa na'a ngalo ho'o manatu
Funga Muihelu 'i Tokelau
'Ene tu'u fakapāpākū
Ko si'ene ta'e kau ha lau*

*Ka 'oku hahano si'oku loto
Ki he koka tu'u 'i he Le'ole'o*

*Mo e heilala Veitatalo
Hono li'aki au ka mo ō
Fotu ē 'ulua pea to ngalo*

*Mālōlō'ae hau ko e fakapō
Na ko hato faka'osi nai ē*

Ho'o setesi kau piliote

*Nofo ā ē Houma-Koukai
Fuehemato mo e Kapakau*

*Vaipulu ē le'o kau 'alu
'O 'ahia mai 'a e Fangatapu
Veiongo sia fakatalutalu
Toa ko Ma'afu kei laukau*

Ko e Humu ē mo 'ene Toloa

'I he kolohau ko Nuku'alofa, hē!

*Kuo 'osi 'eku 'apa'apa, 'iō!
Kau M.P. 'i he ha'ofanga, 'iō!
'Unu ke mama'o pea ke tokanga
Tapu ē pakihī pē toe ngatata
'Oua te he tu'u hoku 'elia
Kuo u kovi ange he sinaipa*

There is the past and here is the
present

It is pitiful how I am now
Alas, Spring of Niutoua
How fit a well for the orphaned
Psalm one hundred and thirty seven
At the edge of the waters of Babylon
We hung our harps on the willow tree
Our slavery persists
Memory cries out to Zion

Enviably is Lake Vailahi
Again and again filled from Paki
The sound of trickling through the
vunga and sandalwood tree
Has become a flow from its own
source

It would be a pity if you forgot
The crest of Muihelu in the north
Standing sullenly aside
Having been left out

My heart is brooding
Over the *koka* tree which stands at
Le'ole'o

And the *heilala* tree at Veitatalo
I am abandoned while you two go
When a game fish emerges one
forgets (the sprats)

'Victor's demise', alack!
For perhaps in that is my
termination

Your sentence which I dot

Farewell, Houma-Koukai
Creeper-of-the-cliff and the Wings (of
Tafahi)

Vaipulu will stand guard while I go
To look around the Sacred Shore
Veiongo's mound records the past
The ironwood tree, Ma'afu, still
stands proudly

The Coal Sack and the Southern
Cross

Over the royal seat of Nuku'alofa

I have finished paying my respects
Now I'm the M.P. of the assembly
Move well away and take heed
No clicking, no more clattering
You can't stand in my arena
I am worse than a sniper

| | |
|------------------------------------|---|
| <i>Tuku lâ kae hafu, 'iō!</i> | Drop the sails and drift before the wind |
| <i>He 'oku matamata'au, 'iō!</i> | The sea's disturbed where the currents cross |
| <i>Kau hifo ē fakatafahi, 'iō!</i> | If the wind gusts down from Tafahi |
| <i>'E 'aonga pē ha paasi, 'iō!</i> | A pass will be requisite |
| <i>Ko e hā ha'o poa, 'iō!</i> | What would you think |
| <i>Ka hā hē 'a Seketo'a, hē!</i> | If Seketo'a should appear! |
| | |
| <i>He toki matangi faifaianga</i> | The wind is variable |
| <i>He matangi tokelau lafalafa</i> | The wind is due north |
| <i>He 'oku pupuha vela mafana</i> | It is humid, burning, warm |
| <i>Faka'afu'afu pea fīta'a</i> | Sultry then fierce |
| | |
| <i>Tokelau kuo tonga, 'iō!</i> | Northerly becomes southerly |
| <i>Pea langa 'eku 'ofa, 'iō!</i> | And my heart aches |
| <i>Ki he Uho'okafoa, 'iō!</i> | For the Navel-of-Kafoa |
| <i>Telie ko Talakitonga, 'iō!</i> | The <i>telie</i> tree, Announce-to-Tonga |
| <i>Mo e fu'u falahola, 'iō!</i> | And the pandanus tree |
| <i>Mei Tatakamotonga, 'iō!</i> | From Tatakamotonga |
| <i>Ka ko 'ena ē kahoa, 'iō!</i> | But the garland will be given |
| <i>He siana Vaipoa, 'iō!</i> | To the fellow from Vaipoa |
| <i>Misiteli ke 'iloa, 'iō!</i> | The mystery that is known |
| <i>'E ha taha fuoloa, hē!</i> | Only to one old and wise |

4.0

FONUA MANA
(THE MAGIC LAND)⁶⁴

by Semisi 'Iongi
(Recorded and translated by Futa Helu)

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>Lupe fano 'i he fetu'ufuka</i> | Unfettered thou soarest a dove amongst the comets |
| <i>Takafia he la'a mo e 'otu neipula</i> | Encircling the sun and all the nebulae |
| <i>Kaveinga ko si'ene mafua</i> | Hitching your prow to the guiding star |
| <i>Ko e ola 'o e tavatava-i-manuka</i> | Consummation of ages of erudite guidance |
| | |
| <i>Maui Fusifonua pea tauala</i> | Maui Fisher-of-lands made tack (i.e., in sailing) |
| <i>'One tuku 'a Tonga ki he 'Olovaha</i> | Thus placing Tonga on the <i>'Olovaha</i> |
| <i>'Eva laukau 'i he fonua mana</i> | With head held high you tour the magic-land |
| <i>Nofu he nonga kae to e holivaha</i> | While living in peace you become boat-restless |

⁶⁴. Collection of Tongan Song Texts (Ancient, Traditional-Classical and Modern), MS, n.d.; Collection of Works by Tongan Poets, MS, n.d.; Helu 1972b, 1972c.

*He 'oku tatau ē tua mo e palai
Kae tuku ho'o matalafo laukai*

Ko e muivaka 'a folau tongiaki

*Na'e fēfē ho'o kau he'emau
telekaki?*

Tau:

Fangu mahua mei Falelahi

*Fakafunga 'a e laumanu ehiaki
Moto ē heilala, ve'eve'e 'o e Paki
'Elito ē lolo hei tangitangi*

Tua and *palai* are equal merit
A watcher at the *lafo* game's not
allowed to criticise

Although following but mark its a
tongiaki fleet

How did you fare at our last
race?

