University of Sydney

IPILI RELIGION PAST AND PRESENT

An account of the traditional religion of the people of the Porgera and Paiela Valleys of Papua New Guinea and how it has changed with the coming of the European and Christianity.

Dip. Anth. Thesis submitted by

Philip Gibbs, S.V.D.

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June 2, 1975 Philip Gibbs

INTRODUCTION

This thesis is the result of research carried out in the Porgera and Paiela Valleys of the Western Highlands of Papua New Guinea between August 1973 and May 1974. During this time I was working with the Catholic Mission in the area in association with the resident priest Father Tony Somhorst, SVD. My reason for being at Porgera was to assist Father Somhorst. Half the time I was on patrol work which involved the education of catechists, holding services and medical work. When not on patrol I was involved in educational work, maintenance and trips to Mount Hagen township for supplies. The research work for this thesis was done in addition to the above, with the generous assistance of Father Somhorst who found contacts for me through his wealth of experience in eight years there and gave me time off when it could be arranged.

The Ipili

The true Ipili live in the Porgera Valley. They are a relatively homogeneous group of 4,346 people, though the people themselves distinguish and point out minor differences between those who live on the east and west banks of the Porgera River.

The 3,182 people of the Paiela Valley speak the same language and are closely related to the Porgera people in culture and in trade and marriage relations. The two valleys are one strenuous day's walk apart.

When necessary to identify differences I will distinguish between Porgera and Paiela, but for the general purpose of this work the term "Ipili" will refer to the Ipili speakers of both valleys.

The Ipili are surrounded by several large culture groups (see Map 1). To the east of the Ipili are the Enga of the Western Highlands; to the south are the Huli of the Southern Highlands; and to the west

are the Duna. To the north are the much feared and seldom contacted Hewa of the Lagaip River. Eastern Ipili inter-marry with Taro Enga of the Misio Valley and Muriraka, and they can speak the Enga language which is closely related to Ipili. Western Ipili visit and inter-marry with people from Tari (Huli) and Kopiago (Duna) and can speak or at least understand the respective languages of these people.

Ipili culture retains its own identity, yet the influence of the surrounding cultures is evident in language, dress, housing, burial customs, religion and social organization.

Contact

The first contact with Europeans was during the Hagen-Sepik patrol of 1938-1939.[1] Older men told me of their fearful reactions when they first saw the arrival of the "redmen." They say that several Ipili were shot by the patrol.

In 1946 an ex-Administration officer, Joe Searson, began an alluvial gold-mining operation near Mungalep[2] in the Porgera Valley. In 1948 two other Europeans, Brough and Taylor, came to establish alluvial mining operations using local labor and Enga, Tari and local "bossboys." A government patrol post was established at Mungalep to try to ensure the prospectors' safety but it was abandoned after one year and subsequently Porgera was visited annually by patrols from Wabag and Laiagam (Map 1). The European miners did not stay long at Porgera but would visit their claims to supervise their employees.

During this time, while Porgera had frequent government contact, the Paiela Valley remained isolated. After the 1938-1939 patrol which passed through the area, they next saw a government patrol in 1947-1948 and again in 1959-1960. The Paiela Valley was patrolled annually after 1960-1961 with the establishment of a permanent Patrol Post at Porgera. In 1974 a permanent Patrol Post was established at Kolombi in the Paiela Valley.

The area was derestricted in 1962 and four Mission bodies were soon seeking adherents: the Apostolic, Catholic, Lutheran and Seventh-Day Adventist Missions. Between 1965 and 1970, several mining companies

prospected the Porgera area and in 1972 the Mount Isa Mines Company began to build a commercial alluvial gold mining operation which went into operation in 1974.

An airfield was completed at Porgera in the late 1950's and in Paiela in the late 1960's. In 1972 a road was opened from Porgera to Laiagam. This road connects with the "Highlands Highway" which runs to the coast at Lae some 500 kilometers away. There is no road access to Paiela, and the Porgera road remains very inadequate, so aircraft are still the only reliable means of transport. The whole area, especially Paiela, remains one of the more isolated districts in the New Guinea Highlands.

Literature

The only anthropological literature available on the Ipili is in two articles by M. Meggitt (1957-1958a, 1973). They are limited as he did not visit Paiela and spent less than two weeks in Porgera. I had access to the first article and found it a useful introduction for my study.

There are several excellent studies of neighboring peoples. Glasse has written on the Huli of Tari (Glasse 1959, 1965, 1968) and Meggitt has written extensively on the Mae Enga (see Bibliography). There is also a study on the neighboring Taro Enga by Brenda Gray (1973). Unfortunately, I did not have access to this thesis and the 1973 article by Meggitt until after I returned from Papua New Guinea.

The Problem

My intention was to enlarge on and bring up to date Meggitt's brief account, with special attention to Ipili religion. Meggitt was there before the area was derestricted so that I was interested in changes since the arrival of the missions.

Accounts of both Huli and Enga religious systems appear in the symposium Gods Ghosts and Men in Melanesia (Lawrence and Meggitt, 1965). There is nothing on the Ipili who live in-between these two groups. I have tried to fill in this gap in research.

I intend to give an account of the beliefs, practices and function of Ipili religion as I was able to discover them. I will argue that generally the importance attached to religious belief and ritual shows those aspects of the cosmos about which people feel the most acute anxiety. For the Ipili this is well-being in general; socio-economic welfare in particular. When secular techniques prove inadequate, the Ipili use religious ritual as an extension of their technology in an attempt to control the environment. With Western influences today, some of the anxiety-evoking situations have changed. Some aspects of the cosmos which previously caused anxiety and evoked a religious response now cause less anxiety and so do not call for the same response. Also the new influences present new solutions to anxiety which are functional substituted for the traditional religious response. In their attempt to adopt the ways of the white man there have been many changes in the external expression of religion, some changes and some additions in their religious beliefs and few changes in the function of Ipili religion. This is illustrated by the way modern teachings have reinforced beliefs of a remembered Millanerian Movement of thirty years ago.

Part I contains much descriptive material based on myth and ritual, learned in structured interviews with ritual experts. After describing the environment, the social structure and socio-political systems and how religion relates to these, I will study the religious response in belief and ritual (Chapter II) and then the part religion plays in economic and social life and its importance for understanding the Ipili approach to reality (Chapter III).

Part II is based on material from a questionnaire, follow-up interviews, conversations and participant observation. In Chapter IV I shall describe the Catholic Mission as an institution and as the Ipili see it. In Chapter V, I shall consider the influence of the Mission. In Chapter VI, I shall describe the changes I observed in the form, content and function of the traditional religion. In Chapter VII, I shall evaluate these changes to show how they relate to changed attitudes to traditional sources of anxiety and solutions to them. In the final chapter, I shall examine the Cult of Ain to show how the Ipili reinterpretation of the Cult is related to their enthusiastic acceptance of Christianity today.

Limitations To This Study

I acknowledge that this study has many limitations and further research in the area will bring many new features to light. My main limitations were the short time spent in research, my poor knowledge of the vernacular and my position as a member of the Catholic Mission.

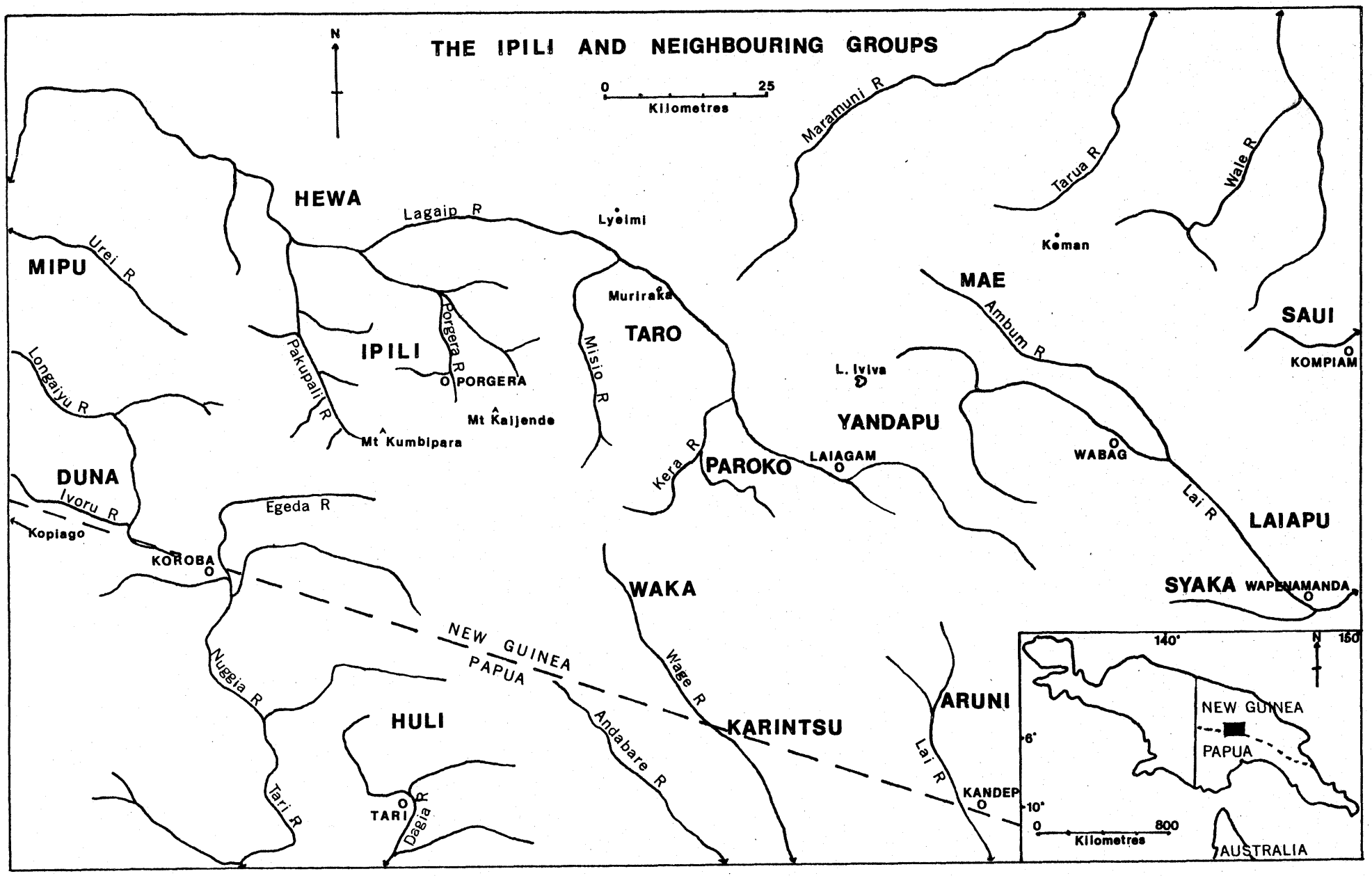
I spent only nine months in the area and the research was done mostly on a part-time basis in addition to the work for the mission. I would talk with the men as we patrolled between mission stations or in the evenings around the fire after the day's work was completed.

I had spent six months near Wabag in the Enga District before my arrival in Porgera and there was introduced to the Enga language and culture. This gave me an advantage when I came to learn Ipili but I learned to speak only elementary phrases and only understood very simple conversation. As few Ipili understand Melanesian Pidgin, most of my work was with the assistance of translators.

My association with the mission had both advantages and disadvantages. Because of my continual patrolling I was not able to make an in-depth study of one clan. Also my association with the mission made people from other denominations a little suspicious. However it did mean that I had a trusted place in the Catholic Community in a very short time and that I had immediate access to a number of informants. This was important as the Ipili are not the most co-operative people to work with. At times I was prepared to agree with Meggitt (1957-1958a:32) that they are a "truculent and difficult people."

I do not think the fact that I am a Christian believer has made by study of Ipili religion less objective. I agree with Evans-Pritchard (1965:121) who says:

> . . . the believer seeks rather to understand the manner in which a people conceive of a reality and their relations to it. For both (believer and non-believer), religion is part of social life, but for the believer it has also another dimension. On this point I find myself in agreement with Schmidt in his confutation of Renan: "If religion is essentially of the inner life, it follows that it can be truly grasped only from within. But beyond a doubt, this can be better done by one in whose inward consciousness an experience of religion plays a part. There is but too much danger that the other [the non-believer] will talk of religion as a blind man might of colours, or one totally devoid of ear, of a beautiful musical composition."


THE IPILI AND NEIGHBOURING GROUPS
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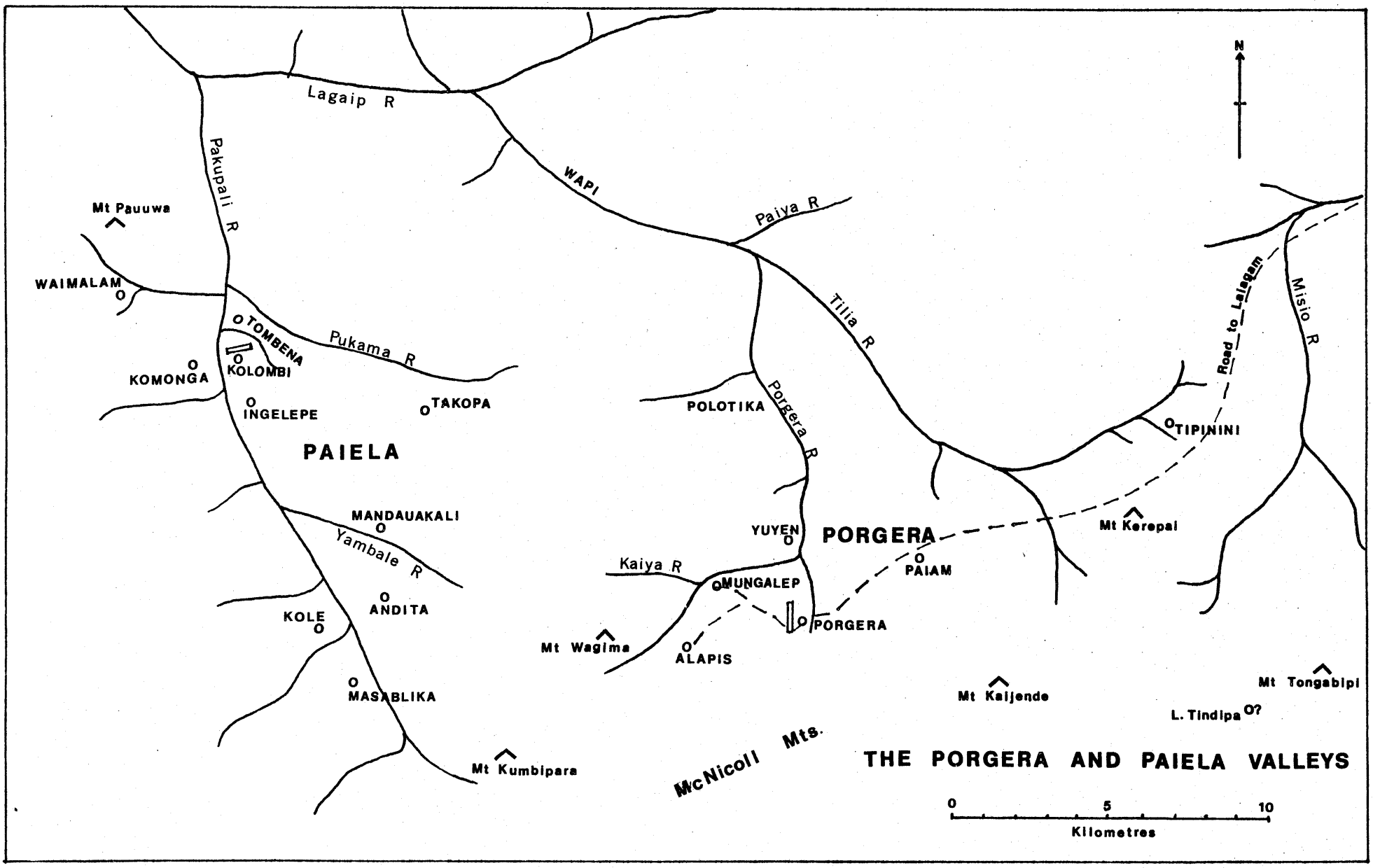
MAP 1.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Porgera R
Road to Laiagam
Misio R
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THE PORGERA AND PAIELA VALLEYS
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MAP 2.

PART ONE

TRADITIONAL RELIGION

CHAPTER I

THE TOTAL COSMIC ORDER

Man and Nature

The Environment and Life Style

The Porgera and Paiela Valleys are adjacent, jointly covering approximately 500 square kilometers. With a total population of 7,5000, the overall population density is approximately 15 per square kilometer (35/square mile), though it is greater in more easily habitable parts. The landscape of the Porgera district is formed chiefly from sandstone and shale sediments deeply dissected by tributaries of the Porgera River. South and east of the district are steep limestone cliffs and spectacular sharp crested mountain ridges rising to 3660 meters (12,000 feet) above sea level. The valley floor is 2100 meters (7,000 feet), but drops to 1200 meters (4,000 feet) at the Porgera-Lagaip junction. This lower area is uninhabited because it is within the malarial range. The whole area has been smothered with volcanic ash which forms humic brown soils on the broad convex ridges between stream channels. These soils provide most of the land used for cultivated crops. The remaining area is covered with mixed beech forest grading into mountain grasslands on the upper slopes.

The Paiela Valley is similar to the Porgera Valley, though more deeply dissected by tributaries of the Pakupali River. There is no real valley floor, cultivation being on the slopes 300 to 600 meters (1,000 to 2,000 feet) above the river and 1500 to 1800 meters (5,000 to 6,000 feet) above sea level. The Pakupali River, running in a series of waterfalls and gorges, divides the valley. Men travel across this river using treacherous suspension bridges constructed from lengths of cane (photograph 2). The bridges are repaired only after their collapse.

The climate of the district is notable for 250 to 280 days of the year on which rain falls and amounts annually to about 2500 milimeters. The daily range of temperature is low, and mean monthly

temperatures range from 23°C to 11°C. Above an altitude of 1500 meters it can be very cold and bleak and frosts may occur especially in depressions where cold air can accumulate.

Local factors limiting land use in the district are the sloping lands, the wet climate, the drainage, the need of fertilizers especially phosphates and the poor communications. The limitation of the humic brown clays for food production are: a rapid fixation of phosphorus in a form not available to plants, a weak aggregation which would disintegrate under continuous cropping, and extremely poor subsoil with the serious danger of erosion. Nutrient fertility would by much higher on steep slopes if erosion could be controlled.

Sweet potato is the stable food, raised under a system of shifting cultivation. Fallow periods vary from about 25 years to 5 years depending on the density of population. Some prefer to cut new gardens out of the virgin forest. The large forest trees are left where they fall thus forming "paths" through the gardens. Men cut the trees, burn the brush and make fences. The rest of the planting and harvesting is left to the women. Sweet potato is planted in low mounds 1½ to 2 meters in diameter. Harvest is approximately 6 to 10 months after planting.

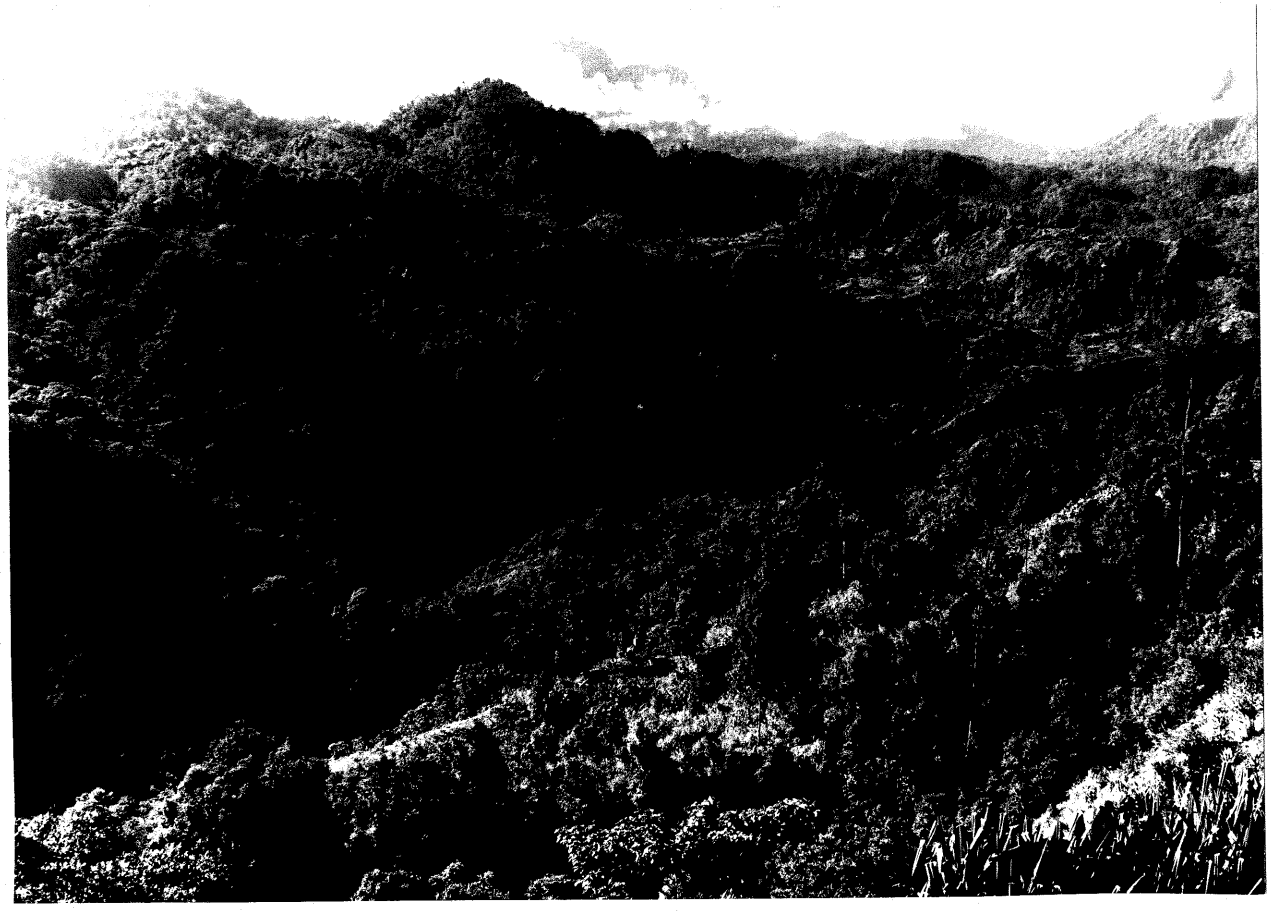
Other food includes pandanus fruits including the marata, taro, sugarcane and native leaf plants, supplemented with wild game such as oppossums, cassowaries and fruit pigeons. European potatoes, pumpkin, beans, tomatoes, corn and onions have been introduced through mission and government efforts, but only pumpkin and corn have been popular.

The system of gardening is fairly haphazard and varies little according to the season. Traditionally there were cycles from times of adequate food to times of hunger because of the limitations to gardening during periods of warfare. Today there are still times of food shortage, but this is a consequence of people travelling and spending less time in their gardens when there is sufficient food with consequences later.

Traditionally all Ipili were pig-herders, horticulturalists and hunters. The majority still are, but today many young men are going

for contract work on costal plantations and some in Porgera are acting as entrepreneurs in the work of sluicing and selling gold. Others get a share in the land lease payments of the gold company. Such people often buy store goods such as tinned fish and rice and so need to spend less time in their own gardens.

Dwelling houses are low structures made from split logs and with pandanus leaves lining the walls and covering the roof. This style of construction, especially when it has an enclosed porch, gives good insulation from the cold, but smoke cannot penetrate the roof and so fills the house, creeping out the low doorway at one end. Houses are approximately four meters wide; a man's house being approximately eight meters long and a woman's house a little longer. Now at Porgera many men are building "coastal" style, square, upright houses with woven "blind" walls.



Photograph 1. Landscape. Forest and mixed garden land in the upper Paiela Valley. Mt. Kumbipara is the cloud enveloped peak on the left.

Man and Man

Social Structure and Social Organization

Ipili live in dispersed homesteads in named autonomous local groups or parishes. The people within these parishes express their relationships in kinship terms even if there is no geneological connection between them. Parish territories are thought of as clan territories and permanent residents are regarded as clan members. Members of these clan territories act together in ritual, compensatory payments and warfare with outside groups. Generally clan members are said to have descended from a common ancestor, the rule of exogamy applies to the clan, and members try to settle internal disagreements by compensation rather than by fighting. Clans are linked to each other by the rule of exogamy in marriage and consequent kinship links, by exchange relations and by hostility to the same neighboring units. Clan territories are named and the boundaries between them are usually defined by rivers and streams.

I recorded the names of 74 clans throughout Porgera and Paiela. If the total population is 7,528, then the average clan would comprise 102 persons. Clans are necessarily small for an efficient division of labor with the shifting method of cultivation demanded by the difficult terrain and poor soils.

Sometimes several clans claim descent from a common ancestor. In such a case these clans together form a phratry. I found little importance attached to phratry links.

Some clan or phratry ancestors are non-human: animals, birds or trees. This suggests a quasi-totemic belief, but I found no evidence of totemism. Where a non-human ancestor was claimed, I found no taboos or "ritual" relations existing between persons and the ancestor, and their belief did not result in rules of behavior which were different from the rules of behavior relating to ancestors in general.

A classificatory kinship system operates within the clan limits and extends beyond it. Certain lineal and collateral relatives are merged terminologically. Thus members of the wife's clan of the same generation as the wife's parents are <u>imani</u> and all female members of

the wife's clan of the same generation as herself are palini. Male members of the same generation are amene (brothers). Mother's brother and his children (male and female) and father's sister and her children (male and female) are aini. Mother's sister and father's brother are angini (mother) and aijene (father) respectively.

Meggitt (1957b:37) says that the Ipili organization of clans is similar to the Enga clan system except that Ipili clans are smaller and less segmented and that there is a marked lateral spread in effective kin relationships which conceals the patri-lineal and -local character of Ipili clans. It is true that parish members are ideally thought to be related along the lines of an agnatic descent group so that ideally a clan parish would contain clansmen and their wives and unmarried daughters. However there are many non-agnatic men living in Ipili clan parishes who do not fulfil this ideal and some aspects of the social structure cannot be explained simply in terms of a marked lateral spread in effective kin relationships. I have had to question whether an agnatic model is fitting for Paiela and to what degree cognatic features effectively enter into the question of recruitment to descent groups.

If in Wabag I ask an Enga person the name of his clan he will reply immediately. Usually for males and unmarried females this is the clan of their father. If I ask an Ipili person the name of his clan he will often give me a number of names before he is finished, and if another person is present there might be discussion before he begins to reply to my question. Usually one of the names is that of his yubane ote line: his true patriclan. However a person may also list his wanda awene or the lines ego is linked to through women. These include his father's mother's line and his mother's line, the latter termed his angini totole. This identification with multiple lines leads me to believe that there is some form of cognatic ideology operative in association with an agnation.

There is additional observed behavior which further prompted me to look for cognatic features operating in the society. Firstly Ipili do not mind giving land to new-comers. They will point to the surrounding forested hills and admit that there is plenty of land and

that their line is small and that they would be glad of the strength of extra members. So long as the new-comer cooperates with his hosts he suffers no differential status because of the agnatic idiom of clan membership. To ask a person in which clan territory he has gardens can cause confusion because he might have them in land belonging to several clans. Sweet potato grows very slowly in the poor soil and people might plant a crop on the wife's father's land and tend it occasionally while living and eating from gardens on the husband's land.

Secondly, and following from the above, I noticed a good deal of residential mobility. I would have names belonging to one clan on a list, and then at a later date find several of these names appearing on a list from another area. Part of the reason for this is the practice of planting gardens on different clan lands. Sometimes after a domestic disagreement half a clan will go off to live somewhere else. This is possible with the availability of land. A group does not have absolute control over an individual. If a group should restrain a member too strongly, he can move somewhere else where he has land rights.

Thirdly, as Meggitt noted, it is obvious at times of death compensation or contribution to or distribution of bride price that there are large numbers of non-agnates living on clan land and that non-agnates living elsewhere also have an important influence.

Fourthly, in the sphere of intra-group authority, men whose "names are big" guide opinions by their economic and reputed military prestige. Where big-men of Enga clans are usually true agnates, Ipili big-men are often co-resident affines or cognates. Below I will look at the tenuous affiliation of Mangope, the powerful big-man of Porgera.

With my limited data on social organization I have been unable to distinguish conclusively between the operation of the different ideologies but I will outline some examples and the conclusions I have reached.

The phenomenon correlates with the notion of the paternal transmission of spirit to the child and the maternal transmission of substance. The paternal relation is operative in the unilineal ideal of agnation but initially a child belongs to the mother's clan through uterine

consanguinity, and the father's line must make payments at birth and throughout the child's life if it is to recruit ego to become part of the father's agnatic group. If the mother dies, the child goes to mother's brother's group unless the father has given or undertakes to give payment for the child. A sister transmits the substance both she and her brother receive from their common mother, so male ego's sister's child is constituted of some of his own substance as his own children are not, because they receive their woman-substance from their own mother.

This physiological way of looking at the transmission of substance does not necessarily contradict the transmission of descent group membership through males only, but operates together with it, usually at a different level. The maternal transmission of substance tends to operate on the level of personal kindred whereas the agnatic ideal of descent group recruitment operates more on the politico-jural level between descent groups and their segments.

The question which I now examine is: How do these two different bonds operate in practice? What are the different rules of behavior between two <u>individuals</u> who are agnatically related and between two <u>individuals</u> who are related by uterine ties? Following from this: What are the rules of behavior between <u>groups</u> of individuals who are related by agnatic and <u>groups</u> related by uterine ties?

Though there may be differences I have no data which distinguishes between these two bonds on the level of kindred or individual relations except for the terminological differences. There appear to be similar rights and obligations in relation to land, exchange, ritual obligations and everyday dealing such as house-building, gardening, etc. The cognatic bond is often inoperative because of residential separation but it works especially in recruiting mother's brothers and sister's sons to exchange partnerships.

On the level of descent group relations there is a difference. Two segments of a clan may stand as brother-brother (<u>amene</u>) or brother-sister (<u>imalini</u>) to each other. Both groups co-operate but the difference can be seen especially in marriage relations and in death compensation.

Brothers or amene work together in contributions to bride-price and redistribution to each other whatever they receive in similar contexts. Failure to contribute and to share is tantamount to the expression of the desire to convert the 'brother' relationship into some other relationship. Two brother groups might fall out over the question of distribution and re-establish friendship as wanda lauwa lauwa or groups which exchange women. Brother groups, because of the rule of exogamy, do not intermarry, whereas wanda lauwa lauwa do. The conversion of the exchange relationship from co-contribution and co-distribution to the exchange of women in marriage is sufficient to rephrase the relationship of the lines, from lines that descend from a common ancestor to lines otherwise related, perhaps through a recognized female link.

Several clans (eg. Angalaini) are said to have begun with the migration of a brother and sister. Both brother and sister are ancestral, so internal segments of the clan stand as imalini (sister) to each other. Half the members of the Apua clan (see Figure 1) are sororally linked to the patriline. The usage of the Melanesian Pidgin term 'haplain' seems to be associated with brother-sister segments but I have not sufficient data to discuss the implications in practice, or the relation of these segments to the wanda lauwa lauwa which exchange women.

In death compensation the general rule is that the husband or patrikin of the deceased compensate the natal group for the death of that person. In the case of murder, the killer's paternal kin compensate the victim's relatives. After this the victim's patrikin redistribute the compensation among themselves and to the victim's matrikin. If a man lived with his affines they act as patrikin and pay the maternal agnates. If he lived with his maternal kin, they give the mourning feast and no payment is necessary because sister's children by virtue of co-residence have become clan brothers or amene and compensation would be meaningless.

The same principle of participation in exchange life applies to both relationships between groups and the relationship of an individual to a group. How an individual participates in the exchange life

of a group specifies whether he is thought to be agnatically or cognatically related to it regardless of geneology. An agnate participates as a 'brother' in co-contribution and a cognate participates as an exchange partner.

Mangope, the most important man in the Porgera area helps to illustrate this point. His agnatic relatives were from Tari, and his relation to the Tieni clan was through a man Timbalu, who was his father's mother's brother. Timbalu himself had become a member of the Tieni clan through his wife's mother. So, in fact, Mangope's geneological relation to the Tieni clan was through his father's mother's brother's wife's mother. He activated the cognatic relationship with Timbalu to obtain land and then by co-contribution in Tieni exchange relations his terminological status changed and he was regarded as amene. He became not only the most influential man in his clan, but also in the whole district and was paramount luluai (government headman) until he was murdered in 1971.

I have emphasized the significance of participation in exchange over landrights because this is more important in defining descent group membership. A person may use a cognatic bond to claim land but will be recognized as part of the descent group only once he becomes a co-contributor in exchange. Land rights are flexible. A land title might be held in common or by an individual. Common land rights go to a man's heirs when he dies. The rights to individually held land go to his descendants, male and female. The person who obtains land from his or her father is the residual title holder who has rights to dispose of this land. Tracing land rights back several generations reveals a number of cognatically related descendants who have provisional rights to the land by virtue of being the descendants of a former title holder. Such a person with provisional land rights may approach the residual title holder for use of the land and he will seldom be refused. If he voluntarily relinquishes the use of these provisional rights, they automatically go back to the residual title holder. If the residual title holder dies in the meantime, the residual rights may pass to the dead man's heirs or to the provisional title holder

depending on how he participates in clan exchange relations and as Meggitt comments (1957b:36) "by the claimant's having a long memory and a strong arm."

This is what a man is referring to when he is asked the name of his clan and he gives a string of answers. He is using the name of a corporate descent group to signify a category of individuals with which he is geneologically linked through any of his grandparents. He lists those groups in which he holds potential land rights. People use the names of corporate descent groups outside the context of corporate descent group membership.

