REFLECTIONS ON WOMEN, POWER, AND FAITH IN PRECHRISTIAN AND POSTCHRISTIAN POLYNESIA

Penelope Schoeffel
National University of Samoa

In this article, I aim to draw attention to the scholarship of Alan Hanson and Neil Gunson, demonstrating that throughout pre-Christian Polynesia, chiefly women—even more so than chiefly men—possessed great mana and the powers to make or remove tapu. Gunson identified many great women chiefs and rulers in ancient Polynesia believed to have been descended from the gods. Hanson showed that the tapu on women in ancient Eastern Polynesian societies was because of their dangerous affinity to the gods. The missionary notion that pre-Christian Polynesians were mired in darkness led to the subordination of women when Christianity replaced the religious systems of ancient Polynesia. I suggest that there is a need, not for the rejection of Christian faith, but for a very critical analysis of Christian teaching and representations on the role of women.

Historical Representations of Gender and Status

Eastern Polynesia

One of the puzzles of Polynesian culture history is that despite linguistic and cultural similarity, significant differences have been documented in the status of women in Eastern Polynesia and Western Polynesia. Eastern Polynesia (Hawai'i, French Polynesia, Cook Islands, and Aotearoa [New Zealand]) is in certain respects a "culture area" (Burrows 1940) that, according to archaeological

Pacific Studies, Vol. 43, No. 1—Jun. 2020

evidence, was settled a millennium or so after Western Polynesia (Burley and Addison 2018: 231–51), a region including Samoa, Tonga, Tuvalu, Tokelau, Wallis (Uvea), and Futuna. In Eastern Polynesia, ethnologists reported that females were antithetical and contaminating to all sacred things. Most classic literature based on early observations of Eastern Polynesian societies emphasizes the exclusion of women from many important aspects of everyday life, because as observers understood this practice, women were ritually unclean. Hanson (1982) refers to accounts of this belief in Eastern Polynesian societies from many sources. For example, citing Malo (1951: 27–29) and Handy and Pukui (1972: 9, 11), he offers the example of Hawai'i:

> Excepting high-ranking women of the ali'i class who owed their position to illustrious pedigrees, women were reported to be devoid of sacredness. They could not handle fishing gear nor enter ritual places. They ate separately from men, and were not even allowed to enter the mua, or house where men of the family ate.

He refers to similar *tapu* on women in Marquesas, the Society Islands, and Aotearoa (New Zealand) associated with their menstruation and childbearing propensities, which were deemed dangerous and defiling to men and were associated with prohibitions on female contact with food in certain contexts, canoes, and fishing. Hanson (1982) proposed a new analytical perspective on these beliefs and practices, arguing that those ethnological descriptions were misinterpreted by scholars who concluded they were the sources of women's social inferiority. In rejecting this view, Hanson draws attention to Smith's (1974: 28–29) insight on the ancient Maori belief that childbirth was "the pathway whereby human beings enter this world, the vagina is a mediator between the human and 'ultra-human' (spiritual or godly) realms." From this perspective, the prevailing Eastern Polynesian tapu on women is evidence that their reproductive functions were imbued with supernatural power, facilitating processes in which preexisting souls from the spirit world were given bodily substance as humans.

Western Polynesia

In Western Polynesia, far milder versions of beliefs and practices imposed tapu on women. In the ethnohistorical literature on Samoa, the only examples of tapu (*sā*) on women that I know of in Samoa were that girls should not prepare *kava* (*'ava*) while menstruating (this was still the belief in the 1970s), that females should not climb coconut trees, and that in the past, females were not supposed to touch specialized fishing canoes (*va'aalo*). However, the sacred chiefs (*ali'i*

pa'ia) rendered everything they touched tapu, so as described by the missionary John Williams in 1830, even the ground they walked upon was desanctified by sprinkling it with coconut water (Moyle 1984). According to Mills (2016), citing Collocott (1921: 418) and Gifford (1929: 18), in Tonga "men" were also tapu, although he does not make it clear whether this applied to all Tongan men or, as is more likely, only to those who were *eiki* (aristocrats). According to his account, a man's child or wife must not touch his head or touch any part of him while he was eating, consume his food or drink, or touch his bed, headrest, staff, weapons, flyswatter, or fan. Citing Gifford (1929: 344), Mills (2016) says that women "were forbidden to step over categorically male products such as weapons, fishing canoes and equipment, or growing yam vines, for fear that their efficacy would be weakened; the vulva's power as a conduit of the woman's *manava* (spiritual powers) was antagonistic to the efficacy of categorically male activities" (Mills 2016, 89). However, he notes that both sexes were tapu to one another and men avoided contact with objects associated with women.

