PART II

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

The Tongan Creation Myth, Talatupu'a:
Fulotu, 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 context\(^2\). Given that the essentially social character of talatupu'a is clothed with the miraculous through language\(^3\), 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 other\(^4\). 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-e-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

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\(^1\) 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; Retter 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., Colloccott, King Taufs, 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., Mähina 1986:21-71, 187-188b, 1990:30-45. Cf. Bott 1972:205-237, 277-282; Helu 1972c; 1983:43-56, 1984, 1988b, 1990a).


\(^3\) See Helu 1988b, 1990a.


\(^5\) Moyle 1974:155-156; Stair 1896:34, 1897:211.
ancient past, it also includes a genealogy *(hohoko)* of individuals, probably representing powerful groups or chiefly lineages*, which link the mythic but historical past to the actual present (see Figure 2.1)*. As a symbolisation process, *talatupu’a* consists of the vernacular accounts of the origin *(tupu’angalamaata’anga)* and creation *(fakatupu)* of the land *(fonua)* and its people *(kakai)*. 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’angalamaata’anga, fakatupu, 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 cosmology, 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

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7. See Mahina 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 *ataua* 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).


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). 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 principle, 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
history.

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
generations. 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
Polynesia. 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

As far as their transmission is concerned, while such words were, in social and environmental terms, 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), 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 Hawaiki and Pulotu, the respective ancestral lands and afterworlds for eastern Polynesia and western Polynesia.

The Tongan creation myth, talatupu'a, 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 Pulotu, and in the middle of Vahanoa were floating Limu and Kele. As they drifted towards Pulotu, Limu and Kele separated, and out came a huge rock, Touia-o-Futuna. The rock angrily shook causing a series of tremors, which split 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 He'imoana and Lupe. Each of the brother-sister twins committed incest, and to them were each born, brother and sister, Taufulifonua and Havealolofonua.

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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, Hava'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 Pulotu 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".

Velelahi, Velesi'i and, brother and sister, Tokilangafonua and Hinatu'aifanga. Taufulfonua took to wife his own sister, Havealolofonua, and his two first cousin sisters, Velelahi 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, Nafanua and Topukulu. Tokilangafonua fled to Samoa where he resided. Both Nafanua 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, Lo'afa. In time, Taufulfonua 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'uli'alamalafoa, 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 beek 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 Lolofofa, where stood his father's plantation, but one day he secretly followed him and found himself there. While in Lolofofa, 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,
through antagonism, was developed through different stages\(^{22}\). 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 Polynesia\(^{23}\). 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 Polynesia\(^{24}\). 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 generally\(^{25}\), 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 place\(^{26}\). It was then from Samoa, in the west, that eastern Polynesia, probably through the Marquesas, was settled\(^{27}\). After the settlement of the east, it appears that there were a number of return migrations emanating from eastern Polynesia,

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22. See Mahina 1990:30-45.


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.


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 development\(^2\), with some of its effects reaching Tonga, certain traces of Hawaiian and New Zealand influences have also been seen in the local development in Tonga\(^3\). 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 Pulotu\(^3\), which is believed to be an actual island lying somewhere to the northwest of Tonga\(^3\). Through

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\(^3\) Some traces of the New Zealand Maori influences appear as gods, demi-gods, or heroes such as Maui Kikiki, Maui 'Atalanga, Mofuie, Kae and Lata in Tonga and Maui Tietie'i i Talaga, Mofuie 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'tetie'i i Talaga of Samoa (Henry 1980:21-23) and the two brothers, Maui Atalaga and Maui Kikiki, 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 e tahi tea); And the floating pumice sea (Pea mo e tahi tofungofunga); 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:103), 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'amau'a (Manu'a house), known in Tonga as the fale fa'amanu'a (house in the style of Manu'a) (Helu, interview, 1988; Ula [Taufanau] 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).