The chart of the Apua clan geneology (Figure 1) records those persons considered by resident clan members to be part of their corporate descent group. Four points are of interest here. Firstly, the geneology has a depth of nine generations which exceeds Meggitt's claim (1957b:37) that few Ipili can trace their descent further back than their grandparents' generation. The other three clans from which I obtained geneologies went back ten, seven and six generations respectively.

Secondly, the first four generations are linked through males which is natural in a society which has an agnatic ideal on the politico-jural level of descent group membership.

Thirdly, half the members in the later generations are linked through women and are sororally linked to the patriline. I am not sure whether these are recognized 'sister' relations or whether they have been converted into 'brother' relations. Some of these would not be resident on Apua land but are still thought to be members because of their exchange relations.

Fourthly, the chart shows that over fifty percent of those linked to the clan through marriage come from right outside the area. I think that Meggitt (1957-58a:40) has under-estimated the frequencies of extra-local contacts. He found that seventy-seven percent of Porgera spouses were of Porgera-Tipinini origin. My figures for the four clans, for spouses of similar origin are consistently lower.

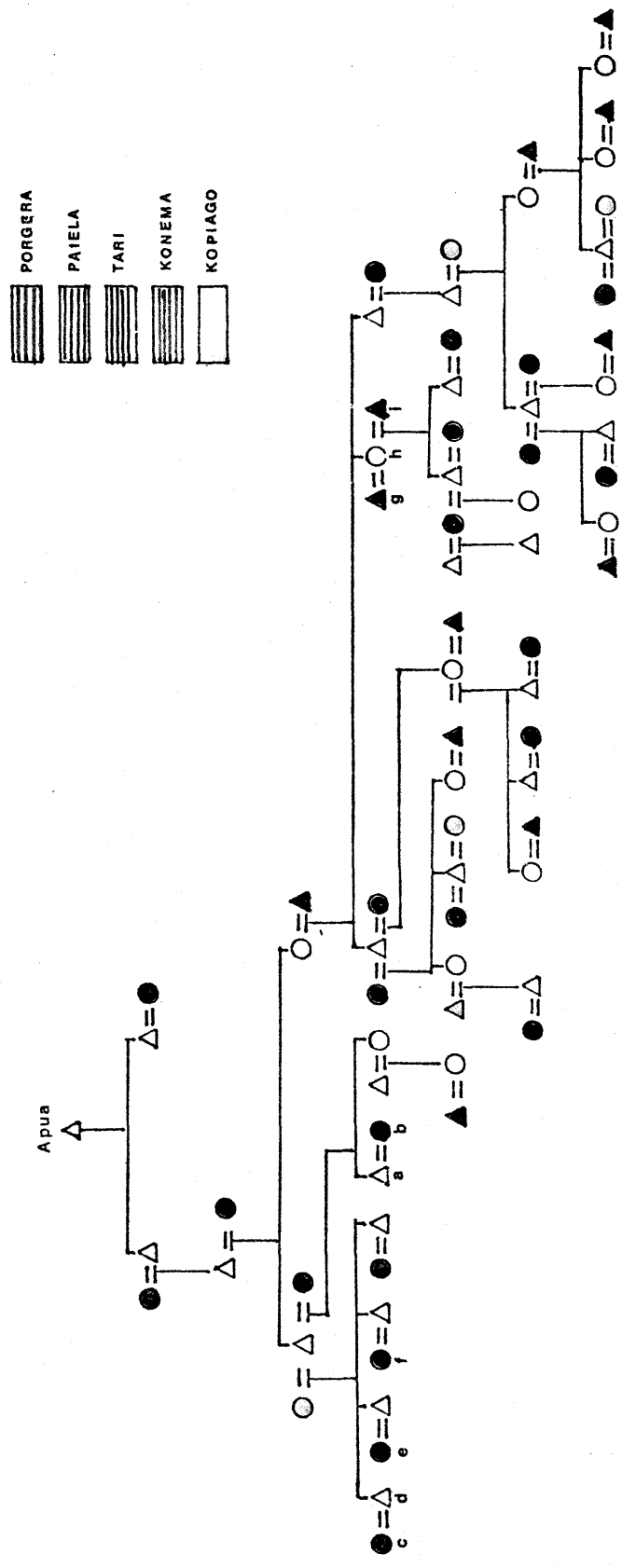


Figure 1. Marriage, male and female into the Apua Clan over nine generations

Tekapain - 64 percent;

Tuwanda - 54 percent;

Angalaini - 60 percent (This figure is not comparable because the Angalaini clan has land in both Porgera and Paiela);

Apua - 46 percent.

Table 1 shows graphically the distribution of extra-local contracts in marriage relations. The clans are listed left to right as they are found geographically in an east-west line. The home areas of spouses are listed from top to bottom also as they are found geographically in a roughly east-west line. The chart helps to show how those eastern clans inter-marry with Enga groups while the western clans inter-marry with Huli and Duna groups. The high percentage of marriage relations with groups of very different social structure from their own is evidence for my claim that Ipili social structure is neither uniform nor easy to determine.

The purpose of this work is to investigate the Ipili religious system. I am discussing the social structure only because it is associated with the religious system. I have outlined the basis of the social structure and some of the problems associated with it. Further clarification will only come with other studies concentrating on the social structure. The basic ritual grouping is the local group associated with the clan parish or sub-group within the parish. Ancestral spirits and ghosts are closely associated with clan territory, so it is the residential group which combines to make offerings to the respective ghosts and ancestral spirits. Ideally these ghosts or ancestral spirits are considered to be the ancestors of the resident members of the parish group. When the corporate descent group is involved as in offerings to ancestral spirits, it is the agnatic relationships which are important as is illustrated in the first four generations of the Apua clan. When smaller groups meet, for instance in the placation of ghosts, cognatic relations play a part and both ghosts of father and mother, grandfather and grandmother are feared.

TABLE 1

MARRIAGE MOVEMENTS INTO FOUR CLANS

		Tekapain		Tuwanda		Angalaini		Apua	
		F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
Central Enga	Wabag					2			
	Laiagam	4							
	Maramuni	1	1						
	Hewa	1		1					
Fringe Enga	Wage-Kandep	9	3	1					
	Muritaka	10	4	2	1				
	Tipinini	19	25		2				
	Porgera	15	5	20	14	12	15	5	1
	Paiela			14	9	9	4	13	7
Huli	Tari	1	2	1	1		3	3	3
	Konema							3	3
Duna	Kopiago							4	1
	European				1				

NOTE:--Tekapain: from Tippinini; 10 generations; 100 unions.

Tuwanda: the two sons of Tuwanda came from Tari to Porgera and settled at Apelak on land formerly held by Tieni; 6 generations; 67 unions.

Angalaini: Originally from Taro Enga. After a fight at Porgera some moved to Andita in the Paiela Valley; 6-7 generations; 45 unions.

Apua: Originally from Laiagam area. Settled for a time near Porgera and then after 3-4 generations moved to Paiela; 9 generations; 43 unions.

Leadership and Exchange

Traditionally there are no hereditary or formally elected chiefs or headmen. Local groups are guided by men "whose names are big." They achieve this status by economic and military prestige. Leadership is an achieved status, though birth can have some influence. At one time I used the son of a prestigious Big Man as a translator. Though the boy was young and quite shy, it was noticable how older men were prepared to listen to him. Geneological claim to land is not an important value in becoming a Big Man. People say that ritual experts, though respected, seldom become true Big Men because as Big Men they must be continually involved in purely economic rather than ritual affairs.

Because of their influence many traditional Big Men were appointed "government bossboys"; then some became luluais (Administration Headmen). Now in Porgera, and soon in Paiela, elections are being held for a local government council run by councillors and komitis (assistant councillors). The traditional fighting leaders are now too old to be eligible and men are preferred who are rich in white man's wealth and who can speak some Melanesian Pidgin. The gold sluicing operations in Porgera and the opportunity for contract labor in coastal plantations have short circuited the access to valuable resources. Younger men have opportunities to earn money and to buy highly valued European goods such as axes, blankets, saucepans and custom-made cigarettes. At the time I left Porgera, two men had together bought a new four-wheel-drive vehicle costing Aust$5,000.

Despite the influx of European goods, traditional valuables continue to be exchanged, especially in bride-wealth and funerary compensations, and Big Men continue to play a crucial co-ordinating role.

The way men seek to establish exchange relationships through marriage can be seen in the pattern in Table 1. These relationships were usually developed with various clans though, as previously mentioned, to establish multiple trade relations with one clan is not thought of as silly as with the Enga. Because of the weaker emphasis on agnation, relations with cognates are more easily established, and there is not

so much need to spread ties to a particular clan by marriage exchange relations.

Male-Female Relations

Male-female relations in the Porgera and Paiela Valleys reflect the unease and anxiety which is characteristic of the whole of the Western and Southern Highlands. Meggitt (1964:221) includes the Ipili in the Mae syndrome along with the Huli, where women are relegated to an inferior position and the men expect deference from them. This is certainly true for the Ipili women. From my observations in both the Enga District and Porgera, I consider that the Porgera women have a much lower status than their Enga counterparts. I am not sure how much this is due to the greater extent of European contact among the Enga in Wabag and Laiagam.

I give a few examples of female status. It is common to hear a man referring to his wife as "his" in the sense that he had bought her and so could do what he liked with her. Occasions for this sort of statement arose when a woman was objecting to the husband taking a second wife, or in a court resulting from a beating. When I visited a station, men sat around the house smoking and the women sat together at the edge of the station near the bush. Women are given the worst portions of pig and then only after the men. At court-cases over extra-marital relations, the female party might be asked her opinion but this is seldom taken as evidence unless confirmed by the male party or a male witness. Though it does not happen so much now, the Catholic priest told me how, nine years ago when he came, he was surprised to see small boys giving orders to their mothers which had to be obeyed. Children who bit their mother's breats could not be given a severe punishment. If the child became ill shortly after, the sickness would be blamed on the mother and she would be beaten in turn.

In the past there was strict segregation of the sexes and severe punishments were given to those who transgressed. Young men were not permitted to look at women, nor did they want to because they thought this would endanger their well-being.

The segregation is obvious in residence patterns. Men live together in men's houses with several other clansmen. Formerly five or six would live together for added protection. Now with no fighting they tend to live two or three to a house, though there is much visitation. In Porgera some live in the same house as their wives but this is not common. Someone still has to look after the pigs, and this is the job of the woman in the woman's house. If a woman comes to a man's house today he might be angry with her but there will be no punishment.

Reasons behind the uneasy male-female relations are to be found in the Ipili conception of maleness and femaleness. The male element is a person's spirit which comes from the ancestors and is given by the sun. The menstrual blood of the mother provides the body of the child. Hence a child is intimately linked maternally through flesh and blood derived from the mother. I will describe certain bachelor rites which the boys had to perform to enable them to lose their femininity and grow into men.

Birth

A woman normally gives birth alone, though some female relatives stay close-by to help if necessary. Using wooden tongs the placenta is put in a rain-mat and hung in a tree in the forest. When she is strong enough the woman returns to her house. After five days the husband sends a packet of liko leaves to her. He also cooks a taro in a fire made from the wood of the yar tree and sends this to his wife. When she has completed the liko ritual and eaten the taro, a fire is lit outside and a dance is performed where young boys jump repeatedly over the fire.

When the post-partum sex taboo was explained to me by the men, they did not mention the health of the child. They said they were afraid that they would swell up if they had relations with a woman who was nursing a child.

Marriage

Men aspired to polygamy because the more wives a man has, the more pigs can be fed and housed and so more distributions and exchanges can be made.

Now there are less polygamous unions because with the establishment of peace, there are more men. Also the missions actively discourage the practice and men are marrying at a younger age than before.

The rule of exogamy applies to all clan members and close cognates though I found examples of abuses of this rule possibly due to a a change from wanda lauwa lauwa to amene status. Certainly there would be no marriage within one's sub-clan or the sub-clan or one's grandparents. Establishing multiple clan relations is not regarded as a waste as with the Enga. In Figure 1, two brothers married e and f, both women from the same Yokone clan. A widow if still young will go to the deceased's brother if he wants her. In Figure 1, a was killed, so b went as wife c to d, a's brother. After her first husband g was killed, h went to g's brother i.

As Meggitt notes, the Ipili do not have the same sort of courting parties as the Enga, but they do have organized parties called tawanda which fulfill a similar function. Groups of men and women, old and young, crowd into the open-sided shelter built for the occasion. Late at night older women and younger children leave as the songs become more centered on courting. A man will try to sit near his favorite so that he can talk when there is a lull in the singing. Today the tawanda is linked as much with business (selling rice and portions of pork) as with courting. Men will also try to impress women at the festivities associated with bride-wealth distributions and compensatory payments.

The ideal number for bride-wealth is twenty-seven, the standard unit of Ipili numbering. This is the number from which negotiations begin. Negotiating parties might compromise on the number of "somethings" to be exchanged and will argue at length about what the "somethings" will be. What is most important is the number of breeding sows to be given. Once this is settled (usually three to six) then the remainder is made up with less valuable pigs and other gifts.

At an Enga distribution of bride-wealth in Wabag, the girl, with the help of her parents distributes the pigs to her relatives. In Porgera and especially in Paiela, the girl has no say as to who receives pigs. This is usually done by a brother, her father or mother's

brother and she need not even be present. She is more a token of exchange than an agent in the exchange. Sometimes a girl's close relatives might have no say in the marriage. If the girl wants to marry, all she has to do is find some relative to distribute pigs to others who are cognatically related. I witnessed several cases in which a girl was given by her brother against the will of her father and mother. In one case the girl was given as a second wife to pay back a debt.

Those taking part in the distribution meet at a pre-arranged place on neutral ground. Even those who are very distantly related go along to observe. Once the exchanges are completed and the return gift is killed and half sides are sent to the girl's group to share among the contributors of the return gift. The rest of the pork is eaten by the contributors of the bride-wealth. I do not know how pigs are distributed proportionately to patri- and matri-kin.

The rights acquired by the groom include the bride's services in childrearing, gardening and pig-raising; the right of exclusive sexual access and the right of determining the bride's place of residence. The wife performs few domestic services for her husband. She only seldom cooks food for him and does no work in the men's house. She holds no monopoly on her husband's attentions.

Death

Death through illness might be attributed to being "eaten" by a ghost, poisoned by an ipatiti demon or other yama spirit, or poisoned by a woman. A diagnosis and perhaps an autopsy will be made depending on the type of illness. Accidental death is attributed to the whims of the sun (nii), the ancestral spirits or to the mischief of an ipatiti. Others die through fighting or murder. Even if a man dies many years after a fight injury they will invariably attribute the death to that injury and claim compensation.

When a person is near death, the call goes out to the relatives to come and mourn. Except in the case of a very important man, the burial will normally be on that same day. I remember an incident in which the relatives were preparing to bury a woman who still had a

very weak pulse. They were not happy about my suggestion that they should wait, because they said that they wanted to get the burial over and be home before it got dark.

Burial is normally in a garden and a cordyline fence is planted around the grave. Sometimes a drinking gourd is placed on the grave and close relatives keep the area clean. In Paiela some used to follow the Huli custom of exposing the corpse on a rough elevated coffin. The people say that this practice is discouraged by the government and I witnessed this practice only once, after the death of a child.

Relatives who gather at the funeral demonstrate their grief by weeping. Sometimes close kin will cut off a finger as a sign to the ghost of how saddened they are. For a year widows will wear several necklets of grey beads and skirts which sweep down to the ground as a sign of mourning. If a husband dies of some unusual cause, a widow must mourn very convincingly or she might be suspected of causing her husband's death by poison or failing to observe menstrual taboos.

Ipili fighting was characterized by single murders and small skirmishes. An old fight leader told me of the cycle of deaths by the fighting. When a man was killed there was no mourning feast until his death was avenged or fully compensated. The dead man's kin had to avenge the death or else the ghost would surely return and "bite" one of them. So the revenge killing was really a form of self-protection. The time after a man was killed was like a time of siege for the killers. People could not go to gardens far from their houses for fear of being killed. Eventually if there was no avenging death, hunger forced the killers to offer compensation. Some pork was sent as a sign of truce and arrangements made for the death compensations so that people could walk about more freely to their gardens.

Man and the Non-Empirical

Religion

The first part of this chapter dealt with the Ipili and his environment. The second part dealt with the Ipili social structure and social organization. In this third section I will deal with the Ipili

and the non-empirical realm. Together these three realms: nature, man and the spirits, compose the total cosmos, the logically integrated system which is the Ipili world view.

For my definition of religion I take the one provided by Lawrence and Meggitt in the introduction to Gods Ghosts and Men in Melanesia (p. 8), "Religion is the putative extension of men's social relationships into the non-empirical realm of the cosmos." With the basic assumption that the non-empirical beings affect their lives, men seek to initiate and maintain a right relationship with these in the hope of manipulating them.

Apart from being an extension of social human relationships into the non-empirical, religion, by a process of explanation and validation contributes to man's intellectual life in myths concerning spiritual beings (deities, autonomous spirit-beings and spirits of the dead), and beliefs relating to the nature of the universe and man's place in it. Myths relate present day practice to beliefs and events in the distant past, so giving continuity and meaning to established patterns of the society. The actors in the myths not only lived and worked in the past, but validate practices in the present. Ritual acts in turn reinforce and transmit the beliefs. Usually there is a religious specialist who performs acts of divination and who approaches the spirit-beings on behalf of the people. Prayers or invocations may take the form of propitiation, bargaining or coercion. Sometimes forces are believed to be controlled by sympathetic magic where power is usually attributed to the ritual itself rather than any spirit-being.

Religion copes with both problems of meaning and problems of power. In one sense it is a man's attempt to give order and sense to his human existence, but it is also very much a response to forces felt by man. There are the forces of nature and the environment. There are the continually changing socio-political forces in relationships with men. There are relationships with spirit-beings, deceased relatives and clan ancestors, all seen as part of the physical environment. To ensure security, men seek to control these relationships with nature, men and the spirits.

Many Ipili activities such as marriage and exchange are essentially secular activities with no orientation toward extrahuman beings and no belief that they influence what is happening. I as investigator look at the people's total way of life and emphasize those aspects where the non-empirical really appears to be important.

Generally the importance attached to religious belief and practice shows those aspects of the cosmos about which people feel the most acute anxiety. This does not mean to say that anxiety always evokes a religious response or that a religious response is only triggered by anxiety. But I do see a definite relationship between anxiety and religion and I think anxiety is a spur to action and explanation. The usual response to anxiety is a very secular one. Secular techniques and his own intellect are a man's first means of success. However when these techniques prove inadequate for him to feel secure about the results, he uses religious ritual as an extension of his technology in an attempt to control his environment. Ritual is crisis-centered, so men seek the help of clan ancestors to ensure the well-being of their gardens and pigs only when things start to go wrong in ways beyond their control, or when a relative becomes seriously ill. An offering involving the killing of pigs is an expensive business.

The religious response can be both individual and collective, and ritual can range from a whispered magical formula through a household ritual to a community-wide set of rites. If an anxiety provoking occasion is experienced alone, the response may well be an individual one: A man beginning to cross a dangerous bridge will whisper a spell so that the sun will see him safely to the other side. In collective areas of concern, society provides appropriate channels of expression and society determines the form of ritual the group will perform on these occasions. At times of hardship a whole clan together make propitiatory offering to their ancestor spirits.

Major sources of anxiety for the Ipili have been:

Death: either by fighting, sickness or misfortune;

Failure of gardens and shortage of food;

The gaining of prestige: seen in material wealth and threatened especially by sickness and death of pigs:

Misfortunes such as falling and injuring oneself or being hit by a falling tree;

Man's well-being threatened by women;

Social relations with other groups which had to be strengthened and reinforced.

There were many other sources of individual and collective anxiety, but for manageable discussion I will keep to the major ones.

The problem situation and the response to it can be set out in a simple way as in Table 2.

TABLE 2

RELIGIOUS RESPONSES TO CRISIS SITUATIONS

Crisis Situation	"Religious" Response	Participants
Threat of death by:		
Fighting	Spells made to ancestor spirits and the sun	Individual
Sickness	Offerings to ghosts or *yama* spirits. *Kolo*, *Koipa*, *Ekekaima*	Close Relatives
Misfortune	Propitiatory offerings to *yama* spirits or ghosts	Close Relatives
Failure of Gardens and General Sickness		
Minor	Offerings made to ancestral spirits. *One*, *Litu*	Clan
Major	Kepele offering Lyeimi Millanerian Movement	Supra-clan
Prestige	Wealth Magic	Individual
Male-Female Relations	Bachelor Ritual Protective magic	Clan Individual
Social Relations		
(Positive)	(No positive religious response though strengthened social relations a latent function of clan ritual)	———
(Negative)	Sorcery	Individual

It is possible to look at religion from three angles: form, content, and function.

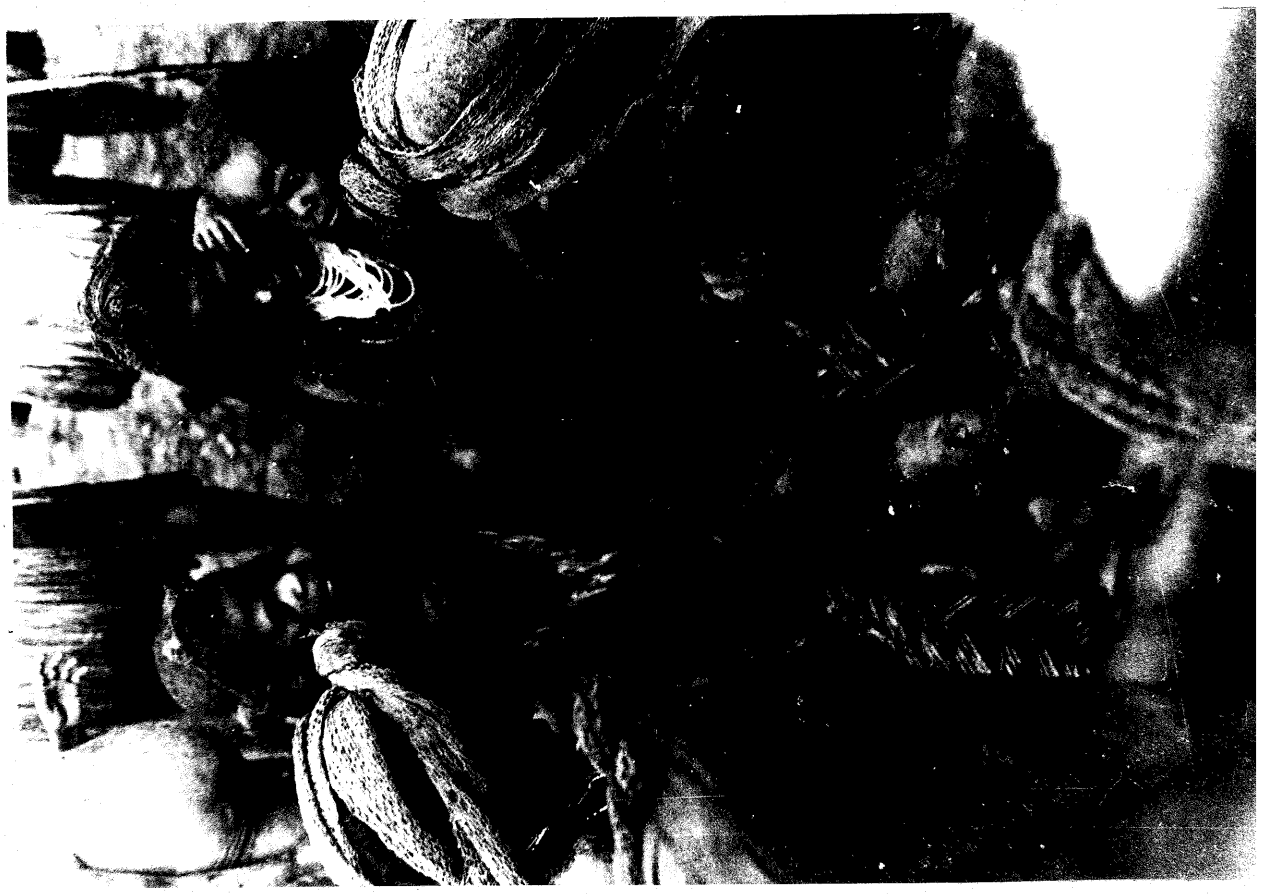
Firstly, there is the form of the external expression. This is the observable religious behavior such as ritual, spells and ceremonies.

Secondly there is the content or the doctrine and the belief system behind the doctrine. Unlike the large libraries of the major world religions, this is found in unsystematized basic assumptions in myths and stories in Melanesian religion.

Thirdly, there is the function of the religion. We can distinguish between the external and internal functions. The external function is the role religion plays in the culture from the point of view of an outside observer. It is a social function that strengthens group identity. The ritual draws different groups together. The internal function is the aim of the religion. For the Ipili this is the intellectual assumption that man can control the cosmic order by performing ritual--ie., it is a 'technology.'

In the next chapter I shall describe the form and content of Ipili religion, the religious response in belief and ritual to the sources of anxiety listed above. To some extent this will be looking at religion in isolation, but in Chapter III, I will look at the function of religion, the part it plays in economic and social life, and its importance for understanding the Ipili approach to reality. In Part II of this work I will show how some of the anxiety-evoking situations have changed and how the response in religion has changed accordingly.

Photograph 2. Cane bridges such as these make travelling hazardous.



Photograph 3. A mother and relatives grieve over a dead child.

CHAPTER II

TRADITIONAL IPILI BELIEF AND PRACTICE

In this chapter, which is largely descriptive, I will describe Ipili beliefs in the super-human beings which inhabit their environment and outline the associated ritual which is assumed to establish contact between man and these beings.

Firstly I will discuss man's initial religious response which is divination: determining which part of the non-empirical realm is the source of the problem. Secondly I will deal with the non-empirical beings: ghosts, demon spirits, ancestral spirits, and sky beings. Finally I shall investigate some magical practices: protective magic, wealth magic and sorcery.

I will discuss the non-empirical beings in their order of importance in the Ipili mind.

In conversation and in the questionnaire I administered (Appendix C), it was apparent that ghosts are very important in everyday life: 58 percent responded that traditionally when people became sick, they would make propitiatory offerings to their (dead) father or mother. Another 20 percent said the offering would be made to their tumbuna (Melanesian Pidgin: ancestors, especially grandparents).

Demon spirits are also important in daily life especially ipatiti demons. When current fears of ghosts and ipatiti demons were compared, the number of those admitting that they were very afraid of ipatiti demons was double the number of persons admitting they were very afraid of ghosts.

Ghosts of recent dead ancestors and demon spirits are the most immanent of the beings inhabiting the non-empirical realm and consequently figure more in everyday life. Remote dead ancestors are not so close to daily life, are more transcendent and are consequently more powerful in their influence on man and the environment.

Sky beings and Mythical heroes figure occasionally in people's lives, but they are the most prominent personnel of the myths and stories.

Table 3 lists the non-empirical beings to be discussed in the text.

TABLE 3

THE IPILI SPIRIT WORLD

	Yama			Taweakali
	Recent Dead	Remote Dead	Yama Demons (in strict sense)	
General		Ancestors kaima litu	Demons: ipatiti yolape matawe itati koip	Taweakali as a category of sky beings
Particular	Deceased relatives (ghosts of mother, father, children, etc.)	kepele mundupa pongo nalembe	Female Spirits: one yutuwana akaini Animal Spirits: kopi kawieya pinu makota Stone form: komaipa awalo Other: pataka nenginengi	Nii (sun) Isini lyala (star)
		Mythical Heroes (Kimala, Kaunala Tape, etc.)		Kawara women

Note: The line between Remote Dead and sky beings is left open because the correct placement of some beings such as mythical heroes is ambiguous.

Divination

A misfortune such as sickness always has a cause. With no germ theory, sickness is attributed to the work of ghosts, demons or sorcerers. Sometimes the cause of a misfortune is fairly clear. If a man becomes ill and remembers that he saw an ipatiti demon a short time before, then he will know that the ipatiti is the cause and take appropriate counter-measures. If he has recently jilted a girl and becomes ill then he will know that she is somehow poisoning him. However very often when people become ill, pigs die, gardens go dry or floods and landslides occur, then the cause will not be certain and some form of divination will be used. Men described these techniques as being like a "radio." If I had trouble I could talk to our Mt. Hagen base by radio. If they have trouble they can use a medium to communicate with the spirit world.

The most common form is leaf-blowing (aleka piakali). The fleshy leaf of the daka tree is rolled into a tube and special bespelled ground (yu tonge) is packed around it. A man nominates a suspected ghost or demon and blows sharply into the tube. Some say that if the breath is checked then the ghost or demon is known. Others say they know when the breath suddenly blows freely through the tube. Once the cause is known, men realize what action must be taken.

Another common form of divination uses a small net-bag (nu aleka) held by a woman who is known to have prophetic powers. Some object associated with a recently dead person is placed in the net-bag; a piece of hair, a shell or something similar. The bag is swung gently to and fro and the diviner addresses questions to it. A change in the direction of the swing indicates an affirmative answer.

In another method (aiapu) a woman known to have prophetic powers uses the ghost of a recently dead kinsman to communicate the wishes of the spirit world. It is thought that when a man dies, then his spirit stays close to either his mother or his sister or female child for several weeks. If a woman dies, her ghost stays close to her mother, sister or female child. Hence the ability of some women to act as mediums in interpreting whistles (yope) and other noises made by the

ghost in answer to questions. There are noises in the pandanus roofing when the ghost departs. I was told that ghosts can only whistle because they have no teeth.

Paiela people sometimes follow the Huli practice of keeping the skulls or jawbones of dead humans inside trees or banks near their homes. These bones can be used in divination. In tolo peleyama a bone is put on top of a piece of wood inside the house and a piece of pig is cooked in the fire to attract the ghost. The diviner then addresses questions to the bone such as, "Is there an enemy coming my way?" or "Is litu the cause of my sick pigs?" A noise from the bone indicates a positive answer.

One divination technique employs two men each holding one end of a stick about 2m long. The men face each other and the stick is moved to and fro lengthways at shoulder height. One man holds small stones in his left hand. He calls the name of a ghost or demon and then throws a stone over the stick. Apparently the stick suddenly jerks of its own accord when the correct spirit is nominated.

When a man is suspected as having died from some form of sorcery, an autopsy is held.[1] The lungs, liver and heart are inspected for dark markings. Often old fight wounds are found and these are nominated as the cause of death.[2] The relatives of the original attacker are asked for compensation. Many heated arguments have arisen of late over this because the new Local Government Council in Porgera has banned this sort of payment because this form of moka compensation was a major cause of fighting in the past.

Coherent dreams (kombea) experienced by responsible persons can often indicate ghostly intentions towards the dreamer. Dreams of initiates at the bachelor's rites (umaritsia) are thought to be especially significant and much time is spent in interpreting them.

One man well known for interpreting dreams gave me examples of significant symbols. They include the following:

1. A landslide covers the dreamer: he will soon die.
2. The dreamer holds a pearl shell: one of his relatives will soon die. (A pearl shell in a dream represents a jaw-bone.)
3. The dreamer wears a broken pearl shell: one of his children will soon die.

4. The dreamer has intercourse with his wife: he will not be able to do this again in real life.
5. The dreamer sees a man who is a friend, but the man just turns and walks away from him: the friend will soon die, his spirit having already gone.
6. A man or woman walks down to the Pakupali River: (s)he will soon die. (The lower reaches of the Pakopali are regarded as a "hot" place where the spirits live. It is also the road to the country of the much-feared Hewa people.)
7. A man eats marata pandanus fruit: he will soon become a spirit (die). (Common belief has it that spirits plant the marata tree.)
8. The dreamer is walking in a cold place among pandanus trees: he will live for a long time. (Most varieties of pandanus are thought of as being "strong.")
9. Sugarcane in his garden is broken: the pig of a friend will die. If it is in the garden of another man, his own pig will die. (In dreams a pig is represented by sugarcane.)
10. An expected friend is coming: he won't come. (He has already come in the dream.)
11. A large tree falls: a clansman will soon die.
12. The dreamer cuts down a pandanus tree and distributes the fruit: he will get a pig at the next distribution.
13. The dreamer refuses a pig: a fight will soon develop.
14. A bachelor dreams that he looks his girl-friend straight in the face: she will go to another man.
15. A bachelor dreams that he looks at his girl-friend and she turns and walks away: they will not marry.

I have given the examples above in the order in which they were related to me. It can be seen that unfavorable predictions outweigh the favorable by 13:2. Like Meggitt (1962:226), I think this gives a fair representation of the universe as the Ipili see it.

If a man has a striking dream (one often mentioned is having intercourse with one's sister), which he cannot interpret easily then he might call in a diviner who will perform angapapaka wyalam.[3] The diviner recites a spell which calls the names of trees such as pulaipia, kunaupe, anga or lasui; all "strong" trees. He repeats this several times and looks for an omen. If a fly or a beetle comes close, it is a sign that the man will die. The sighting of a bird is a good omen.

If the omen is one fortelling misfortune then the diviner stands apart from the group and mutters appeals to the ghosts while a pig is killed. He then takes the heart and lungs and holds them up to the sun while appealing to the ghost responsible for the impending misfortune

to leave the man alone. He then repeats the spell calling names of strong trees and looks again for an omen. If the bird is sighted then the ghost has been placated. If a fly or beatle is sighted, then the misfortune will still come upon the man and he must find another way of averting it.

Divination is an important prerequisite to all ritual. Because Ipili ritual does not work automatically, but rather seeks to propriate a powerful non-empirical being, a man must first determine what it is that is the cause of the crisis situation. Nothing happens without a reason. Once the reason is determined a man knows the sort of ritual offering which will be necessary to placate or bargain with the malevolent spirit being.

I could never determine satisfactorily how the Ipili choose the form of divination for a specific case. I think that different misfortunes call for different forms of divination, but I cannot give any systematic relation. The most common misfortune was sickness, and this was usually attributed to ghostly malevolence. Hence I will turn to the subject of ghosts or spirits or the recent dead.