In Samoa and Tonga, unlike Hawai'i and the Society islands, high status is accorded to women through special relationships between sisters and brothers and their respective descendants. In the Samoan version, for example, a sister might outrank her brother in a contractual relationship referred to as *feagaiga,* which may be understood in its ancient meaning as a sacred contract or covenant between two parties of opposed but complementary status (Schoeffel 1995). This status may have been particular to women of high-ranking lineages in pre-Christian Samoa, supported by the belief that those of the highest rank were genealogically connected to the gods, but all women were encompassed by this dignity, as James (1991) notes in the context of similar beliefs in Tonga The institutions of *mehikitanga* (father's sister) and *fahu* (father's sister's children) in Tonga were based on similar ideology that affirmed a sister and her children as ritually superior to her brother and his children (Herda 1987). Similar constructions of complementary gendered oppositions have been documented for Pukapuka (Hecht 1977) and Tokelau (Huntsman and Hooper 1975). Belief in the supernatural potency of a chiefly woman's genitalia as argued by Hanson (1982) also existed in Western Polynesia, for example, in the ancient Samoan defloration rites at the wedding of a *taupou* (chiefly titled virgin) to a high chief. In this rite, she squatted naked, presenting her *measa* (sacred genitals) to her bridegroom in front of a huge audience and allowing him, or his presiding orator, to thrust fingers wrapped in white *tapa* cloth to rupture her hymen (Pritchard 1866: 325). This opened the sacred pathway from which a new descendant of the gods was to emerge by means of physically and supernaturally uniting two aristocratic lineages, as in Hanson's (1982) analysis of Eastern Polynesian practices and as attested to by ancient Samoan wedding songs recorded by Moyle (1975). The resulting blood was smeared in two arcs (1) upon each side of her face and that

of her bridegroom, after which all present celebrated, her female entourage lacerating their heads to draw blood, while songs were sung in celebration. A rite with similar significance was practiced in the Society Islands; at the moment of birth, those present would greet the arrival of the newborn by lacerating their heads, the sacred part of the human body, to draw blood (Oliver 1974: 422). In Hanson's (1982) analysis, by the sympathetic drawing of blood in this way, they removed the sacredness from themselves at this holy moment of transition.

Women's power in their lineages is also attested by examples in Western Polynesia of women's power to curse their brothers and to protect them (Schoeffel 1982). For example, the *mayakitanga* (sacred maid) of Pukapuka (Cook Islands) was:

> . . . ideally the eldest daughter of the aliki "chief" or, if necessary, another girl of the chiefly burial lineage. Each of the chiefs of the four chiefly burial lineages had the right to designate a "sacred maid," who was initiated before puberty, at about 10 years of age. She never married, remaining a guarded virgin for life, and she retained her title even if the father died and the succeeding chief named another sacred maid.. . .
>
> The "sacred maid" was said to be a "symbol of the power and dignity of the lineage"; yet her great sanctity was coupled with the utmost passivity. She was thought in some way to ensure prosperity, but by no obviously active means, and indeed she seems to have done so by serving as the passive channel for the good will of the gods . . . she accompanied her lineage's voyaging canoe in order to protect it, apparently not by actively supplicating the gods, but rather by simply encouraging their beneficence through her presence. (Hecht 1977: 197)

In this case, it was not the reproductive powers of mayakitanga that made her sacred; she was a virgin for life, revered, fattened, and whitened by seclusion from the sun, and exercised no chiefly authority. She represented the innate sacred power of a matriline to complement the active authority of her father and brother. The same idea of the protective power of a sacred maiden appears to have attached to the Samoa taupou, previously described, who, when an army went to war in pre-Christian times, would march at their head, brandishing a club or (as depicted in nineteenth-century photographs), a whaler's knife. It seems clear she was there to attract the favor of the gods and to protect the warriors. In comparatively egalitarian Tokelau, all women are believed, as sisters, to be endowed with *mamana,* "mystical power":

> . . . From this is derived their ability to curse and their designation as mātua hā "sacred mother" or mātua tauaitu "spirit-holding mother" by their brothers' children.