\(^4\) 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 Pulotu. 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), or 'ufi (yams; Dioscorea alata), classified into the 'eiki (chiefly) and tu'a (commoner) 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 observed. 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 (Evodaia 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 'Atulanga and Maui Kisikisi, and is said to have been 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.


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 souls. 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 past. 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 all. 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 society.

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 northwest of Tonga. 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 Tonga.

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).


39. See, for example, Sophocles 1947.


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 societies. Green 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). 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, Pulotu (see Figures 2.1 and 2.2). The Samoan creation myth, in an indirect way, relates Pulotu as a place frequently visited by the Samoan gods and to which the souls of chiefs returned to reside after death. 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 significance, provided the transitional, two-way links between west and east.

42. 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:123-134; Henry 1935-1937, 1930; 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 area. 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 complex. 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 other.

Green and Kirch, 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; chieftiness; chiefly) is in support of a Lapita hierarchy (see Chapter Six). On the one hand, Terrell, 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, Kirch puts forward population pressure to be another influential factor in the regional settlement of Polynesia.
Earlier ethnohistorical works by Goldman and Sahlins, perhaps following Weber and Marx, 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 phenomena.

On the basis of the total/regional systems of social reproduction, Friedman, 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. 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

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57. See, for example, Cuff and Payne 1979. Also see Larrain 1983.
58. See Mahina 1990:30-45.
59. 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.
61. See, for example, Mahina 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 struggle. Culture, in its classical outlook, the sum total of the best and permanent human achievements, is understood in this irreconcilable context, where different forms of living are given a platform to fight it out in the social struggle.

There are strong indications in the Tongan talatupu'a that the original land and afterworld, Pulotu, was rigidly multi-strata. 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 Polynesia.

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

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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 Vahanaoa emerged the presumed island of Tuousi-o-Futuna, the rock (maka)⁷¹, probably symbolic of Tonga. The idiomatic use of the term maka, as in the formal expression 'Oku mau feta'ututu'i he funga maka ni ko e tali hapo e fatonga (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 lepu'i maka (fragment.


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


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). While one, within the formally eco-
logy-centred mode of communication, socially downgrades oneself by elevat-
ing 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 Pulotu
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'aki 'a hakau [he vahanoa] (The mutual love [between people]
swimming [back and forth in the vast ocean between islands]). 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 circumstances.

While the Lapita/Pulotu 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", with "humanism" providing a transition between the
first and third stages, "naturalism" and "theism". These stages are

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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'oosi 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 Demo-
gods (Early Period; pre-dispersion); The heroes (Middle Period; transitional); The
Warriors (Late Period; historical).

76. Helu (1963:51) 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 [Ve-le-la-hi; lit. Temptation-[of-the]-big] and Velesi'i [Ve-le-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 survival. 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 environment. 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

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).

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).
environment. 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 island. Through experience (tautei), such knowledge (ila) and skills (pato) 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 generation. Helu discovers this philosophy of continuity in what he calls the ecological myths of Tonga, 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 exchange, 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 society. 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

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79. Such a philosophy of continuity between human beings and their environment (see Helu 1983:45-56) is, within the anthropo-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).


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; Tongamohena 1889, 7:38, 39.


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 Tongia-o-Futuna, literally in terms of
anger/shaking (tekelli) and tremors (u'ulu), respectively depicting "human"
and "natural" attributes, is symbolically suggestive of the unified socio-
economic, land-based shift in the mode of production characteristic from
the Late Lapita Period. 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 traditions. 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 commonplace. 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.

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86. 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.

87. See, for example, Davidson 1979; Green 1979; Groube 1971; Poulsen 1967,

88. See, for example, the stories of Kulufau and Hina, whose parents, Puko and
Puku, were out collecting shellfish while Kulufau and Hina, by remaining at home
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'itatui, and his sister,
Lātitāma (see Chapter Five). The practice of cross-cousin (kiletama) and sister-
brother marriages (ni'au pio or pio) 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).