Ghosts

The Ipili notion of ghosts is based on the belief that a man has a body derived from his mother and an immaterial part of his personality which survives death called tindini or imambu. This spirit is derived from his father. Some think that it resides in the belly; others say it stays in the head. One common theory is that the tindini is in a man's blood. A man with good blood is a strong man, but if he cuts his leg and loses blood then he loses part of his spirit and feels weak. If a man looses all his blood then his spirit is gone and he dies.

Most say that when a man dies his spirit leaves the body with the last breath and lives on as a ghost (talepa). A ghost is the spirit of a recently deceased human being which continues to live on in clan land and affect the daily life of men and women. By recently dead, I mean one who has died within living memory and can be easily placed in the geneological structure.

Ghosts seldom figure in myths and are not like creative or regulative deities. Ghosts exist as part of the non-empirical realm of the cosmos, somewhere between the day-to-day profane and the more powerful ancestor spirits. They live closer to men than any other non-empirical beings. They are not at best neutral but usually malicious and so are greatly feared. Though they distinguish between remote and recent dead, the Ipili do not make a sharp distinction between them or see them residing separately as with the Enga (Meggitt 1965b:111). A ghost remains in clan territory and does not become one of a homogenous group of ancestors after killing a person. As a ghost becomes removed by more than one generation it is more likely to be referred to as one of the yama than as a talepa.[4] As a ghost becomes a more distant ancestor, then its influence on a small group of relatives lessens; it attains wider powers in conjunction with other clan ancestors affecting the fertility of clan land and the well-being of the clan as a whole.

Many Ipili say that they do not know where ghosts reside and that they are not very interested. The deceased are buried in garden land not far from their houses, and offerings to ghosts are made from a cooking shelter near houses. Thus I agree with a general consensus that ghosts reside in the ground close to their former homes, within their clan territory.

Ghosts show little interest in purely economic affairs. No personal property is buried with a dead person, though sometimes a water gourd is left on the grave in case the ghost is thirsty. Ghosts like to eat the smell of cooking pig, but show little interest in inhibiting or promoting the general fertility of pigs, women or gardens. The usual sphere of life ghosts enter is misfortune and sickness; where someone contracts an unexplained illness, a woman has a miscarriage, someone is bitten by a pig, a man has the tree he is cutting fall on him.

Their malicious attitude reflects the fact that ghosts are an extension of the social structure. Social relations with a ghost are similar to those which existed while the ghost was alive as a person. A ghost remains a member of an existing social group and is most likely

to attack its living relatives. Ipili fear both agnatic and affinal ghosts. When asked which ghosts they feared the majority replied, "those of our father and mother." This refers firstly to their true father and mother, but it can also refer to their grandparents or to mother's sister or father's brother. The need to make offerings to relatives of both male and female ghosts no doubt encourages geneological knowledge.

Ghost attack is not a general moral sanction which punishes all wrongs. Ghosts will attack indiscriminately. However, an attack often reveals a moral value in social relationships. An attack may reflect outstanding disputes or injustices while the ghost was alive. An attack may be indirect, although it may punish a man by killing his relative so as to cause him distress, as is often the case in the death of a child. When a person dies relatives go to considerable lengths to demonstrate their grief for if a ghost is forgotten it might attack as a reminder to the living.

Besides demonstrating grief, the mortuary ceremonies serve the important socio-political function of bringing grieving relatives together. In the grieving and in the compensatory payments they are reminded of their common interest and allegiance.

Ghost attack can come at any time, day or night. When a ghost comes to "bite" someone its presence is perceived either by its soft whistle (yope) or the appearance of its "faeces" (talepa ii: a spongy pale-yellow material--see Photograph 4) inside a house or on plants close to it. People are very fearful when they find talepa ii not because of the substance itself, but because they know it means that someone close to them (perhaps themselves) will soon sicken and die.

An attack is not always without warning. Theresia, a young woman at Mungalep, had a miscarriage with her first pregnancy. This resulted in peritonitis and she died. The families of both her mother and father then claimed compensation from the husband, accusing him of having intercourse with her when she was pregnant. The husband refused payment and there was talk of a fight. Two days after her death the ghost of Theresia came and spoke to the mourners assembled in her mother's house. I was not able to find out clearly what happened as

people were too excited. Some said that she actually spoke to them. Others said a woman interpreted her ghostly whistles. The ghost of Theresia told her relatives where her valuables were hidden and how she wanted them distributed. Then she said that her husband was not responsible for her death; rather it was her father's younger brother who had beaten her several months before. This man then realised that he had to kill pigs at the umanda (funerary feast) to try to avert any future attack on himself.

Ghostly attack usually results in sickness. When someone becomes sick, members of the person's immediate family try to determine the identity of the ghost responsible using dreams and their knowledge of which ghost is most likely angry with the victim. When the responsible ghost has been determined, patrikinsmen mentally dedicate a pig to the ghost, then kill the pig and cook it at a small open-sided oven house called a yamanda (spirit house). The ghost is presumed to "eat" the smell of the blood and the cooking pig. The aim is the offering to the ghost is to satisfy it so as to avert the ghost's anger and so stop it from "biting" the victim.

If this doesn't work and the person remains ill his family will consult a diviner who can use one of the many aleka divining techniques to find the cause of the sickness. Leaf-blowing is a common method. If another ghost is nominated, the family performs another ceremony known as kolo.[5]

The victim's patrikin go to the home of the patient and kill as many as six pigs which they dedicate to the nominated ghost. If a child is sick the father performs the ceremony. If it is the father who is sick, a son usually performs the ceremony. Each pig is killed and then thrown to the waiting group who sit inside the yamanda.

A stick used for killing the pigs is driven into the fireplace to make a hole and blood form the dead pigs is dripped into the hole. Each pig is at first held above the hole, then laid on the ground with its nose over the hold. The pigs form a star formation around the hole. The man officiating at the ceremony blows into the nose of each pig, and then places a small flat stone in the hole. Six or seven sticks are placed in the hole on top of the stone. They

are held together at the top but spread at the bottom like a many-pronged spear. A man then hammers the top of the sticks sharply with a stone and all the men cry aloud and run outside. They believe that the ghost is attracted by the blood dripped into the hole and that striking the spear in the hole will drive it away. Some say that the spear driven into the ashes blinds the ghost. The pigs are then cooked in the oven and distributed to those who took part in the ceremony, usually a man's sub-clan. The heart, liver and a leg of pork are given to the spellman.

The family will wait for four or five days. If the patient has not recovered and he is important, then they might perform koipa. The fence has a hole in the middle and a shallow pit is dug underneath this hole. A pig is brought out and its head raised up and dedicated to the ghost. Then the head is held through the hole in the fence. A man whose face is painted half black and half red dances out from the bushes and kills the pig (see Photograph 8). The pigs blood drips down into the pit. The Ipili say that the painted man represents the ghost who kills the pig in the same way that he likes to kill men. The pig is cooked in a ground-oven in the usual way, except that the head and heart are cooked on top of a platform. (Some say that the head of the pig is later buried pointing down into the ground. Others denied this. I presume that there is some local variation in the performance of the ritual.) If the patient remains sick the ghost has outwitted them. If the person is very important the relatives may consult another diviner in case another yama is responsible for the sickness.

Ekekaima is another ritual designed to appease ghosts, but it is directed more to the assembly of clan ancestors which inhabit sacred pools. Hence I will include a description of this ceremony in the section on clan ritual.

Belief in the existence of ghosts who are usually malevolent and seldom benevolent is an important part of Ipili cosmology. However I believe that the Ipili do not fear ghosts quite so much as the Enga people recorded by Meggitt and Westerman and especially by Wagner (1970:250). In response to my questionnaire, the number of

people who said they were very afraid of the ipatiti yama was twice the number who said they were very afraid of ghosts. On several occasions I found children playing at grave sites. One day I asked a ten-year-old boy whose grave he was sitting on, and he replied, "My father's." Recently, a man was buried in a garden close to the track which leads from the main road to Tipinini. Instead of avoiding the spot, the track now goes even closer to the grave, missing it by about one meter. Some people, especially those in the Paiela Valley keep the bones of dead relatives close to their homes and use them in divination as I have described above. I think a major reason why there is less fear of ghosts in Porgera/Paiela is because the Ipili believe demon-spirits (yama) and human sorcery have an important function in bringing about misfortunes, sickness and death. To the extent that yama and sorcery explain these things, ghosts are that much less important. Hence in the next section I will explain Ipili belief and reaction to their belief in yama.

Yama Demon Spirits[6]

Yama is the term used for a wide range of spirit beings. Strictly speaking it is used to refer to autonomous spirit beings such as tricksters and demons who wantonly cause annoyance and harm. In this sense yama exist as a category of beings separate from ghosts and ancestral spirits. However colloquial usage of the term yama is ambiguous. Yama may be used in a wider sense and also include ghosts and the remote dead. In this section I use the term in the restricted sense. (Sky beings are never included under the term yama.)

After ghosts, yama are the second closest spirit beings to man in daily life. Their power over the cosmos varies. Some possess supra-physical powers such as being able to control the weather or to make darkness come quickly or to change themselves into a tree or stone. Most yama are highly dangerous to humans and sickness and death is often attributed to them. They are naturally malicious, and there is not necessarily a reason for their attacks--though often one of them will attack because a person has come close to its home. Yama territory is very wide-ranging. Most inhabit the forests in the

mountains or in the river valleys. Yama can appear in animal or human form, and some inhabit stones or are invisible and come in the wind. Unlike ghosts most yama assume some corporeal form.

Yama are typically non-human and antisocial and have little interest in economic activities. Belief in yama helps provide solutions to problems of why people often get sick or suffer unfortunate experiences in the forest. Some yama such as the ipatiti occur in large numbers; others are individual spirits which inhabit a particular place or stone in one clan territory. Only this latter type of yama ever brings a clan together in ritual offering.

The naming of a yama as the source of sickness usually depends on the type of sickness (eg. malaria, boils, arthritis) and whether the sick person remembers having recently seen or heard a yama. Once the yama is named by divination, appropriate placating measures can be taken if any are available. Because yama are non-human they are more difficult to placate than ghosts.

In the description of fifteen yama which follows I will outline the placating ritual procedures I have been able to discover.[7]

(1) Ipatiti is a trickster living near rivers. Sometimes when seen from a distance an ipatiti may appear like a little shrivelled old man, yet with the body of a child. No one gets close enough to an ipatiti to have a good look because as soon as people approach, the ipatiti turns into a stone or something similar. There are many of these little men, and people are still very much afraid of them. Mostly physical misfortunes are attributed to them. I knew one elderly man whose blindness was said to be caused by an ipatiti. A common reason for an ipatiti to attack is because someone has defecated or urinated near his home. It is said that if two people have intercourse in the forest and an ipatiti sees them, their child will be born a monster. Arthritis and some abdominal pains are said to be caused by an ipatiti shooting small pieces of wood into the victim (see Photograph 5). The cure for this is to rub heated mongato leaves over the patient's body until the pieces of wood are drawn out into the leaf (see Photograph 12). A person made ill by an ipatiti usually knows the cause because he has seen an ipatiti beforehand. In such a case the ipatiti may be placated by offering some pork at the place where he is thought to dwell.

Photograph 4. Talepa ii on top of a bush-knife blade. The spongy pale-yellow material is said to be the faeces of a ghost (refer p. 40).

Photograph 5. Powa, the young boy is unable to walk and is said to have been 'shot' by an Ipatiti. He was flown out to Wabag Hospital where the complaint was diagnosed as an arthritic condition.

There is one way of killing an ipatiti. Taking with him a pore plant, a man goes to the grave where a man has recently been buried. He digs a hole down beside and underneath the corpse and plants the pore plant there. He returns a year or two later to find the plant flourishing. He takes a leaf from it, wraps it in a pandanus leaf and takes it home. In the late afternoon he heats the pore leaf with some pig fat and then rubs the eyes of those present with the leaf. They can go outside and immediately they will see a little ipatiti standing there with feathers in its hair. They shoot at the ipatiti and it disappears. In the morning they can come outside again and will find some sort of dead animal there (eg. a snake or a cockroach). This was the ipatiti which is now dead.

Ipatitis figure in several of the folk tales I recorded. The most famous ipatiti is Kemasili who chased two women around the Paiela Valley. I have given an account of this story in the section on the one ritual. Though Kemasili died when he fell out of a tree onto his own spear, men of Komonga and Laluka, near the place where he died, used to make regular offerings of pig to Kemasili so that his spirit would help them in fighting and in making their gardens fertile.

(2) Yolape is another little trickster rather like an ipatiti. Another name for this creature is wakolaipa. It has "red" (light-colored) skin and sometimes appears as a stranger in the forest who comes to talk to a person. If a person sees a yolape and shortly afterwards becomes ill or suffers a misfortune such as cutting his foot or losing a pig, then he knows that the yolape is responsible. It may be placated in a ceremony which involves killing a pig at the foot of a tree which is decorated with red and white leaves tied onto it. Young unmarried men may eat the pork. A yolape may be killed the same way as an ipatiti.

(3) Matawe and (4) itati are described as being the younger brothers of yolape. This means that they are less powerful and are really tricksters. Itati is said to live in Tari in the Southern Highlands.

(5) Koip is a little man distinguished by his mass of hair and very long beard. If a man dies with a pain inside his belly as

though a spear were inside it, his family might suspect koipayama. This can be checked by an aleka divining technique. Koipayama may be placated by killing a pig at the bottom of a tree with a hole in the top of the trunk where the main branches spread out. A special stone along with earth is put inside the bole of the tree through the hole.

(6) Yutuwana is a woman who lives in the forest at the northern end of the Paiela Valley. She is a very beautiful woman and is practiced in the art of seduction. If a man submits to her advances he comes under her power. He has great fortune in hunting and kills many wild animals. However when the man returns to his real wife and family the yutuwana becomes jealous and will kill them. A special mist cloud rises from the river as a sign that it is the yutuwana killing the wife and child. The people see this and accuse the husband of an affair with theyutuwana. The husband realizes this already because although she was beautiful in front, when she turned around he saw that her back was made only of cane grass and leaves. The yutuwana sometimes comes when men are cooking marata pandanus fruit down near the Pakopali river. There is no way of freeing a man once the yutuwana has him under her power.

(7) Akaini is a young light-skinned woman who eats young children. She is commonly found at Lake Kopiago. A person might see two women walking toward him. As they come closer, one of the women disappears. An akaini was shadowing the woman. There are no rituals available to placate akaini.

Some yama appear in animal form. The most influential of these are (8) kopi, which take the form of moropae pythons. Other names given to this form of yama are edilu (snake) or atakikitoyama. Many of these kopiyama live deep in the forest and may cause harm to men who enter their domain. A kopiyama may cause a tree to fall on a man or he may eat the man. Offerings of pig made near their dwelling places may placate these yama. The Tieni clan near Porgera made regular offerings to a kopiyama which lived in a hole in Mount Wagima. They tell a story of how a long time ago two ancestors of the clan were saved by the kopiyama when their parents' ghosts came

to "eat" them. Kopiyama heard the cries of the ghosts and came down from his mountain to investigate. That night he slept in the doorway of the house and protected the children by throwing ashes from the fire at the ghosts, so scaring them away. When kopiyama departed he told the children that they and their children must watch a breadfruit tree which grows out of the cliff face on Mount Wagima. When the leaves were old there was no need to worry, but when new green leaves appeared on the breadfruit tree the clan must make an offering of a brown pig to him. He then turned into a snake and disappeared into a hole on Mount Wagima. The Tieni clan continued to make offerings of pig until very recently.

Some bush spirits are not so well known as kopiyama. (9) Kaweiya inhabits the forest around Waimalam in the north-western end of the Paiela Valley. It resembles a cow, but has black hair like a pig. When it finds a man in the forest, the kaweiya covers the man with saliva. In this condition a man cannot climb over fallen trees or cross streams so that he takes a long time to reach his home. When he does reach home, only traces of the saliva remain, but the man is in a trance: "his spirit has been taken." He soon dies as there is no offering which will save him.

(10) Pinu is another very dangerous yama. People describe pinu as something like a flying fox but much bigger. I do not know whether there are vampires in the Porgera area, but the description of pinu sounds very much like one. Pinu are said to be the spirits of dead Hewa people who live in the lower areas of the Lagaip River. These pinu sleep inside the roofs of the Hewa's houses. People are afraid when they hear the cry of the pinu because they know that it means that someone from their community will shortly die. If a pinu kills someone, then it will return at night with many other pinu to eat the body. The aid-post orderly told me how often people came to him with malaria or pains in the back and said, "Pinu has put his hand on me." Sometimes when a person dies his relatives say, "Pinu has taken him away."

Another animal-like yama is the (11) Makota which takes the form of a lizard and is said to live in the nearby Wage Valley. Recently in the Paiela Valley a child of a Kandep woman died and was said to have been killed by a makota yama.

Some yama are said to live inside fossils or carved stone figures, the remains of a former culture. Such yama are (12) komaipa and (13) awalo. I was unable to contact the people who held the komaipa stone. The awalo lives inside a carved red stone under some tai trees in the Paiela Valley. Occasionally a pig is offered to it because if it gets hungry it might cause sickness or death.

Some yama do not come in corporeal form. (14) Pataka and (15) nenginengi come with the wind, causing sickness and sores such as boils or toothache. A pig may be killed in a small opensided shelter and mentally dedicated to the yama in a propitiatory offering.

When Europeans first appeared people called them yama and were very afraid. Some men have told me how after seeing white men for the first time they took their wives and children into the forest and killed pigs to please these yama. Men tell how formerly yama were always about, but now the white man has come and the yama are afraid and have retreated into the forest. The Ipili have on occasion sold for a few dollars, some of the stone artifacts which embodied yama. However most yama do not dwell in stones so the Ipili have not been able to send them away by selling them. It is the clan ancestral spirits which typically dwell in stones and it is these which I will now describe.

The Ancestral Spirits and Clan Ritual

The remote ancestral spirits are the spirits of ancestors of present men who died before living memory and who cannot be fitted into known geneologies. As I explained in the last section, these spirits as a group are often referred to as yama using the term in a broad sense to include ghosts, demon spirits and ancestor spirits. Usually ancestral spirits are the ancestors of a particular clan but not necessarily. The kepele spirit is thought to be an ancestral spirit common to all men. Usually ancestral spirits are the spirits of dead humans but not necessarily. Many clans claim their first ancestors took animal form.

The first ancestor of the Bipi clan, originally from Kandep was a snake, as was the ancestor of the Yokonne clan of Kolombi. The

Miawe and Embo clans of the Ineyone phratry of Waimalam are descended from the paiyali bird. Lalupe and Yamalia, the founders of clans of the same names were sons of an opposum. The Masapa, Kawi and Apua clans, originally from Tari, are also descended from an opposum. The Eli phratry originally from Tari is descended from a dog. The Tangapen clan of Alumak is descended from a tangaiane nettle, and the Wage, Nuku, Yoro, Yomandaka, Lanopa, Tini, Yapa, Gewa, and Kipa clans are all descendants of the sons of a pipi tree. As noted, I found no evidence to suggest that these beliefs are totemic.

The ancestral spirits are most commonly associated with sacred stones which have a central place in Ipili religious ritual. Some of these stones are plain round stones in various colors. Others are carved articles and figurettes. It is difficult to find out how or why the stones are held to be sacred, because the Ipili themselves are not sure of their origins. Some say that the sun made the stones specially and that they are "eggs of the sun." Others say that the stones are the bones (skulls) or hearts of their ancestors.[8]

The stones possess power which makes them sacred and their power pervades a considerable area. The power comes from the powerful spirits which dwell in them--the power to bring well-being or misfortune to men on a large scale over a wide area. I could not find an explanation of why the ancestors should have this power. People thought it was obvious and accepted it as a fact. Compared to those who became sky beings, ancestral figures recorded in myth seem to have few if any extraordinary powers. Some stones are said to move about under the ground in clan territory in which case they can cause landslides.

The stones are normally kept buried in a grove of trees, either under the roots of a large tree or in a small pit surrounded by cordyline plants. Sometimes the spirits are thought to congregate in pools deep in the forest though they are not confined to these pools. People must avoid these places lest they anger the spirits which live there.

Unlike ghosts and demon spirits, the main interest of the ancestral spirits is in socio-economic affairs such as agriculture and food production, hunting, weather and the fertility and health of

women and pigs. Ancestral spirits are not necessarily malicious, so when satisfied, things will go well but when angered they can cause all kinds of upsets in the socio-economic realm. This does not mean that they have complete control over the environment; rather they have the power to affect the environment if they wish. Hence some of the offerings made to ancestral spirits attempt to satisfy them so that they will "sleep" and be quiet and leave well alone.

The attitude towards the ancestral spirits is generally one of fear and respect. Because they are remote ancestors, they are in an undefined way an extension of the social structure. A quasi-social relationship exists and men express manipulative, bargaining and calculating attitudes toward them similar to those in daily life. Because the ancestors are more transcendent and operate on a grander scale than ghosts, the rituals tend to be more involved and more pigs are killed. These rituals are thought to be effective for much longer than offerings made to the recent dead.

Clan ritual is very important in bringing a clan together in a co-operative effort. Warfare, contributions to bride-price and death payments mobilize a clan but many other clans as well. Clan ritual honoring the clan ancestral spirits is one of the few occasions where a clan as such functions as a group without the active presence of other clan groups.

I will give accounts of various clan rituals used to placate ancestral spirits. Firstly I will briefly describe mundupa, a ritual made by a particular clan to its clan ancestors. Then I will describe ekekaima, a generalized form of clan ritual which can be used by any clan to honor its remote ancestors. Thirdly I will describe kepele, a supra-clan ritual, the largest and most important ritual performed by the Ipili. Finally I will describe the combined one and litu rituals. Though one honors two women who are not clan ancestors, litu does honor clan ancestors and is especially interesting because it was imported from Tari within living memory.

All of these rituals are a response to a crisis situation. When all is well the Ipili will leave well alone, but when factors relating to their socio-economic security start to go wrong in ways

beyond their control, they will use divination to find which of the ancestral spirits is the cause of the problem confronting them. They will try to find a solution in an appropraite ritual, the aim of the ritual being to please the spirit so that it will cause and allow "good times" to return.

Mundupa

Mundupa is a clan ritual performed at Ingelepe in the Paiela Valley. A pig is killed and choice pieces of belly fat and offal are laid out in five piles on tanget (cordyline) leaves as though for a traditional feast. The five piles represent the spirit ancestors of each sub-clan: Geyape, Atawatu, Nokenole, Kiko and Kakanalu. These ancestors are said to live close to Ingelepe on Mt. Tapuape. One by one the pieces of pig are cooked on a stick over the fire and offered to the ancestors. The ritual expert of the clan holds the stick over the fire and says, "Geyape," ("I give you"). The ancestors cannot be seen but members of each sub-clan can feel their presence and say that they inspire them and give them ideas, especially warning them of imminent danger at the time of a fight.

Most clans make similar offerings to their specific clan or sub-clan ancestors. Some dwell in stone figures. The Pongo nalembe spirit of the Kalua clan near Ingalepe resides in four small red stone figurettes; a man, a woman and two children. The adult figures stand about 25 cm high.

Ekekaima

Sometimes when an important person is very ill, the leaf blowing method of divining (aleka piakali) or another method might be tried, and ekekaima is named as a solution. Then the people know that they must placate their ancestors so that they will not "eat" this man. They call for a spellman and erect three huts. One is constructed near their clan pool which is regarded as the locus of power of the ancestors. Two are built at the ceremonial ground, one (kaimanda) for cooking pig, the other (ekapene) a small structure for two young men who will be put inside during the ceremony.

I have heard variations on this ceremony but I will give an account for what seems the general procedure.[9] A pig given by the victim's patriclan is killed and butchered in the usual way. The body of the pig is cooked in an earth oven, but strips of the belly fat (papama) are distributed to the men taking part, one piece for each deceased agnatic ancestor that they can name. Hence they will dedicate one piece to the man's father, another to his father's father, another to his father's brother and so on. Fifteen of twenty names might be given. The names of these dead ancestors are called as the strips of fat are thrown onto hot stones. The ghosts are to come and eat the smell of the cooking fat. While the fat is cooking the spellman says kamo 1 (see p. 61). This seems less a propitiation than a threatening of the ancestral spirits that if they come to "eat" a man they will be beaten.

They then call for three young people, two boys and a girl who have been selected previously. One boy is a clan agnate and the other boy and girl should be a son and daughter of a female agnate. I do not know how the latter two are selected, but the boy who is a clan agnate is often selected by sitting the eligible boys in a row at sunrise on the day before the ceremony. A clan elder points slowly to each one in turn and the boy to whom he points as the sun actually rises is the one selected.

After the fat has been cooked, the selected young clan agnate is brought forward. The spellman takes a piece of topai vine and holds it over the boy's head reciting kamo 2 while he gazes at the sun. The men stand around holding plaques made from the bark of the tapaye tree. These plaques are painted with designs and decorated with the feathers of the utu koima and kilapa birds. Since these birds are thought to represent the ancestors, I think this is the function of the feathers decorating the plaques. The kamo is addressed to the ancestors, symbolized by the utu koima. In the last line the spellman says to the ancestors, "knot your mouth," i.e., "you must not 'eat' this man." At the same time he symbolically ties the vine tightly around a tuft of the boy's hair, and all the men cry out, "Utu koima ee, ee," which means, "Utu koima bird, do you hear or don't you?" The boy must then

go immediately and climb a tall tree. I think the boy is made to represent the spirit and in climbing the tree he signals departure.

After the boy descends from the tree, he and the other boy selected are put inside the small ekapene house. The young girl is decorated as for a ceremonial dance. They dance around the kaimanda where the pig is cooking, and the girl pretends to take the pig from the oven. When she stops dancing, the men remove the pig and give one leg to her which she puts on top of her head and then dances around the kaimanda. Later she can eat this pork. The two young bachelors are taken from the ekapene house. All the men gather closely around them so that no woman can see them, and lead them to the pool hidden in the forest. Here some more fat is cooked at a small house beside the pool. The men stand around with their bark plaques and the agnatic ancestral spirits are called again and pieces of belly fat tied up in tuama leaves are thrown into the pool for them to "eat."

The men return to their homes but the two youths remain for five days living in the hut beside the pool. They are supposed to remain inside the hut all day and only come outside to get food at night. On the morning of the sixth day they take a piece of pork, cut it in two and throw one piece in the direction of the rising sun, and one in the direction where the sun sets. They then return to their homes. Accounts of prohibitions on these boys differ. Some say they could not receive food cooked by a woman for a week, others say it was for a six month period. Certainly the prohibition is not so strict as that for the Enga studied by Meggitt.

I recorded minor variations on this procedure. At one place in the Paiela Valley a cordyline shrub is planted during the ceremony and a piece of pork is swing up and down at the base of this shrub. Why this is done I do not know.

At Waimalam I was told how they make a fence around the pool and the boys warily approach the pool with fat on a forked stick which they throw into the pool. They then run for their lives. There are no bark plaques.

In another account[10] it is said that the pig is killed similarly to Koipa, with the pig's head put through a trellis of branches. The

boys climb the tree and the expert scrapes the trunk of the tree with the hoofs of the newly killed pig. The boys quickly descend the tree and run to the house in the forest.

Following are English translations of prayers (kamo) from the ekekaima ritual.

Kamo 1: Ancestor, your teeth are ready to eat me,
tongue is hanging out hungrily,
mouth is open and ready to eat.
Red sun egg, I beat you.
Stone with egg inside, I beat you.

Explanation: The spellman calls the ancestor and says that if the ancestor comes to eat him then the spellman will beat him. There is the same sun, stone, egg combination representing the ancestors in the one and litu rituals.

Kamo 2: Utu koima bird, where do you stay?
Where do you sleep?
Do you come from behind the Poti river?
Do you come from behind the Naki river?
Where do you come from?
Utu koima bird, do you come on top like the sun?
Do you come like the wind?
Do you come holding the tree leaves?
Do you come riding on a pig?
Do you come on top like the sun?
Do you come on top of the boy?
You come to eat men.
I knot your tongue, I knot your teeth.

Explanation: The Utu koima bird is a large blue and red parrot. It is said that the ancestors used to exchange them before pearl shell came into use, hence the parrot is a symbol of the ancestors. A story was told to me of two brothers, leaders of their clan, who decided to split their clan, one brother taking his people to live in another place. Utu koima birds were exchanged then as a sign of brotherhood. People say that like the ancestors they do not know where the bird lives. The Poti and Naki rivers are situated one near Tari and one near Muriraka. From Porgera these directions would approximate the direction in which the sun sets and rises. Reference is made to the sun and wind because the Ipili do not know where these things come from. The word "pongo" means to "knot." This is applied to the ancestor, "I knot your tongue, I knot your teeth," as the spellman knots the vine in the boy's hair.

Kepele

Kepele is the largest and most important clan ritual performed by the Ipili. Most of my information comes from a man named Koipanda from the Pulumani clan, who is recognized as the leading kepele spellman (kepelakali) in the Porgera/Paiela area. He inherited the position from his father. People from Muriraka and the Wage also used to request his services. The ceremony is not performed today.

It was performed when the older men felt that there were too many misfortunes affecting the clan. Occasions mentioned to me were when landslides occured frequently, when an abnormally large number of persons were sick, when many children were dying, when the crops were 'dry' and did not grow well. A diviner would be consulted and if Kepele was nominated as being behind the trouble, they lost no time in sending word to neighboring clans that there should be no fighting and that everyone should go and gather food and hunt possums and other wild animals so that there could be a big celebration.

When the people arrived, the food was bought from them by the host clan, everyone decorated themselves and a large ceremony began which went for several days. The brother clans contributed materially to the occasion but people came from everywhere and several houses for singing or Tawanda were built.

Six houses were built at the site where kepele was to be performed.

The house Tolinam is a small open-sided house where one pig is cooked. The house Kuakulianda is a large two roomed structure with one room, used by the spellmen as general living quarters and to cook food. Obviously possums are cooked there because the name really means "house of the possum bones" (kua=possum, kulini=bone, anda=house). The house Okoiumandá is similar to the kuakulianda. The house Palipali is the large main ceremonial house. The kepele stone is buried there during the ceremonies. The house Umane is a low house where the Yupin basketwork man is kept. During part of the ceremony the walls are lined with bark paintings. The house Oko is a very tall house used as an oven house and a club house, though women are allowed inside at the commencement of the ceremonies. There is a seventh "house" called

the Ewanda which is not really a house at all, but rather a hole surrounded by cordyline shrubs, and containing a sacred stone. "Ewa" could either refer to the sun or to the Hewa people. The spirits of the dead are often said to have gone "down to the Hewa." A fence is built around this complex (see Figure 2).

It is difficult to define what Kepele itself really is. The name is used to refer to the whole ceremony, but Kepele is really classed as one of the Yama or one of the spirit beings.

I was told a story which helps explain this. They told this story with reluctance so I think considerable importance is attached to it.

A very long time ago there were two men Langua and Ambua. Both had four children, all boys. The two fathers became very hungry so decided to eat their children. They ate the children of Ambua first. When it came time to eat the children of Langua he changed his mind and sent his children away. In running away they formed the

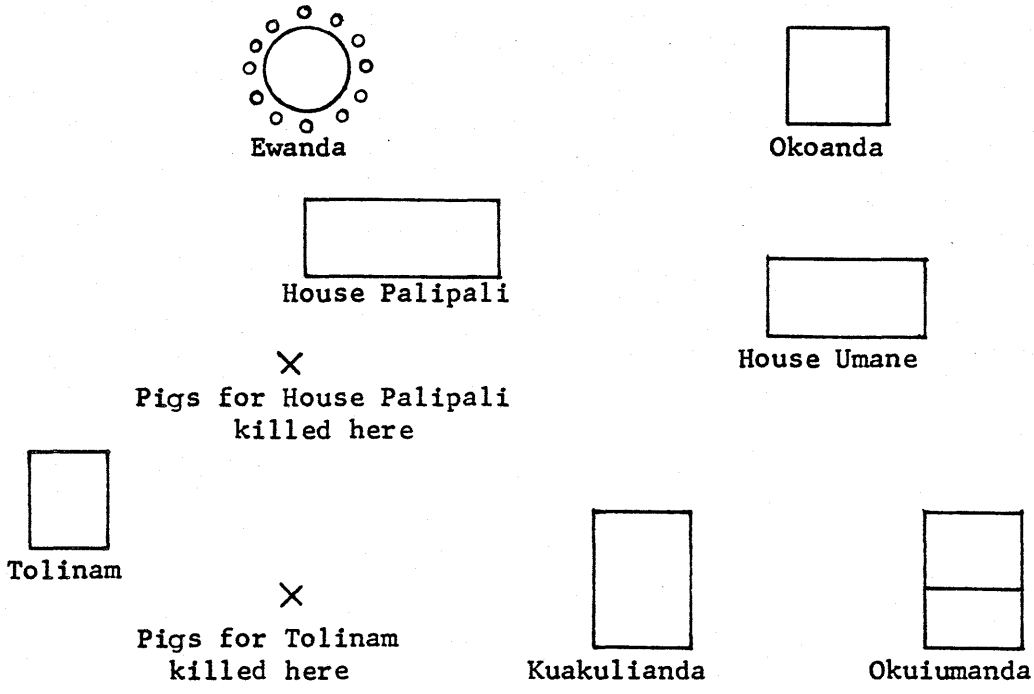


Figure 2. Lay-out of houses on Kepele ceremonial ground.

four main rivers which supposedly lead away from Mt. Lapuape (situated somewhere in the McNicoll Mountains). The Porgera river flows into Porgera. The Pakopali river flows into Paiela. The Kera flows into Porgera. The Pakopali river flows into Paiela. The Kera flows into Laiagam and the Andabari flows into the Wage. Langua remained as Mt. Lapuape and Ambua became very angry and went away and now stands as a mountain in the Hewa region. (Fitting; the Hewa have a reputation for being cannibals.)

Lapua (=Langua) is thought of as a "tumbuna" ancestor, though no connection is traced. He is thought of more as the father of all known peoples in the area. The main ritual stone (kepele koulini) used in the kepele ritual must be taken from one of the four rivers flowing from Mt. Lapuape. As the name suggests (koulini = bone) the stone is thought of as the "bone" of the ancestor Lapua. Kepele they say is really another name for Lapua.