> Prohibited from close contact with her brother, a sister should send her son to look after him when he engages in a potentially dangerous enterprise, delegate a daughter to care for him if he is seriously ill, and dispatch her children to comfort him if he is bereaved. Pule "secular authority" is attributed to brothers, who are enjoined to provide for and protect their sisters and sisters' children. (Huntsman and Hooper 1975)

The widespread Polynesian notion of two interdependent forces, mystical and authoritative, sacred and secular, combining to create legitimate power or *mana,* is reflected in the importance of brother–sister ties in Samoa, Tonga, and Tokelau. In Tonga, in Douaire-Marsaudon's analysis, the Mehekitanga, the father's sister is ultimately revered by her brother and his children because together they ensure the reproduction of their lineage; the sister's power of veto of the father's sister over her brothers' progeny, is symbolized by the Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Tonga *fefine* (female Tui Tonga) of ancient times; he provides the fertility of the country and she controls the exchanges between the dead and the living people (1996: 162) As Hanson (1982) put it:

> . . . in both eastern and western Polynesia the long-lived and widely held theory of female pollution is incorrect. It is true that women were deemed to be dangerous, that their association with disease, misfortune, and death injected distinctly negative connotations into the set of meanings connected with them. But none of this is to be explained in terms of an idea that women polluted other people and the gods. On the contrary, the position of the female in Polynesia, including its negative component, is more fully understood according to a special affinity, which was thought to link women with the supernatural. (Hanson 1982: 376)

In the Samoan oral tradition, the "Story of Sina" illustrates how certain women in ancient Samoa were conceptualized as having powers over nature, life, and death (Kramer 1994, 125–7). In the tale, Sina (or Hina, a pan-Polynesian heroine, the daughter of heaven or a high chiefly woman) is courted by many suitors. Among them are two brothers, the younger of whom, named Tulau'ena, presents only the foot of a roasted pig, in contrast to the rich gifts

from other suitors. Sina chooses him as her husband, but he is subsequently murdered by his jealous older brother. Sina sets off to find him, personifying him in death as her "enemy":

> On her journey, she came upon Lupe, a pigeon, first. She asked it: "Lupe; the bird of chiefs, Please may I ask if my enemy has passed by?" Lupe answered rudely, saying that pigs like her should dare not speak to Lupe. Sina retaliated by telling the pigeon that his reply had earned him a small stone to put on its beak. Since that day pigeons have had lumps on their beaks. Sina next met a Manuali'i bird. She asked the same question and the bird replied that her enemy had just passed by. Sina rewarded the Manuali'i by giving it some feathers from her mat to put above its beak. Sina continued on her way and came upon a Manumā bird, and again asked the same question. The Manumā replied that her enemy had just passed by, and Sina rewarded it by giving it her shaggy white garment to put on its chest. Next Sina met a Manutagi bird, asked her question, and the bird replied that her enemy had just passed by. Sina rewarded him with her shaggy red garment to put on its beak and chest. Sina continued on her search and she met a Sega bird. She asked the same question, to which the Sega replied: "Keep on walking until you come upon a lady. Matamolali is her name. Take the end of a coconut leaf and beat her with it." Sina rewarded the Sega with her red garment for its chest, and with a garland for its beak and tail. Sina told the Sega that it will feed upon sweet nectar in the bush.