Refrain:

Ground of scented-oil flowing from
the Royal House

Hard for the white young seagulls
Heilala bud, garland from the Paki
Essence of scented-oil, still a
blooming

4.1

**MOTO'I 'UMATA
(BUD OF A RAINBOW)⁶⁵**

by Semisi 'Iongi
(Recorded and translated by Futa Helu)

*Ne valengapō pea u fanongo
Ki he potatala 'a e holi mo e ongo
Ma'unga kelesi 'o e ifo mo e vovo*

Tonu ki he nonga holo 'ete nofo

Moto'i 'umata he vesili koula

*He 'akesisi ē 'ofa ni hei talamuha
'Amusia ia 'oku fahu 'i Natula
He ko e mataika fai ki he pupu'a*

'Ofa he kakala tu'u 'i he potu lala

'Oku ne ngangatu ai pe mo 'alaha

*Fu'u taukakapa he fai ki ai ha
ala*

*Tu'u he vanu mo e tele'a 'o e
lo'imata*

In the dead of night I overhead
Desire and sense conversing
Grace-source for pleasure and
delicious taste
Directed for satiety makes life
exciting

Bud of a rainbow sets in a golden
vessel
The axis of this love is still blooming
Blessed he who is *fahu* in Nature
But it is hankering for fish in a hole
in the reef

I love the *kakala* that blooms in the
solitary spot
Pervading it with its sweet beautiful
fragrance
Tearfully high for my reach
Situated in the vale and chasm of
tears

⁶⁵. Collection of Tongan Song Texts (Ancient, Traditional-Classical and Modern), MS, n.d.; Collection of Works by Tongan Poets, MS, n.d.; Helu 1972b, 1972c.

Tau:

'Unaloto ki he palomesi
mahu'inga
 'Oku tu'u 'i he palataisi 'o e fiefia
 'Oku tapuhā hano vetekina
 Toki fakaava pe 'e he ki 'uhila

Refrain:

Yearning inside for the crowning
 promise
 Which is the paradise of ecstasy
 Which is to break is surely forbidden
 Can only be opened by an electrifying
 key

5.0

**KO E TUTULU 'A 'ENE 'AFIO 'I HE
 PEKIA 'A E TANGATA 'O HA'AMEA
 (HER MAJESTY, QUEEN SĀLOTE'S LAMENT
 AT THE DEATH OF THE MAN OF HA'AMEA)⁶⁶**

by Queen Sālote
 (Translated by Tupou Posesi Fanua)

*Ha'amea fai me'a fo'ou
 Ho'o tali tokoto'i au
 'I he loto fale 'o Finau
 Na'a te hu ai kae ngatū*

Ha'amea, what's this new thing
 Receiving me lying down?
 In the house of Finau always
 My entrance caused a joyful stir

*'Ulukālala ke talanoa
 Ki he anga ho'o folau holā
 Ne ke fie'eiki 'apē 'alā
 He finemotu'a Ha'a Havea
 Ne li'aki ai 'i Nu'usila
 Ka ke muimui ho makapuna
 'Uluvalu mo Taufā
 Siu'ilikutapu mo Fusipala
 Mo e motu'a ho Ma'ulupekotofa?*

'Ulukālala, please tell
 The reason for your sudden flight
 Did you feel uppish, dear
 Because of the Ha'a Havea woman
 That you forsook her in New Zealand
 To follow your grandchildren
 'Uluvalu and Taufā
 Siu'ilikutapu and Fusipala
 And the humble Ma'ulupekotofa?

*Ha'amea ē te u lea
 Ke ma'u ha 'ilo 'a e sola
 Mo e to'utupu 'o e kuonga
 He 'eta fetaulahi he tapa
 'Oku kau he laulea
 Ta 'i 'Olotele mo Lapaha
 Ke he tuitu'u kau lavalava
 Pea ta fetongi kakala hingoa*

Ha'amea I will speak
 So that the stranger will know
 And the present generation
 How our boundaries met
 A point of much discussion
 Let's go to 'Olotele and Lapaha
 You don the *tuitu'u*, I the *lavalava*
 Then we'll exchange the chiefly
 garlands

*'I he tui 'a e Langi kātōa
 Pe'i ta 'ahia ē Siangahu
 Ke u sisi fakavainiaku
 Kae kuta 'a e kau Lātū*

Woven by the Terraced Tombs
 Let's visit the Siangahu
 I'll wear the fringed *sisi*
 But the Latu people will wear the
kuta

Ta hake he Fungafa'imata

Let's go up the Fungafa'imata

⁶⁶. Collection of Queen Sālote's Poetry, MS, n.d; *Faikava* 1978, 2:3-4, 8-10.

*Vakai ē langi ko Siapua
Na'a 'oku toe ē laufafa
Ha melenga 'o e fala-Tungua
Ke he ta'ovala Falealea*

*Tau afe hake 'i 'Uiha
Veimapu mo Faime'alava
Ke he mu'omu'a ki he tou'a
Kau muimui he olovaha*

*Te u nofo Ha'apai pē au
Ka he fakaa'u atu ē folau
'O hake 'i Ha'afuluhao
Pea mo e 'api ko Pouono
Pea mo e Falepiu 'o Moheofo
Loto Neiafu ne silongo
He tanunu 'a e pulukoko
Pea kuo hano 'a Veitatalo
Si'i Veitatalo, si'i Veitatalo
Te 'ofa he 'api kuo mohe*

Pea ko e mohe na 'e 'a 'afe?