Palipali, tolinam and okouiuma, which give names to three of the houses, are also said to be Yama or spirit ancestors, though noone can tell my anything about them.

The procedure for the ritual is as follows.[11]

When the ceremonial dancing has been going for several days and everyone is in a fit state of mind, the leader calls to all and early in the morning they all dance up to and around the house oko. The young people go inside and continue to sing and dance there while the men go and kill the pigs which have been brought. Anything between ten and thirty pigs are killed depending on the wealth and influence of the clan. Meanwhile the "men of prayer" (kepelekali) along with the ritual expert retire to the kuakulianda where they cook and eat possums given to them. Afterwards the bones of the possums are collected and burnt in the fire. Others cook taro and sweet potato in the adjoining room. After eating the possums, the men put a pile of pigs' entrails inside a pit (makaba), put belly fat on top, and pour tree oil (bowe) over this. Then a fire is kindled on top of the entrails and fat using sticks from the bower of the lipaiye (bower bird).[12] The oven stones are heated on this fire.

The pigs are butchered and some of the choice pieces from inside the belly and chest cavity are brought into the kuakulianda and roasted on sticks over the fire.[13] As the smell of the roasting flesh fills the house, the men recite a prayer (see kamo 1, p. 61) of introduction and invitation for the 'ancestors' to come and eat.

One pig is cooked in the house Palipali and the men go to this house when it is ready. While taking the pig from the ground oven, the leader recites a prayer (kamo 2) and then calls on all the "men of prayer" and distributes cooked pork to them. Other people are then given pork from the oven inside the Kuakulianda. After this the young men are brought to the house okoiumanda where they are instructed by the older men on the meaning of the ceremonies.

That night the older men sleep inside the house palipali. All the heads of the pigs killed that day are lined along a shelf inside. Later the old men will eat these. During the night, while the others are asleep, the leading ritual expert takes some belly fat and cooks it in the ground oven. At first light the next day he with a senior member of the clan takes this fat to the ewanda which is a pit containing the "Ewa" stone. This is black and round and about 10 cm in diameter. They describe this stone as being the "head" of their first ancestor. This must be done at first light before the stone "wakes up." "Nogut em i opim ai bilong em."--"He must not open his eyes." The stone is buried in the usual way. Soft cordyline leaves of mawana, tandali and ititi are placed at the bottom, then fat and green ferns are placed over this, then the stone. More fat is placed on top. Then the ends of the long cordyline leaves are drawn up around and tied at the tip with rope (kengali) to form a neat bundle. While doing this the leader recites another prayer (see kamo 3). The stone is to sleep and leave men alone.

The spellmen go to the okoiumanda where some pork is roasted and eaten. Kamo 1 from the previous day is recited again.

The spellmen go to the house umane where a basket-work man figure or yupin has been placed. The yupin is normally kept inside the men's house of one of the spellmen. The Yupin is decorated and then one man carries it and they dance around the ceremonial ground

jigging the figure up and down so its oversized genitals are revealed under its net apron. Women and young men can watch the dance from behind the fence but they cannot watch any of the stone ritual. The yupin is taken to the house palipali and placed on a table at the rear of the house. They rub pig fat on its mouth and then lie it down and tell it to sleep. Meanwhile they recite another prayer (kamo 4) telling it to relax. Later it is made to dance and the figure is jigged about and a chant recited (kamo 5). It is "fed" again with pig fat along with another chant (kamo 6).

The kepele stone, a large white vulva shaped stone is then uncovered at the back of the house Palipali and yupin is made to "kiss" with this stone (simulated intercourse).[14]

This ceremony of giving food to yupin, making him dance and the simulated intercourse with the kepele koulini is performed on four consecutive afternoons. Each day the stone is buried with leaves and pig fat. Every night an elderly man sleeps next to the table where yupin lies. They say that this is to keep yupin company.

On the fifth day the yupin is taken back to the men's house and the kepele koulini is taken and buried in the ewanda with accompanying chants (kamo 7). This is the most elaborate burial ceremony because it is important that the kepele koulini "sleeps" well. They say that if the stone is comfortable, then good times will come, but if the stone is not covered properly with fat, or if the fat is too old and dry, then the stone will not rest comfortably and good times will not eventuate. This is the test, whether good times come or not. If there is no change then the stone might have to be buried again properly or else a new yama chosen as the villian.

The materials used in burying the kepele koulini are as follows: the soft leaves of tandali, ititi, mawana, wano, sanga and kengali; some taro leaves and pig fat; the stone and more fat. Tree oil is poured over this, some more cordyline plants are placed on top and the ends are pulled up and secured to form a neat bundle.

A ceremony is performed at the house tolinam, but I am not sure when. A pig is ritually killed and the blood dripped onto a sacred stone. I understand there is no associated kamo.

On the sixth and last day the men move to the house umane which has been decorated with ferns. Here they cook two sides of pork. Again kamo 1 is chanted and when taking the pork from the oven there is a further chant (kamo 8). People come dancing to the house carrying large pieces of bark taken from the ipiliaka tree. The men carry these inside and set them up around the walls of the house umane and paint figures on them using red, blue, yellow, orange and white paints mixed from clay, and black paint made from ashes. The main figures portrayed are a woman, two men, the sun, the moon, a cassowary and a snake. I do not know the identity of the woman portrayed, but the two men are supposed to be Leya and Kemala. There is a story about these two. They were two ordinary men who one day during a kepele offering climbed on top of the house oko and disappeared into the sky. (There is a similar occurance at the end of the Kaunala Tape myth. See Appendix A.) The snake is said to be the same as the rainbow. They did not know why they made these paintings. Afterwards they are left to rot with the house.[15]

Finally led by the main kepelakali, the people all assemble and dance and destroy the house oko.

The ritual expert is paid well for his services, with several pigs and other valuables such as pearl shell. Intercourse is forbidden during and for a few weeks after the ceremony. If a man did have intercourse during the time of the ceremony, then he would swell up and die. They did not mention any restrictions on food.

Following are English translations of kamo from the kepele ritual.

Kamo 1:

Kombo kombo I call Mount Lingi kombo kombo,
kombo kombo I call the mountains Yapa and Kendoname kombo kombo,
kombo kombo I call Mount Eno kombo kombo,
Before the bird danced and the ground was all churned up,
Later the bird will come again bringing pieces of rubbish wood, [nalitapa]
kombo kombo kombo,
kombo kombo kombo,
I call Mount Supa kombo kombo kombo,
I call Mount Supa kombo kombo,
I call Mount Yoko kombo kombo,
Before the bird danced and the ground was all churned up,

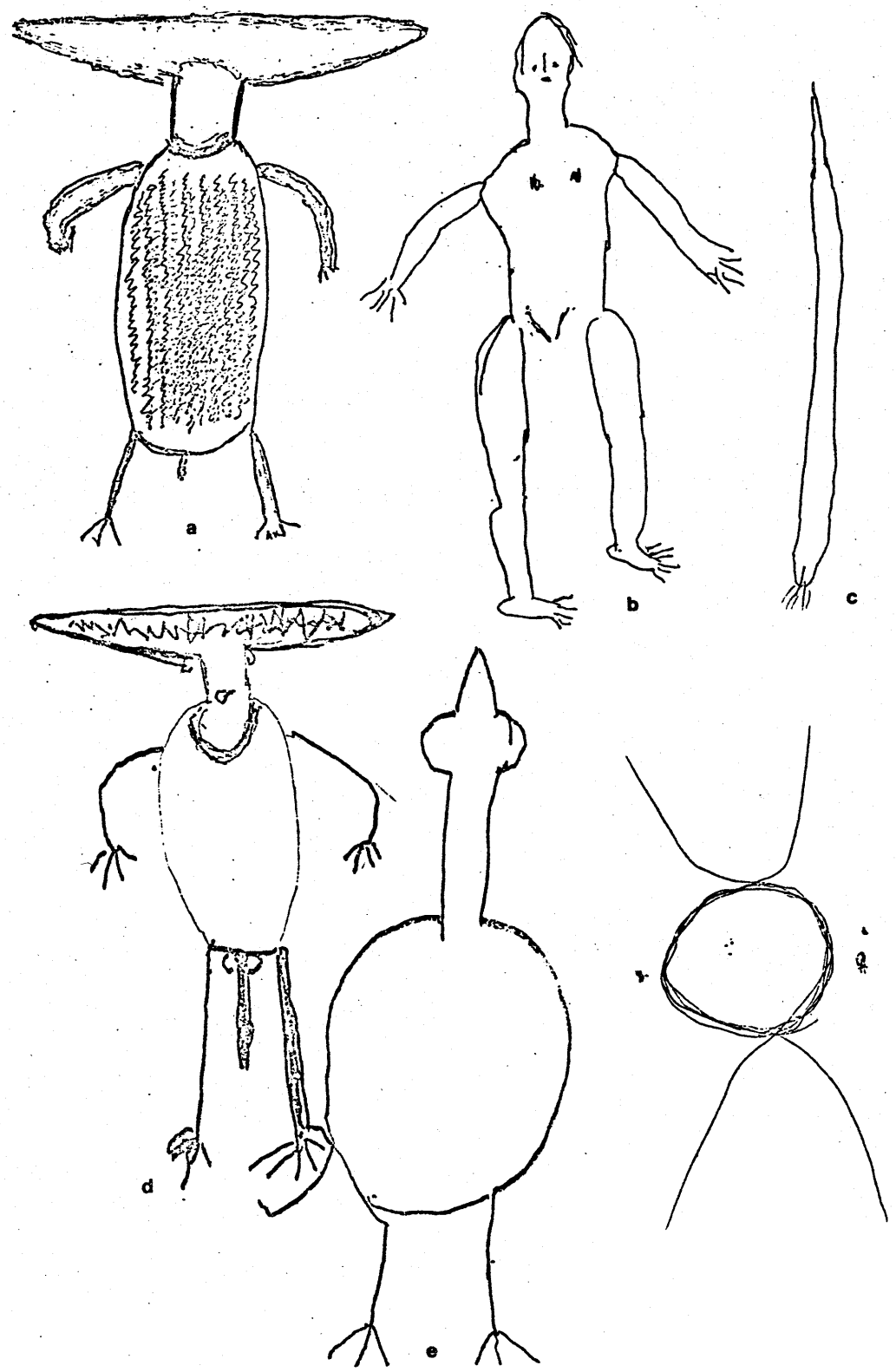


Figure 3. Figures painted inside the House Umane: a. the ancestor 'Leya,' b. a woman (unidentified), c. a snake, d. the mythical hero Kimala, e. a cassowary, and f. the moon with stars on either side.

Later the bird will come again to dance bringing pieces of rubbish wood.
I call Mount Waingi kombo kombo,
I call Mount Waingi kombo kombo,
I call Mount Kapo kombo kombo.
Before the bird danced and the ground was all churned up,
Later the bird will come again bringing pieces of rubbish wood.
I call Mount Kuli kombo kombo,
I call Mount Kuli kombo kombo.
Before the bird danced and the ground was all churned up,
Later the bird will come again to dance bringing pieces of rubbish wood.
Both pigs and children kombo,
Both gardens and houses kombo,
Both ropes and the Tombena clan kombo.
Touch a piece of the ambupari tree and lembene and cook them together on the fire.

Explanation: There are two main themes in this kamo: the calling to mountains around Porgera and the reference to the bower bird and its dance. The word kombo which I am unable to translate seems to be the connection. Most people say they do not know what it means and the few experts offered me different explanations. One said it was a word for the act of rubbing fat onto a sacred stone, but I think he was thinking of it more as a variation on the word Kamo (to make prayer). The explanation that I favor is that kombo is the act of a bower bird adding sticks to its bower as it hops around it. The wood used to start the fire over which this prayer is said was from such a bower. There is reference to this in the last line. Ambupari and lembene are the principle woods used.

The calling of mountains is frequently used in Ipili ritual. The tops of mountains are the common resting places of ancestral spirits. In this kamo the most distant mountain is called first, Mount Lingi which is down the Lagaip River. Then mountains near Laiagam are called and Porgera ones as though one was gazing around from the perspective of somewhere near Porgera Patrol Post. Often two names are given for the same mountain. The spellman is calling to the ancestors who rest at these mountains and refers in a symbolic way to the bower bird. The bowerbird itself must have a meaning which escapes me.

Kamo 2: Small women's house,
Small women's house.
He takes the pig from the oven,
He removes the pig, removes the pig.
Turn the piece of tirakai wood. Turn the piece of turuku wood.
It comes here, it goes there,
It comes and gives, it goes and gives.

Explanation: It is hard to understand the symbolic nature of this chant. When asked for more explanation, the usual answer given is "I don't know, I merely follow what was taught me by my father." Only men are allowed inside the house palipali where this kamo is chanted but it seems that the house is refered to as a woman's house because it contains the female kepele stone. I do not know the significance of the turuku or tirakai trees.

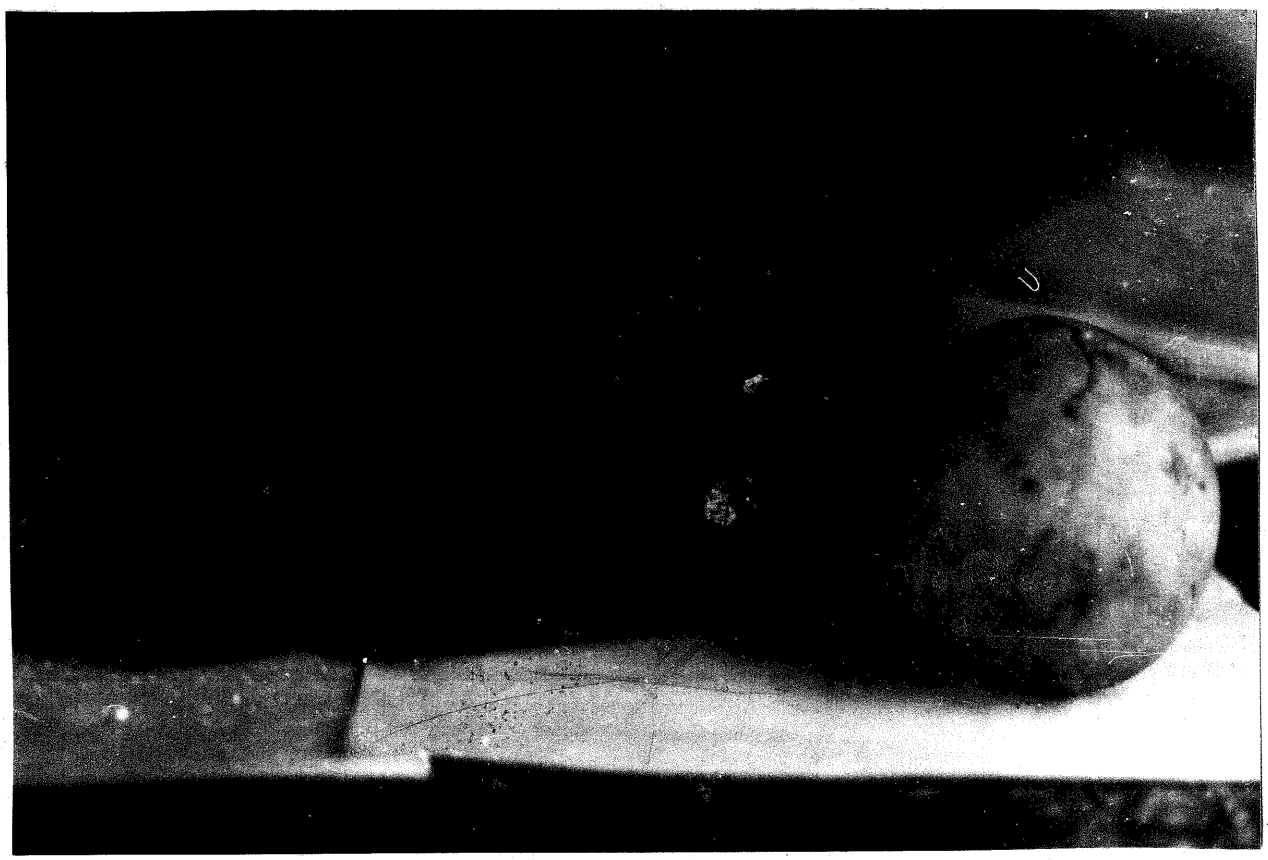
Kamo 3: You stay hidden here and be nice and comfortable like the poreke,
You stay hidden here and be nice and comfortable like the poreke.
You must not hear the children crying and the cries of the pigs.
You must not hear the cries of the pigs.
You must not hear the noise made by all the people.
You must not hear the children crying.
You must not hear the people talking.
You stay hidden here and be comfortable like the poreke.
You stay hidden like the kagapu, away like the kagapu.

Explanation: In this chant the ancestor is offered pig fat as a propitiatory offering. The ancestor is to "sleep." He is to leave men alone. The reference to animals or trees with desired qualities is a common feature of Ipili kamo. In this kamo the poreke is a possum which sleeps in holes under tree trunks and the kangapu is a black grub with many legs, which lives in soft ground.

Kamo 4: (While the yupin is fed and then laid down)
You are a good man Yupin. Teeth are hot, mouth is hot,
Teeth are hot, mouth is hot,
Penis is slack, teeth are slack,
Penis is slack, teeth are slack,
Penis is slack.

Kamo 5: (While making the yupin dance)
Afterwards afterwards a stone will go will go, afterwards, afterwards,
Afterwards a stone will come will come afterwards afterwards,
Afterwards afterwards a stone will go will go afterwards afterwards.

Photograph 6. A Yupin basket-work man figure now held in the Wabag Museum.



Photograph 7. Four types of stones which people claimed had been used for ritual purposes. The stone on the left is a fossil and second from left is a carved stone, with eyes and a mouth visible in its "head."

Kamo 6: (While feeding Yupin again)
You are a good man Yupin. Penis is erect,
teeth are on edge, put the teeth to work.
You are a good man Yupin. Penis is erect. Teeth are on edge.
Penis is erect. Put the teeth to work, put the teeth to work.
The teeth are good.

Explanation: These three chants are made before making Yupin copulate with the female stone. The meaning of the words is fairly obvious.

Kamo 7: I am readying the leaves as though for a ground oven,
I am readying the leaves as though for a ground oven.
I am getting things straight for you.
I am straightening the moana leaf.
I am straightening the sanggai leaf.
I am straightening the leaves of the sangamalum grass,
I am straightening the itito plant.
I am straightening the malunboali leaves.
You must sleep well, don't get up, don't get up.
You must not hear the noise of the trees burning.
You must not hear the cries of the children.

Explanation: This kamo has a similar meaning to that of kamo 3. The moana leaf is a soft cordyline leaf used in ground ovens. The sanggai, sangamalum and malunboali are grasses with fleshy leaves. The itito is a small plant which bears red flowers. The reference to trees burning would refer to the cutting of new gardens from the bush.

Kamo 8: This house stands,
Green food is here.
I give, you give, everyone must give.
Green leaves, wild korokas trees and cordyline shrubs grow well.
Everything grows well.
The puli tree grows well. Look at it come up.
Everything is strong.
I have gone first to get good things, you come behind me.

Explanation: The puli tree is a tree which will not break easily. The term is sometimes used to refer to the sun when it will not rain--the clouds won't break. It is a symbol of strength.

One and Litu

Sometimes when many misfortunes occurred and the people sought the advice of a diviner, he nominated one or litu as the offending yama. Though only one of these might be nominated, the two rituals are slways

performed the same day in close proximity by two different ritual experts. The two rituals were brought from Koroba in the Southern Highlands within living memory. Peyau, the leading one expert gave me most of my information. It was his father who brought the ritual to Porgera from Koroba, and it was his grandfather who developed the ritual. It is said that once when walking from Paiela to Tari he slept at a small lake named Kaiundika. Here he had a dream about two women. In the dream they taught him the prayers and how to perform the ritual. He woke and later tried the ritual. It worked; good times did come and sick people did recover. So he taught others and went around himself as the leading proponent. He taught Peyau's father who passed it onto Peyau himself. Peyau does not intend teaching his son as he says that now he has found a better way in following the white man.

The two women that Peyau's father dreamed about figure prominantly in myths today. Whether they were as well known at the time of Payeu's grandfather or whether they have become famous since because of the one ritual I do not know. In the Paiela Valley the story of the two women was usually first on the list when I asked a group of men to tell me a story. The story is as follows.

> A long time ago when the ground was new, two women lived at a place called Tombina in the Paiela Valley. These were not ordinary women but "masalai women" (wanelapo). (Masalai women are like our witches though they are not always evil. These two at least appear rather virtuous.) They lived well and had good gardens and plenty of pigs and pearl shell.
>
> Across the Pukama River, down towards the Lagaip River lived a man named Kemasili. He was not an ordinary man, but a "masalai man" (ipatiti). He was a no-good man, a kinambuli, a man without wife or possessions. He looked enviously at the good gardens across the river and heard the cries of their pigs, and wanted to go and see them, but there was no bridge. He could not find a way across. One day he shot a pig which ran to the river and waded across to the other side. Kemasili saw this and followed the pig across. (In another account he extends his penis and wraps it around a tree on the other bank and pulls himself across that way.) He walked up to the house of the women and found them cooking the pig which he had shot. It had been one of theirs which had strayed across the river. The women were pleased to see a man and invited him to eat with them. However when the food was ready he sent the women off and ate all the pig, giving only the

skin to them. Being an ipatiti he was able to make the night come more quickly and by the time they had eaten it was dark. So he slept the night and had intercourse with them both. The next day he went back to his house.

Sometime later he decided to visit the two women again, but they saw him coming and taking their pigs and valuables they fled to Kolombi. Kemasili arrived and found the place deserted but saw smoke from their fire at Kolombi and set out for there. Again they saw him coming and again they fled, this time to Ingalepe. And so it went on through Pipitanga and Poko to Masablika. At various places they tried to stall Kemasili. Once they fashioned two pieces of rock to look like women and Kemasili wasted time going to them. On another occasion they slowed him by forming the cliffs on the track before Poko. These natural formations can be seen today.

At Masablika the two women found two men, Lale and Lukapen who joined them in their flight from the Ipatiti. Kemasili was advancing slowly now. He was extremely hungry and began to eat white ground. The two men went ahead to a place called Andakali (anda = house, akali = man) on Mount Kumbipara. There they waited. The two women were very slow and the men thought that they did not want to come so they put on their decorative paint and feathers and went to "heaven" (Pawetoko: literally, the raised place in the sky).

Eventually the wanelapo arrived and found that the men had gone. One woman went to get firewood and meanwhile Kemasili caught up and tried to seduce the other women. However the first woman returned and saw what was happening and beat him with a piece of firewood so that he ran away. The wanelapo then walked across to Tari. When stones blocked their way they used a kepa stick to break them up. At Tari they went to stay inside a lake (presumably Lake Kaiundika where Peyau's grandfather had the dream).

Kemasili was very hungry by this time and at Malinga he climbed an alepa tree to gather fruit. The branch broke and he fell on top of his own spear and died.

The One Ritual

When One has been nominated by the diviner, the people call in the ritual expert. First, he checks that One really is the source of the trouble. At the time of the last ritual performance the spellman had wrapped up all the stones in a bundle in much the same way as I have described for the kepele ritual. There is one large stone and at least half a dozen smaller ones.[16] The smaller stones are able to travel away from their "mother." They move under the ground to cause sickness and other misfortunes. If the spellman looks and finds these stones still present then One was not the source of the trouble, but

if the smaller stones are gone, One is the source and he arranges for pay and for a ritual house to be built.

The standard pay is one black pig, several net bags of taro and green vegetables, some tree oil, red paint and several pieces of pearl shell. One red pig (yia one)[17] has to be provided for killing during the ritual and the ceremonial house, a small but very tall building, must be constructed.

Once these formalities are completed, the spellman sets about finding the missing stones. He uses a small carved piece of wood called a palima.[18] He bites a small piece off this while chanting Kamo 1.[19] The short chant finished, he spits out the piece of wood and listens. Sometimes he hears a special noise as the particle hits the ground, indicating that this is where to dig to find one of the stones. He repeats this procedure until all the stones are located. Some of them can move up to a hundred meters from their "mother" stone. (See photograph 9.)

He then places the stones in a pit lined with leaves of taro, banana, mawana and kapia ferns. As he does so he repeats kamo 1 quietly to himself and puts red, yellow, white and black paint on the stones using his forefinger.[20]

The spellman then goes to fetch the red pig and chants kamo 2 as he ushers in the pig, waving a red tanget leaf in his hand as he follows. Kamo 2 is addressed to the wanelapo of the story. The chant is repeated several times.

He chants Kamo 3 and gives the leaf and a piece of sugarcane to a boy who fastens them at the very top of the ceremonial house. These represent the net bags of the wanelapo with tangets and sugar cane inside which they brought from Tombena.

The spellman then takes the stick (ekapu muli) with which he will kill the pig, spits on it and whispers kamo 4. He kills the pig and sends a boy to bury the stick in soft ground near where the stones are buried. This is to let the spirit know that the offering is about to be made.

The pig is butchered and cooked in the usual way, but the yeyone, the belly fat and offal, are cooked separately on a special fire. Like

the kepele fire, this must be started with wood from the bower of the bower bird which they say is of three kinds: yae, lamba and boke. Possum bones, pig fat and tree oil are put on top of the cooking stones, the yeyone is cooked and salt is aprinkled onto it. The spellman says kamo 5 quietly to himself as he does so.

He then takes the tail feather of a paiyali bird and burns it in the fire while quietly chanting kamo 6. I could not find out why this is done. The paiyali is a large red and green bird and figures in several of the rituals. I think it is regarded as having special contact with the spirits. At the end of the Kimala story (Kolombi version), Kimala and Paleme (the Kawara Woman) both turn into paiyali birds.

The spellman does not wear any decoration but two girls and two young men do decorate themselves and come dancing in. The spellman and people present follow singing as they do so. One girl and one boy must be the child of a clan agnate, the other two must be a child of a female agnate. The girls each carry a short stick in one hand and an itapi torli--a kind of rattle used at ceremonial dances--in the other. The young men carry a bow and arrows. The girls dance up to the fire and pretend to take the yeyone from it. They represent the wanelapo who were chased by Kemasili and the two young men represent Lale and Lukapen who accompanied the women and then ascended to tawetoko.

The spellman and his friends do not eat the yeyone. This is given to the kinambuli or men who are of marriageable age but as yet have no wife and few possessions. They are forbidden to eat sweet potato for five days after this. Kinambuli are chosen not because they are poor, but because they are unmarried. One is an offering to females and the one stones are said to be female stones. With the exception of the spellman, all who are involved in the ritual are unmarried. The reason given is that marriage and sex would distract married men from concentrating on the meaning of the ritual.

The men bring a possum which they have killed and wrapped in kapia leaves and bound with pulvia vine. The spellman unwraps the leaves and makes another chant (kamo 7), while circling the bundle three times. He then puts the possum on its back on the ground and

breaks the bones of both back legs with a stick. I could not find out why this is done.

Finally the spellman now prepares to bury the one stones. He places vine, aiake leaves, taro and mawana leaves in the pit, then pig fat and the stones are placed on top of this. Then tree oil is poured over the top and more strips of pig fat are put over the stones. These are pinned down with mama or short sharp sticks. With the fat on top the spellman cannot see the stones anymore, so the fat is pinned down to prevent any of the stones "running away" before they can be tied into a bundle. The whole combination is bound up with vine, placed back in the pit and buried. Kamo 8 is chanted, asking the one yama not to annoy men for twelve months. The time is specifically stated. "Sleep now and in twelve months you can open your eyes and we meet again."

The flesh of the pig is removed from the oven and the spellman chants kamo 9 which recounts the journey of the wanelapo. It is as though the participants were waiting for them at Lake Kaiundika, and ends: "Now we can see their faces coming." The young people involved eat the pork and go.

Following are the English translations of kamo from the one ritual.

Kamo 1: Egg of the two women,
red stone egg,
moon stone egg,
moon sun egg,
sun egg.

Explanation: The stones are referred to symbolically as eggs. Sometimes in conversation the ritual stones are called "eggs of the sun." There is a Huli legend which tells how the sun and moon were brother and sister who had an incestuous relationship.[21] If there is a myth of how these stones are the progeny of the sun and moon, I was not able to discover it. My informant told me that he believed the wanelapo to be the children of the sun and moon. The stones or "eggs" represent the two women.

Kamo 2: The two women bring fat [pigs].
Tapule and Tapale,
Tapale and Tapule.

I rub pig fat.
I rub kidney fat.
I rub pig fat.
I rub kidney fat.
I rub pig fat.
I rub pig fat.

Explanation: The first line refers to the wanelapo fleeing and moving their pigs up the Paiela Valley. The spellman follows the pig waving a tanget leaf as though he was one of the women. Tapule and Tapale are names for the wanelapo. The rest of the kamo refers to the time when he will put belly fat on the stones later in the ritual.

Kamo 3: I rub the fat from a red pig on the two women.
I rub fat.
I rub kidney fat.
Kuato tanget, kuato tanget, kuakone tanget and sugarcane,
Kuatako tanget, pane tanget and sugarcane,
Kuakone tanget and sugarcane,
Paitakopane tanget and sugarcane.
There. Tanget and sugar.
Pokale tanget, pere tanget and sugarcane,
Kambe tanget, waipalene tanget and sugarcane.
The two women carry them in their netbags.
Yes they carry them,
They carry them,
They carry them,
They carry them,
They carry them.

The stones are referred to directly as the two women. The rest of the kamo is self explanatory when we know that this is made when a boy is fastening tanget leaves and sugarcane on top of the ceremonial house.

Kamo 4. The first four lines of this seven line kamo have the same meaning as kamo 1. My informant the spellman said he could not translate the last three lines. He said that the recurring word "kururu" is a word for a stick and that this chant is like a takia apell to ensure that the man who has donated the pig, will receive another to replace it at the next exchange.

Kamo 5 repeats the expression "I put salt" eight times, using a different expression each time for salt.

Kamo 6: Which rope is it?
It is a patapu rope.
Which rope is it?
It is a kumba rope.
Which rope is it?
It is a patapu rope.
Kakawena rope you tie-up.
Which rope is it?
The rope fastens these kapi leaves.
The rope binds these kume and nagume leaves.

Kamo 7: (While undoing the package containing the possum)
Paiyali bird where do you live?
Where? On top or down below?
Do you live above the cane grass?
Do you live in the cane grass?
Do you live in the liko tree?
Paiyali bird where do you live?

As I noted before, the Paiyali bird has significance in having special contact with the spirits. Kemala and Petene became spirits. The liko tree also has special significance. (See discussion, p. 105).

Kamo 8: Little piece of wood,
I insert this piece of wood.
Luapi frog, I insert this piece of wood.
Possum, I insert this piece of wood.
Possum, I insert this piece of wood.
You must hide and sleep like the frog and the possum.
You must sleep like the possum,
You must sleep like the frog.
Luapi frog, I insert the piece of wood.
You must sleep for twelve months,
Then we can meet,
And you can open your eyes.
In twelve months we can meet,
Then you can open your eye.
I insert this wood so sleep like the possum.
Sleep like the frog.
Sleep like the possum.
Sleep like the possum.
Stay like the stem of the engane.
Stay like the leaf of the engapo.
Stay like the little malumbu tree.
Stay like the stem of the amalo.
You must hide and sleep inside this stone.
Later in twelve months we can meet.

Explanation: The Luapi is a small frog which disguises itself and is very difficult to find. The teketeke possum sleeps high in big

trees. "Alene ali," a twelve-month period is specifically mentioned as the time that the stone must "sleep," though this ritual was not performed at any set time. It was performed when a diviner declared one to be a source of current trouble. The engapo, engane, malumbu and amalo are all low shrubs.

Kamo 9: You come on the road to the River Uku.
You come on the road to the River Okatu.
You come on the road to the River Peaole.
You come on the road to the River Nengele.
You come to a deserted place.
Mountains Ausuame and Mesuame.
Tapule and Tapale.
Tapale and Tapule.
They sit in the house and then continue,
They sleep in the house and then go.
You come on the road to the River Uku.
You come on the road to the River Okatu.
You come on the road to the River Nengele.
They sit in the house and then continue.
They sleep in the house and go on.
The road is blocked but they cut
A path with their stick.
Sit down at the house and go on.
You come to the Yambale River.
You come to Mount Pangali.
You come to the Yapeta River.
Sit down in the house and then continue.
They sleep in the house and then go on.

The two women stop at the house then come.
They sleep in the house then come.
The road is blocked but they cut
A path with their stick.

They come up to the River Pale,
They come up to Pangali,
They come up to the River Yapeta,
They come up to the River Yambale.
They come up to Amaiya.
They come up to Amaka.
They come up to the Kaiya River.
They come up to the Kakai River.
They sit down in the house and then continue.
They sleep in the house and then go on.

Now we can see their faces appearing.
Tapale and Tapule.
Tapule and Tapale.

Explanation: This chant traces the journey of the two women. Instead of them going to Tari as in the story, they come right to the ceremonial ground at Mungalep. The clearing of obstacles in their path is noted and they spend four days on the journey because they sleep three times. This would be a normal walking time if one had pigs.

The Litu Ritual

The litu ritual is very similar to one though less involved. It is performed by a different spellman at the same time and on the same ceremonial ground as the one ritual. Whereas one stones are "female" stones, litu stones are "male." Sometimes they are given an alternative name: awi stones. One yama are the two wanelapo who lived in the Paiela Valley and went to Lake Kaiundika. Litu yama are the spirits of remote dead clan ancestors. They are represented in the stones which are arranged together in a clan sanctuary marked by tanget shrubs. There is one stone for each sub-clan within the clan. Again this ceremony is for the unmarried men and the kinambuli or older poor unmarried men. Once the spellman is married he still performs the ceremony but he gets another unmarried man to handle the stones and he cannot eat any of the cooked pork. Those who have eaten are not permitted to give food to a woman or a married man for at least a month after the ceremony. Women cannot watch the ceremony or be touched by the smoke from the fire.

