THE TONGAN TRADITIONAL HISTORY TALA-E-FONUA:
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 [Taufanau], who have taught me not only to write poetry, sing and dance, but also to read history in Tongan *faiva* and *tala-e-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*

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Fakamolemole 'a hou'eiki mo ngaahi ha'a
He 'oku mama'o mo faingata'a 'a e fa'anga
Ko e tolutulutu na'e tu'u holo he ngaahi halanga
Kuo fu'u puli pea 'alu mo hono to'utangata
Ka neongo 'ene vao fihi 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 hau fa'a

Tafolo

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-e-fonua*, a vernacular ecology-centred historico-cultural concept, handed down through generations by word of mouth. As a Tongan Weltanschauung, *tala-e-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-e-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, Pulotu and Langi, over Maama or Lolofofonua.

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 Pulotu 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 Tuʻi Tonga antithesised by the respective rise of the new secular Hau, Tuʻi Haʻatakalaua and Tuʻi 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, Tuʻi Tonga, Tuʻi Haʻatakalaua and Tuʻi 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-e-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-e-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-e-fonua is peculiarly a Tongan Weltanschauung, a philosophy of life.

The originality of this work lies in the way it formally (re)presents tala-e-fonua in its own terms, specifically as it is used and, thus, understood by selected groups such as punake and matapule 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-e-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 an 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-e-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-e-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-e-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-e-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-e-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., Moa 1973), essays (e.g., Tokolahi 1988), personal communications (e.g., Havea, pers. comm., 1990), and interviews (e.g., 'Ahio, 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, Aselela Ravevu, 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-e-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.

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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 Va’isiliva Vaka; in Tuvalu, Lesielo Piula Va’ola; in 'Uvea; Lafaele Faupala; Tu’i Lavelua, Hau of 'Uvea; Father Tomasi Muni; Moise Uuatemokehe; and Paula Wendi-Routolo, owner of Lomipeau Hotel; 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 ‘alihi 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 fahalongo hi Tonga (submitted to, or ruled by Tonga), the 'Uveans were extremely proud of the fact that 'Uvea was fahalongo hi Tonga. 'Uveans openly admitted that their original chief, Tu’uhoko or Hoko, was from Tonga, sent by the Tu’i Tonga to rule 'Uvea.

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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'osii; Derek Freeman; Phyllis Herda; Helen Kavapalau; 'Inoke Hu'akau; Margaret Jolly; Eugene Kamenka; Siosiua Lafitani; Ioane Lafoa'ii; 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, Epeli Hau'ofa; Aselea Ravuvu; and Morgan Tuimalealiifano; 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 Taliai; and Taniela Vao; in Tonga, my 'Atenisi students; William Berg; Sione Fakalata; Christine Gailey; Futa Helu; Tevita 'Ofa Helu; Leonaitasi Hoponoa; Sifa Ika; Lei'aloha and Roland Perkins; 'Akilisi Pōhiva; Failo Taufa; 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, Melcha'amoa 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, Melcha'amoa, 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 3: Samoan Islands
MAP 4: Tongan Islands
MAP 5: Tongatapu Group (Eueki, Eua, Ata and small off-shore islands)
MAP 6: Vava'u Group
MAP 8: Ongio Niua Group (Niuafo'ou and Niuatoputapu)
MAP 7: Ha'apai Group
FIGURE 2.1 The Tongan creation myth, talatupu’a, traced through a genealogy (kokoko) 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 Hēîmoana-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 Lolofofonua (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 850).

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 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.