When Sina finds Matamolali (a name that connotes ugliness and disfigurement), she strikes her and asks whether she has seen her "enemy," whereupon

> Matamolali went and opened up the living waters and closed off the dead waters. From the living waters were released all the aristocratic young men and girls. Among them was Sina's man. Matamolali asked him to give her his garland but when he came close, she seized him and beat him and tried to drown him in the waters. The man cried out for mercy. Then Matamolali pointed to the east, to the south, to the north and to the west, and she asked the man to name the directions in which she pointed. The man gave her the correct answers, and then Matamolali took him to her house. Sina was hiding there. Matamolali called out for a cloth for the man to wear, and Sina threw out a piece of pandanus cloth that she and her husband had shared. Taking it, the man told Matamolali that it was like the cloth that he and

> Sina had used, but Matamolali replied that it was her own cloth. Then Matamolali called out for a comb and Sina threw her comb, which the man immediately recognised as the one which he had shared with Sina. Matamolali again told the man that it was her own comb. The man sat sadly in the house, gazing at the cloth and the comb. Then Matamolali called out to Sina to come forth. Tulau'ena saw that it was his wife and the two embraced. They established their family there with the old lady Matamolali, who acted as a mother to the children of Sina and Tulau'ena. (from a Samoan text recorded during the 1890s, Kramer 1994 [1903]: 125–27, and translated into English in 1979 by Malama Meleisea)

Women and Chiefly Rank

Throughout the ranked societies of Polynesia, children of high-ranking men did not inherit their father's rank unless their mother was also of high rank, and in some circumstances, the rank of the father was not an important consideration in establishing chiefly status. Thus, rank may be understood to have passed through chiefly women rather than men. For example, in the Society Islands, "High chiefly women did not worry too much about the paternity of their children" (Gunson 1987: 140)—nor, apparently, did women of the highest rank in Samoa. In modern retellings of the story of the Samoan Queen Salamāsina, it is assumed that her firstborn, fathered by a low-ranking youth, brought great disgrace upon her, but this is a post-Christian gloss. A young woman of paramount rank (descended as she was in the lineages of Tui Tonga, Tui Fiti, Tui A'ana, and Tui Atua) would not have been subjected to such conventions, as evidenced by the high rank of the children of that union in the Sa Levālasi lineage. She and her daughters had names with heavenly connotations: Levalāsi might be defined as "the cosmos," So'oaimalelagi as "connected to heaven," and Salamāsina as "bridge to the moon" or even possibly "descendants of the sun and moon" (Schoeffel 1987). In the English-language fiction of the nineteenth century, we have the trope of the "fallen woman" cast out by society for her sin of conceiving a child outside marriage. This had no corollary in ancient Polynesian societies. Today, Samoans use the term *paumutu* to refer to a woman who is sexually "loose" or is a prostitute. But let us consider what this term meant in ancient Samoa. Literally, it means to "break the skin," a term harking back to the ancient defloration rite to which girls were expected to submit before becoming sexually active and by doing so affirmed the identity of the man who was to father a child with her (Schoeffel 2011). In pre-Christian societies of Polynesia, a child might belong primarily to the family of the

mother and her brother and their line, unless the ceremonial exchanges at the ritual coupling acknowledged the family of the father and his eventual rights of paternity.

Despite the tapu on women in some societies of Polynesia, the historian Neil Gunson (1964, 1987) analyzed the early historical and genealogical records of Polynesian societies and found many instances of women in royal lineages ruling, or coruling with a brother, in the Society Islands, Hawai'i, and Aotearoa (New Zealand), as well as in Samoa, Tonga, and Uvea. He comments that the role of chiefly women in Polynesian history was likely to have been obscured by nineteenth-century recorders of Polynesian history, many of them missionaries, who believed that women's place was in the home and, while they recorded oral traditions concerning the licentious adventures of male gods and heroes, likely found similar bawdy adventures of their female counterparts too indecent to publish. He pointed out:

> Although chiefly women were traditionally important as wives and sisters, the wifely role was usually an accidental one. In other words, the wife was important because of who she was herself rather than because of whom she married. It was only after the introduction of Christianity that the wifely role was developed in its own right.. . .
>
> In traditional Polynesian societies there were two main categories of female chiefs or women who were chiefs in their own right. These were: first, sacred female chiefs who outranked everyone else in their family and the community and who were sometimes virgin priestesses; and second, women of high lineage conveniently described as "female headmen." (Gunson 1987: 141)

In his memoir, William Brown Churchward (who had been British consul to Samoa) recalled his surprise to discover in a district that he was visiting in 1881 that the highest-ranking person was a woman, as he was assured by the chief whom he had previously assumed to be paramount. She was "the highest in the district by birth, being, as was said, descended from the ancient gods" (1887: 324).