*He 'ikai te u lau Vava'u
'Oku 'ilo ia 'e he Ha'a Maau
'A e 'ei (A) 'a Ha'angatatupu
Ko Mele Siu'ilikutapu*

*Te u lea pē au 'i Tonga
He kuo li'aki 'a Lelea
Ka he lata pē he Likutea
'I si'eta nofo Nuku'alofa
Si'i 'api ko Niukāsā
'Oku tu'u he talalo Sia
Pea mo e vai ko Fotu'afinemā
Na'e touliki ka kuo maha
'Ikai toenga ha tulutā*

*Tuku ai pē Taungapeka
Na'a 'ilo ai si'ota tu'a
Ko e fua'anga 'o e sina
'A e matu'a le'o kava*

*'Ofa he punou 'a Leafa
Si'i 'ofefine 'a Tu'isila
Tu'u 'o fafa ho'o tama
Ke mo feholaiki ki Ha'amoā
'O 'eva he mata 'Aleipata
Talaki hotau kainga
Pea tala ki he Tu'i Manu'a
Kaufaki'i atu ki 'uta
He va 'o Ofu mo Olosenga*

To see the tomb Siapua
In case there are *fafa* leaves left over
Remnants of the Tungua mat
For you to wear as *ta'ovala* to
Parliament

Let's turn off at 'Uiha
Veimapu and Faime'alava
You go ahead to the *tou'a*
I'll follow to the *olovaha*

I'll remain at Ha'apai
But you complete the journey
And land at Ha'afuluhao
And the place Pouono
And the Falepiu of the Moheofo
Neiafu is steeped in silence
After the bomb blast
Veitatalo has complained
Poor Veitatalo, poor Veitatalo
I love the house that has gone to
sleep
When, oh when, will it wake?

I will not speak of Vava'u
For the poets know
That the "A" of Ha'angatatupu
Is Mele Siu'ilikutapu

I will speak only of Tonga
For Lelea is deserted
You feel at home in Likutea
In our Nuku'alofa residence
Dear home, Niukāsā
Nestling under the hill
And the spring of Fotu'afinemā
Once overflowing but now dry
Not a drop remaining

Leave out Taungapeka
Lest our lowliness be known
Mere bearers of the crowbar
Humble custodians of *kava*

Poor Leafa bending
Dear daughter of Tu'isila
Rise, carry your son on your back
And flee with him to Samoa
Sightsee at 'Aleipata
Let our people know
And tell the Tu'i Manu'a
To carry him ashore
Between Ofu and Olosenga

| | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| <i>Manono ē mo Apolima</i> | Manono and Apolima |
| <i>To'o ē kakapu 'o e mo'unga</i> | Lift the mountain mist |
| <i>Fili mei ai hano ta'ovala</i> | And choose from it his <i>ta'ovala</i> |
| <i>Kia Tungī mo Tu'ifaleua</i> | To wear before Tungī and Tu'ifaleua |
| <i>Ko e fua 'o e Kie hingoa</i> | Fruits of the chiefly <i>kie</i> |
| | |
| <i>He fie tangata 'a Finau</i> | The arrogance of Finau |
| <i>Ho'o 'omia 'a Tu'ineau</i> | To bring Tu'ineau |
| <i>Ko e moimoi ho'o folau</i> | To escort you on your voyage |
| <i>Ku li'aki mai ka he 'alu</i> | Then to desert him here and go |
| | |
| <i>Mokopuna 'o Matekitonga</i> | Grandchild of Matekitonga |
| <i>He 'eiki 'o e ongo Niua</i> | Lord of the two Niuas |
| <i>'Ofa he foha 'o Misini</i> | Oh son of Misini |
| <i>He tehina 'o Mailefihī</i> | Younger brother of Mailefihī |
| <i>He sinoni na'e tokotaha pe</i> | One only in person |
| <i>Te 'ofa he taha kae afe</i> | One, but worth a thousand |

5.1

MUNILAITI 'I VAVA'U
(MOONLIGHT IN THE ISLAND OF VAVA'U)⁶⁷

by Queen Sālote
(Recorded and translated by Futa Helu)

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>He māhina ne 'aho fakaua</i> | Oh! the moon she was in the second phase |
| <i>To'oa hoto loto peau mo'ua</i> | Enslaving my heart in rupturous gaze |
| <i>Hangē ha tau malumu mei tu'a</i> | The land like an ambush in ghostly haze |
| <i>'A e si'i 'ata 'o e fonua mo'unga</i> | Presented his rugged misty face |
| | |
| <i>'Aho taha ē Māhinafekite</i> | One day spent at Mahinafekite |
| <i>Hulungia ai Matangimālie</i> | Lighted you up Matangimalie |
| <i>Langa ē manatu 'ikai me'ite</i> | Weeping my memories startles |
| <i>Sia ko Kafoa mo hono maile</i> | Kafoa mound and her myrtles |
| | |
| <i>Si'a fine tauliki 'i Matoto</i> | Oh! weather-coast maiden of Matoto |
| <i>'Amusia koe holo ho'o nofo</i> | Fortunate you are you live uncaring |
| <i>Fe'ao mo e māhina 'ene hopo</i> | Keeping company to the moon when ghostlike rising |
| <i>He malū pea tofu kae silongo</i> | When peace serene in Nature abiding |

⁶⁷. Collection of Queen Sālote's Poetry, MS, n.d; Collection of Tongan Song Texts (Ancient, Traditional-Classical and Modern), MS, n.d; Collection of Works by Tongan Poets, MS, n.d; Helu 1972b, 1972c, 1989b, 1989c; Malukava [Kavaefiafi] 1973.

Tau:

*Malama ē maama he fonua
Ho'ata ai leva 'a e pō
Holo'anga 'o e 'eva mo e hua*

Lata'anga ia 'o si'ete nofo

Refrain:

Light has girded the land
Night is past, welcome day
All roam contented, romantic, and
gay

Blissfully I live, blissfully I stay

6.0

HA'U MU'A KE TA Ō
(COME LET US STROLL TOGETHER)⁶⁸

by Tu'anekivale poet, Vava'u

(Recorded and translated by Futa Helu)

*Ha'u mu'a he ta ō
'O mata māhina hopo
Ke ta 'uta mo fanongo
Si'i le'o 'o e teiko
'A si'ene siu he lilifa
He moana loloto
Ko si'ene fakalavetala
Ki he hingano
Hake atu ki toafa
Tu'u ai 'o mamata
Ne hangē ha sio'ata
Si'ene tapa mei he vaha!
Kuo 'ikai te u lava
Ke fa'a fakamatala
To'onga fakalata
'A e sialetafa*