89. 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'alalongona [Ma'imoa-'a-longona/Longona; lit. Royal-social/physical-undertaking-of-the-appearance]; Fonu'uta [Fonu-'uta; lit. Turtle-[of-the]-land]; Fonu'ulai [Fonu-vai; lit. Turtle-[of-the]-sea]; He'i-moana [He-'i-moana; lit. Lost-at-deep-sea]; Lupe [pigeon]; Toki-langa-fonua (Toki-langa-fonua; lit. Stone-adze-[the]-builder-[of]-society]) 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 seaweeds. 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 Tonga. 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-makers. 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 temperatures.

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

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


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). 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 Tafakula. Topukulu and Nafanua 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).

The name Taufulifonua (Tu-fuli-fonua; lit. War-[of]-turning-upside-down-[of-the]-land) 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 (Have-a-lolofonua; lit. Havea-[of-the]-underworld; Havea being the Tonganised form of the Samoan Savaea) emanating from the Tu'i Manu'a, on Tonga. Such Samoan influences are reflected in the Nafanua connection between Tonga and Samoa. The eastern Polynesian influences, through the introduction of the Tangaloa ideology, giving rise to the Tu'i

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

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


98. In the creation myth of Hawiiloa, for example, the first man and woman were Kumuhonua and Lolahonua (Cartwright 1923, 35:105-121).

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 Tutuila (Fraser 1896, 5:171-183); also see Ella 1897, 5:19-36, 67-76, 107-127, 132-155. 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). Savaea 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 ('Eitumā-tupu'a; lit. [Tagaloa-the] Descendant-of-the-original-gods-and-the-deified-spirits-of-chiefs), 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-tiki.

The local variations Maui 'Atalanga and Maui Kisikisi are simply derivatives of the Maui-tiki-tiki-a-Taranga. 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 custom.

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

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102. 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.

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

104. See Nicholas 1892a, 1:20-29.

105. 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 Papa. 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 Moetearauri married a daughter of chief Nganaitetupua, and their son was Iro, twenty-second 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 Tonga, occurs in the New Zealand Maori and Hawaiian traditions.

According to the Samoan creation myth, 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 Lagi.

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

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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.


111. Fraser 1892, I:169.
Rock) and Papa Sosolo (Spreading Rock), which were succeeded by Papa Tu (Upright Rock). 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 men. 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-areas, western and central and marginal Polynesia, Burrows 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, Luomala, 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

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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).


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 them. 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 myths 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 (Iangi) 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 other. 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 land.

The creation myth of the Maoris of New Zealand offers an excellent example. 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 Kisikisi, the god of the forest, did a double handstand.

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119. Such literal/symbolic variants as Iangi-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).
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.
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, Helu\textsuperscript{124}, by drawing on its Greek resemblances\textsuperscript{125}, 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 batter 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 them\textsuperscript{126}.

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 Tahiti\textsuperscript{127}, 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 Tutuila. An ancient Samoan proverb says \textit{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)\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{124} Helu 1987c.

\textsuperscript{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).

\textsuperscript{126} Adler and Cain 1961:2-4.

\textsuperscript{127} Nicholas 1982a, 1:25.

\textsuperscript{128} 'Ofisa, interview, 1989; Lafoa'i, pers. comm., 1991.
The imperial activities of the Tu'i Manu'a, in literal terms, are symbolically characterised by chaos and strife, 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 Tagaloa. 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 Zealand. While most of these long distant voyages were for conquest and trading, some were for deep-sea fishing purposes.

These subjected islands, all deriving their dignity through or from the Tu'i Manu'a, known as the Tu'i 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). 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'a. In time, the Fijians are said to have rebelled against the Tu'i Manu'a, thus freeing themselves from bondage. Moiu'u-Le-Apai, sister of the first Tu'i Manu'a, Alele, or, as said in another tradition, Tae-o-Tagaloa, 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.


133. Fraser 1897b, VI:68.

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


136. Fraser 1897b, VIII:64.

137. Fraser 1897a, VI:25.

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

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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 Māhina 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 Lolofonua.