Legendary women warriors in Tonga and Samoa had the power of men, as well as the mana of chiefly women:

> There is a marked consistency in the portrayal of dominant chiefly women throughout the Polynesian islands. Besides being aggressive, they were frequently described as being masculine in appearance, and

> often very large in size. Some times their husbands were mere youths. Very often they were known for their prowess in warfare. In Tonga stories were told of the valour of a daughter of the chief ʻAhome'e. "Wrapping bark cloth about herself she fought through a long day with the strength and courage of a man, and was known for a woman only when, relaxing after the battle she threw aside the cloth that covered her breasts." (Gunson 1987: 142–43)

The Samoans had a similar and well-known legend of their ancient goddess of war Nafanua, who fought a great battle, at the height of which she threw aside her cloak to reveal her breasts and, in victory, secured the power to bestow all of Samoa's highest titles.

The cultural institutions that enshrine the power of chiefly women were all founded in pre-Christian cosmology. In Western Polynesian origin legends, Polynesian women were the ultimate vessels of life. Through the potent procreative forces of Tangaloa the creator, who introduced matter and form into the void, the marriage of like and like gave rise to new forms until the geological formation of the physical environment, the geographical form of the islands, and surrounding oceans were complete. In the Samoan version, Tangaloa sent his daughter down from heaven in the form of a plover, a Tuli, to a creeper growing on the land he created; with her excreta, she transformed maggots on the creeper in living men and women. In another origin legend, the sun (Lā) was born of Sinataeolelagi (Sina excreta of the heavens), daughter of Tangaloaalagi, and her mortal husband Tafa'i. Their son returned to his mother's heavenly home in the skies to the east, moving each evening to the west where he rested for the night. An ancestress of Tui Manu'a, who was said to have been the first of the great semidivine chiefs of Samoa, opened her legs to the sun and conceived a male child who thereafter regulated the passage of the sun across the heavens. The house of Tui Manu'a was the Fale ʻUla, the red or glowing house located so that it received the first and last rays of the sun as it rose and fell in the heaven each day. Eastern Polynesian cultures possessed somewhat different cosmologies from the societies from which they originated in Western Polynesia. These acknowledged their migrant origins from an ancestral homeland, "Hawaiki." They possessed a pantheon of gods, among whom Tangaloa (Tangaroa or Kanaloa) was one of many. In Maori mythology, the story of creation was revised, for example, as in the sacred origin myth whereby sky and Earth were personified, respectively, as male and female gods, Rangi and Papa, whose mating led to the creation of the physical universe. In the Hawaiian version, Wakea (space or heavens) inseminates Papa (foundation or Earth) from whom is born a daughter whom Wakea also inseminates to produce first taro and then the ancestors of the ruling chiefs (Schoeffel 1987).

Christian Transformations

The English missionaries who founded the Christian churches in Polynesia in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries believed that by adopting the Christian faith, the status of women would be elevated. As Williams, the pioneer missionary to Samoa, wrote:

> . . . I prayed that by the blessing of God upon our labours, the day might speedily arrive when these interesting females should be elevated from this terrible degradation, and, by the benign influence of Christianity, be raised to dignity of companionship with their husbands, and occupy that status in the social and domestic circle which the females of Tahiti, Rarotonga, and the other islands, have attained since the introduction of the Gospel. (Williams 1838: 351–52)