Come let's go together
And view th'wondrous moonrise
And let's tarry and hear
The cry of the *teiko*
Flying around the sheer cliff
O'er the eerie deep
It's his love serenade
To the *hingano*
Turn up to the treeless plain
Stand now and look
How like a great mirror
Shining from the ocean!
Ah, but I simply cannot
Describe to you in full
Lovely, winning ways
Of the *sialetafa*

7.0

KO E NGA AHI MOTU 'O TONGATAPU: KO E LAVEOFO⁶⁹
(THE ISLANDS OF TONGATAPU: THE WONDER-CHANT)

by Tufui

(Translated by Beatrice Shirley Baker, edited by Futa Helu)

*Ke fanongo mai ē kanokano na
Kau lave motu pē'te ke 'iloa*

*Ki homautolu Fangalongonoa
Ne fua 'i 'Onevai he totoka*

Ko e motu lelei ia 'o Tonga

Listen, oh, alto singers
I sing of the islands and see if you
know them

About our own Fangalongonoa
It was first at 'Onevai of peaceful
coast

That is the best island of Tonga

⁶⁸. Collection of Tongan Song Texts (Ancient, Traditional-Classical and Modern), MS, n.d.; Collection of Works by Tongan Poets, MS, n.d.; Helu 1986b:19.

⁶⁹. Gifford 1923a:8-11; *Koe Makasini 'a Koliji*, 1876, 3:9; Helu 1986b:5-11.

Lata'anga 'o e fakahakonoa

Where the chiefs loved to go for
pleasure trips

*Angi 'a e matangi tonga
He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!
He-he-i-a-he-he-a!*

Blow ye south wind
He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!
He-he-i-a-he-he-a!

*Mokotu'u 'ena, mo Velitoa
Hangē ha vakatou kuo hola
'A e tōmohopo 'a Malinoa
'Oka tu'u matahavili 'a Tonga*

Mokotu'u there and Velitoa
Like a vessel that has absconded
The falling and rising of Malinoa
When Tonga stands menaced by
strong winds

*Angi 'a e matangi tonga
He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!
He-he-i-a-he-he-a!*

Blow ye south wind
He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!
He-he-i-a-he-he-a!

*Velitoahihifo mo Monuafe
Ngata mei Tanoa mo Fele'ave
Na'a 'ita 'i loto 'o e punake*

Velitoa-west and Monuafe
Ending with Tanoa and Fele'ave
Lest becomes angry the mind of the
poet

He'eku vikia 'a e mata hangale

Because I praised the coast of
hangale trees

Kau foki pē au ki Hahake

I will return to the east district

*Angi 'a e matangi tonga
He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!
He-he-i-a-he-he-a!*

Blow ye south wind
He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!
He-he-i-a-he-he-a!

*Ko 'Ata hoe motu'a fonua
Mo 'Eueiki pē mo 'Eua
Na'e fusi 'e Maui ki 'olunga
Ko Kalau, ē motu ngali niua*

'Ata is the oldest land
And 'Eueiki and 'Eua
Was pulled up by Maui
Kalau, an island appearing to have
plenty of coconuts

*Ne feke'i ai 'a e ongo 'otua
Ta ho e fīngota ē fīemu'a
Kuo tuku hono nge'esi 'i 'uta
Ka ka 'alu 'o heke telefua*

Quarrelled over by two gods
Why it was a shellfish and cunning
Which left its empty shell on shore
While it went and crawled naked

*Angi 'a e matangi tonga
He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!
He-he-i-a-he-he-a!*

Blow ye south wind
He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!
He-he-i-a-he-he-a!

*Ko Lotuma mo Folokolupe
Ko Lekiafaitau nofo pē
Tangaloa ē tu'u makehe pē
Ko Puleniafi mo Ongolate*

Lotuma and Folokolupe
Lekiafaitau stands tucked away here
There stands Tangaloa apart
Puleniafi and Ongolate

*Angi 'a e matangi tonga
He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!
He-he-i-a-he-he-a!*

Blow ye south wind
He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!
He-he-i-a-he-he-a!

Nukuhe'elili pea mo Nuku

Nukuhe'elili and Nuku

*Na'e hola ki ai 'a e nofo hū
'Oka mohe hake ē Fakatupu*

Ki he hoko 'o e toenga 'umu

*Angi 'a e matangi tonga
He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!
He-he-i-a-he-he-a!*

Ko Pangaimotu mo Makaha'a

*Tu'u mai 'a e motu ko Fafā
Na'e fai ai 'a e tā maka
'O uta ki Langi Taetaea*

Moe 'otu langi fua 'o Mu'a

*Angi 'a e matangi tonga
He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!
He-he-i-a-he-he-a!*

*Niu'ui, ho he faka ofo ofo!
Na'e tala hono hingoa 'i he fono
Pea mao ai ē lea ki loto*

Ta 'oku 'ikai ha fo'i ngono

*Angi 'a e matangi tonga
He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!
He-he-i-a-he-he-a!*

'Oneata fetaki mo Mānima

*Kau 'a'a keu mohe ki Fasi'a
'O mamata he lafo'i 'o e 'ika*

'Oku 'alu kovi, ko e mala'ia!

Ta ko e 'inasi pē ia

*Angi 'a e matangi tonga
He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!
He-he-i-a-he-he-a!*

Kuo puli ai 'a Ngā'unoho:

*Pe ha 'esi pē muiotoloto?
Nukunukumotu mo Fu'umilo
Ko hai ē a'a mo e 'ungako?*

*Angi 'a e matangi tonga
He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!*

Fled there the refugees
When the Cannibal went to sleep
there

To finish the 'umu remains

Blow ye south wind
He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!
He-he-i-a-he-he-a!

The islands Pangaimotu and
Makaha'a

And stands forward the island of Fafā
The cutting of stone was done there
And taken (the stones) to the royal
tomb Taetaea

And all the row of royal tombs at
Mu'a

Blow ye south wind
He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!
He-he-i-a-he-he-a!

Niu'ui, you are beautiful!
Your name was told at the council
And penetrated the words into the
meeting

But there are not even young nuts

Blow ye south wind
He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!
He-he-i-a-he-he-a!