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.
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; Mahina 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. Liha 24. Kau'ulufonua I Fekai
5. Kofutu 25. Vakafuhu
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'itatui 31. Tapu'osi II or Kau'ulufonua III
12. Talatama 32. 'Uluakimata II
13. Tu'itonganui-Koe-Tamatou 33. Tu'ipulotu-'i-Langi-Tu'ofesafa
14. Talaiha'apepe 34. Fakana'ana'a
15. Talakaifaiki 35. Tu'ipulotu-'i-Langi-Tu'oteau
16. Talafapite 36. Pau or Paulaho
17. Tu'itonga-Ma'akatoe 37. Ma'ulupekotofa
18. Tu'itonga-Puipui 38. Fatafehi Fuanunuiava
20. Tatafu'eikimaimu'a

FIGURE 3.1
LIST OF TU'I TONGA BETWEEN 'AHO'EITU AND MOMO

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 Lolo'omua, connected with rise of three principal deities; antagonised Pulotu and Langi, then founded TT dynasty on Maama, or Tonga.

2. Lolo'akangalo

Lolo'akangalo; 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

'Afulunga; 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'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu, associated with influential figures, resulting in the emergence of major social institutions of great economic and political significance.
TU'I HA'ATAKALAU A (TH) LIST

1. Mo'ungamotu'a AD 1470

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

2. Tanekitonga

Tane-hi-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; 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'ungatonga AD 1610

Mo'unga-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.
8. Vaea

Vae-a; lit. Allocated-be-(it); allocation possibly of power or 'inasi and polopolo.

9. Moeakiola

Moeaki-ola; Sleep/Sex-(with)-consequence; may be symbolic reference to desired sexual union through marriage.

10. Tatafu

Tata-fu; lit. Scraped-up-(earth)-(then)-clap-(hands-often-to-get-off-dirts); tata and fu are associated with feitumu, earth-oven cooking, lowest of profession connected with tu'a, and major undertaking such as building of langi et cetera; probable symbolic reference to oppression.

11. Kafoa

Kafo-a; lit. Wounded-be-(it); possibly originated in the to'a cult, where chiefly heroic values were cultivated, but it might also symbolically refer to the tu'a's life of service to the chiefs through domination.

12. Tu'ionukulava

Tu'i'-o-nukulava/Nukulava; lit. King-of-Nukulava; nuku is ancient term for island or land; probably a place the king, as often the case, used to frequent for recreation.

13. Silivakaifanga

Sili-vaka'i-fanga; lit. Netfishing-boat-at-(the)-beach/port; possibly referring TH for overseeing secular matters, as in the case of Hele and Monuafeta, assigned by Kau'ulufonua Fekai to fish with net for TT daily meals (see Chapter Six).

14. Fuatakifolaha

Fua-lahi-folaha/Folaha; lit. Primary-leader-(is)-folaha/Folaha; probably referring to Lufe, of Folaha and relative of TT, designated with Vailahi and Kula by Kau'ulufonua Fekai as principal toutai (fisherman) for TT's 'inasi (see Chapter Six).

15. Maealiuaki

D. 1777, met Cook; also 8th TK (see TK list).

Maea-liuaki; lit. Rope-(of-the)-return-(voyage/trip); literally maea (rope, as in maea palaivai lit. rope rotting in (sea) water, left hanging from the boat for emergency purposes, made often of coconut fibre) is probable symbol for TT power through his imperial activities, and linked to TH.
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'amea); 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 Mahina 1986:193; Ve'ehala and Fanua 1977:35-36. Cf. Gifford 1929a:83; Herda 1988:146; Wood 1943:66).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>List of Tu'i Tonga Between Tu'itātui and Takala'aua</th>
<th>Major Events Associated With Each Tu'i Tonga (TT)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>11. Tu'itātui AD 1200</strong></td>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>12. Talatama</strong></td>
<td>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, 'Akiheuho and Tongafuesia; probable last TT at Hekefa, Niutoua.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>13. Tu'itonganui-Koe-Tamatou</strong></td>
<td>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/Niutoua between Heketā in Niutoua and Lapaha, Mu'a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>14. Talaiha'apepe</strong></td>
<td>Tala-i-ha'apepe/Ha'apepe; lit. Telling/Traditions-at-ha'apepe/Ha'apepe (or Ha'apepe, one of major districts in Tahiti Nui; lit. Lineage-of-of-Ha'apepe/Ha'apepe); possible reference to some Tahitian body of ruling traditions; founded Lapaha, last and permanent TT imperial centre.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>15. Talakaifaiki AD 1250</strong></td>
<td>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</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
16. Talafapite

Tala-fapite/Fapite; lit. Telling/Traditions-(of)-fapite/Fapite; probably representative of some body of traditions of Fapite, 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-[lit]-remains; possibly a symbol for an oppressive TT; married and resided in Samoa.