Confusion has derived from the gulf of understanding between the mores of ancient Polynesians and those of the nineteenth-century missionaries regarding marriage. Whereas English clergymen understood marriage as a contract for lifelong partnership between a man and a woman, Polynesians understood marriage as a contract for selective reproduction that, whenever possible, augmented the rank of a lineage. Ancient Polynesian marriage practices did not necessarily involve the permanent transfer of a woman to her husband and his family, nor did marriage necessarily create a conjugal family, as was the missionary ideal; it was a reproductive contract that while not always optional to begin with, was apparently optional in its duration. As well as transforming gender relations, Christianity transformed ancient notions of rank. There were no longer sacred chiefs, and the rank of the highest chiefs was no longer legitimized by the ancient doctrines of divine descent. In Tonga, a new institution of royalty and nobility was grafted onto their chiefly institutions. In the case of Samoa, village pastors of the Congregational and Methodist churches, and Catholic priests, replaced sacred chiefs as the earthly representatives of God. Similarly, the distinction between sacred chiefs (*ali'i*) and secular chiefs (*tulafale*) became blurred; they all came to be likened to an Old Testament patriarch whose authority was ordained by the will of Jehovah. As a result, since the nineteenth century, rank has gradually come to reside in particular titles, rather than being ascribed to particular people. As belief in ancestral mana was discredited, the importance of maternal rank also declined; once rank could no longer be maximized though chiefly polygyny, the Christian requirement of monogamy led to the abandonment of the practice of installing taupou for dynastic marriages (Keesing 1937), and young women of high chiefly descent came to be outranked by the daughters of clergymen. Roles of women were

revised according to Victorian British ideals in the nineteenth century. The substitution of Christianity for the religious systems of ancient Polynesia led to the subordination of females along the lines of Victorian England—at a time when married English women lack rights to control property or to vote in elections, let alone play a leading role in religious rites. In the new Christian order of the founding churches in Polynesia, women were held to be secondary creations whose divinely ordained purpose was to serve as mothers and wives. The Polynesian customs in which marriage could be a temporary arrangement for reproduction did not accord with Christian teaching of the early nineteenth century, which held marriage was a transfer, ordained by heaven, of a woman to a man in a lifelong bond. Ministers of religion and their "helpmeet" wives were expected to demonstrate the new Christian mode of conjugal living to their congregations and have done so (in Protestant Polynesian cultures) for the past 200 years or so. Recognition of the supernaturally sanctioned authority of sisters within the descent group has declined, patriarchal authority is more strongly asserted, and as though in compensation, today many more Samoan women hold *matai* (chiefly) titles in their own right than was the case in the past. But despite this, there are about nineteen villages in Samoa do not recognize a matai title if it's held by a women, and many villages discourage matai who are women from participating in the village council. As I have observed since the 1970s, in the sphere of their descent groups, Samoan women still exercise considerable authority over the bestowal of titles, the allocation of family land and property, and the manipulation of genealogical connections in the competition to maximize claims to rank in order to win renown for themselves and their children.

I conclude this article with my own reflections. I wonder whether it is possible for Christians to respect ancestral practices as an alternative way of being and believing. Does it diminish the Christian faith to celebrate that once every girl and woman was a vessel of sacred or mystical power, intensified by her ancestral rank? I often hear Samoan women asserting that their culture gives high status to women, citing the sort of historical facts I have discussed above. Yet the ill treatment of women in Samoa, other Polynesian societies, and Polynesian women in the diaspora, documented in many studies, is more of a reality today than women being the princesses of their families. In Samoa, married women, if they live with their husband's kin (as is most commonly the practice), are often subjected to violent and humiliating treatment, which I have never heard condemned by the churches in Samoa (Schoeffel, Boodoosingh, and Percival 2018). I suggest that there is a need not for the rejection of Christian faith but for a critical analysis of Christian teaching and representations on the role of women. In the churches to which most Polynesians belong and in the theological colleges that train ministers of religion, the message from the pulpit remains based

more on the norms of Victorian England than the word of God. In Samoa, the major Protestant churches remain stubbornly behind their mother churches in other countries by refusing to ordain women or to allow them other leadership roles in the churches. And how do they justify this? The churches cite their need to move slowly on gender issues to respect traditional Polynesian culture and gender roles of island societies. Yet paradoxically, this is the culture of gender that the churches themselves created.

NOTES

1. These arcs are now drawn in lipstick on the face of young women dressed as taupou and men dressed as *manaia,* although the meaning of the marks seems now to have been forgotten.

REFERENCES

Burley, D. V., and D. J. Addison
2018 Tonga and Samoa in oceanic prehistory: Contemporary debates and personal perspectives. In *The Oxford handbook of prehistoric Oceania,* ed. E. E. Cochran and T. L. Hunt, 231–51. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

Burrows, E. G.
1940 Culture-areas in Polynesia. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 49 (195): 347–64.