'Oneata is hand in hand with
Manima

While I ford to go and sleep at Fasi'a
To watch the throwing of the nets for
the fish

The catch is not good, there must be
a curse!

Yet that may be the willed portion

Blow ye south wind
He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!
He-he-i-a-he-he-a!

Which causes Ngā'unoho to
disappear:

Was it mound or promontory?
Nukunukumotu and Fu'umilo
Who will ford on the spiny 'ungako?

Blow ye south wind
He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!

He-he-i-a-he-he-a!

He-he-i-a-he-he-a!

'Utuloa, pē ha 'esi pē ha motu

'Utuloa, is it a mound or is it an island

Nukunave pae motu fo'ou

Nukunave and the New Island

Ne lelei fakafuonounou

Which was only nice a short time

Koe vaka ē ka 'alu ki motu

There is a vessel that will go to the island

Ki Mo'unu ki he taumafa fonu

To the reef Mo'unu for the chief's turtle

Angi 'a e matangi tonga

Blow ye south wind

He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!

He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!

He-he-i-a-he-he-a!

He-he-i-a-he-he-a!

Ko Motutala mo Mata'aho

Motutala and Mata'aho

Ha'angakafa ne mei ngalo

Haangakafa was nearly forgotten

Talakite feangai mo moho

Talakite opposite to Moho

Na'e tu'u ai 'a e toa ongo

There stood the casuarina tree of sounds

Na'e holo ai pē 'a e 'ao

Over which the clouds passed in quick succession

Angi 'a e matangi tonga

Blow ye south wind

He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!

He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!

He-he-i-a-he-he-a!

He-he-i-a-he-he-a!

Ko Niumotu'u mo Nukulave

Niumotu'u and Nukulave

Pea tolu 'aki Vaomaile

And Vaomaile makes a third

E motu ho Fanakavaaotua

The island of Fanakavaaotua

Na'e tu'u pē he loto kouta

Which stood in the middle of the mangroves

Angi 'a e matangi tonga

Blow ye south wind

He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!

He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!

He-he-i-a-he-he-a!

He-he-i-a-he-he-a!

Tongomotu pea mo Ngofonua!

Tongomotu and Ngofonua!

Namolimu ē tu'u potu ki 'uta

Namolimu stands nearest the shore

Na'e tu'u ai ē hamatefua

There stood there a single hulled canoe

Na'e 'uli 'o ta'i Mu'omu'a

Which sailed and struck Mu'omu'a

Angi 'a e matangi tonga

Blow ye south wind

He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!

He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!

He-he-i-a-he-he-a!

He-he-i-a-he-he-a!

Muikuku feangai mo Nahafu

Muikuku which stands opposite Nahafu

Ē motu lelei ho Mo'ungatapu

A delightful island is Mo'ungatapu

Na'e nofo ai Putukafatau

There dwelt Putukafatau

Ko si'ono motu to 'i he hau

His island given to him by the ruler

*Angi 'a e matangi tonga
He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!
He-he-i-a-he-he-a!*

Blow ye south wind
He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!
He-he-i-a-he-he-a!

*Ko Nuku mo Kanatea ta'e'ofa
Na'e nofo ai Mapafieto'a
Na'a ne tau'i Tu'i Lalotonga
Na'e 'ikai tali mai ka ka hola*

Nuku and Kanatea unkind
There dwelt Mapafieto'a
He fought Tu'i Lalotonga
Who did not wait for him but fled

*Angi 'a e matangi tonga
He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!
He-he-i-a-he-he-a!*

Blow ye south wind
He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!
He-he-i-a-he-he-a!

*Lau ai mo ē motu ko Pakola
Na'e tu'u pē 'ikai 'iloa
'I he muivai 'o Veitoloa
Ko e nofo'anga 'o e Tu'i Tonga*

Count also the island of Pakola
Which stood, then disappeared
At the end of the pond of Veitoloa
The dwelling place of the Tu'i Tonga

*Angi 'a e matangi tonga
He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!
He-he-i-a-he-he-a!*

Blow ye south wind
He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!
He-he-i-a-he-he-a!

*Fakimamana te mau tala
Koe'uhi pē ko hono hingoa...
Ka kuo 'ikai hono tu'unga
Na'e tu'u 'i 'Atele he puna
Ne holoki 'i he tau 'otua*

Fakimamana we will mention
Because of its name ...
Why it has no place
It stood at 'Atele at the spring
Then it was thrown down in the war
of the gods

*Angi 'a e matangi tonga
He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!
He-he-a-i-he-he-a!*

Blow ye south wind
He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!
He-he-a-i-he-he-a!

*Vakautaika, Vakautangū
Na'e tu'u 'i he fanga 'i Pahu
Ke fanongo mai ho maau
Ko e ngata'anga ia 'o e motu
Ka 'ikai tau'i pea he hu*

Vakautaika, Vakautangu
They stood at the beach of Pahu
Listen to me you, poet
These are all the islands
If not contested, then sue for pardon

*Angi 'a e matangi tonga
He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!
He-he-i-a-he-he-a!*

Blow ye south wind
He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!
He-he-i-a-he-he-a!

8.0

**KO E LAULAU 'A E TA'AHINE KO MELENAITE
TUPOUMOHEOFO HE PEKIA 'A TUNGĪ FISI
(LAMENT OF HRH PRINCESS MELENAITE TUPOUMOHEOFO
AT THE DEATH OF RATU EDWARD CAKOBAU)⁷⁰**

by Tu'i Pelehake
(Translated by Tupou Poesi Fanua)

*Fanafana ē Tonga ki he Tokelau
Ongo ki he ngalu'ea mo e peau
Holo ē mo'unga 'o Lomani Pau*

Whisper, south to north
Sounding across air and sea
The levelling of the mount Lomani
Bau

*Lautele folau Sulunga ke a'u
Louloua'a ē Heilala 'o Fangatapu
Ki he Vunivalu mo e kaha'u*

Swift be Sulunga's voyage thither
Grieved is the *Heilala* of Fangatapu
For the Vunivalu and the future

*Kuo tō e kakapu he funga fonua
Tu'a'ofa he 'aho 'o e fononga
Pea teki ē sola 'o mamata
Fakapō ē 'umata ne fakalava
He kaupeau 'o e Lamalama
'Isa ē pē ko hai te ne lava?*

Mist shrouds the land
Alas! the day of the procession
Startled, strangers stop and watch
Oh! the rainbow that arched
The bow-wave of the Lamalama
Who can bear the thought of it?