18. Tu’itonga-Puipui

Tu’i-tonga/Tonga-Puipui; lit. Tu’i-tonga/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'i 'ia Tui and Takalauna, constituted of periods of conquest and conquest-alliance formation, showing approximate dates of reign and major events associated with each Tu'i Tonga.
## TU'I 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'ungatonga, 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. Mataele'tu'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 kelekele 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 fatonga), 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. Mataele'ha'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'amoa, connected with Lo'a, of possible Samoan descent, and 'ele, symbolising Ngata's Samoan mother, Tohu'ia, in local affairs of Tonga. |
| 6. Ma'afu'o'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. Tupou-lahi
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. Masaliuaki
Also 15th TH (see TH list).

9. Tu'i-halafatai
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 i'i pe i'i loufatai kaka 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. Tupou-lahi-st'i
Tupou-lahi-st'i; lit. Tupou-lahi-(the)-junior.

11. Mulukiha'amea
Also 16th TH (see TH list).

12. Tupou-mohe-ofo
Tupou-mohe-ofo; lit. Tupou-(the)-sleep-(and)-wake; Moheofo, eldest daughters of TH and TK, presented as wives to the TT, as was Tupou-mohe-ofo, 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. Tupou-malohi
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/Āhau*; lit. Taufa-(at)-'āhau/Āhau; originally named Ngininginiofolanga (*Nginingini-ofolanga/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 (*Taufa-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. **Salote Mafile'o Pilolevu**
   Tupou III
   AD 1918-AD 1965

   Similarly, Charlotte (Salote) is also British in origin.

22. **Taufa'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 Mahina 1986:194; Ve'ehala and Fanaa 1977:36-37. Cf. Gifford 1929a:100; Herda 1988:147; Wood 1943:66-67).
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 Moheofo 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) Laumanukiupe; (6) 'Anaukihesina; (7) Tupoumoheofo; (8) Tupouveiongo; and (9) Halaevalumata'aho.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>List of Tūi Tonga Between Ka'u'ulu fonua Fekai and Laufilitonga</th>
<th>Major Events Associated With Each Tūi Tonga (TT)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>24. Ka'u'ulu fonua I Fekai AD 1470</td>
<td>Kau'-ulu fonua; lit. Combining-all-lands/islands; may be symbolic of extensive TT imperialism; nickname, &quot;Fekai&quot; (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 polopo and 'inasi institutions, linked with Fahu and 'Ulumotu'a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Vakafuhu</td>
<td>Vaka-fuhu; lit. Boat-(of)-fighters; probable symbolic reference to Ka'u'ulu fonua's fleet of fighting men that pursued his father's murderers; exiled and married in Samoa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Puipuifatu</td>
<td>Puipui-fatu; lit. Secluded-offspring; probable symbol for this divine TT's exile and marriage in Samoa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Ka'u'ulu fonua II</td>
<td>Living in exile and married in Samoa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Tapu'osi I</td>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. 'Ilukimata I or Tele'a</td>
<td>'Uluahi-mata; lit. First-face/eye; possibly symbolic of this TT being the &quot;first&quot; to restore some kind of respectable &quot;face&quot; to TT rule; Tele'a (Valley), a reference to Mu'a, TT &quot;valleys&quot;; connected with huge legendary double-canoe, kalia, Lomi peau.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Fatafehi</td>
<td>Fata-fehi; lit. Litter-(of)-fehi-(wood); chiefly symbol (see Fatafehi in Chapter 4); contemporaneous with emergence of female social institutions of Moheafo, Tūi Tonga Fefine and Tamahā vis-a-vis TT, and collateral segmentation of third kingly line, TK.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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" Sinaitakala-'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'i-pulotu/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 Tupoumoheofo, daughter of TK Tupoulahi; Pau reported to have kisu e tala-e-fonua, withheld body of refined knowledge of ruling from his son, Fatafehi Fuanunuiava.