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 prominence. 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 Fanua), from the time of Momo, symbolised by his throwing down of wood chips from his workshop in Langi that formed 'Eua, 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 line. 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 147). See, for example, Anonymous 1977:1; Ko e Mahasini Ko e Lo'au, 1959:2; Latukefu 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)

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 information\(^{149}\), possibly representative of a situation where women were responsible for agriculture\(^{150}\). 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 \textit{Matalanga 'a Maui} (lit. Spade-tilted-earth of Maui), or \textit{Lir'anga huo 'o Maui} (lit. Storage-place-[of]-spade-[of]-Maui) and \textit{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 \textit{koloa} as opposed to the production of \textit{ngāue}\(^{152}\), did not receive formalisation until the development of the institutions of Fahu/Moheofo/Tu'i Tonga Fefine \textit{vis-a-vis} 'Ulimotu'a/popolopolo/'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 come\(^{154}\).

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


\(^{151}\) Helu, interview, 1988.


\(^{154}\) 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, Tangaloa ‘Eiki and Maui Motu’a in Tonga, are reflected on the wider regional level in terms of the hero-cycles relating to Tahaki\textsuperscript{155} and Maui, the aristocratic and proletariat/non-conformist heroes of Polynesia\textsuperscript{156}. Tahaki, by conforming to social norms and typical of a Polynesian chief, was in contrast to Maui, particularly Maui Kisikis\textsuperscript{157}, 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’atakalaua and Tu’i Kanokupolu \textit{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 (\textit{tu’a}) in Tonga are symbolically called \textit{kainanga-e-fonua} (lit. place-on-which-people-eat)\textsuperscript{158}. The term \textit{kainanga} is a shortened form for \textit{kai’anga} or \textit{keinanga’anga}, a place on which people eat, i.e., it refers to the \textit{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 (\textit{Lolollalo-fonua}; lit. Under-[the]-land/society; Underworld) may symbolically reflect the chiefs' attitudes to the \textit{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 \textit{tu’a} in the socio-economic process. The issue comes down to one of the interplay of human demands\textsuperscript{159}, of

\footnote{155. 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.}

\footnote{156. Luomala 1940b:373.}

\footnote{157. While all the gods and the souls of chiefs and related persons such as the \textit{matapule} resided in Pulotu, Maui Kisikis, probably because of his being a threat to the social order, did not (see Ferdon 1987:70).}

\footnote{158. See Lātūkefu (1974:9) for his translation of \textit{kainanga-e-fonua} as “eaters of the land”.}

\footnote{159. 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 death\(^\text{160}\), lived an enterprising life of permanent struggle\(^\text{161}\). 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 islands\(^\text{162}\). 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)\(^\text{163}\), 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-Bearer\(^\text{164}\), was able to bring fire (\textit{afi}) to the people, symbolic of the introduction of cultural and technological skills\(^\text{165}\). 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 cord\(^\text{166}\), share a common character with those between the Tu'i Tonga and


\(^{161}\) 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 \textit{Luomala} 1940b:369.

\(^{164}\) Adler and Cain 1961:3-4.

\(^{165}\) See Māhina 1990:30-45.

\(^{166}\) The idiomatic use of the term \textit{kafa}, as in \textit{kafataha} (\textit{kafa-taha}; lit. cord-lof-one; for the \textit{kafa} cord is woven from many threads of coconut fibres), symbolically represents cooperation between people or groups. It can also be
Hau, Tuʻi Haʻatakalaua and Tuʻi Kanokupolu, who were socially related by ʻeiki (see Chapter Six and Figure 4.2). Though Havea Hikuleʻo 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 Hikuleʻo 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 present. 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 politics.

The Tongan creation myth, talatupuʻa, has been synchronically and diachronically examined within the ecology-centred, historic-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 talatupuʻa 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 Hikuleʻo, Tangaloa ʻEiki and Maui Motuʻa. The hegemony of the

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

168. See Mahina 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.