*'A 'e Songolata 'isa koe hā ē?
'A e silongo 'a si'eku pele
'I he 'aho 'o e hake ki
Fatanitavakē
Tu'ineketi fai ha'o pule
'E Nailasikau kuo fēfē?
Motu ē maea 'o Taha-kae-afe*

Oh! Songolata what is this?
That my beloved should be silent
On the day of the ascent to
Fatanitavake
Tu'ineketi give your command
Nailasikau, how is it?
Broken is the cord of Taha-kae-afe

*Uisa Lātū ē 'o loto Pau
'A e kahala ni ka mālie lau
'A Fatai ki he 'Alo-'i-Talau
Tau'akipulu mo Tu'uakitau
Fotu'afinema 'i Talakaipau
Ko kita ni 'apē huo tō tau*

Oh! Ratu at the heart of Bau
This garland is but a song
From Fatai to the 'Alo-'i-Talau
Tau'akipulu and Tu'uakitau
Fotu'afinema at Talakaipau
I am as if slain in battle

⁷⁰. Collection of Tongan Song Texts (Ancient, Traditional-Classical and Modern), MS, n.d.; Collection of Works by Tongan Poets, MS, n.d.; *Faikava* 1979, 3:3-7.

9.0 **KO E FAKANA'ANA'A 'O E FANAU 'A 'ULUKĀLALA**
(LULLABY OF THE CHILDREN OF 'ULUKĀLALA)⁷¹

by Vava'u poet

(Translated by Beatrice Shirley Baker, edited by Futa Helu)

*Ka malū pea tau ē kakapu
 'I he 'otu motulalo 'o Vava'u
 Pea hangē pē 'oku te folau
 'O kau ka vikia hangofia atu
 Neu tu'u he toa 'i Longomapu*

*Tepa ki he Fakafanuaamanu
 Ki he utu mai 'a e mo'unga ko
 Talau*

*Mo e kongā vao 'i Pāhalau
 'Ohuafī langa'ia 'e he hahau
 Kuo tulekina 'e he tokelau
 'O tokoto hifo 'i Tolungahaku
 Falefata mo e hala malumalu
 Kalo ki Koloa mo e 'Otufangavalu
 'O mamata he loto ko 'Utuafu
 Ha'u ta tukua he Hala
 Ngutugnutu*

*Ka ta hifo ki Tulukingavava'u
 Mo si'i hifonga 'i 'Anaefu
 Fanongoa mei 'Anapupu
 Si'i ngala 'a e 'Utukalongalu*

Fakapō huo langa 'a 'atu

*Kuo fakaholo ki tokelau
 Ku kapa talifaki ē manu
 'I Tu'ungasika mo Luafatu
 Luamoko mo e motu ko Kitu
 Si'i falo 'a e mo'unga ko Vou
 Kuo tafitonga 'e he malu
 Uoiseuke! na'a ko ha mala
 Hoto 'ofa ki Vava'u huo langa
 He fonua ne ngali hātoanga
 Na'e taha pē ki ai ē tala*

*'I he lautele mo e folivaka
 Mo hono lelei fai 'eva'anga
 Kapau ha Ha'afuluhao hena taha
 Pea ha'u mu'a 'o fanongo he
 ta'anga*

*Viki ka to lulunga
 'Alo 'i tu'a Hunga
 Ka ko Totokafonua*

When calm and the mist settles
 On the outer islands of Vava'u
 It seems as if I were sailing
 When I praise it to you
 I stood at the ironwood tree in
 Longomapu
 And glanced at Fakafanuaamanu
 To where rises the mount of
 Talau
 And the woods in Pāhalau
 The smoke stirred by the dew
 And tilted by the northern wind
 Lies across Tolungahaku
 Falefata and the shady road
 Turn now to Koloa and 'Otufangavalu
 There we will see the pool 'Utuafu
 Come, let us leave the Cliff Road

Let us go to Tulukingavava'u
 And descend into the cave 'Anaefu
 And listen from the cave 'Anapupu
 To the roar of the underground
 stream of 'Utukalongalu
 Oh! the bonito have come and
 departed
 And have moved to the north
 The birds are hovering
 In Tu'ungasika and Luafatu
 In Luamoko and the island of Kitu
 The expanse of the hills of Vou
 Is cleared by calmness
 Alas! it may be bad luck
 But my love for Vava'u is unbearable
 For the land of feasting and joy
 Vava'u is the one place that is
 discussed

In surfing and sailing
 Its beauties are for pleasure trips
 If one of you came from Ha'afuluhao
 Approach and listen to the song

Praise will be too far for the west
 I paddle around the back of Hunga
 And to Totokafonua

⁷¹. Gifford 1923a:6-7; Helu 1986b:15-16.

*Te tu'u 'i Tauta 'o mamata ki
Taula*

*Mo si'i siale 'o Mu'omu'a
Ha maau ho e 'e 'ikai matatua
Ko loto ke tuku 'a Tongatapu
Mo e mata hangale kau 'alu
Koe'uhi ke lelu ai si'oku 'ofa
Ki he liku 'i Matuanua
Si'i manu siu ē 'ene ngā
Ko e mohe 'apē 'e ki Liku'ā
Kae ā ki he Fonongatoa*

*'O sio hifo he Toalofa
Ki he mapuna hake 'a e la'a
'I he hake'anga 'o Lepuhā
Kau hake he ki Maluhola
Kau hake ki Finekahoafā
'O toli he vao kulukona*

*Ke 'omi ke fiuhekina 'e taha
Maama teunga fakaniua*

Ke ngangatu hotau pō hiva

I stand on Tauta and look to
Taula

And to the gardenia of Mu'omu'a
This poet is not well informed
He may have left Tongatapu
And the *hangale* trees and gone
Just to weary my love
To the *liku* of Matuanua
The fishing bird is crying
And is going to rest at Liku'ā
But it will awaken to fly to
Fonongatoa