37. Ma'ulupekotofa
AD 1784-AD 1806

Ma'u-lupe-kotofa; lit. Receiver-(of)-pigeon-(for)-the-(royal)-sleep; probably allegorical of women being presented to cohabit with Tu, 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

Laufilitonga/Tonga; lit. Count-(Vava'u-and-Ha'apai)-(but)-choose-Tonga-(instead); may represent
symbolic position of Tongatapu vis-à-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 Laufilitonga, 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'ahau Tupou IV and Fatafehi Tu'i Pelehake, combined the three blood lines in their persons.
GLOSSARY OF TONGAN TERMS

afa: 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; chiefliness
'Eiki-Hau: pre-Takalaua, sacred-secular, god-king Tu'i Tonga
'esii: chief's sitting/resting mound; chiefly symbol
fa'a: economic prowess
fa'ahinga: intermediary local social unit
fa'ae: 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
fakaliku: 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
fakanofo: 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
fāmili: English "family"; nuclear social unit
fu'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'afa/finemātua'/fine'eiki: old woman[women]
fohonofo: 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'amoa; 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
heliahi: 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 fakanofo: chiefly title
hiva: song; music
hiva hahala: song of flowers; love song
hohoko: genealogy
'ilamutu: brother's sister's child
'ilo: empirical knowledge
'inasu: Tu'i Tonga bi-annual tribute system; institution built on polopolo
hafa: cord made from coconut husks
hainga: intermediary local social unit
hainanga-e-fonua: eating place of chiefs; symbolic for commoner
hakai: people
hakala: sweet-scented flowers, woven and classified according to hierarchy
hakala 'eiki (hingoa; mo'oni; tapu; talā; tupu'a): chiefly (named; genuine; sacred; outstanding; ancient) hakala
hakala vale: "fool's hakala"; secular, tu'a and commoner hakala
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
hie Tonga: chiefly fine mat
hitetama: closed, exogamous, cross-cousin dynastic marriage
kóféloa/loholoa: extended Fahu
kofenoulou/to'ukaimohonolohu: immediate Fahu
koloa: exchangeable woman's product (e.g., fine mats and bark cloth)
humete: cooking or kava bowl
[fangalkui: grandfather[s]/grandmother[s]; ancestor[s]
lau'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
laumálie: soul
laumátanga: enumerating beautiful spots; poetry of beautiful places
lea málie: proverbial saying
lihu: clify, coastal windward side
lolo: sweet-scented body oil
Lolofonuua: "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
máhina: moon; calendar month based on different phases of the moon and
tides
ma'itaki: principal wife of Tu'i Tonga
maka: rock; symbol for land or island
mala'e: Tu'i Tonga's ceremonial green; Tu'i Kanokupolu's tomb
málie: aesthetically pleasing; outstanding
matakali: Fijian "mataqali"; intermediary local social unit
matangi: wind; symbol for coercive rule
mátu'a: parents
me'e: merriment; dance and singing
me'elaufolia: 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
Mofefofo: eldest daughter of Tu'i Ha'atakalaua or Tu'i Kanokupolu presented as wife to Tu'i Tonga; institution based on Fahu
mofutike: earthquake; symbolic of oppression
mokopuna: grandchild; descendant
motu'a/mātu'a/tangata'eiki: old man
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
'Ololele: 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
papalangi/palangi: 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
pōuta: 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
takahafalu: honorific term for Tu'i Tonga's back (tu'a)
tala: to tell; oral tradition
tala-ē-fonua: oral tradition
tala fakahfonua: oral tradition
tala fakahamanu'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/hothoisua/faka'ofo'ofa: physical beauty
tama: chiefly child
tamai: father
Tamaha: 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
tauatahi: 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
tongiahi: 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/ta'etangata: sister's brother; domestic-mundane 'Ullumotu'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
'Ullumotu'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