The spellman arranges the construction of a ceremonial house which is a small square structure with a pandanus roof and no walls. Once completed the spellman takes the stones from their sanctuary and puts them in a pit beside the main post of the ceremonial house. It would be dangerous for him to touch the stones with his bare hands so he uses a mawana leaf around the stone as we would use an over cloth.

He brings in a pig which can be of any color. If it is small he carries it. The size of the pig is an indication of the importance which the people attach to the ceremony. He kills the pig using an apano stick and holds the head of the pig over the pit so that blood goes onto the litu stones. As he strikes the pig he says kamo 1.

He singes the hair of the pig and unlike the one ceremony he does not have to prepare a special fire or use special wood. He can start the fire with a smouldering stick taken from his own house. While the pig is being butchered he burns the leaf of a Pakuwa tree and utters the words of kamo 2, which requests that things should stay strong like the tough pakuwa tree.

The yeyone (offal and belly-fat) is cooked wrapped around sticks over the same fire that he has used to singe the hair off the pig. Once cooked he takes some of the fat and the fat falls onto the sacred stones. While doing this he says kamo 3. He then cooks the body of the pig in a ground oven. When cooked he gives some to the kinambuli who are present and some he lays by the stones after pouring tree oil over them. The spellman goes to his own house and stays there for five days. He returns on the sixth to wrap the stones in mawana leaves and to bury them in their sanctuary.

The spellman's pay is a net bag containing one leg of pork, tree oil and two or three pearl shells.

The following are English translations of kamo from the Litu ritual:

Kamo 1: I pull the teeth of my father's brother's father,
I pull his tongue.
I pull his mouth.
Moon, sun, egg, I hit you.

I cannot understand the symbolism in this kamo. I think the reference to the father's brother's father is not directed specifically at this person so much as at his ancestors in general.

Kamo 2: The pakua tree sits, The mandi tree sits.
The pakua tree sits, The mandi tree sits.
Moon and sun stay. Moon and stone stay. I don't like soft things.
Ground was soft has now hardened.
Moon and sun stay. Native rain mats stay and keep out the rain.
The magisapa tree stays.
Soft things I don't like.
Moon and stone stay.
Moon and sun stay.

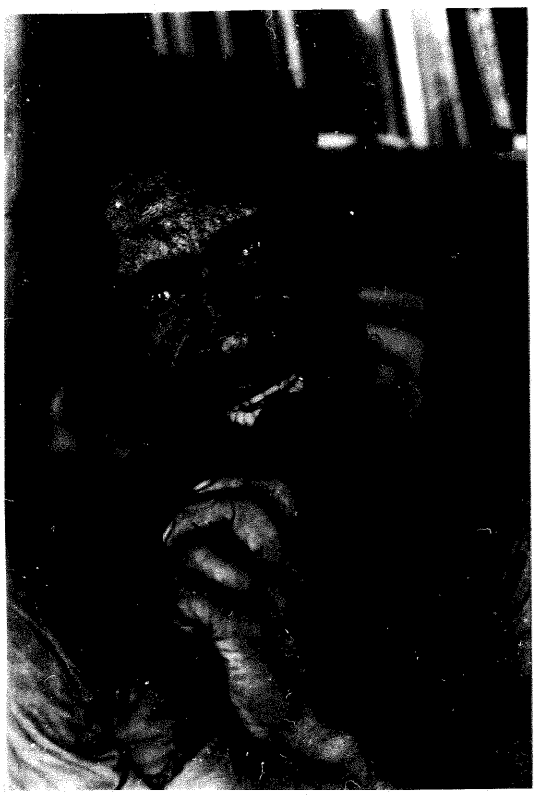
In this kamo only strong or protective things are mentioned. The spellman says he does not like soft, weak things. The pakua and

mandi trees are well known for their strength. The moon, sun and stones always exist. They do not rot or go away. "Tala" is ground which was muddy but has dried hard in the sun. The native rain mat stops a man from getting wet. The magisap tree is a large strong tree which usually has holes underneath its roots. This base of this kind of tree is used as a sanctuary for the sacred stones. The intimation is that he would like the clan plants, children and pigs to become strong like the articles mentioned.

Kamo 3: Kuki juice out, water out.
Kuki juice out, water out.
Kuki juice out, water out.

This chant is commonly used when ritually squeezing juice from something. For instance a man uses these words when squeezing water from clay before applying it to his body during the umaritsia initiation ceremonies. The stem of the kuki tree contains a white juice which runs out if the stem is crushed.

Photograph 8. Killing the pig during the Koipa ritual. The ritual expert has leapt from behind the fence of branches and is about to strike the pig over the head. The man's body is painted half red and half black. (Taken by Rev. L Deflant. Keman. 1973.)



Photograph 9. Payau demonstrates how he bites on the palima before spitting the piece of wood out so as to locate the stones for the One ritual.

Photograph 10. A house oko at the remains of a ceremonial ground built for the kepele ritual. (Taken at Takopa in the Paiela Valley by Rev. R. Holst. C.1964.)

Sky Beings and Other Non-Empirical Beings

In this section I shall describe sky beings, folk heroes and autonomous spirit beings. Such a description and classification is difficult firstly because the Ipili who do not think in terms of a systematic theology are not worried by what I consider inconsistencies, and secondly because some spirit beings seem to fit more than one of the above categories.

The Ipili belief in sky beings (taweakali) is very vague. They were amused that I should be so interested in them. Most men say that they have heard of taweakali but except for a few spirit beings which are not generally classified as taweakali, they know no names and attribute no creative and few regulative powers to them. Meggitt (1965b:131) says that the Enga belief in a founding ancestor who is a sky being strengthens claims to their highly valued land. Perhaps the Ipili do not need such a strong belief in sky beings to validate land claims because land is relatively plentiful.

There is a connection in myth between the sky beings and present man's first ancestors. The sky beings are thought to be men and women who lived on earth before the ancestors of present men arrived. Life for them on the ground ended when the first ancestors of present men arrived, and the sky beings went to tawetoko (the raised place in the sky.) Some went to tawetoko directly from the top of a kaiko tree or else used the kaiko tree as a "bridge" by which to enter a mountain. In the story of Lalupe and Yamalye, the two boys, the first ancestors of their clans at Komonga, saw people going across a kaiko tree to disappear inside the cliff face of Mount Yabepalu. The The boys tried to follow them but were unable and remained to be the first ancestors of the Lalupe and Yamalye clans. This myth suggests that man's first ancestors were of the same stock as the sky beings, but they remained on the ground when the sky beings went to tawetoko. Throughout the myths "men" are represented by the Hewa. In the second version of the Kaunala Tape story (Appendix A) men are said to be the descendents of the Hewa girl who is Kaunala Tape's sister-in-law. In the second version of the Kimala story, Kimala's uncle, Wabiyawe, is said to be the father of all men. This does not reconcile easily with the parallel belief that first ancestors took the form of animals.

The Ipili call these first animal ancestors yama and their descendents are yama. Yama live in the ground and not in the sky as taweakali do.

A further difficulty comes in classifying the named beings found in myths and stories. Lale and Lukapen, Kimala and his brother-in-law Kaunala Tape and the Kawara woman. These are all probably taweakali because the myths all finish when they went to tawetoko. Perhpas they only became taweakali when this happened. Nevertheless they are folk heroes and people prefer to think of them as such; as individual folk heroes rather than as sky beings.

The Kawara woman is a special case. Though she takes human form she has super-human powers not exhibited by the other characters. She has special knowledge, and the food she gives Kaunala Tape has the power to change him from a boy into a man. Because of these super-human qualities and the power associated with her, I think she could also be classified as an autonomous spirit being or deity.

Two other autonomous spirit beings are Nii (sun) and Isini. The sun is seen as a spiritual being with creative and regulative powers. Some call it nitawe and classify it as a powerful sky being; others think of it more as a deity and called it various names: nii, aluni, ewa, onewa. The sun is the ever watchful one. It looks after everything there is whereas the ancestral spirits are limited in their interest. "He (the sun) sees if we steal things." "During a fight he looks after us." "If he wants us to die then we will die." If a man is crossing a dangerous bridge he might mentally comment his safety to the sun. "Ewa andapio eya" (The sun is watching you) is a commonly held saying. If a man finds a wild pig while hunting, or discovers a wild pandanus with excellent fruit, he might say, "The sun has sent this to me." When a man proposes to a girl he says, "If it is the will of the sun that we should be married, then we will be married." The sun is responsible for giving children. After the sixth day of seclusion during menstruation a woman must offer a short prayer and bite on a liko leaf while looking at the sun. This will ensure her fertility.

Isini is a non-human being with long slender arms. It lives in the lower reaches of the Lagaip River at the border between the sky and the earth. Isini has a regulative function of ensuring that

the water goes from the ground, otherwise the rivers would build up and everyone would drown. Isini allows the water to flow along its long arms and down a huge hole. Some think that Isini has a more general overall regulative function similar to that attributed to the sun. Hence during the Lueimi Millanerian Movement (see Chapter VIII) when it was thought that the world was to end, many thought that this meant Isini was no longer going to perform his function and that prescriptions of the Millenerian Movement were commanded by Isini himself.

From what has been said it will be evident that the sky beings and the spirit beings which I have named have interests in very different spheres of the Ipili cosmic order. Isini has a regulative function over the whole of the environment. If he wished, the whole world would end. Earthquakes are caused by Isini's brown pig which occasionally rubs its back on the tree which props up the earth. Nii, the sun spirit is considered to have similar general creative and regulative powers which are wider than those of the ancestral spirits.

The taweakali have very little influence in the environment and in men's daily life. When asked about them, most replied, "How should I know, I have never seen one, have you?" I discovered only one ritual (tawetimu) which is made to the sky beings and this very infrequently. Most men denied that the sky beings controlled natural forces. In pragmatic highland style they said that these things just happen and they don't think about it. The meaning of thunder and lightning is that "it will soon rain and I shall get wet if I don't find shelter." "Earthquakes mean that I should not stand under a rock or a rotton tree." I was told that sometimes if a man slips he will exclaim "tawe atabe" (literally: "sky, are you there?"). Sometimes the sky beings are considered to have a general moral sanction. When a man has a headache he might say, "The taweakali are killing me." A severe headache may be the sky being's way of punishing a man who has committed an anti-social act such as incest.[22] A solution can be found in the tawetimu rite.

This is both a divination technique and a propitiatory offering made to the sky beings. A spellman takes a burning stick and skewers a strip of pig fat onto it and secures the stick to the top of the victim's house. Two men stand five meters away and aim arrows

at the burning pig fat. The man to the east (direction of the rising sun) calls, "Pulaiapa you come down," and the man to the west calls, "Eketa, you come down." Then they shoot their arrows at the pig fat. If the arrows miss, then the man will most probably die. If one of the arrows strikes the pig fat then the man will live to shoot arrows again himself. In this way it is a divination technique. The pulaiapa tree is one which grows only at high altitudes on the mountains and the eketa is one which grows down in the river valleys. They say that the sky beings can see everything, so when calling trees from on top of the mountains and down in the valleys, they are really calling on the sky beings. If the arrows strike the pig fat, it shows that the sky beings have heard the man's request.

Except for the Kawara woman, the mythical heroes also have no power and little influence in daily life, and hence there are no ritual offerings made to them. The only reference I found to them outside of myth was in a painting of Kimala made in the house umane during the kepele ritual. The Kawara woman is the most significant of the autonomous spirit beings. She enters into the daily life of men and especially in the men's bachelor rites. Thus I will discuss her in detail in the next section on purificatory rites.

Forms of Magic

I have dealt with problems of sickness and fertility and misfortune which have been associated with non-empirical beings such as ghosts, ancestor spirits and demons. However there are also problems of men's wellbeing threatened by women, prestige seen in portable wealth and negative social reactions. These sources of anxiety do not have a foundation in the non-empirical beings. Rather the source is in man's own condition; maleness versus femaleness, rich and influential men versus poor and unimpressive men, powerful versus weak men. Consequently the religious response in men's protective magic, wealth magic and sorcery is expressed on a very human level.

The response is mostly in the form of magical spells which are thought to work automatically without the help of ghosts, spirits

or demons. The power is in the proven efficacy of the words themselves which usually are a form of sympathetic magic.

When asked where these spells first came from, everyone said that they did not know. They bought them from someone whose life had proved their worth, they worked and that was all that mattered.

There is a common element in learning these spells. Invariably the pupil must spend time in seclusion with a ritual expert while he is taught the words. At this time there are also forms of purification demanding abstension from certain food and from sexual relations.

Men's Protective Ritual (Umaritsia)

The reason for protective ritual is the uneasy male-female relations whose source is in the Ipili conception of maleness and femaleness. There is some debate as to the actual source of men's fear of femaleness. Meggitt (1964:221) says that the Mae Enga intersexual conflict reflects the anxiety of prudes to protect themselves from contamination by women. This contamination is exemplified in menstrual blood.

Brenda Gray (1973) suggests that the intersexual conflict is not so much based on a pollution-purity dichotomy, as on weakness and strength or feminine characteristics versus male characteristics. Womanliness is evidenced in rapid loss of weight and premature aging. She says that woman's blood is not seen as bad in itself. Actual contact may be harmful but it can also contribute to a man's wellbeing in the right circumstances, for instance in the bachelor rites or in the way a wife treats her menstrual blood.

No doubt women's ideas contributed partly to Gray's opinions. I spoke only to men about this and usually they expressed their fear in terms of the danger of woman's blood to their own safety. They used terms such as poison, or fear of loss of strength, their skin becoming dull and flabby, their hair not growing or something similar. The post-partum sex taboo was rationalized in terms of a man's own safety. Several men explained how a man would swell up if he had relations with a woman still nursing a child. None expressed concern for the child.

The only statement I heard to support the idea that a woman's blood can be a man's strength was a negative one where it was said that if a woman did not perform the proper post-menstrual ritual, then her husband would not be successful in the next distribution of pigs.

Though men did express their fear of femaleness in terms of the danger of woman's blood to their safety, an analysis of the umaritsia ritual tends to support Gray's point that men can also find strength and growth through woman's blood.

Though it has since been abandoned, the umaritsia bachelor ritual was an important part in the life of a young man.[23] It was through the power of the rituals that a boy came to be a young man, strong enough to withstand the weakening effect of contact with women. By means of the ritual his hair grew and his beard appeared. He grew in stature so that his skin was firm and his voice deepened. After going through the rituals about five times at least, the old men could see his development and would pronounce him fit for marriage.

There are two paradoxical themes running through the rituals. Firstly women are thought of as polluting and the young man goes through ritual washings to rid himself of their contamination. On the other hand the Umaritsia brings him into intimate contact with female blood. It is this female blood which gives him strength and helps him to grow.

The source of this paradox is found in myth. In Appendix A I give accounts of three myths: one about Kuanala Tape and two about Kimala. All three include the Kawara woman.

The Kawara woman is always beautiful and she tries to help men, but only after they first fight. She hits Kuanala Tape over the head and takes the possum from Kimala and then tests him. Always she takes the initiative. She finds the boys deep in the forest. She takes the initiative in their relationship. I presume Kuanala Tape is the father of her child.

In both cases she helps the young man to grow. Kuanala Tape is a "rubbish" man. He is small and eats snakes. Yet when he eats the food which the woman gives him, he is able to grow at once into a

strong man. Kimala asks her why he has to go and find the kawara bog-iris plants. She says it is because he wants to make his hair and his body stronger. In each case the boy has to go through some ordeal first. Kuanala Tape is told not to look at the ground. This he does, and promptly falls into a lake. However after this washing he is accepted by her. Before he wanted to sleep with her and she told him to go and hunt possums. Now she attends to him and combs his hair so that it becomes like the "rising moon." She gives him the valuables for a bride-price for his brother and she saves him from death with the Hewa woman (Kolombi version). Once Kimala has done what she said and procured the bog-iris plants, she marries him and tends to him. (They plant the iris behind their house--something married couples do.) She gives him valuables such as the pearlshells which he finds on the liko tree.

Though she helps men, it is men who do her harm. In one story Kimala accidentally shoots her. In the other Kuanala Tape story a Hewa man shoots at Kaunala Tape and the Kawara woman as they go into the clouds. He hits her netbag and bog-iris falls so that men can plant them today.

In another myth which is not in the Appendix, I was told how the kawara woman was the last of the sky beings to go to the sky. As she went, a Hewa man came and shot her in the breast. She bled and blood fell into a small lake. She went to the sky but said that she would send her sons to plant bog-iris plants.

The parallels between the myth and the rituals will become apparent in the account of umaritsia.

The rituals were performed approximately once a year by five or ten bachelors in a clan. When they decide that it is time, two or three go to the forest and prepare the site, rebuilding the small house which stands beside a forest pool or a place where a stream can be dammed. At night they dig sweet potato and carry it to the house. Then they return and collect their decorative materials and leave them in a house near the edge of the forest. They warn their parents that they are going, and their close relatives should be careful that they

don't char sweet potato or pork, or else the ashes to be rubbed on the boys' faces will not be impressive.

After readying the food and their decorations they go into the forest early one morning and cut bamboo tubes. (I have given twelve umaritsia songs and spells in Appendix B, numbers 5 to 16.) While cutting the bamboo they chant number 6 which calls on the Kawara woman, asking where she is, letting her know that they are cutting bamboo tubes for use in the rite.

The bachelors take the bamboo tubes to the forest pool and remove all clothing and everything associated with women. They put on layers of leaves to cover themselves. During the ceremony they must not see each others' genitals, hair or the soles of their feet.

On the first day they wash and purify themselves from the effects of contact with women. Their eyes more than anything else have had contact with women and these are washed thoroughly, allowing the water to fall onto them from pandanus leaf spouts. The forest water is pure and uncontaminated by humans (song 8). They alternately wash and warm themselves for most of the day. Only when their eyes are bloodshot from the washing are they purified enough to view the bog-iris plants without the plants withering.

Each new bachelor (ekamele) is given a bog-iris to plant and tend. They chant spells as they pack mud around the stem, or clear the weeds from the established plants. (Spell 9.) The plants do not die naturally. If they die it is a sign that a young man has had improper associations with women. Some will cut small pieces of leaf and insert them into their hair to make the hair grow. (Spell 10.) Making one's hair grow is the most important aspect of the Umaritsia. This is the principle sign that a boy has become a man; when he has thick hair and a beard. Spells 11 through 14 are made then tending their hair. Others will take leaves from the bog-iris then strike and rub themselves with the leaves.

That night the boys all sit around the fire and sing. After sleeping they attempt to interpret their dreams as dreams at this time are supposed to be especially significant.

The next morning there is a ceremony with the bamboo tubes. The boys take four tubes each and hold them in front of themselves. One of the older bachelors has a large bamboo tube filled with the "blood" (tundua) of the kawara woman. This blood has been taken from the lake where her blood fell after the Hewa man shot her. A small amount of the "blood" is poured into each tube. Then all the boys put a plug of makua leaves in the top of the tubes and sing song number 7 where the woman is said to be menstruating. They then put the tubes in the water near their bog-iris plants. The bamboo tubes would tend to float in the water but they are tied to a stake so that the tops are about an inch above the surface. This operation is called umaritsia pene. When the bachelors return the following year they will look into the tubes. If the fluid inside has risen almost to the level of the water outside, then all is well. If there is only a little fluid inside, then there is something wrong. The water is not "growing" and neither will the boy.

The washing and rubbing with bog-iris leaves continues for several days. In the afternoon they might go hunting for wild animals or wild pandanus nuts. When they do this they should not look at the ground, but keep their eyes raised (reminiscent of Kuanala Tape). This is so that their gaze will not be defiled by things such as excreta on the track. Any sweet potatoes they eat must be smoked on top of the fire; not cooked in the usual way inside the ashes of the fire. The new bachelors cannot cook food.

They must always think "good" thoughts. If one makes immodest talk the older bachelors will demand that he pay a fine of one pearl shell.

On the seventh day they go to the palipenta or house near the edge of the forest. They spend the rest of the day putting on oil, ashes and decorations (spells 15, 26). They hope that with their decorations they will look handsome and fearsome. On the eighth day they go home to be met by the menfolk. The men surround them to shield them from the gaze of the women. The old men pass judgment on the young men's appearance and say whether they think they are strong enough for marriage.

For two more days the boys eat alone inside their houses. After five days their decorations are dry and they throw them away. The boys live normally after this, though they keep contact with women to a minimum and spend much of their time hunting in the bush. Even when not hunting it is customary for a young bachelor to always carry a bow and arrow.

The umaritsia ritual is an excellent example of belief being acted out in ritual. The parallels between the story of Kaunala Tape and Kimala and the rituals performed by the young bachelors are obvious. Through ritual association with the Kawara woman and through her blood in the bamboo tubes and the bog-iris plants which she provides, the young men become strong enough to stand the intimate contact with women found in marriage.

This rite is not purely magical in the sense that all the spells are presumed to work automatically without the assistance of a spiritual being. The Kawara woman does give the rites their power but only two of the spells I have recorded in Appendix B (spells 5 and 6) mention the woman or seek to approach her in the spell. The other spells all use the principle of sympathetic magic. They call on "hairy" things to make them hairy, "striking" things to make them look striking.

The rites have been abandoned for the last five years. I do not think they are being continued secretly. Some were able to repeat the kamo for me which they had learnt during their time of seclusion. Many other men said that they had forgotten or made an attempt and came to an embarrased halt half-way through when they found they had forgotten the formula. When the man who told me most of the kamo was explaining their meaning to me, his wife and young children sat beside him listening to the conversation. This would not have happened before.

This seems very different from the nearby people of Laiagam where Gray (1973:109) says that attitudes twoards menstrual pollution have merely gone underground and that male ritual concerned with male growth "is still believed to be absolutely necessary to promote health

in boys." "All men including Christian evangelists of ten years' standing firmly believe in the necessity of the (Sanggai) rite if the boys are to become men." (P. 148.)

Several times the Catholic priest in Porgera publicly said to men that he would support the re-introduction of the rites if they thought it a good thing, but the men replied that they thought this was silly because it was not necessary now.

Today there is a lessening of male-female hostility and Porgera and Paiela boys have found new ways to grow into men.

A lessening of male-female hostility is evidenced in practice. Apart from abandoning the Umaritsia ritual men are marrying younger and they say they do not bother to buy protective magic. My translator was married while I was there. He was about eighteen years old and had completed standard six in school just the year before. From listening to various informal courts it seems there is now some promiscuity among the young in Porgera. This is more likely between some of the local girls and the wage earning immigrant gold workers. Such behavior was rare before and punishment was severe. A married woman might have the tendons in her legs severed or her ears cut off. A man might be hung from a tree by his heels and a fire lit under him. Formerly the hanging of women's skirts above garden boundaries was effective in discouraging trespassers. I saw only one example of this during my stay though I was continually walking around the area.

Gray suggests that men are less careful today because there is less fighting and it is not so important that men should avoid being weakened by female contact. This is true, but my discussions with men led me to understand that they were afraid of sickness and death carried by menstrual pollution as much as the lessening of their fighting strength. Dark markings on the belly of a dead man were proof that he died from contamination by menstrual blood. If this is true then I must conclude that the apparent easier relations today and the abandonment of the bachelor ritual are a sign of some lessening of the fear of womanliness and not just that the fear has gone underground. I think it goes back to the underlying pragmatism of the Ipili. They

have tried a relaxation of old forms of behavior. They liked the change and finding that no great calamaties occured, they have adopted it.

Two older men commented that young boys who go to school today do not grow as quickly as they used to. They attributed this to the dropping of the bachelor ritual. They also noted that the young girls grow even more rapidly these days. However the old men were prepared to adopt a wait-and-see attitude. Both the Paiela men were sending their sons to school in Porgera.

Young men themselves are unconcerned about the abandonment of the rites. Those whom I asked did not want the ritual restored. The reason they gave was that now they have so much contact with women that any amount of ritual washing would not have any effect. Perhaps some are afraid that dead bog-iris plants would be a proof of their relaxed moral behavior.

There are other ways of showing manliness today. The principle way is earning money. If a young man wants to work he can find employment with the Mount Isa Mines company in Porgera, or else he can go on contract labor to the coast. Today many young men have taken one of these opportunities. The Paiela Valley especially is critically short of young men to perform the traditional task of cutting gardens and making new houses. In the 1974 government census of the Paiela Valley, there were 282 adult males absent; i.e., one third of the adult male population of the valley. In some places, Waimalam for instance, there were more adult males absent than there were present. The older men and many of the married men have remained, so the 282 away are mainly young bachelors.

Not only does the Umaritsia ritual act as magic to enhance a young man's personal appearance and growth, but it is also a form of wealth magic. In the myth the woman not only helped Kaunala Tape and Kimala to grow. She gave them pigs and pearl shells. There is a close association between personal appearance and possessions. The umaritsia rites help a man become rich and successful. Not only will his hair be thick but his pigs will increase. In this way the umaritsia ritual is also a form of takia (wealth magic) which I will now describe.

Wealth Magic (Takia)

The best way for a man to attain personal prestige in Ipili society is to be wealthy: traditionally the owner and controller of many pigs, pearlshells and women. Today with gold operations there are alternative ways to become a Big Man (amongo), but still they all center on the ability to own, manipulate and distribute portable wealth. Personal shrewdness is not enough to become really wealthy. The fact that a man is wealthy is proof that he is a possessor of strong takia or wealth magic.

A young man who aspires to wealth will seek out a rich man, present him with pay of a net bag containing some cowrie shells, a pearl shell and a pig which he has killed, and ask to be taught the takia "story." If the man agrees, they will go into seclusion for several days. They eat the pig and the young man learns the words and actions he must perform. Once learnt, the young man "carries this knowledge around with him."

If he wants to use the takia; at a pig distribution for instance, the young man will again go into seclusion, this time to a small shelter in the forest. He prepares himself in a way rather similar to the umaritsia bachelors.

The young man takes with him some articles called takame which give strength to his takia. I could not clarify whether it is the words or the articles which have the power. It seems to be a combination of both.

Photograph 11 shows five objects lying on an old piece of cloth. Three are wing bones of the fruit bat or kaima. One is the feather of a wale parrot and the other is a micre crystal, said to be the heart of a takaima (which they say is a special pig). The articles were all stained red from the pigment used in takia magic. Normally they are wrapped up in a bundle with bog-iris leaves and kept hidden in a man's net bag.

On the fifth day of seclusion the young man rubs his face with ashes from a fire made with the wood of the yar tree. He then paints some of the red ochre in stripes across his cheeks using the feather of the kapa bird. Hence when he goes to the distribution people will

Photograph 11. Takeme objects used in wealth ritual. They are described on page 90.

Photograph 12. Healing Magic. The leaf was heated in the fire and then rubbed on the painful part of a woman's back. The spellman then opened the leaf to reveal the pieces of wood. He claimed that he had cured the woman by removing the wood from inside her.

see he has takia and they will feel compelled to give him wealth. Most said that he would be given wealth even if he was not entitled to it. Others said that takia only ensured that he received the pigs which were owed to him.

At a distribution the young man holds the words of the takia kamo in his head. (Spell 18 in Appendix B is such a kamo--the noise referred to is the noise of pigs squealing as they are killed.) When the time comes to distribute the pig, the spell will ensure that he is not overlooked. "Just as the sun sees everyone, so all men must see me."

A man can say spell 19 to himself at a distribution, even if he has not been in seclusion and decorated himself beforehand. Spell 20 is made while a man in seclusion drinks water for the first time in five days. The posts of his house referred to in the spell are where he will tie his wealth.

The power of these spells is in the spells themselves. They are not an invocation to a ghost or deity. Combined with the possession of the takeme objects, the power of the spell is "carried by the wind." In the Kimala myth (Appendix A), the Hewa girls are said to chant formulas used in takia magic as they cut the ground with pearl shells. My informants did not know, and I doubt whether they were responsible for the formula. Rather they knew formulas which were pre-existent at that time.

Some doubt the efficacy of the old spells today. There are new ways of obtaining wealth. One way is by panning gold, another is through education. Several men spontaneously expressed the opinion that modern education fulfills the same function as takia magic. In takia magic a man teaches a younger man, who in turn will teach a younger man. In a similar way teachers have come to Porgera and Paiela to educate the children. Some of the children will one day be teachers and so the process is continued. A man gives wealth to the older man in the expectation that later he will receive back much more than his investment. In a similar way parents are willing to pay for their children's education in the belief that the child will one day get a

wage-earning job and support his parents. Education is an investment for future financial gains. As one father said to me, "Before I gave a pig and expected a bigger pig in return, or maybe even two. Now my son is first year in high school I don't mind paying for this as one day he will send me lots of money."

Magic to Injure Enemies

The Ipili, especially the Paiela people, are well-known in the Western Highlands for their sorcery. Except for some curses these techniques operate automatically without the help of ghosts or spirits. Women use material substances which are thought to "poison" the victim. Men use psychic sorcery rather than substances to injure their enemies.

Women's Sorcery (Makolo or Togema)

This is a form of sorcery which is reputedly practiced by elderly women who live alone and are possessed by an evil spirit. They are not seen now but in the Paiela there used to be special gateways over the track between centers of habitation. These were "no tresspassing" signs for the spirits which possessed the women. I did not find out anything more about these spirits as I was told about them only on my last patrol to Paiela and the people did not discuss them in detail. The spirits must have been some sort of yama which was thought to enter into a person who was mentally unbalanced. These yama have retreated into the forest with the other spirits so the gateways are no longer necessary.

I was told that the last sorceress was killed at Waimalam in 1965. Her dismembered body was hidden under some rocks but a pig brought a leg back to one of her relatives and eventually there was a police investigation.

One of my informants told me that one day when he was searching for pigs in the forest he came upon an elderly woman sitting at the base of a tree. She was not wearing a proper skirt, just a small one normally worn as an under garment. When asked what she was doing there, she replied that she was looking for frogs. The men did not believe her and immediately suspected that she was a sorceress. My informant cut off one of her fingers. This would be a sign to his relatives. If he died they could search for this woman with her recently amputated finger.

To make the substance which she uses the sorceress takes a small piece of bamboo and fits a string onto it so that she can hang it inside her skirt. She mixes some menstrual blood with some hair from a dead

man, some lekapo bark and a piece of bone from a dead person. She fastens the top with some possum skin. When the substance is used she takes a bat's wing bone or a small piece of wood, lifts the skin covering and dips the stick into the mixture. She applies it to some wood which the victim is likely to carry or on his food or some of his belongings. (Those who told me always spoke of a male as the subject of the sorcery. Certainly the menstrual blood in the concoction would be thought to have a harmful effect on a man.) I am not sure how the bark or the relics from the deceased person would work.

A man will sometimes be warned of the "poison" by the presence of fire flies, but the "poison" will begin to act when it touches him and in four or five months the man will die. When a man dies from this form of sorcery there is a storm with thunder and lightning. The mixture can be dangerous for a woman too. The sorceress can carry the mixture around with her under her skirt but after she has applied it she must go to the river and wash thoroughly or she also will become ill. When people believe that a man has died in this way they do not only try to find the woman responsible. Often a man will pay a woman to perform the sorcery and so they will look for a male enemy as the real culprit.

Men's Sorcery

The most feared form of men's sorcery is ambuli. Men from Teri and Laiagam would come to buy this magic. There is also koare which is a magic curse and tolo which is a form of sorcery borrowed from the Huli people.

Ambuli is an "evil eye" technique. A man buys it from a known practitioner for a high price, perhaps forty pigs. He goes into seclusion with the practioner for at least a week to learn the spells. While doing so both must look at the ground or at an inert object such as a stone, because the spell is so powerful that it would kill the student if the expert looked at him.

When a man wants to use the technique he has learned he goes into seclusion in the forest for several days. The usual takia restrictions apply. He cannot drink water and his sweet potato must be smoked on top of the fire.

When he emerges from seclusion he tests the strength of his powers. First he kills a dog. If successful he kills a child, then a young man and finally a woman. If he is successful in killing these then he knows that his sorcery will be powerful enough to kill the strongest enemy.

To kill his enemy, the man looks hard at him and whispers the words of the spell. Several months later the victim will develop fever, chills and sores and will soon die. Aleka techniques will not divine ambuli sorcery, but people can tell that a man has died from this by marks which appear on his face and chest. If someone thinks that he is the victim of ambuli sorcery he can find a knowledgeable man who kills a pig, takes the blood and rubs it into the man's whole body using stinging nettles and spells. This might be sufficient to save him.

If a man has something stolen he might put a koare curse on the their (see curse 1, Appendix B). He ties a pig's tail to a branch and beats it on the ground close to a latrine or place for ritually killing pigs (warelapetu), while cursing his enemy.

In another method he takes a piece of fat from the neck of a pig and cooks it over the fire, then calls a curse on the man. In the example above the man calls on the assistance of the two women of the one ritual to help kill the thief.

In Porgera and Paiela people use tolo sorcery but few could tell me much about it. Generally a man employs an expert from Tari. The power of tolo lies in a little net bag (tolo nuu) which contains small stones. The practitioner sends tolo, an invisible force, which travels like a strong wind. A man killed by tolo does not get sick but will suffer some accident like having a tree fall on him, dying in a landslide or burning to death in his house. The last time a man died from tolo in Porgera was about 1969. People were so afraid after this that they forced the practitioner to throw the bag of stones into the river.

CHAPTER III

THE MEANING OF IPILI RELIGION

In the last chapter I dealt with religion in itself with only occasional references to how it fitted into the total cosmological conception. This was necessary in order to simplify the intricate pattern of relationships. However in this chapter I shall consider how religion relates to the environment and social order (the external function) and how it figures in the intellectual assumption that a man can control the cosmic order by performing ritual (the internal function). The discussion will be in three parts. Firstly, where do religion and the environment meet? This includes the question of economics, the exploitation of the environment. Secondly, where do religion and society meet? Thirdly, what is religion in the subjective view of the people themselves?