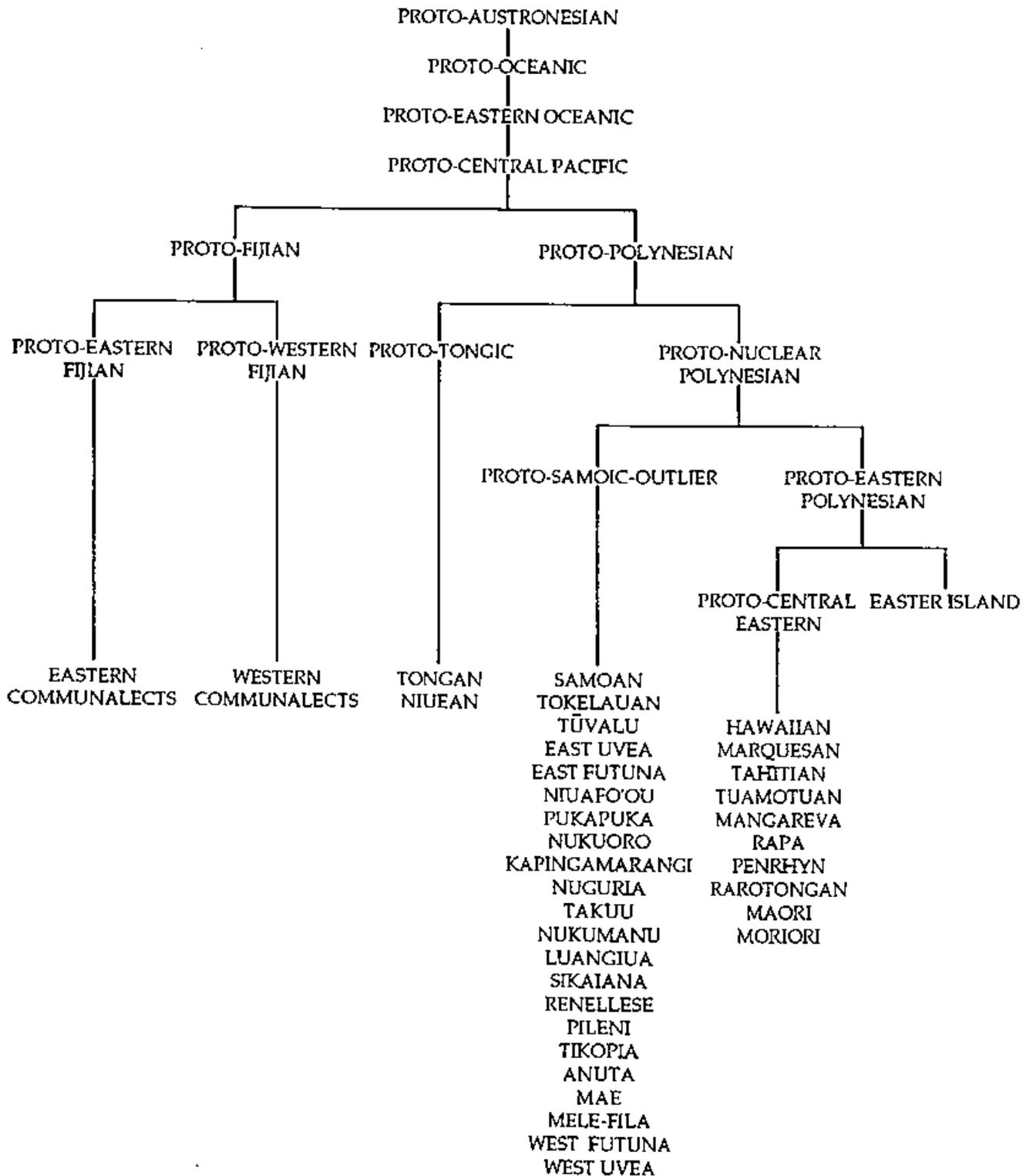
And look down to Toalofa
To the rising of the sun
At the ascending place of Lepuhā
I'll turn up here to Maluhola
And descend to Finekahoafā
To pick flowers at the *kulukona*
woods