Churchward, W. B.
1887 *My consulate in Samoa: A record of four years' sojourn in the Navigators Islands, with personal experiences of King Malietoa Laupepa, his country, and his men*. London: Richard Bently and Son. https://archive.org/details/myconsulateinsam00churuoft/page/n3/mode/2up.

Collocott, E. E. V.
1921 The supernatural in Tonga. *American Anthropologist New Series* 23: 415–44.

Gifford, Edward Winslow
1929 *Tongan Society. Bulletin 61*. Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum.

Gunson, N.
1964 Great women and friendship contract rites in pre-Christian Tahiti. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 73:53–69.
1987 Sacred women chiefs and female "headmen" in Polynesian history. *Journal of Pacific History* 22 (3): 139–72.

Handy, E. S. C., and M. K. Pukui
1972 *The Polynesian family system*. Ka-'U, Hawai'i, and Rutland, Vermont: Tuttle (first pub. 1958).

Hanson F. A.
1982 Female pollution in Polynesia? *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 91:335–81.

Hecht, J.
1977 The culture of gender in Pukapuka: male, female and the mayakitanga "sacred maid." *Journal of the Polynesian Society,* 86 (2): 183–206.

Herda, P.
1987 Gender, rank and power in 18th century Tonga: the case of Tupoumoheofo. *Journal of Pacific History* 22 (4): 195–208.

Huntsman, Judith, and Antony Hooper
1975 "Male and female in Tokelau culture." *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 84:415–30.

James, K. E.
1991 The female presence in heavenly places: myth and sovereignty in Tonga. *Oceania* 62 (4): 287–308.

Keesing, Felix M.
1937 The taupo system of Samoa a study of institutional change. *Oceania* 8 (1): 1–14.

Kramer, A.
(1903) 1994 *The Samoa islands: An outline of a monograph with particular consideration of German Samoa,* trans. Theodore Verhaaren. Auckland: Pacifika Press.

Malo, D.
1951 Hawaiian antiquities, 2nd ed. Bernice P. Bishop Museum Special Publication No. 2. Honolulu: Bishop Museum.

Mills, A.
2016 Bodies permeable and divine: Tapu, mana and the embodiment of hegemony in pre-Christian Tonga. In *New mana: Transformations of a classic concept in Pacific languages and cultures,* ed. M. Tomlinson and T. P. K. Tengen, 77–101. Acton ACT, Australia: ANU Press.

Moyle, R. M.
1975 Sexuality in Samoan art forms. *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 4: 227–47.

Moyle, R. M., ed.
1984 *The Samoan journals of John Williams 1830 and 1831*. Canberra: Australian National Univ. Press.

Oliver, D.
1974 *Ancient Tahitian society*. Honolulu: Univ. Press of Hawaii.

Pritchard, W. T.
1866 *Polynesian reminiscences, or life in the South Pacific islands*. London: Chapman and Hall.

Schoeffel, P.
1982 *Daughters of Sina: A study of gender status and power in Samoa*. PhD thesis, Australian National Univ.

Schoeffel, P.
1987 Rank, gender and politics in ancient Samoa: the genealogy of Salamāsina O Le Tafaifā, *Journal of Pacific History* 22 (4): 174–93.

Schoeffel, P.
1995 The Samoan concept of *Feagaiga* and its transformations. In *Tonga and Samoa: Images of Gender and Polity,* ed. J. Huntsman, 85–108. Christchurch: MacMillan Brown Centre for Pacific Studies.

Schoeffel, P.
2011 Sexual morality in Samoa and its historical transformations. In *Sexualities in anthropology: A reader,* ed. Andrew P. Lyons and Harriet D. Lyons, 222–31. Maldon, MA: Wiley Blackwell.

Schoeffel, P., R. Boodoosingh, and G. S. Percival
2018 It's all about Eve: Women's attitudes to gender-based violence in Samoa. In *Rape culture, gender violence, and religion: Interdisciplinary perspectives,* ed. C. Blyth, E. Colgan, and K. B. Edwards, 9–32. Auckland: Palgrave McMillan.

Smith, J.
1974 Tapu removal in Maori religion. Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, vol. 40. Wellington: Polynesian Society.

Williams, J.
1838 *A narrative of missionary enterprise in the South Seas*. London: John Snow.