Religion and the Environment

The non-empirical beings are closely associated with the physical world, and the mountains, rivers, pools, the forest and sky form their abode. The mountains which are such a prominent part of the terrain are in a general way said to be the homes of the spirits. Kopiyama, dwelling in Mount Wagima is one such being. Mountains are also the abode of remote ancestral spirits, and the sky-beings are said to have gone to tawetoko by entering a mountain. People at Komonga in Paiela showed me a rock with marks made by the pigs and the staves of the legendary women who were the mothers of their first clan ancestors, Lalupe and Yamalye. They entered Mount Yabepalu when the ground and rocks were still soft and "new." The mythical heroes Kimala and Maunala Tape and friends went to tawetoko from the top of Mount Kumbipara. Men will point out the markings on the mountain cliffs left by the heroes when they entered into the mountain. The kepele koulini (kepele bone) is a stone taken from one of the rivers

flowing from Mount Lapua, thought to be the original ancestor of all the peoples of the area. As a consequence of this importance in belief, mountains occur very often in the kamo recited in ritual.

Rivers also figure prominently in ritual often because they are a way of retelling the journey of a mythical hero (see one kamo 9). But rivers are also very dangerous and the habitats of spirits such as yutuwana.

Pools are often the abode of remote dead ancestral spirits, the recipients of the ekekaima offering. Not all pools house dangerous spirits; I have witnessed men approaching some forest pools without any fear.

Forests are the abode of most yama, from the small man-like ipatiti to the pataka and nenginengi which come in the wind.

The physical environment as a whole receives little attention and is taken for granted. There are no creation myths, though at one time the world was "new" and the rocks were "soft." On one occasion when the environment did cause considerable anxiety--in the 1940's when the Ipili thought the world was about to end, there was a religious response in the form of the Lyeimi Millanerian Movement.

I found several deities with a partially creative function. There is Nii who is responsible for giving children and the wanelapo who formed some of the physical features in the Paiela Valley in their efforts to escape Kemasili, the ipatiti who was pursuing them Nii together with Isini, the spirit who lives at the border between the sky and the ground have an overall regulative function, but day-to-day regulative functions are attributable to ancestral spirits who dwell in clan lands.

Religion figures more prominently in the problem of the exploitation of the environment which cannot be left to chance in the harsh terrain. Socio-economic security is a recurring theme throughout Ipili belief and ritual. Too much rain will wash away gardens and cause erosion. Too little will bring drought, impeding and stunting the growth of crops. Frosts, which kill sweet potato, seldom occur because of the steepness of the land, but frosts in adjacent districts will bring hungry visitors, placing greater strain on food resources.

Such unfortunate natural phenomena (as distinct from individual misfortunes) are usually attributed to dissatisfied ancestral spirits, and so appropriate ritual is performed. In such rites specific mention is made of pigs (wealth), wives and children (clan strength), and crops, especially sweet potato--the subsistance food--often stunted by climatic conditions (see kepele kamo 1 and 3). Food has not only a nutritional value, but also a value for hospitality and respect and in exchanges which bind kinship units.

Religious rites also serve an economic purpose, as a mechanism of redistribution, ensuring that food is made available by individuals for group use. The ritual expert is important for the well-being of the community and is paid for his services, thus combining an economic and a religious function. In some respects religious demands stimulate production, but in others, production is limited, for instance during times of ritual mourning. It should be noted that religious ritual is not a sacrifice where food is wasted or withdrawn from human consumption. Rather it is offered to the spirit being and then eaten by the participants.

Religion and Society

Ipili religion serves an important social function as an integrating mechanism in the society. It expresses unity and it helps to create unity. Though the expressed aim of ritual might be to placate ghosts or propitiate ancestral spirits, there is a latent function whereby the ritual performance strengthens the group. Religion provides symbolic solutions to fundamental problems in the society which would otherwise disrupt the society. Scapegoats for evil, suffering and crises are found in evil spirits, ghosts and other forces beyond rational control. Sorcery is common because of a combination of a military tradition and the strain associated with migration and the presence of strangers.

As in most simple societies religion is very much a part of the social structure. A person has less choice of his religion than he has of his relatives, and the ritual grouping is co-extensive with a particular kinship grouping. A man validates his clan land by citing

his ancestors who are buried there. The composite family or patrilineage grouping makes offerings to family ghosts in times of severe illness or misfortune. The larger clan unit has common name and origin myth, ownership of sacred stones and acts as a group in the bachelor ritual and in offerings to the clan ancestral spirits.

Not every aspect of life has its religious accompaniment. Events of house-building, gardening, making utensils and most ceremonies associated with marriage exchange seem to have no orientation toward extra-human beings, and there is no belief that they influence what is happening. In some cases though, especially in mortuary ceremonies, religious beliefs help buttress key groups in social relations. Attendance, exchange, weeping and other signs of grief are mandatory under sanction of ghostly displeasure. In this regard no distinction is made between male and female ghosts. Neither recent nor remote dead live in another world. Generally they live in clan ground and so relations with them, expecially with the recent dead, are on a day-to-day basis. The remote ancestor spirits are feared more because of their power and what they can bring: food or famine, wealth or poverty. The fear and respect for ghosts is not so much because of their power, as one might fear an electrical storm or dynamite, but rather on account of their continuing powerful social relationship, as former humans existing in a social relationship with their kinsmen. Ghosts have a common moral interest which can be exhibited both in helping and vengeful relations. The fear of ghosts is more like the fear of a powerful man and the Ipili are not reticent to apply the same manipulative and bargaining relationships and the same calculating attitude to economics of daily life to their relations with the recent dead. There is no mystical quality about this as both occur on the same plane of human existence; relations with ghosts are just as real as those with human beings.

It is especially in relation to ghosts that religion upholds moral norms in the society. The choice of victim for ghostly attack can be arbitrary and except in extreme cases it is not thought that ghosts sanction morality in general and punish their descendents if they fail to carry out their obligations to one another. However ghost attack can be a consequence of anti-social behavior towards the ghost

itself while it was still living as a human being. Thus there is some strengthening of the reality of common values and the behavior following these values.

On the socio-political level, religion reinforces elements of the existing social structure. Participation in group ritual activities is a political requirement. The male-female physical and social difference is maintained and strengthened. Women have little significance in ritual affairs except in the role of diviner. Bachelor rites and purificatory rituals strengthen the belief that femaleness is detrimental to manhood.

In some rituals, social structure is especially significant in the selection of key participants. Of the three young people selected for the ekakaima ceremony, one boy must be a clan agnate and the other boy and girl should be the son and daughter of a female agnate. I have not been able to determine why this is the case.

The status of ritual expert is determined by kinship relations. The position is ascribed, a son learning from his father, rather than an achieved status as with secular leadership of the traditional big-man. The big-man is presumed to possess good wealth magic but his position is not legitimized by religious means.

Religion from a Subjective Point of View

Religion helps place the Ipili with confidence in the conceived cosmic order, so that he believes that he can have some control over his economic system by means of ritual. Also by a process of explanation and validation his religion contributes to his intellectual life. The myths and rituals I have referred to in the preceding chapter give some indication of the people's understanding of the total cosmos and the way in which it can be controlled to human advantage. Like all Melanesian religions the Ipili religion is primarily pragmatic and materialistic; a technology rather than a spiritual force for human salvation.

Belief is found primarily in myth (temane); ritual is characterized by the prayers and spells (kamo). I will discuss these two separately in order to further explain the Ipili attitude to knowledge and ritual.

Myth

Myth answers only a small number of philosophical questions; much of the content of their cosmos is assumed. Myth performs an educative function and is really a form of art. There are few other forms of expression. Improvised song is important as entertainment, though not nearly so important as among the Enga. The only graphic art is found in the carved design on men's pipes.

Chanting stories is an achieved art mastered by few. A good deal of skill is needed to maintain interest and to fit the words into the rhythm of the narration. The storyteller uses plays on words and symbolic language, especially symbols based on maleness and femaleness, strength and weakness. Men were quite willing to translate myths for me but seldom ventured an explanation of the myth as a whole or its significance.

In Appendix A I have given abbreviated English versions of three myths. One is about Kaunala Tape and two are about Kimala. These myths were recorded on tape, written down in the vernacular by my informants, and then translated and written in Melanesian Pidgin. I translated from the Pidgin to make a shortened English version. I have included these stories because they seem the most popular and the most well known in the area. Both Kimala and Kaunala Tape are like folk heroes. In the Kolombi version of the Kimala story, Kimala is said to be the son of Titi. Titi is a yama or demon like the much-feared ipatiti. Titi's brother is the father of real men. In the stories ekene is often used after the words iwana (boy) and wana (girl). Ekene is a technical term used to identify the original people who first lived on earth and who were different from the people who live here now. This supports the idea that they were taweakali or sky beings. However only when pressed will people admit that they were sky beings because they prefer to think of them as folk heroes or powerful humans who lived before, so that their identity is somewhat ambiguous.

From the myths it can be seen that the sky beings lived like men do today: They ate and slept and liked to blow pan-pipes; they married and attended dances; they had prayers for sickness and performed the kepele ritual. When the men of today came on the scene, the sky

beings went to the sky. In the myths there are a few minor differences from life today; there is more eating of taro than sweet potato, and there is more hunting and eating of possums than rearing and eating pigs. This accords with Ipili traditions which record that the men before used to eat much more taro and that before men used to be semi-nomadic, hunting for their food much more than they do today.

Without exception the Hewa people figured in all the stories I collected. In the myths they represent the men of today. In one version of the Kaunala Tape story we are told that the younger Hewa girl was the mother to all men from Laiagam, Paiela and Porgera. The man who shoots the Kawara woman and obtains the bog-iris plants is the precurser of men who plant these today. Today the Ipili see the Hewa as very base creatures who are only semi-human. They tell stories today of how the Hewa have tails and live in trees (the latter is true). In jest they say that there are no male Hewa and the woman have intercourse with dogs. The Ipili do not venture far into the Hewa territory from fear of the spirits which abound there and from fear of the Hewa themselves who are reputedly cannibals. The low-altitude Hewa area is within the malaria belt, so the Ipili often become sick after visits there. In the myths the Hewa girls are always fighting. The Hewa are semi-nomadic--in the Kaunala Tape myth the younger sister scornfully taunts her sister saying, "You don't even make gardens where you live!"

Myths help explain not only contemporary attitudes but the source of men's knowledge. There are no creation myths but it is clear that men originally received material possessions from their super-human ancestors. Titi had a stone axe. Pigs and food were available. Titi ran away from his brother, made a garden and "got plenty of knowledge." The Porgera version of the Kimala myth tells how Kimala did not have a father or mother to teach him and yet he knew. In the Kolombi version, Kimala asked his father Titi for an axe and began to use it. He was a poor axeman at first, but with practice he improved. Kimala's brother was pleasantly surprised to find that he had killed so many possums, since no one had shown him how to do this. Once knowledge and skills were learned, they were passed on from generation to generation. In the myths there are also explanations for elements of ritual importance.

There is a central theme of a small weak man who finds strength through a woman. There is an explanation of the origin of the bog-iris plant and the meaning behind the bachelor ritual.

Ritual Prayers

Analysis of prayers and spells (kamo) used in ritual practice contributes to our understanding of Ipili religious knowledge. It is difficult to translate the word kamo because it is not an abstract but something done for a particular end. It is similar to the gamu of the Huli described by Glasse (1965:37). A kamo can be a set of words, but it is more than a set of words because the words have power and a man who buys or inherits the words inherits power also. Men said they would never eat sweet potato discarded by an important ritual expert, especially near the time he was to perform the ritual.

The crisis-centered Ipili ritual is very much "ends" oriented. I struck difficulties when, pursuing the subject of kamo, I asked what other kamo were used. Because of the kamo's relation to a specific problem situation, I made headway only when I abandoned thinking of kamo in the abstract and asked how a specific problem was dealt with. This is illustrated by the way spellmen are always referred to by their specific function, not by a general term meaning ritual expert: kepeleakali means a spellman who performs kepele, koloakali for the kolo expert and so on.

Ipili kamo are very difficult for an outsider to understand and often even my Ipili informants found difficulty in agreeing on the meaning of a particular kamo. However there are some common elements. For instance all reflect attitudes of either propitiation, bargaining or coercion.

In some kamo the spirit is addressed directly and asked to cease its destructive activity as a favor, in consideration of the pork which has been given to it. The propitiatory prayer in angapapaka wyalam, made while holding the pig's heart and lungs, is such a case.

Some kamo address the spirit directly, seeking to offer pork or something similar on the condition that the spirit cease its hostility. Examples of such bargaining would be one kamo 8 or kepele kamo 5.

Some kamo threaten the spirit as in ekekaima kamo 1 or use coercive language such as a spell on the spirit itself as in ekekaima kamo 2.

All three elements: propitiation, bargaining and threatening illustrate how the Ipili conceive their relationships with the spirits as similar to their relationships with humans. Gifts of food in real life will help break down hostilities or establish bonds and reciprocal obligations. The offering of pork to spirits performs a similar function and men use the same social mechanisms. So bargaining is common but there is little coercive ritual becuase the Ipili cannot rely on the response of the spirit being as though it were under their direction.

A further element commonly occuring in kamo is sympathetic magic. References to trees are very common. These trees are ones which have the qualities similar to those sought in the kamo, such as strength, durability, long life, or fertility. An example is litu kamo 2. At the end of menstruation a woman bites on a liko leaf. The liko tree bears small red berries which dry up and fall to the ground. The parallel is obvious. In sorcery a man might include the words of a song which is normally only used in mourning for a deceased person.

Trees are mentioned frequently, but mountains, rivers and birds or other animals also occur often. Songs are chanted recalling the journeys of mythical heroes as in one kamo 9. Spirits are called symbolically by naming the mountain where they reside. Some birds such as the paiyali bird or the bower bird are specifically symbolic of the ancestors.

Sometimes the words of a chant are merely commentaries on what action is occurring. A spellman will address the spirit and merely repeat the words, "I rub pig fat," as in one kamo 2.

In her thesis on the neighboring Yandapu Enga people, Brenda Gray says "Enga men when they carry out rituals understand explicitly the symbolic meaning of every movement, object and word used in their execution" (Gray 1973:75). Furthermore all symbols and symbolic actions "are clearly meaningful to the participants and to the audience" (Gray 1973:78). I found this not to be the case with Ipili ritual. For instance when I asked some men the meaning of the takeme articles shown

in photograph 11, they said they did not know and that I should ask the owner. The owner ventured a guess but said he was unsure as he had bought them from his father, but they worked, so there was nothing more to worry about. Often I would play back kamo on my tape recorder and ask what the kamo was about. The men could easily name the rite, but often could volunteer no further information. My two translators would sometimes argue over the meaning of an archaic form of a word found in kamo. A ritual expert would say that he did not know why some particular mountains were named. Sometimes ritual was not even in the native Ipili language. Some kamo are in the Enga language and some, like those of the one ritual, are in the Huli language. My translator struggled over the one kamo and then sought help from a Tari man. This man was not much help so that the translator had to call in the original spellman to explain the language.

The question arises whether the uncertainty about the meaning of the kamo indicates that Ipili religion is not typical of Highlands religion and is in fact more like that of the Seaboard peoples. I think the Ipili religion is definitely a Highlands-type religion, but its peculiarities suggest that there is not such a stark contrast between Highland and Seaboard religions as outlined in the introduction to Gods Ghosts and Men in Melanesia.

Ipili religion is typically Highland because:

1. The epistemological system is not dominated by religious beliefs;
2. Leadership is seen in personal strength, not knowledge of ritual;
3. Interest in the dead, including the collectively powerful ancestors, is comparatively greater than interest in autonomous spirit beings;
4. The Ipili seek to approach spirit beings with freedom of choice;
5. There is a relation between religion and morality. Expected benefits will come only if the spirit being is satisfied. Failure to receive benefits indicates that not enough pigs were offered;
6. Generally, the power of kamo is not so much in the kamo itself as in the spirit beings who are approached.

But there are some atypical features of Ipili religion:

1. Reference has been made to the lack of intellectual awareness in uncertainty about the meaning of ritual prayers. This limits the degree to which the practitioners are actually intellectually approaching a spirit being. However it does not mean that the kamo are expected to work automatically. Even borrowed ritual is legitimated in myth and so is part of the collection of beliefs held by the performers. Though the Ipili do not demand explanation nor all kamo, I think they presume that an explanation would be available if they wanted it.

2. Though religion does not dominate their epistemological system, I think the Ipili place more importance on religion than other Highlands groups about which there are ethnographic reports. Perhaps this has been a result of their living in such a comparatively harsh environment where the results of purely human effort are less certain. If this is true it helps explain why the Ipili became so enthusiastic about one of the few Highlands Millanerian movements (typically a coastal phenomenon) and also their current enthusiasm for Christianity.

3. There are different sources for the power of kamo. Some work only because of the power of a spirit being which is propitiated. Part of the explanation for the power of kamo is found in their different origins. Without explaining further the Ipili say that it was the original ancestors who taught them the kamo for clan ritual. Other kamo, they say, have no known origin and are inherited or bought from "our fathers." So long as the ritual works the pragmatic Ipili does not worry very much where it comes from. Some kamo have been taught to men in more recent times by means of dreams, the kamo of the one ritual for example. In all major clan ritual, in which the members seek to approach and influence a spirit being who inhabits part of their world, the power of the ritual is not in the words themselves but in the spirit being whose good will men are trying to secure.

There is also ritual which could be classed as "magical" and is thought to work automatically. The power in these magical spells is in the words themselves. Example of such spells are found in wealth magic (takia) or in sorcery such as ambuli. In ambuli sorcery, the teacher must look in the opposite direction from the man he is teaching,

otherwise the words will have their automatic effect and so kill the person wanting to buy the sorcery.

There is not always a clear distinction between kamo, which seek to approach spirit beings, and magical spells, which work automatically. For example, many of the umaritsia kamo (see Appendix B) are a combination of both: they employ sympathetic magic in the properties of trees or animals and yet call on the strengthening power of the Kawara woman.

I think there are two reasons why it appears that Ipili religion has features which tend toward the Seaboard model. Firstly, I think Ipili religion is in fact not quite typical of the traditional Highlands model as reported. Secondly, my approach has been atypical of the approach taken in Highlands ethnography. Most Highlands ethnographers have taken a social approach to studying the religion, but my approach has been primarily intellectualist, which naturally sheds a slightly different light on Ipili religion. I have taken the intellectualist approach because I wanted to investigate changes and changing attitudes in association with conversion and the problems of contact. It is these changes which I investigate in Part II.

PART TWO

CHANGES

CHAPTER IV

INFLUENCES TO CHANGE

In this second part of my thesis I want to describe outside influences which have come to Porgera and Paiela in the last thirteen years and the effects these have had on the traditional religion. The influences have come from three agencies: the government, the missions and the gold miners.

The government has maintained a permanent Patrol Post in Porgera since 1961. Before that there were annual patrols from Laiagam and Wabag to ensure the protection of the European gold miners in the area. A permanent Patrol Post was established in the Paiela Valley while I was there (1974). Before 1960 there were only two government patrols to Paiela: the Taylor Hagen-Sepik Patrol in 1938-39, and one in 1947-48. Elections were held in 1973 for the first Porgera Local Government Council. Now in Paiela people are negotiating to join the Porgera Council, realizing that this will bring benefits to them.

Mission influence has been considerable, especially in Paiela. The area was derestricted in 1962, and since then four Christian mission bodies have sought adherents: the Apostolic, Catholic, Lutheran and Seventh-Day Adventist Churches. Most Ipili now say that they are adherents of one of the four missions. This has resulted in the abandonment of the bachelor rituals and the major clan rituals. Ritual objects have been sold or given away to Europeans. Mission bodies run all three of the stores in Paiela and the primary schools--one at Porgera and one at Paiela. Paiela has an airstrip used only by mission aircraft. The government runs a hospital and various aid-posts in the Porgera Valley. In the Paiela the missions maintain three aid-posts and the government two.

The Company has been instrumental in bringing important changes to Porgera. The Mount Isa Mines Company employs 60 to 100 men and the wages are a new road to wealth and economic security. Wages are only

part of the influx of money. In one month I saw at least $20,000 distributed to local people; $10,000 in one week. The breakdown of the $10,000 was:

$4,500 = Annual land occupation fee for M.I.M. operations.
$3,500 = Private gold workers on the claims of Taylor and M.I.M.
$1,200 = Fortnightly wages to M.I.M. workers
$ 500 = Compensation for pandanus trees destroyed on government and mission projects
$ 200 = Monthly wages for mission workers.

The occupation fees, though given to a few leading men, are distributed to about 500 people in the local community, and most of the 2,300 adults in the valley benefit in some way. The money listed above does not include government wages paid to the teachers, policemen, aid-post orderlies and warders at Porgera Patrol Post.

With money available there is less importance placed on garden produce and many people buy food in the trade stores. Each week at least eight plane loads of store goods arrive including two loads of beer. This represents about 5,000 pounds of goodstuffs and 50 cartons of beer. Recently three local men put their savings together and bought a new Toyota Landcruiser car for $4,500 cash. Now another two groups are negotiating to buy cars.

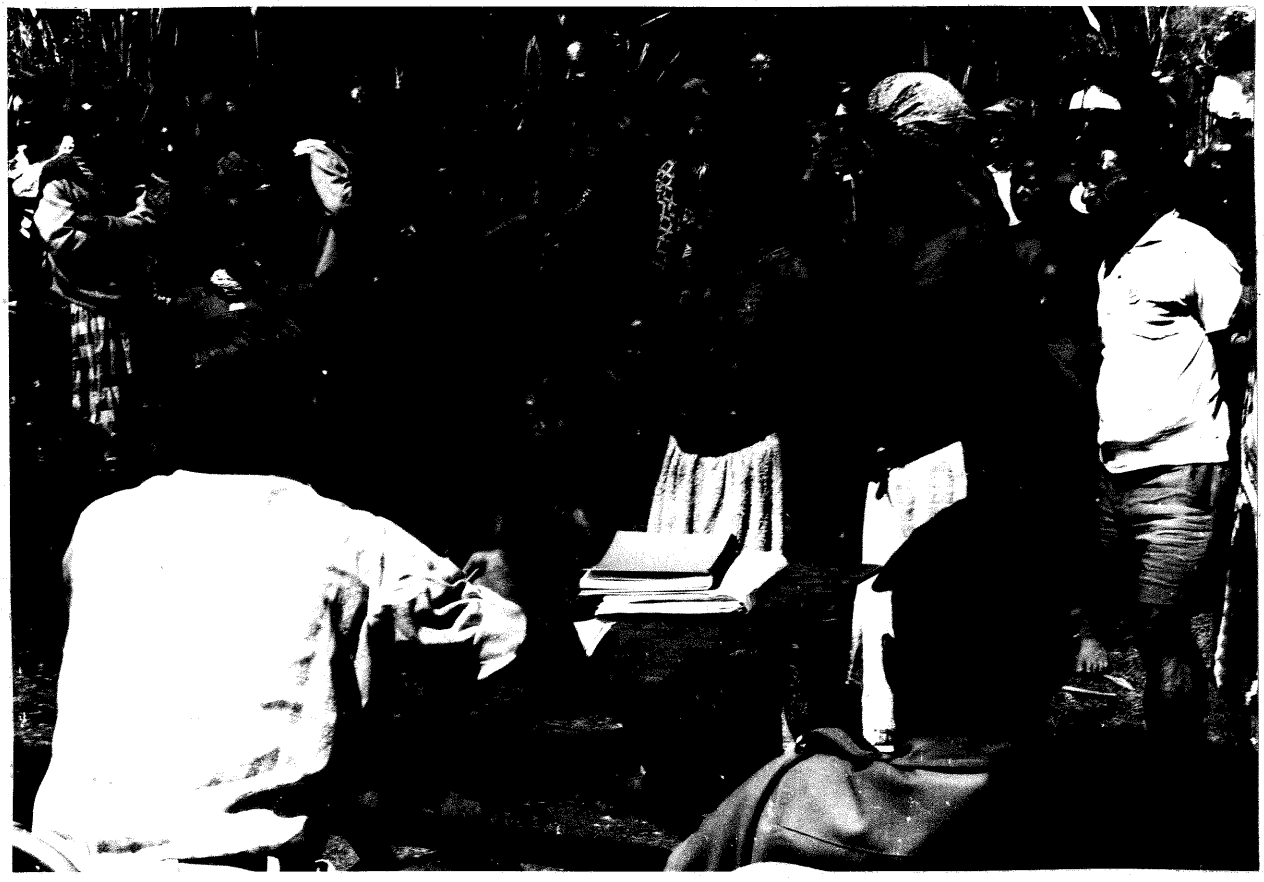
The influence in the Paiela has been limited to giving employment to some of the menfolk. According to government statistics, the Paiela annual per capita income is $1.94. Sources of income are pig and cassowary sales, money brought back by laborers from Porgera and the coastal plantations, and money from the mission bodies in wages and food sales.

I cannot make this a holistic study of recent changes. As I am describing changes in religion, my main focus will be on the influence of the mission bodies, the Catholic mission in particular because that was the body with which I worked. Traditionally the two valleys had virtually the same religion. Today with much greater Western influence in Porgera, the religious situations are not identical. To simplify matters, material in this second part will refer to the Paiela situation only, unless I make anote to the contrary.

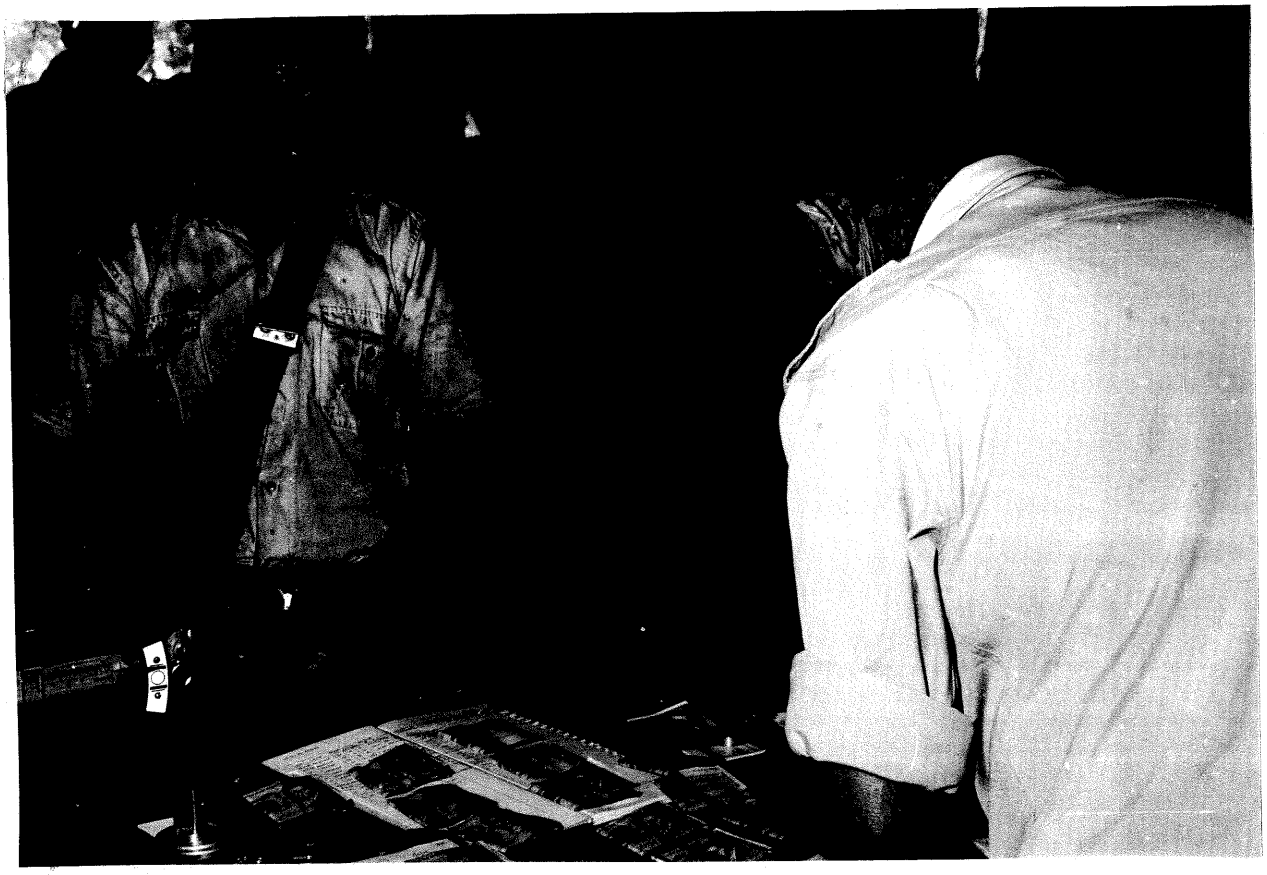
My fundamental argument is that these new influences in Paiela have produced a two-fold movement. Firstly, some aspects of the cosmos which previously caused anxiety and evoked a religious response now cause less anxiety and so do not call for the same response. Secondly, the new influences present new solutions to anxiety which are functional substitutes for the traditional religious responses.

In Chapter V I shall consider the mission influence from both an objective standpoint and the subjective point of view of the people themselves. In Chapter VI I shall describe the changes I observed in the form, content and function of the traditional religion. In Chapter VII I shall evaluate these changes to show how they relate to changed attitudes to traditional sources of anxiety and solutions to them. In the final chapter, I shall examine a unique influence in current changes by which some modern teachings have reinforced the beliefs of the remembered Millanerian Movement of thirty years ago.

The analysis in Part I was based on myth and ritual learned from structured interviews with ritual experts. Data for this section comes from a questionnaire (see Appendix C) I administered to 51 Paiela adults, followed-up interviews, conversation and participant observation.



Photograph 13. People assemble before the Government Officer for the annual census.



Photograph 14. The Company Manager pays for gold from private sluicing operations. The piles of money each contain ten $2 notes.

CHAPTER V

THE MISSION

The Institutional Church

The Catholic Mission in Paiela is led by a Dutch priest, who was appointed there nine years ago shortly after the mission was established. People are aware of the hierarchical nature of the Church and that the priest was "sent" by the bishop, who visited the area once.

The mission plant in the Paiela comprises twenty-two "out-stations." (The main station is at Mungalep, Porgera.) Native catechists reside and work on fifteen of these stations under the direction of the priest. A catechist is required to give elementary instruction and to hold simple services which include the reading of scripture. Because of this latter requirement only one of the catechists is an Ipili. The rest are Engas from the head of the Ambum Valley near Laiagam. They become proficient at the Ipili language after a year or two of residence. Prayer leaders are appointed at seven of the out-stations which do not have resident catechists. The catechists and prayer leaders are paid by the priest. Wages range from one to ten dollars per month.

Leadership and church discipline and organization is shared by the catechists or prayer leaders and "church leaders" who are usually the traditional Big Men of the area. The prerequisite for becoming a church leader is authority in the community not Baptism. Several church leaders are precluded from baptism because of their polygamous marriages. During services the catechist stands at the front of the church. The church leader is at the rear and lets it be known in no uncertain terms if anyone misbehaves.

The out-stations are alike in that all have four buildings around a cleared section of ground: a church, a priest's house, a catechist's house and a hut for the priest's cargo carriers. Three priest's houses are built from a flat-iron and the rest are made from simple bush materials. Church furnishings are simple. A table for celebrating the

eucharist is at the front of the church. Pictures showing biblical scenes are sometimes pinned along the front of the table and a simple cross stands on top. People sit on logs which lie on the earthen floor. Men sit on one side, and women, children and the occasional small pig or cassowary stay on the other side.

Church Ritual

Every two months the priest walks to most of the out-stations where he celebrates the eucharist, hears confessions and gives instruction. Baptism is the other sacrament commonly received. Marriage and burial are conducted in the traditional way, though sometimes the catechist will offer a prayer during the burial of a Christian. In the absence of the priest, catechists and prayer leaders are required to call the faithful to a short prayer service at dawn and dusk and to give instructions twice a week to those preparing for baptism. Except for the few months leading up to and after baptism, attendance at daily prayers is often poor and depends on the enthusiasm of the respective catechist or church leader.

The priest can understand Ipili but cannot speak it fluently, but all services are in the vernacular. Bible readings and sermons are delivered in Melanesian Pidgin and translated section by section by the catechist. At eucharist celebrations, the priest wears the regular colored vestments of the liturgical season and uses a gold-plated chalice and candles. Liturgy follows the general pattern of the Catholic Church but all singing is in the Ipili language using indigenous musical forms. Spontaneous prayers are encouraged from the congregation, both male and female (see Appendix IV).

At special times in the liturgical calendar such as Easter and Christmas, liturgies are composed in consultation with the catechist and church leader. Thus the liturgy might be celebrated in conjunction with pig-killings or everyone might sit around a fire on the earthen floor of the church and listen to church leaders chanting stories about good deeds, and the catechist chanting the Christmas story in traditional fashion.

Theology

Christian teaching centers around God and his relation to the world and to men. God is generally presented as a father and provider who watches over men. The orthodox Christian concepts as found in the creed: Jesus, the Holy Spirit, Mary, the Saints, angels, Heaven, Hell, and Satan are all explained. Vernacular versions of the Lord's prayer, Angelus, Confiteor and Creed are required to be learnt before baptism.

Instruction is taken mostly from scriptural passages. Didactic passages seem to be preferred over narratives and miracle stories. The stories of Adam and Eve or the Flood, taken from the Old Testament, were recited to me with moderate correctness. The main theme through the priest's sermons was "a change of heart." This is emphasizing the idea that acceptance of Christianity is not a matter of baptism or attending worship, but rather a new attitude towards one's fellow men. This idea was comprehended only very slowly because the relation between religion and morality is a new element in their religious conceptions.

Non-Sacramental Functions

The Catholic Education Agency administers the Paiela primary school and supplies teachers. The priest also runs occasional "pidgin" schools where young men are taught to read and write Melanesian pidgin, to count in Western figures and the rudiments of growing plants such as corn, tomatoes and beans. Two aid-posts are maintained with resident orderlies who are paid by the priest. The priest also runs several small stores which are supplied by very infrequent plane flights. The Lutheran Mission maintains a regular store supplied by weekly plane flights.

Ipili Perceptions of the Mission

So far I have described the mission structure and activities. Now I will outline the mission from the Ipili viewpoint. I will look at their idea of mission as a whole--doctrine will be examined in the next chapter under syncretism. Here I want to examine such questions as: What is the Ipili attitude to the European and his

Photograph 15. Father Somhorst uses a local catechist to translate for him on a Paiela out-station.