And bring them for someone to plait
To decorate us for the *fakaniua*
dance

To perfume us in our night singing

APPENDIX B

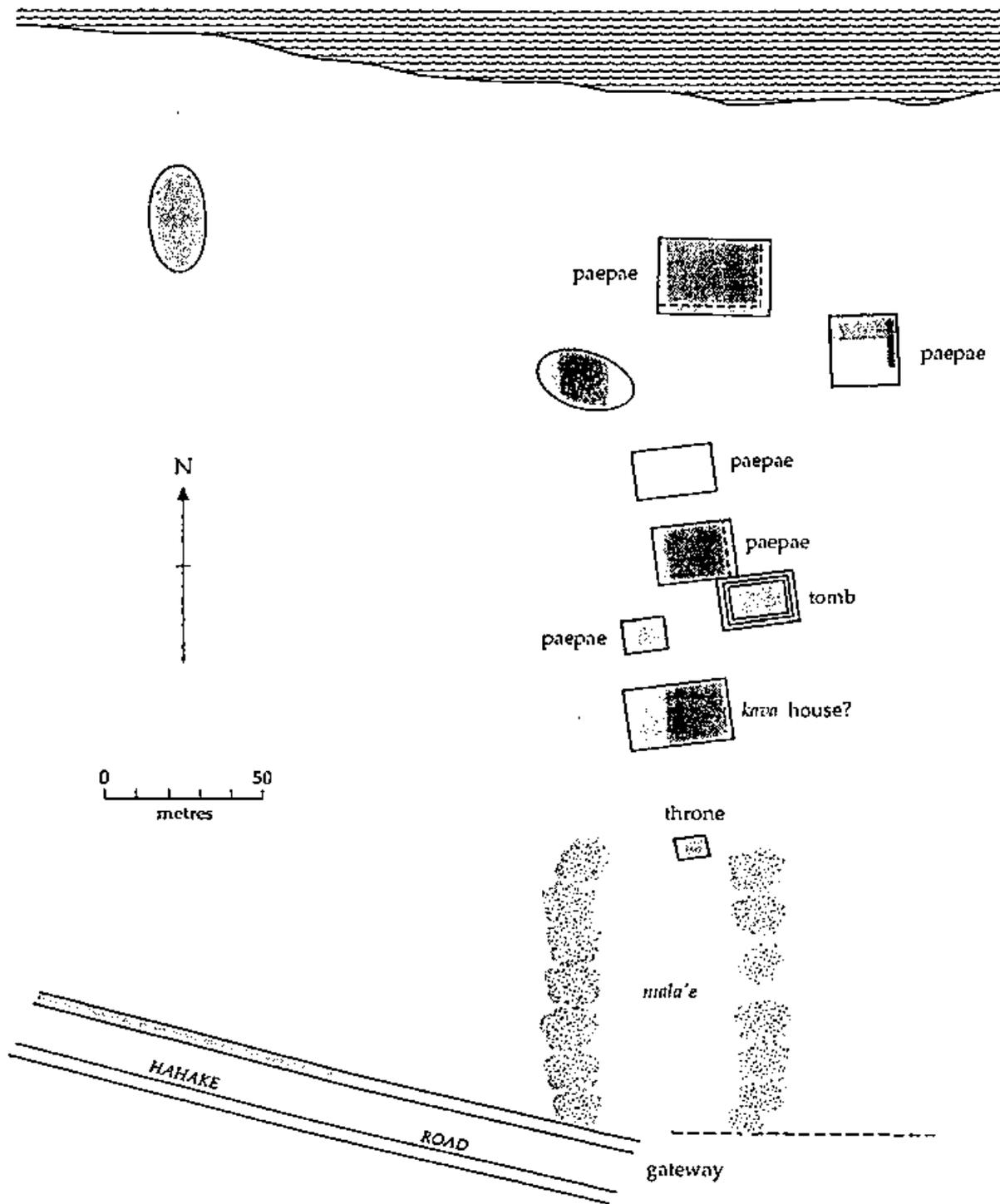
The Fijian and Polynesian Subgroupings of the Austronesian Language Family



(After Bellwood 1978; Clark 1979; Pawley 1966)

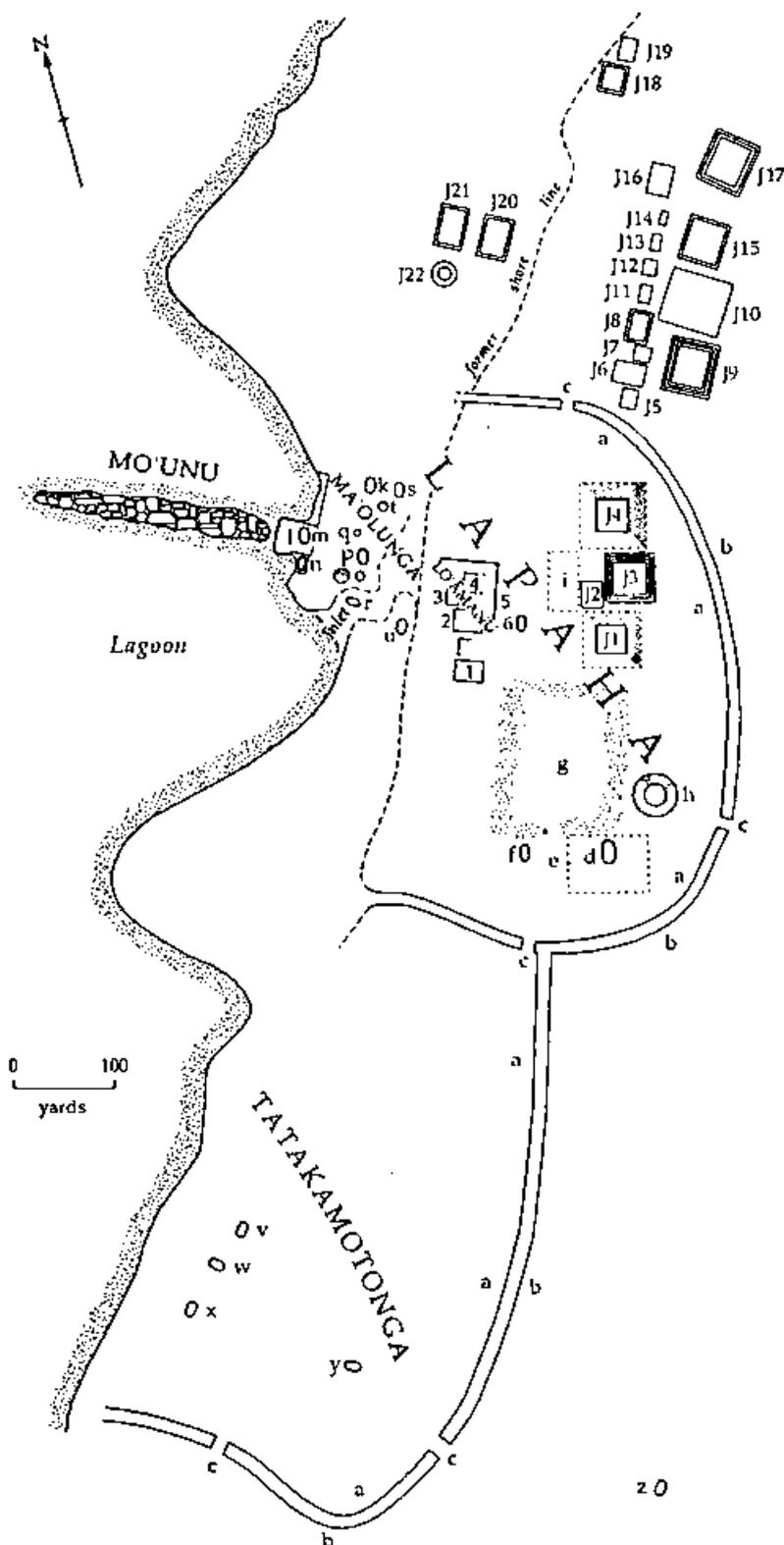
APPENDIX C

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



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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Tatakamotonga (Kauhalalalo):
Tu'i Kanokupolu

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

(after McKern 1929)

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