Photograph 16. A catechist weighs food which people bring to sell whenever the priest visits them.

material possessions? Is there cargo thinking? How do the Ipili see the connection between the mission and white man's culture? How do the Ipili see the relative importance of mission and government as agents of Western culture? What do the Ipili think is the basic work of the mission?

Wealth and Gods

The Paiela people share in the common human search for well-being; for wealth, health and happiness. In their traditional world the primary orientation was to socio-economic security as a means to this end. Today they see the power and wealth of the white man as proof of his superior knowledge and means of exploiting the resources of the physical world. The European has planes, cars, tinned food and knowledge of how to refine gold. They consider these things superior to what they have and aspire to them.

The Ipili acknowledge that the white man has a greater knowledge of God and the things that God has given to men but I encountered very little evidence of ideas that white men have special contact with God: which would be a form of cargo thinking. Several men expressed the notion that it is through his education that the white man has secrets which allow him to manipulate his great wealth. These men hope that by sending their children to school to learn to read and write, their children will be able to gain knowledge so that they can gain and manipulate the superior wealth of the white man. Seeing God is responsible for the white man's prosperity is a natural consequence of thinking of God as a "good provider." Formerly they attributed a similar function to the sun. The missionary talking about "God" does not come as a totally new concept to them. The God of the white man is still the good provider, the ultimate source of wealth and prospoerity. It is not so much mission teaching, as the natural projection of traditional ideas of the provider onto God, which makes the Paiela people see God as the provider of white man's wealth and prosperity. No one told me that God gives white men their goods directly. Numerous times I asked where they thought the white man got his clothes, cars, radios, food and invariably the answer was, "I don't know," "How should I know?" Some

were prepared to make a guess about goods which they had some experience of. They ventured that white men bought clothes and food at stores, the same as they did, though white men's stores were surely bigger and better than theirs. When pressed most continued to say that they did not know, but some admitted they thought the white man made these things (in the same way as he built the gold plant at Porgera). He was able to make them because he had knowledge of how to make them. This knowledge came originally from God. (One person said he thought that it was brought by Jesus who had written it all down in the scriptures.) Hopefully schooling would give this knowledge to their children. Such thinking is not cargo-cult, but is perhaps para-cargoism. The religious explanation is there but is not activated.

I asked one of the Porgera men who had bought the new Toyota Landcruiser car, where he thought the car came from. He said Japan. He did not know where the Japanese got cars. He presumed that they knew how to make cars and he hoped that soon the Japanese would come and show New Guineans how to make them so that they could have cars after Papua New Guinea gained independence in 1975.

The missions have always been a source of money and goods in Paiela. The common name for the Lutheran pastor is pinju which means "cargo." (The store at Kolombi occupies a third of the Catholic priest's house.) The missions run stores and pay workers and cargo carriers. The government expects people to build and maintain its stations as a duty, free of charge. Some of the Missions have become anxious that the involvement in financial dealings gives the wrong impression of their intentions. The Home Mission Board of the Apostolic Mission has closed its mission trade stores for this reason. In question eight of the questionnaire, eighteen percent responded that they thought the mission should not involve itself in business. The remaining eighty-two percent did not think this was correct. Nevertheless it seems that Apostolic adherents have not been discouraged by the change of policy.

In the questionnaire I asked where people thought the priest obtained his money. Several looked puzzled and said that they did not know or they just had not thought about it before. Some had a correct idea, saying that he got from his store profits. Others said that he

got it from home (from his mother and father), which is also true in part. Some suggested that he worked part-time for the Gold Company which was the source of all money. Other answers were more along the lines that he has wealth automatically as a white man. "Father is a white man so he has plenty of ways of finding money," replied one unbaptised man. "Father travels the road along which money comes," replied another. One man thought that money comes from the ground (like gold) and that Australia has plenty of it, and the priest gets his money from the white men in Australia. Another man thought the priest got money from the Bishop. Who gave it to the Bishop? God. Only two people said that the priest got his money from God and this jokingly after having said they did not really know. "I don't know. Maybe God gives it to him."

The Mission and White Man's Culture

The subject of "white men versus black men" was raised very often in discussions on Christianity as a source of money and goods. It became apparent that there was an identification of Christianity and European culture. Certainly Christianity, promoted by the missions has been the part of the European culture which has been made most readily available to them. The two agents of European culture in Paiela (government and mission) are both seen as having an overall goal in instructing them into the new ways, but the missions have been much more prominent. The Government presence is powerful. The Government Officer comes with guns and can put men in jail, but patrols from Porgera have been limited to one every one or two years. The missions run the school, there has been a resident Lutheran pastor in the valley for at least five years and the Catholic priest visits there once a month.

Many expressed their attitude in terms of an antithesis; black/white, native/European, inferior/superior, old/new. When asked if he thought he should reject his ancestral ways, one man replied, "I just follow the white man," and another said, "the white man comes and we want to follow him."

Christianity has been presented by Europeans and Mission leadership is identified with white men. I did not question Seventh Day Adventist members who have native pastors, but Catholic people only looked astonished when I told them that one day they would have their own New Guinean priest. There were sounds of surprise when I showed African slides of a black priest officiating at the eucharist. The suggestion that the catechist could distribute the eucharist was voted out. They expressed the opinion that this was alright for a white man but not for a black man.

Though Christianity is identified with white culture, not all white men are thought to follow the Mission, though I'm sure they think that all white men believe in the white man's God. The Melanesian who sees the supernatural as a natural part of his cosmos finds it hard to conceive of anyone being an atheist. Of those answering question fourteen, sixty-four percent accepted that not all white men follow the laws of the mission. Baptised males scored highest. This was because of their experience with Government Officers and the reputations of Europeans attached to the Gold Company at Porgera.

European clothes are a mark of the white man. Few Ipili wear European clothes as a rule but it is a custom that people receiving baptism would buy European clothes to wear for the occasion. The idea may have transferred from other Missions but the priest has never insisted on wearing European dress and has publically suggested that they should make new native dress for their baptism. Nevertheless I heard several offer their lack of clothes as a reason for not receiving baptism. Whether they were really offering this as an excuse or whether they were trying to get some free clothes is debatable. In answer to question sixteen, seventy-six percent said that their native dress was alright for the occasion, but some added the qualification, "If you have not enough money to buy European clothes." Even though they might not consider it essential, in practice most prefer to wear European clothes for the occasion. An analysis of photographs of baptismal groups shows that

of 33 adult men and 48 women:
6 men and 2 women wore native dress exclusively;
15 men wore a shirt and traditional apron and leaves;

11 women wore a blouse or tee-shirt with their traditional tape skirt;
the rest (12 men and 35 women) wore shirt and trousers or blouse and skirt.

Some said they liked to wear European clothes to celebrate the occasion as a mark of their "change of heart" and the "new life" which they wanted to live. They said that they wanted to take up "new ways," and the change of clothes was to act as a sign of this.

What the mission is, is identified very much with what the mission does. Question seven was designed to try to find what they saw as the major work of the mission. One third of the respondents (thirty-six percent) replied that education of children was the most important of the four alternatives offered. This follows from their belief that the overall goal of the Mission is to instruct them into white man's ways. Several parents told me now they were sending their children to school so that they could learn to read and write and get employment and learn to make things so that they could bring them back to Paiela. Some said that they thought they themselves would never understand the ways of the white man, but that their children might if they went to school and were taught these things.

In the same question seven another third of the respondents (thirty-three percent) replied that the first work of the mission was to tell them about God. This response shows a greater orientation to theological knowledge than a technological function.

It is interesting to compare this answer with the answers given to question two which was intended as an open-ended control to question seven. Over ninety percent of the responses have a theological rather than a technological orientation. They include: worship, telling about God, giving baptism, telling the good news, and showing Christian ways. The variation in the response for the two very similar questions is hard to explain. I would normally attribute more validity to the open-ended question and yet the percentage of theologically orientated answers seems very high in comparison to the patterns that have emerged so far. The responses to question seven are about what I expected. I cannot explain why the two answers to such similar questions should differ so much, but I can offer two partial explanations for the high

percentage in question two. Firstly, people on out-stations away from the stores, sawmills, schools and aid-posts of the mission could experience the mission directly on their home ground only in practices of worship and instructions in the scriptures. Secondly I think that because of a combination of historical circumstances, to be explained in Chapter X, Christianity in the Paiela Valley has taken a unique other-worldly orientation as the people await the end of the world and the second coming of Christ.

Photograph 17. "Imba pu, imba koo, satana spiritu . . . .." "Begone you evil spirit . . . .." Father Somhorst administers Baptism at Kolombi.

Photograph 18. Newly baptised file out of the church to shake hands with those who are already Christians.

CHAPTER VI

CHANGES IN TRADITIONAL RELIGION

The new influences on Ipili culture outlined in Chapter IV, especially those of the Christian missions, described in Chapter V, have resulted in changes in traditional Ipili religion. In this chapter I will show how in their attempt to adopt the ways of the white man there have been many changes in the external expression of religion, some changes and some additions in their religious beliefs and few changes in the function of Ipili religion.

Losing Old Ways

The Paiela people believe that to adopt the new ways of the white man they must reject their own old ways. Few seemed worried about this. Optimistic about the future, they saw it as necessary to gain the benefits of the new order presented to them, an order which seems superior to the old in so many ways. What is defined as "bad" (koo) and to be rejected receives many and varied interpretations. Some like to think that everything in the past is koo. In comparison to what they see now, they think of their past as a time of relative poverty and powerlessness. They lived in a state of koo. The new order presented by the white man is epene (good). The things offered by the white man--food, clothing, money, medicine, etc., are epene. White men appear to have a monopoly of these "good" things and the Paiela people want to obtain them. They want to leave behind the state of "not having" which is koo to reach the state of "having" which is epene.

This is especially true for some of the older men, many of whom were emphatic that taking on the new meant losing everything: traditional ritual, moka payments, telling of myths and stories and traditional clothes. Others, notably some of the younger men said they realize that their culture had both good and bad elements, and they

wanted to reject only the 'bad' such as fighting, sorcery, extortion, dishonesty, crying out for compensatory moka payments and making offerings to "devils." These younger men are more inclined to listen to the distinctions the missions make between good and bad.

The various Christian denominations vary in the way they judge the past though all oppose institutionalized aspects of belief in spirits and ancestors. The Apostolic Mission and the Seventh Day Adventists stress individual piety and being apart from the world while waiting for the immanent second coming of Christ. They call for a complete change of heart, which involves a rejection of all past ritual and celebration. Smoking and drinking are forbidden, and the Seventh Day Adventists are not allowed to eat pork. The Lutheran mission stresses a change of heart as a prerequisite for baptism but does not condemn all celebration or involvement in the world. Ritual offerings to the spirits are forbidden and participation in death ritual, bachelor ritual and courting ceremonies have been discouraged. The Catholic mission forbids ritual offerings to spirits and polygamous marriage (also rejected by the other missions) but establishes few other restrictions apart from the mandate of the Ten Commandments (not killing, stealing, committing adultery, etc.).[1] Despite the differences in discipline, the Paiela people sometimes fail to distinguish between the prohibitions of different missions. In question fifteen-f, I asked whether it was good to eat pork. Two catholic women insisted that it was a bad thing. I can only conclude that they had been influenced by the Seventh Day Adventists who had two stations within fifteen minutes walk of the Catholic mission.

It troubled many people when I questioned them concerning how much of the past they thought they should reject. Sometimes they replied that they thought I was merely trying to confuse them. The mission had asked them to take on a change of heart, to become new men again as Christians. This they were trying to do and was I suggesting that they should compromise in their resolve? They found it easier to reject the whole of the past rather than distinguish what was "good" from what was "bad" and to be rejected. Ipili tend not to think in abstract ways. A change of heart is conceived not in an abstract but

in a very concrete way. To them it means a change in things; things owned and things done. Of those questioned, seventy-one percent thought that a person should reject all his former ways and not just some of them. Of those responding to question thirteen, sixty-seven agreed that the ways of the white man were very good and the ways of their ancestors were bad. Reasons given for their answers were interesting. Many saw it as a matter of prestige: "I am ashamed"; "The law of the black man is like night, and that of the white man like day"; "Yes the white man is on top, the black man is down below";"The black man has no name." Others saw it in material terms. "You white man have everything"; "Of course the ways of the white man are better, you have plenty of rice, fish and meat."

There were three exceptions to thinking that everything of the white man was very good. Two men said that also some of the white man's ways were no good, but they did not elaborate. One twenty-year-old girl stated emphatically, "Our ways are good, yours are no good!" She is an exceptional person and seemed quite well adapted to changes. She liked to wear a sweater and was a faithful Christian. I would imagine that she was referring to some personal experience which she did not wish to disclose.

In question fifteen I asked opinions of Catholics and potential Catholics on various traditional customs, only one of which (polygamy) was condemned by the mission. It was surprising how many of the replies were negative. More than fifty percent of the respondents thought all the customs, except eating pig, were bad. All held that polygamy was wrong. (This includes the two polygamists among the respondents.)[2] The usual reason given for this was that the co-wives often fight and that fighting is wrong. (Perhaps polygamists were speaking from experience.) Several added that polygamy was alright before the white man came. No baptized women thought that the pig-exchange or the custom of death payment were good. Few offered an explanation, and when they did, it showed typical highland pragmatism. One woman said that the exchange was bad because last time she lost her only pig. One man said that both practices were good, "or else what would we do with our pigs!" These ceremonies can be an exciting time for men, especially when they gain a pig or at least when they receive pork to

eat. Women have less reason to be enthused on such occasions. They might lose a pig which they had reared, perhaps from their own breast, and rarely is any of the pig meat shared with them. At the most they can eat some of the intestines or left-over scraps.

The variance between belief and practice illustrates a problem for the investigator. What people really believe, what they say they believe and what they do are often very different. It is unfortunate that I do not have more statistical data from objective observation.

This limitation to my work does not detract from the validity of the general statement concerning the people's esteem for the ways of the white man and their readiness to reject their own past as "no good" or koo. These attitudes are confirmed by observations. In the Paiela there are two indigenous teachers and an indigenous government officer. These three people who rated highest on the socio-economic scale of the white man were from outside the district. The local people noted how we treated them as though they were white men. The three men were invited to eat with us; the white man was generous to them; giving them things like food and kerosene--items not normally offered a bush living native. They could ride in the mission aircraft. They received wages. They spoke English and wore European clothes, ate tinned food and seemingly had rejected their past. All were practicing Catholics. This must have confirmed in the peoples' minds that by rejecting their past and aspiring to the ways of the white man they could be better off.

Changes in the Form of Religion

In the move to adopt the ways of the white man, many traditional religious practices have given way to Christian ones. The bachelor ritual was abandoned within three years of the arrival of the missions. All major clan ritual has ceased. There are far less offerings made to ghosts and demons because there are new ways of dealing with sickness. Virtually everybody is only three hours' walk from an aid post and it is far cheaper to take a sick person there for medicine than to kill a pig. Also medicine is usually more effective.

Though new forms of ritual have replaced traditional practices, the fact that there has been a substitution of forms does not mean that there has been an associated substitution in the belief system. Nor does it mean that the original function of the borrowed ritual is fully understood.

Clan Ritual

Christian worship has replaced the old clan ritual. Formerly one clan or several clans joined with invited ritual experts to placate the ancestral spirits in the kepele, litu and ekekaima rituals. Now several clans group together at the mission out-station, assisted by their leaders and often presided over by a European priest or pastor. They worship God, whose identity has been revealed to them by the white man. I have recorded and translated spontaneous prayers made by people during Christian worship (see Appendix D). In structure the spontaneous prayers are similar to Westernized prayers taught from the Christian catechism. This is to be expected because traditional ritual used the standardized prayers of ritual experts rather than spontaneous prayers from the participants. In the spontaneous Christian prayers there are few repetitive verses, little reference to sinfulness. These Christian prayers are similar in content to the former kamo, in that they frequently express anxiety before the forces of the environment. The underlying theme is always one of petition or propitiation. Generally they begin by acknowledging that God is their "father" who looks after everything including themselves; then they ask that despite their ungratefulness he should look after them and keep them from drowning, from tripping and cutting themselves, from being hurt by falling trees. Finally they petition God to help them change their ways and to give them only good thoughts and end with a Christian blessing.

Ritual to Recent Dead

Medicine, prayer and healing services have replaced much of the old ghost ritual. The aid post orderlies are kept busy with visitors throughout the day. The day-books of the orderlies reveal that the majority of treatments are for malaria, pneumonia, influenza, stomach trouble, cuts and sores, headaches, tropical ulcers and skin problems.

Most of these ailments can be cured quickly with simple modern medicines. A person pays a few sweet potatoes for each treatment, which is cheaper than donating a half-side of pig to a ritual expert.

When people contract long-term diseases such as tumours or arthritis they are likely to seek alternatives such as healing services found in the Apostolic Church or a return to traditional techniques.

Though the curing of sickness was a major function of ghost rituals, there were other more social objectives such as maintaining contact with dead relatives. The impersonal Christian devotion to the saints, where taught, cannot fulfill this function. Hence I am sure that some ghost ritual continues to a lesser extent and in different forms. Today pigs are seldom killed intentionally for the purpose of placating a ghost, yet I am certain that pigs are often mentally dedicated to the ghost of a deceased person even when they are killed for other reasons, such as the umanda funerary rites.

Ritual to Demons

Christian prayers and sacramentals such as small crosses or holy water serve to counter the power of demons such as ipatitis. The misfortunes caused by demons are many and varied and seemingly white man's ways do not counter them as effectively as they do ghosts. In answer to questions twenty-five and twenty-six of the questionnaire, forty percent said that they were very afraid of ipatiti demons, whereas only twenty-two percent said they felt similarly about ghosts.

Bachelor Ritual

There are now ways of becoming a man other than by going through the bachelor ritual. Many young men are going to the coast for three years and returning as men: more wealthy and stronger and more mature than when they left. Others are going away to Porgera and Mount Hagen to find work.

Marriage Ritual

Marriage ritual is still performed, but to a lesser extent. There is little corresponding Christian ritual. The Christian marriage ceremony is seldom made use of because the necessary consent for an

indissoluble union is usually lacking. A group of Christian couples have been given detailed instruction on the workings of the reproductive organs and the function and meaning of sex from a Christian perspective. It is their task to visit all newly married couples and to instruct them especially concerning the hidden functions of womanhood and menstruation. Fear is an emotional rather than an intellectual response, but this education has had some effect in lessening the fears associated with sex.

Wealth Magic

Sending sons to school is a new way of investment to ensure future wealth, in the same way as buying takia magic was an insurance for future gains. Takia is important where pigs and pearl shell are used, but today these are not the only forms of exchange. Money is growing in importance and can be earned by working in Porgera or on the Coast.

Sorcery

People claim there is less use of sorcery today but I have been unable to assess whether this is true. Certainly there is less overt hostility. Supervised communal work such as building the airfield has forced former enemies to work together. They have had to put down their arms and work voluntarily or else the government forces them to work as prisoners. Christian ritual expressions for coping with strain and enmity are found in Group Penance services and in Confession.

Payback killings in previous times were not just expressions of anger and retribution. They were also a means of self-preservation. If a man's death was not avenged by his relatives, the ghost would return to attack one of them. Hence payback killings were an expression of self-interest. Today men and women still believe in ghosts, but in comparison to God, they are not thought to possess the same power as before. So there is less liklihood of payback killings in the form of sorcery; both because there is less violence to pay back and because there is less fear of what would result if they did not kill another in return.

Changes in the Content of Religion

There is a contrast between changes in the content of religion and changes in its external expression. In the words of Firth (1970:315) it could be said that there has been an "evolution in their faith rather than a revolution." The Ipili prefer to see a break between the old and new practices, but there is more of a transition from old to new beliefs.

Most of the old beliefs remain. To decide not to worship spirits and to reject them entirely are two very different things. Sometimes at the time of baptism the people perform a "ceremony of dismissal." On one occasion they brought out their ancestral stones and rolled them down the mountain to signify the rejection. On another occasion I heard them asking the priest to go and bless the forest pool which contained their ancestral spirits. In this case they had requested baptism early because they were suffering from stomach trouble and boils, which they believed to be caused by the ancestral spirits which were being rejected.

The Judeo-Christian Adam and Eve creation myth and the story of Noah, along with other Bible stories, add new content to their mythical world. (They like hearing about Eve and the snake which they liken to the kopiyama of their own mythology.) Jesus, a man who was the Son of God, is something new for the Ipili and is probably for this reason that he is given less emphasis than God as father.

Most Christian beliefs are seen not as something new, but as an adaption of traditional beliefs. There is a certain syncretism in which traditional religious beliefs provide the epistemological pattern or plausibility structure for understanding Christianity.

Though the idea of the transcendence and omnipotence given to God is new, the whole concept of a watchful God is not original. Previously the sun was thought to be the everwatchful one, the good provider. The sun saw when boys lied. The sun provided children and helped men find wild pandanus in the forest. A man thanked the sun when an arrow missed him. Now they attribute these qualities of everwatchfulness, providence and good fortune to "God." In fact, some have said to me, "Now we call the sun God." There was also Isini, the spirit-god who lived in the lower reaches of the Lagaip River between heaven and earth and ensured that all natural things remained ordered. The Christian

God also takes over this function. For many it is hardly more than a change of name. This concept of God as "the one who looks after," is a concept which continually recurs, almost like a refrain, in the spontaneous prayers of Christians.

There has been little change in the traditional idea of the spirit of man. The Ipili firmly retain the idea that every person possesses an invisible component of his personality which can suffer attack from unseen forces. What has altered is the idea about who is in charge of the spirit.

Many call the sky beings angels and sometimes they translate taweakali by the Melanesian Pidgin word for angel. The Pidgin term, "was angelo" (guardian angel), was used on several occasions to describe the Kawara Woman who helps and strengthens young men. Several also likened her to the Virgin Mary.

There has been a sharpening of the concept of evil, and a personification of evil in the form of Satan. "Satan" or "devil" are Melanesian Pidgin terms used to translate the term yama. Most think of the Devil as an evil spirit whether it be an ipatiti or other bush demon, or a ghost which has come to do them harm.

Hell and Heaven are thought of in terms of big fire, or a place above where God lives, and where people have all the possessions they ever wanted and are happy. There was a traditional belief in a sort of heaven, called tawetoko. This was where the mythical heroes Kimala and Kaunala Tape went when they left the mountain top. A concept of hell is not completely foreign. Spirits of the dead go down to the "hot place" (lower altitude) in the Hewa country. Fear of Hell was sufficient motivation for a number of Catholics to join one of the other denominations after the story circulated that the candle held at baptism and the candles used at the eucharist were a sure sign that all Catholics would go to hell-fire. Heaven is also thought to be immanent. I will discuss this at greater length in reference to the Lyeimi Millanerian Movement in Chapter VIII.

Education will eventually have an influence on the belief system. However with the school system only four years old, it has had very little influence so far on adults. For now the Ipili interpret Christian

TABLE 4

A CHANGING PATTERN OF RITUAL PRACTICE

Ritual	Made To	Function	New Form	New Content
Major Clan	Clan Ancestors	Ensure general well-being of pigs etc, avert disasters	Christian Worship God more powerful than Ancestors	Sun--God Skybeings--angels
Offerings to placate ghosts	Recent dead ancestors	Cure sickness Contact with dead relatives	Medicine Prayer Healing Services	Dead relatives go to heaven Saints
Offerings to placate demons	Ipatitis and other demons	Avert sickness Stop misfortunes	Prayers of Petition. Sacramentals like Holy Water	Devils
Bachelor Ritual	Seek assistance of Kawara Woman	Well-being and growth of young men	New ways of becoming a man	Kawara woman--Guardian angel
Wealth magic	Magic	Attract more and bigger pigs and wealth	Schooling Employment with Company	
Sorcery	Magic and help of spirits	Injure enemies	Less hostility generated by fighting. Communal government work? Penance services and Confession	Punishment in Hell

doctrines in terms of the old beliefs in ghosts and demon spirits so that Christian belief acts as a supplement to rather than a substitute for traditional beliefs.

Changes in the Function of Religion

There has been little change in the social function of religion. Whole clans are accepting the Christian religion under their clan leadership and so religion strengthens group identity and helps different clans to work together. This is ritually exercised at Easter and Christmas when leaders present food to the leaders of all nearby clans, starting with their traditional enemies.

Baptism has been very much on a clan basis with all members participating in the decision to become Christian. In the traditional way they follow their leaders who voice the decision once the group has come to a consensus. Before each service leaders meet to discuss the important matters of the day and after the service they delight in advertising their ideas and decisions before the entire congregation.

There have been occasions when a crisis of leadership has been behind a split in the church community; for instance where two brothers who are leaders argue and fight. This might mean that one brother and his lineage will change their adherence to one of the other missions as an expression of the break.

Trying to determine the changes in the internal function of religion one might ask, "What did it mean to be a person following the traditional Ipili religion?"

It meant that he found himself a place within the cosmic order and was related to a pantheon of spiritual beings--deities, ancestral spirits, ghosts and demons who had power over the environment. In times of crisis he believed he could communicate with these spiritual realities in religious rites. In these rites there were offerings to the spiritual beings in placatory prayer or bargaining, which pleased these beings. The compliance of the spiritual beings allowed the Ipili to believe that he had some control of the environment. In sum, the Ipili used his traditional religion basically as a technology to establish, by supernatural means, understanding and control over a threatening environment.

How does the Christian ideal as presented by the mission differ from this? It might help men to understand the environment but it does not claim to function as a technology for establishing control over a hostile environment. It claims to bring knowledge of God the Creator and Controller of the World and to be an instrument of salvation for man. The real functional substitute for the traditional religion will be secular science and technology: medicine to cure sickness; education for future employment and economic security; agricultural improvements in fertilizers and more healthy plants.

I have expressed the Christian ideal, but in practice what does it mean to be a Christian in Ipili society today? It means that there is very little change in religious function from that of traditional practice. The Ipili sees himself in the same network of relationships as in the traditional cosmic order, but God is at the head of the pantheon of spiritual beings, greater and more powerful than any of the others. He believes that God has power over the whole environment including ghosts, ancestors and demons and that he can communicate with God in propitiatory prayer and especially in common ritual sacrifice such as the eucharist. God will comply with those who lead a good life and do not "sin." There is still a sense of relationship between religious practices and the general welfare of the community. In the Paiela Valley the mission has been the greatest influence in bringing aid-posts (medicine), schools (education) and agricultural instruction (in association with the government). Hence the mission has been intimately associated with the Ipili's perception of improved well-being. If they do not see a direct causal relationship, they certainly see a close association. In other words, Christianity is still seen basically as a technology to establish by supernatural means, understanding and control over a threatening environment. I suggest that only when the children return from High School to communicate their secular education, and when the government begins to run the schools, hospitals and agricultural projects that Christianity will begin to take on a function other than that of a technology. Until then, Christian forms will function at the price of being understood as a technology and the Christian God will assume the functions of the ancestral spirits.

Though Christianity continues the function of traditional religion, it is not identical for it brings two additional functions: morality and redemption.

Ghost attack was usually arbitrary and except in grossly antisocial acts spirit beings were not associated with morality in any specific way as in rewarding good and punishing evil. However there was a prevailing moral attitude that success in ritual depended on securing the good will of spirit beings. Traditional morality pertained to the social rather than the religious realm. It had to do with antisocial acts where specific relationships were infringed. Hence the

Christian basis for morality expressed in universalist moral principles comes as something new to the Ipili. These general principles impinge on the social realm when associated with church discipline. The church cannot only censure those who had committed serious offenses but could ban them from participation at church rites. A killer might be excluded from the eucharist until he made sufficient recompense. A baptized man who took a second wife might be ostracized from the community as happened in at least one case.

It is in attitudes to such things as killing, aggression and theft that Christianity differs from former norms of behavior. Aside from these differences, Christianity does share much the same positive moral attitudes to social behavior such as generosity, co-operation and kinship sharing.

There is a connection between the stress on morality and the redemptive aspect of Christianity; the teaching that at the end of the world (which some Christian denominations believe is imanent), God will bless the good and punish the wicked. This idea is not totally foreign to Ipili belief and history.

In this chapter I have tried to describe the changes I observed in Ipili religion as a result of Western influences, expecially that of the Christian missions. I have discussed the changes in regard to form, content and the function of religion. In the next chapter I want to go more deeply into the question of why these changes have come about.

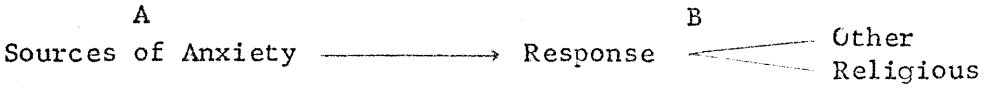
CHAPTER VII

FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH THE CHANGE

Positive Factors Leading to Change

I have described the current changes in Ipili religion. In this chapter I want to explore some of the reasons why these changes have come about.

Using the model outlined in Chapter I, which sees anxiety as a spur to action and explanation, religion can be a response to anxiety when secular techniques are inadequate for people to feel secure. The religious dynamic can be shown in a simplified way in the following schema.



For the Ipili there have been changes at both A and B: the sources of anxiety and the response to it. Which change has been most influential depends on one's perspective.

I can understand how a technological response (eg. more work in gardens) can help alleviate the threat of a source of anxiety (eg. impending famine). But limited by my scientific viewpoint I cannot pass judgment on how a response in religious ritual can affect a threatening environment. Hence I think the more important changes have been at A: the sources of anxiety. I think these changes at A, have had the greatest causal influence in the Ipili's acceptance of change.

The Ipili themselves view the changes differently from myself. They too realize the importance of a technological response to sources of anxiety. But they also believe in the efficacy of the religious response, i.e., that religious ritual can affect the forces which control the environment. Hence from the Ipili viewpoint, the most important changes have been at B. The general well-being today is seen as a result of their acceptance of a new response in Christianity and the other elements of the "new way." Not only have they found new responses to traditional threats, but they have been offered a new response to

new sources of anxiety. Baptism is seen as a way of coping with the problem of obtaining the benefits of white man's culture and of gaining "salvation."

This attitude to the changes arises from the Ipili pragmatic approach to life. In question twenty-nine of the questionnaire, my intention was to test for a causal connection between baptism and solutions to sources of anxiety. After administering it to a dozen people I became aware that they were not answering on the theoretical level of causation, which I had intended. They were answering on the practical level of association and experience. Hence they gave responses like:

"I haven't been sick since I started going to church."
"True, I haven't been sick."
"Yes, I'm alright, I haven't been sick."
"Yes, before there was less food; now there is plenty."
"Yes my gardens have certainly improved."

As I have shown in Chapter VI, the traditional attitudes towards the function of religion remained. They still expected religious practice to function in the same way as they did before. Though an objective observer might call the use of medicine or education a secular activity, it may also be a religious activity if it fulfils a religious function. This is especially the case when the agent for these "secular" functions is a religious organization, as has been the case in Paiela.

In Table 2 I listed a number of sources of anxiety which evoked a religious response. The changes in source and response is shown in Table 5. A change listed does not necessarily mean a total change. Some of the changes listed in Table 5 require explanation.

Fighting

Meggitt (1957-58:32) wrote of the Ipili that "they would prefer to be left alone to continue their interminable inter-clan feuding, and in 1957 they are still of this opinion." Today both mission and government have come, the former with its message of reconciliation, the latter with its powers of trial and imprisonment, so that there are no longer clan fights and but few individual murders. Both government and mission are given the credit for this change though in fact, the

TABLE 5

CHANGE IN SOURCES AND RESPONSE TO FORMER SOURCES OF ANXIETY

Former Source of Anxiety	Change in Source	Change in Response
Threat of death by:		
Fighting	Little fighting now	-----
Sickness	Preventive medicine (eg. vitamins for expectant mothers)	Medicine and Christian ritual
Misfortune	-----	Emergency flights for serious injuries
Failure of gardens and consequent food shortage	Gardens more productive because more time to work and not totally dependent on gardens	Rice and tinned food can be bought. In case of a general famine they may expect food distributions by the Govt.
Prestige	Christianity prestigous as part of Western culture Pigs not needed now for religious rituals	Work for wages as an alternative
Male-female Relations	Less anxiety due to educational programs	Christian ritual and medicine
Social Relations		
Positive	-----	Christian community which worships together.
Negative	-----	Less overt hostility Ideal of brotherhood

government was essential. The area was declared to be under control at least before the mission bodies were allowed in.

The priest told me how at first he could not find cargo carriers who would travel far away from their own area because of fear of enemies. He would continually have to hire new carriers while on patrol. Now it is a relatively simple matter of hiring carriers at Kolombi and they stay with the patrol right around the valley.

Sickness

As noted, no one lives more than three hours walk from an aid-post manned by a trained orderly with medical supplies including penicillin and sulphur drugs which can clear up illness very rapidly. Very serious cases such as broken bones or childbirth complications can be flown out to a District Hospital; so a serious illness or accident need not mean death or permanent disability.

It is generally believed that baptized Christians seldom get sick, or at least if they do get sick it will not be serious. In question one-f, forty-six percent said that baptized persons were as likely to become ill as non-baptized persons. The rest of the respondents said that it was true that Christians are seldom sick whereas non-Christians are often sick. They attributed the Christian advantage to the fact that they had prayer and that surely God would help them. Ghosts and ipatitis still cause people to get sick, but God invoked in prayer has superior power over these things.

Both government and mission are seen as responsible for this change, though more than a third of the respondents (thirty-nine percent) thought the mission was primarily responsible. Though the government is negotiating to take over some of the aid-posts, most of them are managed by the missions.

Gardens

Ipili see an improvement in their gardens. They say that today they have more food than before. I think this is attributable to several factors which they did not express. The lessening in fighting has meant that there is more time for gardening and less razed gardens. It has also meant that gardens could be made on lower ridges with richer soil. Also the availability of rice, biscuits and tinned fish at the stores has meant that there is less demand placed on existing gardens.

In question five-c I asked which had the most influence in improving their gardens, the government or the mission or both. It is significant that thirty-eight percent replied "God does it," because "God" was not one of the alternatives given. This did not happen for any of the other parts of question five. (Except the five percent who said God made marriages more peaceful.) I think this unexpected "God"

response, is another indication of the strong belief that God is the all powerful provider. The fruitfulness of their gardens is the most important area where they feel God is provider. Pigs are important, but they are more a form of wealth. Sickness is cured by medicine and prayer, but good gardens are still very much a necessity for survival. Though they have heard of the Government relief operation mounted during the Western Highlands Famine in 1972, they still remember and fear the great hardship of past famines.

Prestige

Becoming a Christian can be a prestigous thing. Paiela people have seen themselves very much as people of the bush; people with nothing compared to their neighbors in Tari, Porgera and Laiagam. Now the Mission allows them to become something.

Yet in terms of traditional values of owning pigs, becoming Christian could mean limiting ones prestige, because a baptized man is limited to one wife and he cannot accept pigs as the bride-wealth distribution for a polygamous marriage. Still there are alternative ways to wealth. Also for the non-wealthy, Christianity offers excuses for not possessing wealth. Of those responding to question nineteen, all agreed that it was easier for a poor man to live as a Christian. Pigs and wealth remain important but they are not the only important things as one man said, "He can always say that he will get his reward in heaven." Few think that Christians are richer than their non-Christian counterparts. Of those responding to question one-g, eighty-seven percent thought that Christians and non-Christians were the same in this respect. In fact the Ipili see riches as an obstacle to being a good Christian and eighty-eight agreed that it is hard for a rich man to be a good Christian. "He has to think of his belongings all the time, and does not think enough about heaven."[1]

All agreed that people were generally richer nowdays. Before Europeans came only important people wore pearl shells around their necks. Now almost every person has one. They clain that formerly there was not so much wealth in the form of pigs. This is probably due to the "shortwind" epidemic reported by Meggitt and because pigs were killed more often in ritual offerings.

Women too stand to gain by acceptance of Christianity. Most (eighty-nine percent) agreed that Christian women are happier now because they have a higher status in the eyes of men. Men are generally pleased about this, "Now we can look at women and laugh with them."

Family and Social Relations

The emphasis now given to monogamous marriage has meant that some are taking marriage more seriously. However married life can still be very violent. Only thirty-five percent agreed that more quarrels occur in non-baptized families than in those that have been baptized. The majority (sixty-five percent) of respondents thought that baptized and unbaptized families were the same in this regard. If marriages are in any way more peaceful, then they see the Mission as responsible (sixty-eight percent). No one thought that the government had been the major contributor in making marriages more peaceful.

Families are also thought to be stronger now (eighty-seven percent). This was attributed to the fact that now less people die from sickness and so many more members of the family are alive to support it. Responding to question one-b, fifty-nine percent agreed that baptized children are more respectful to their parents. Notably all women except one thought this, making positive replies from women forty percent higher than those from men.

Negative Factors

I do not want to imply that all the new influences and changes have reinforced the change from the old to the new. The Christian insistence on monogamy as a prerequisite for baptism is a barrier for some. Only if a polygamist is an older man and undertakes to provide for but not live with another wife (and this is accepted by the community as a valid promise), can such a man be baptized. Some men do this. For others their polygamous marriages are a barrier to baptism. This was the main reason given by those who knew of clan members who were not seeking baptism (question three). Such individuals either wanted the freedom to take a second wife (a minority) or wished to keep the second wife they already had (the majority). Others said that people wanted to get the pay for a bride-wealth distribution for a second marriage.[2]

The other major reason given for some who do not yet want to be baptized was because they were too materialistically minded. "They think only of pigs and money and not of God or heaven." One man thought the reason some people did not want baptism was because baptized Christians do not set a good example.

Changes in Allegiance

Religion is not just a matter of legal membership or a nominal thing. When it cannot be used properly or when it does not work, people change their minds about it and make new choices. Hence just as they left many of their traditional religious practices to take on Christianity because they saw its benefits, so they are prepared to leave one Mission body and join another when it seems advantageous. Few have come from other mission bodies, but several groups of Catholic adherents have left to join other missions. In question four I asked why. Half said that people changed for positive gains, and half said that people changed through fear.

Positive advantages included curing of sickness, hope of accompanying Jesus to Heaven at his imminent second coming, free clothes and miracles and prayers. The Apostolic Mission practices faith healing and a number of people, especially women and their children, have left the Catholic Mission and joined the Apostolic Mission so that a sick child will be cured. If Christianity is the new cure for sickness, then it is better to find the most effective medicine. The Seventh Day Adventist Mission and Apostolic Mission predict that the end of the world is very close, perhaps next year, and that Jesus will come to take the saved bodily to Heaven. The Catholic Mission preaches a bodily resurrection but only at the end of time which is said to be a very long time away. Some practical Paiela people think that if the end of the world should come, then it would be to their advantage to be among the saved.

Fear of not being saved was another motivation for leaving the Catholic Mission. The highest number of respondents to question four was the thirty-five percent who said those who had changed had done so because they were afraid of going to Hell. As mentioned, a rumor circulated that the candle held by Catholics at their baptism and the candles used at the eucharist were a sure sign that all Catholics were

going to the fires of Hell. Many people were quite disturbed by this. Others (twelve percent) had seen the picture displayed by another Mission body which showed their adherents enjoying Heaven and the Catholic people burning in Hell. I did not see the picture, but many people described it to me and commonly spoke of it as "the picture."

This changing of allegiance indicates that the Paiela people do place a good deal of importance on religion. The reasons for their change of allegiance show that Christianity is not adopted for purely technological reasons and that conversions are not a simple response for merely economic or social advantages. As I have tried to point out throughout this work, the redemptive element also has some importance. Is this atypical for a Papua New Guinea Highlands cosmology which is characteristically secular in comparison to those of the Seaboard? The answer is a qualified "no." As I have stated in Chapter III, I think that past studies in the Highlands have not emphasized the intellectual element in religion and so my study, which is more intellecutally oriented, tends to show a greater importance given to religion. The Ipili attitude to daily living is typically secular, but there is a latent redemptive element in traditional Ipili religion which has been brought out by the redemptive message in Christianity. It was this redemptive aspect of religion, latent in the traditional religion which was the motivation for at least half the changes of allegiance.

Sociological Factors

So far I have described factors which have motivated people to adopt the new ways, particularly the "new way" of the Christian religion. Other more personal motivations for change would be the subject for a psychological study. I have tried to show how factors associated with the former religious response have changed either at the level of the source and this has helped determine the choice of new responses available.

It is an interesting question to consider what might have happened if the missions had never come and if the government had been the sole influence in Paiela running aid-posts, schools, providing employment and educating in the ways of the white man. Would there still have been major changes in thetraditional religious response? The extent of

possible change is difficult to imagine but I am sure that major group rituals associated with garden fertility and sickness would not be performed because the Ipili would see no need for them. In their crisis-oriented religion these rituals would not be practiced in a time of great well-being such as today. In other words it has been the changes in environmental factors which I have shown in part of this chapter which have been the major factor in the religious changes, not the proselytizing of the missions.

I have described the pragmatic element in this change. They tried it. Their quality of life improved. Hence the new way of the white man was adopted. This is an experience common to Papua New Guinea in initial years of contact. However, I was surprised by the rapidity of the acceptance of Christianity. In other areas of the Highlands with which I was familiar, traditional religion has shown a much greater resilience. Now I will describe seven sociological factors applying to Paiela in particular which help to explain why the acceptance has come about so quickly.

Social Structure and Associated Group Movements

The Paiela area is thinly populated and the population is scattered in small homesteads set in the bush close to their garden land. In the early 1960's they lived much more from the bush than they do now. In 1963 the first Catholic Priest to come to the Paiela, told how there were very few tracts of garden land visible. Sweet potato was planted in very small plots in the forest, not in mounds but with a shallow ditch dug around for drainage. Knowledge of where men not belonging to one's clan lived was very limited. Some men deliberately took different routes to their houses so that a track would not be worn to them.

Now people live less in the bush itself, cut bigger gardens and build their houses closer to the established mission or government stations. When the first evangelists came they sought out clan groups and spoke to them. These were small groups, well known to one another and so when the catechist convinced one or two important men, a whole group movement would follow. Once this happened, group cohesion and group loyalty would keep people together. Evangelization has followed

this pattern. The twenty-two out-stations in the valley mean that few have to walk more than half an hour to reach a station. The worshipping group is a local group or a combination of two or three local clan groups. People are bonded by everyday loyalties and there is considerable group pressure on any who do not follow the work of the clan.

Combined Effect of Four Mission Groups

In some places where only one mission body has worked in an area, the conversion of one group might mean that another group traditionally in competition with them would reject the Mission body because to accept would be an expression of unity which they do not feel. With four Christian bodies in Paiela, all seeking adherents, there has been ample opportunity for hostile groups to go to different mission bodies.

Used to Change

The Paiela people have had a history of change. Their geneologies record that most have been immigrants to the area within the last five to ten generations. Their ancestors were refugees from lost battles in Tari, Porgera and Laiagam. There must have been change and cultural diffusion in the valley after the arrival of refugees. Even now they often change their place of residence to find new gardens.

A Change Welcome and Expected

Many respondents have said that they were tired of the fights and the inhibitions of the old ways, but before the white man came there was no alternative. Men had come from the Enga district with news of what the European could bring, especially in material goods. Several times I have been told of how a piece of wood cut by steel axe was a treasured possession, passed from hand to hand before astonished eyes. To those used to the chips of a stone axe this was surely a sign of the power of the white man.

Before the area was derestricted, Porgera people led by Tongibe, a Tari-born gold worker who had visited the Catholic Mission in Mount

Hagen, sent a letter to the bishop there asking him to send a priest to Porgera. Tongibe was also instrumental in stopping some of the fighting. The story of how he did it illustrates how men were in fact tired of fighting. About 1958 Tongibe told the people that he would show them a "play" which the Missions had taught him in Mount Hagen. He got the men to bring all their weapons and put them together in a large pile. Then during the big singsing which ensued, he poured kerosene over the weapons and burned them all. There was little fighting for several years after that. People were most impressed by the properties of the kerosene and were not angry that their weapons were destroyed, so much so that Tongibe was invited to Paiela to perform his "play" there also.

It Relieved Tensions

In trying the new ways men experienced an emotional release from fears which had dominated much of their lives in the past. If prayer and medicine proved effective remedies to ghost attack, one need not be so fearful of ghosts. Male-female relations have relaxed and men are glad that now they can laugh with women and some are happy to live in the same house with them.

Initial Power Encounter

The first evangelists were native Enga catechists from the area at the head of the Abmum valley. Their language is not so dissimilar that they could not make themselves understood fairly quickly. Several of these men described their method of approach. They came wearing European clothes, which gave them status, and demanded to see the ritual stones of a clan. When shown the stones, they took them in their hands, something never done normally. Some catechists merely held the stones, others took them and threw them on the fire. They then told the people to watch them and see if they got sick. When the people observed that the catechists remained well they thought that the new-comers had special powers which were greater than the power of their ancestor spirits. Then the catechists told the people that they were not to make offerings to the stones and pools anymore. They were to follow God instead because He was the one who gave them their power and kept them strong in spite of the stones. Impressed by this, people did try to follow God and

there were no great misfortunes. When they tried some of their old practices again some noticed how they got sick, so the change to new ways was reinforced.

It Fitted in with Certain of their Previous Experiences

In 1944 and 1945 there was a Millanerian Movement which apread through Porgera and Paiela as described by Meggitt (1973:27-32). In 1956 when Meggitt visited Porgera, all the men he spoke to (some were from Paiela) were definite that the cult had been a failure. Their pig herds were still recovering from the "shortwind" and the cult slaughter. At that time European goods had not reached Porgera and Paiela in any quantity and Christian missionaries had not begun to work there.

In 1973 and 1974 during my patrols I found that all the men with whom I spoke were definite that the cult had not been a failure. They connect it with Christianity and by some sort of feedback mechanism, the experiences of socio-historical change since the 1950's and their interpretation of certain areas of Christian doctrine have "proved" to their satisfaction that the cult did after all work. Men now link Christianity with the former Millanerian Movement. It is commonly thought that they follow the "one road" and have the same message.

It is this phenomenon which I will describe in the final chapter which follows.

CHAPTER VIII

THE LYEIMI MILLANERIAN MOVEMENT

In previous chapters I have mentioned a Millanerian Movement. In this chapter I will describe it and its connection with a related myth and with Christianity today. My description is significant for three reasons: First, the story of the Millanerian Movement is important in itself. When I was studying the Movement I was not aware of any published account of it. Only when I returned to Australia did I discover Meggitt's article The Sun and the Shakers, published while I was in New Guinea. My findings supplement Meggitt's comprehensive account Second, the process which I will describe is an excellent example of two themes of this thesis, that belief finds expression in ritual, and that the cosmological conception of reality influenced the understanding of new information. The wholesale acceptance of the Millanerian Cult with changes arising from Ipili re-interpretations has a parallel today with the acceptance of Christianity. Third, memories of the Movement are a significant factor in explaining the rapid conversion to Christianity today.

This chapter has three parts: Firstly I will relate the story of Lemeyan and Lakeyam, the mythical ancestors of the Tipinini people of the Porgera Valley. Secondly I will describe the Millanerian Movement and how it spread in the Porgera/Paiela area. I will show how the Tipinini people saw a relation between this Movement and the myth of Lemeyan and Lakeyam. Finally I will show the connection between the Movement and people's perception of Christianity today.

Lemeyan and Lakeyam

The story of Lemeyan and Lakeyam was told to me as follows:

> A long time ago the ground was flat and there were no trees, only grass. There was no water either and anyone who wanted water had to go to a man called Lemeyan who was the sole person who knew where to obtain it.
>
> Food had been short and a relative living at Lyeimi on the north side of the Lagaip River sent word to Lemeyan that he was

about to cut new gardens and that Lemeyan should come and help him. Lemeyan would receive a pig in payment for this.

Lemeyan made ready to go and since he was the only person who knew where to obtain water, he filled all the native bottles and bamboo containers he could find and left them at the house of his wife Lakeyam and another friend Ipali. They would have all the water they needed for the month he would be away so they did not have to worry about going outside their enclosure to find it.

Unfortunately it was a very hot season and the two women finished all the water. [In another account, they had to use all the water to extinguish the blaze when their house caught on fire.] Lemeyan had not returned so they went outside to try to find the water. There was no water in Lemeyan's house so they followed a track used by Lemeyan which led towards Mount Kaijende. The track led to a steep cliff with a waiyo tree growing beside it. Many old loops of knotted vine normally used on the feet for scaling trees, lay at the foot of the tree. Obviously this was where Lemeyan used to go.

Lakeyam climbed to the top but could not find a way to go further. The rock was white and crumbly. Then she saw a piece of aiyoko tree protruding from the cliff face. She leaned her weight on it and it loosened, and water came streaming out. Water was now set free to make all the rivers.[1] The stream only increased, and from her vantage point at the top of the tree she could see the water submerging everything below and became afraid. However, a small timbo beatle settled on her leg and she thought this beatle might be able to take word of the trouble to her husband. She broke off a piece of her grass-fiber skirt and fastened it onto the wing of the timbo and told the beatle to go and bring the news to Lemeyan.

At Lyeimi, Lemeyan had finished his work and was ready to return with his payment, a brown pig. The beatle landed on Leyeman's leg and informed him of the trouble. Though it was dark, Lemeyan decided to leave immediately, lit a torch from daka leaves, and told his friends that they would have to finish the party without him.

With the assistance of his pig, Lemeyan was able to cut a trench (the Tilia River) to drain off some of the water, and returned to his home. What was left of the daka he planted beside his house. He tied up the pig below his house and then went to find his wife and her friend.

Accounts of what happened to the two women, Lakeyam and Ipali differ. They say that Ipali tried to escape the rising water and walked through the bush to Mount Tongabipe where she remained.

Some say Lakeyam died in the flood and her spirit now lives in the ground. Others say that she went away and disappeared after Lemeyan died.

Lemeyan died when he fell out of a paiye tree while gathering branches to block the doorway of his house. He fell and broke his head on a large white rock at the foot of the tree.

Though there is no reference made to Lemeyan and Lakeyam having children, they are remembered as the ancestors of the Tipinini people who today number 789 persons.

At times of food shortage offerings were made to these two ancestors. The people brought food: sweet potato, opossums and pig, and all assembled in a large house built for the occasion. This large house was built on the site where Lemeyan tied up the brown pig. The journey of Lemeyan to Tippinini was re-inacted by a man bringing a brown pig to the house at night using a daka torch to light his way. The pig was killed and the head and guts were left in the large house with the women. The pork was then cooked by the men in a house built a hundred meters away beside the stone which fatally injured Lemeyan. One man buried a piece of pork in a hole dug beside the stone. Lemeyan's bones are said to be underneath this stone. Lakeyam's bones are said to lie beneath another stone which is inside the rear of the large house. A hole was dug beside this and offering of sweet potato buried there. After this ceremony the crops used to flourish and pigs produced well. The ceremony was last performed around 1968 and the houses are still standing (see photograph 19).

The Lyeimi Movement and the Ipili

In 1944, not many years after the first Taylor patrol and twenty years before the first Christian Missionaries appeared, a Millanerian Movement known as the Cult of Ain swept through the area.

Nine men (Langane, Lunguna, Taiok, Alek, Pipi, Yumbun, Mendi, Wambili and Koiyu) came from a place in Taro Enga country with a story that a spirit who slept in a big lake near the border of heaven and earth had given them a message that the world was about to end. If people observed certain prohibitions and performed certain ritual, they would not die and their bodies would go to heaven (tawetoko). For followers of the Cult of Ain, bride price was forgotten and people abandoned their old offerings to the ancestor spirits. They performed only one offering in which black and white pigs were ritually killed and lifted up to aluni (the sun). The pig was then thrown to the ground from a special platform and was eaten with liko and emaro leaves after part had been given to the men who had done the killing. Other food

was cooked differently. Sweet potato was not cooked in the ashes as normally, but only smoked on top of the fire (a purificatory procedure during a boy's initiation or when a man was preparing to get takia wealth magic). Eating sugar cane, banana, green vegetables and marata fruit was forbidden. Each community slept together in one large house, which they constructed, called ongi (time ends or darkness). There was no fire inside this house.

The people were all very afraid of Langane the leader of the newcomers. He was a big man and carried three spears. Some said that they tried to shoot him but were not able to. As proof of his story Langane handled hot coals and touched people with a short spear he was carrying. This made many people go into fits of shaking (men today describe them as being drunk). The visitors also showed the Ipili a piece of woven material, a steel axe and wood cut with the axe. In "Heaven" the Ipili were to get axes like this. They were also to get pearl shells and other valuable things. There was also mention of a horse's tail as an indication of the size of pigs in tawetoko. (Meggitt reports the same phenomenon but says it was a cow's tail.)

The morning after the pig killing people roasted pig kidneys over a fire, poking holes into them with the wing bones of a fruit bat as in takai health magic. Then the people cut up the kidneys and ate them. Those who ate went to the river and ritually washed themselves using tapiak leaves as a funnel. While doing this the people continually sang verses of songs they had been taught. One example of such a song is:

> Two women, you cannot get the pig bone now,
> Forget your beliefs and take on good ways.

The song refers to the abandoning of the one ritual and the change to new ritual and new ways.

After bathing the people filled bamboo tubes with water, held them up and promised to kill their pigs, so receiving a sort of blessing from Langane. The leader then took a spear and thrust it into a pawa tree so that water inside the tree ran down the shaft off the end of the spear. This is taikulia, water thought to have special powers and used during boys' initiation. People drank only this water. After killing their pigs and purifying themselves people covered their legs in white mud, lived in the special house, observed the taboos and

waited for the immanent end of the world which was to be heralded by a time of darkness.

The message brought by Langane as remembered in Porgera is somewhat different from the Taro Enga story. Among the Taro Enga the new ritual was to be a temporary response to the unique environmental problems to be discontinued once things returned to normal. The Ipili like the Taro Enga had suffered considerably from famine and the epidemic of "shortwind" (bacterial pheumonia ?) among their pigs. Langane spoke of the failure of traditional ritual and ordered the new ritual to improve matters. Perhaps Langane changed part of his story when he spoke to the Ipili, but I am more inclined to think that their doctrinal shift towards permancy of the Cult was a logical extension of their prevalent beliefs.

The Ipili believe in the spirit-deity Isini which lives at the border between heaven and earth. Together with the sun, Isini provides for man and ensures that order is maintained. Isini and the sun function together in the maintenance of order; hence I wonder whether the offering to the sun during the Cult was seen as an offering also to Isini. Isini is thought to care for the ground. The sun looks after man, gives him children and knows when he cheats or lies. But Isini is sometimes given a similar function. One man told me that "Before the Mission and Government came Isini used to teach us things," "Isini was like God. If Isini wanted sickness, then sickness came." Meggitt (1973:21) records the Taro Enga account of how Langane was instructed in the new techniques and doctrine of the Cult by a tree-climbing kangaroo. In the Ipili version it was Isini who warned Langane that he was soon to cease to maintain order and that the world would soon end. It is interesting that the Ipili were to kill black and white pigs. In myth, Isini owns a brown pig. This is the pig which causes earthquakes when it rubs its back against the tree which supports the ground.

The Ipili thought that if they observed the ritual and the prohibitions that they would follow a "good road" to tawetoko. They would follow along the paths formed by the bodies of moropae pythons to "heaven" where there would be no more sickness and death and where they would have possessions in great quantities. As Meggitt has noted, for the Ipili the basic aim was to get themselves into a condition whereby

sickness and death would be with them no longer, rather than a return to the status quo as with the Taro Enga. This going to tawetoko is certainly not strange to people familiar with the stories of the bodily assumption of Kimala and Kaunala Tape and the Kawara woman. In fact Kimala went to tawetoko after a celebration at Lyeimi. I am not sure about the place of such mythical figures in Taro Enga mythology, but they are central to Ipili mythology.

The Ipili enthusiastically accepted the Cult and followed the prescriptions so much so that their pig herds had not recovered in 1956 when Meggitt visited the area.

At Tipinini the Cult took the form much as described above, but two additional events are noteworthy as they both have a relation to the Lemeyan and Lakeyam myth.

Firstly, though all the pigs were lifted up and offered to the sun, one small red pig was lifted even higher and tied on the top of an aipolo tree. The owner of each pig cooked his animal and gave payment to the men who had performed the ritual and then everyone held onto the aipolo tree and sang the songs which the visitors taught them.

The second additional event was the strange happening at Lake Tindipa.

The Lake Tindipa Incident

Before he went away as a prophet with Langane, Wambe, my informant had a strange meeting with Ipiama his clan sister. Ipiama was a beautiful unmarried girl who had played a leading part in Cult activity. Wambe was out early one morning before dawn and came upon Ipiama who was carrying a small piece of black wood in her hand. She held the wood out to show him and said, "I will show you a good new road. When dawn comes I will show you." Wambe looked at the wood and then had a vision of all sorts of articles such as axes, knives, houses with iron roofs and cars and a place that was lush and green. (Obviously at the time Wambe did not know what a car was, but he says he knows what it was he saw, having now seen a car.) "You must follow me and I will show you these things," she said. Then it was dawn and some lai birds came and began to speak with Ipiama.

Wambe followed Langane instead and visited Laiagam, Kandep and Tari before being jailed. He returned just after the Tindipa incident.

After Wambe left, Ipiama approached a man named Timbapu. She convinced him of the truth of what she had to say and together they convinced many others to follow them.

The night before they went was one of great excitement. There was indiscriminate sex and they say even dogs were sexually excited. Ipiama showed the piece of wood to people and many followed her to the bush and grass lands behind Mount Karepai. That afternoon Ipiama showed the people a brown pig which had a different coat from what they had seen before. She told Timbapu to kill it but he was unable. They all tried and only Ipiama was able to kill it.

One man Tandaki Teyo originally wanted to come but then changed his mind. The others became very angry and beat him and cut him with knives and the points of their spears. They tied him to a tree and it took him three days to break free. I have spoken with Teyo and today he bears the scars of this experience (see photograph 20).

The next day the people followed Ipiama across the high grasslands to near the foot of Mount Tongabipe, where they slept the night in three houses. Timbapu and two other men Etene and Tolio were named as leaders of these houses. Ipiama left to spend the night alone on Mount Tongabipe. She told them that if she lit a fire and called they were to come immediately. Some were becoming tired, especially Tolio. He made a stone axe and threatened to use it on anyone who went to follow Ipiama when she called. This made Ipiama very angry.

The next day they formed into two lines and walked to the small lake called Tindipa. Accounts vary as to what happened at the lake. Some say that they all wanted to go to "heaven." Ipiama touched the water with a stick and the water parted revealing a road inside the water. The people went inside, the water formed back and they were never seen again.[2] Another account tells how Timbipu and Ipiama held the ends of a long vine and the people held onto this vine, leaning over with their backs to the water while reciting prayers. Then Ipiama let go her end of the rope and the people fell into the water and drowned.

Photograph 19. The remains of a ritual house built to make offerings to Lemeyan and Lakeyam at Tipinini.

Photograph 20. Tandaki Teyo who refused to accompany others to Lake Tindipa. He has a blind eye and many scars to show for the beating he received.

There were three survivors, Timbapu and another man Tumbiyum along with Ipiama. The men returned quickly to tell the others at Tipinini and people came to see a path of trodden grass leading to the lake and to find bodies in the lake. Ipiama was killed at Tipinini. The two men were spared because they were said to be under the power of Ipiama. Tumbiyum has died since, but Timbapu is alive today.

It is hard to find out how many people died. Quoted figures go to as high as five hundred. People at Tipinini have given me the names of eleven men who died: Etene, Tanupi, Yalan, Tolio, Bota, Imbu, Pakani, Opami, Mangape, Kangope and Pawa. Many of these took wives and sisters and children with them, so I think between fifteen and thirty would be a more likely number.

In the people's mind the whole incident is related to the original myth of Lemeyan and Lakeyam. Langane is said to be a descendant of the man whom Lemeyan visited. They see a direct connection between the man whom their ancestor Lemeyan visited long ago in time of need and the sons of this man coming to their assistance with a message in their own time of need.

More importantly, Wambe and Teyo, my informants, see the meaning of the lake incident in the power of Lemeyan and Lakeyam. At the time of the pig killing, Langane asked Wambe to go and cut an Aipolo tree for the people to hold while singing. Wambe knew of such a tree standing beside the rock where Lemeyan died. Formerly he would have been too afraid to cut a tree in such a special place but at this time they were supposed to reject all their old ritual practices. So he cut this tree down and brought it back to the group. Both men believe that Lemeyan and Lakeyam were angry at this and it was they who possessed Ipiama and brought about the Lake Tindipa disaster. Shortly afterwards a boy was born with six fingers. This is also attributed to the anger of Lemeyan and Lakeyam.

I think that this story of the enthusiastic acceptance of the Cult of Ain and their reinterpretation of the story according to their own cosmology and beliefs helps to support the account I have given of recent changes in Ipili religion along with rejection of former ritual practices. There is in fact a direct relation between the former Movement and the enthusiastic acceptance of Christianity today.

The Lyeimi Movement and Christianity

The Lyeimi Movement died when the end did not come. Meggitt says that in 1956 when he went to Porgera all the men with whom he spoke thought the Cult was a failure. They thought they had been duped and were angry about this.

In 1974 the men do not regard the Cult as a failure. All the men I asked said that the Millanerian message was true. Why the change in attitude? There were three main reasons: First, their pig herds were better than they were before and there was a general state of well-being. Second, they had access to new forms of wealth and white man's goods. Third, they had been exposed to Millanerian Christian preaching about the imminent end of the world and how they must reject old ways, accept baptism and take on the new so that they can go to Heaven.

I have already discussed the first two points, but the third point needs some explanation.

Of the four Christian churches in the Porgera and Paiela, the Apostolic and Seventh Day Adventist Missions and some members of the Lutheran Mission are saying that the world is about to end very shortly and that Jesus is coming to save those who are baptized and take them to Heaven. This has been like a new Millanerian Movement. Throughout the Enga District there has been a so-called "religious revival." After a lull in catechumens, people are coming for baptismal instruction in considerable numbers. Though the Catholic Mission does not preach these ideas, the doctrine has become widely held throughout the Porgera/Paiela region. When I was about to leave Paiela for the last time, one of the Catholic church leaders accused me of going because I wanted to be with my mother and father when the end came. There is a commonly held belief that two Lutheran evangelists from Sirunki went bodily to Heaven in 1973. This is so very like the story of the whole Millanerian Movement of the 1940's that people automatically see a connection.[3] People say that the Lyeimi Movement before was like the mission coming--they have one message and one "road." When trying to describe the former ritual some used aspects of present Christian ritual to illustrate. They say, "Before God gave us pigs and food but we did not know this. Now we know. During the Cult of Ain we learned these things; now the mission comes and tells us and we follow."

There are many parallels in the two movements. Both call for repentance and acceptance of a "new way," a "good road." Both have a ritual purification ceremony of washing. Both have extra-ordinary happenings: shaking, and now speaking in tongues. Both present a new figure as center of worship: the sun and God. There seems a direct comparison between the taikulia water and "holy water." There is a sharing of food which distinguishes the faithful. In the Cult of Ain it was a kidney, today the eucharist. Adherents are to wait for the imminent end of the world. Some associate the practice of killing pigs at the time of Christian baptism with the killing at the time of the Cult. Both have a demonstration of power: handling of coals and handling of the sacred ancestral stones by the catechists. Both have the same basic function of improving the general well-being.

There is one big difference today. The promise has been partially fulfilled. Men agree that good times have come and they associate this with the coming of the white man and Christianity.

No doubt the Cult of Ain made Christianity more immediately intelligible to the Ipili especially if they recognized it as a fulfillment of the Cult. I think this helps explain the massive acceptance of Christianity in Porgera and Paiela today. Some of the men who want to work on the coast were shocked when they found that the Southern Highlanders with whom they were working had retained their traditional belief and ritual. The people of Porgera and Paiela are trying to make this a thing of the past. With the acceptance of the new way there has been an associated feed-back mechanism. The experiences of the people predisposed them to accept Christian notions, and their acceptance of Christian dogma has "proved" to their satisfaction that the Cult did after all work. Now when I ask whether the Cult of Ain was true I hear, "Of course it was true. Now we see the skin of the white man. Look at my axe, my bush knife." "Yes, it was true; it has all come with the white man." "Yes, it was true; now the white man has come and we have plenty of pigs and pearl shells and we will soon go to Heaven."

CONCLUSION

This thesis has not been an exhaustive account of the traditional religion of the people of Porgera and Paiela. However, within the time and resources available to me, I have given as full an account as possible of the beliefs, practices and function of Ipili religion as I was able to discover them. I believe this study has been valuable because today the Ipili want to reject their traditional religion in favor of Christianity. Many young people are growing up without a comprehensive knowledge of the old religious rituals. My young translator told me how he had learned a great deal while communicating to me the conversations of the older men.

In Part I, I have described the Ipili cosmic order: both empirical and non-empirical. I have described the harsh Ipili environment which figures prominently in myth. The environment is important as a source of sustenance and also as the abode of spirit beings which have power over the economic resources.

I have described the Ipili socio-political system and how participation in exchange and compensatory payments are important for assigning descent group membership and for achieving prestige. Men exist in a social relationship with the recent and the remote dead. Consequently men seek to influence them with bargaining and bribery--the social techniques for manipulating aggressive and egalitarian rivals. Blaming sickness and misfortune and death upon these beings provides solutions to problems which might otherwise disrupt society and serves as an integrating mechanism where ritual leaders express and reaffirm community attitudes.

Ipili religion not only reinforces the social structure but also contributes to the intellectual life by a process of explanation and validation. However it is even more important in helping to place men with confidence in their total conceived cosmic order. Generally the importance attached to religious belief and ritual shows those aspects of the cosmos about which people feel the most acute anxiety.

For the Ipili this is well-being in general; socio-economic welfare in particular. Religion helps the Ipili believe they have some control over the economic system. The usual reaction to anxiety is one of more hard work, but when their secular techniques prove inadequate, the Ipili use religious ritual as an extension of their technology in an attempt to control the environment.

In Chapter II, I examined the religion from two points of view: men's beliefs about the nature of spirit beings and their attempts to communicate with them by means of ritual. For the Ipili belief does not always find direct expression in ritual. It was apparent that there was some uncertainty about the meaning of the prayers recited and the source of power in the successful completion of the ritual. Also the Ipili place a good deal of importance on religion. Hence, though it must be classed as a Highlands religion, Ipili religion has features in keeping with the model for Melanesian Seaboard religions suggested by Lawrence and Meggitt (1965:22).

In Part Two, I described the changes which have come to Porgera and Paiela in the last two decades, and the effects these have had on the traditional religion described in Part One.

The government, the missions and the gold miners have all had an influence. I have focused on the Paiela Valley where the missions have been relatively more important in the changes. The missions maintain the Paiela airstrip, provide the only employment, administer the school, the stores, and most of the aid-posts.

It is not surprising that in the Paiela the missions are seen as the main agents of western culture. This is also quite logical for the Ipili who see success in ritual as intimately linked with human welfare and economic success. Given the white man's success, rituals associated with God and Jesus must be powerful indeed. Mission personnel are white men who specialize in sacred ideas and rituals. Through baptism the missionaries offer the Ipili a way of sharing in their ideas and rituals. Through catechism and school education, Ipili seek to be instructed in the "new way" which is the way of the white man.

The Ipili conceive of the "new way" as far superior to the old. They want to reject the past as a whole and find it hard to conceive of a middle way which would be a combination of the "good" and the "bad,"

the state of "not having," which is past, and the state of "having" which is in the future.

Consequently they have rejected most of their former ritual practices and Christian beliefs have been accepted and are held in addition to the traditional beliefs in ghosts and ancestors. Sometimes new doctrine sheds light on old beliefs, so that sky beings are called "angels" and yama demons become "devils." God and Jesus are new, and more powerful than the traditional spirit beings, though some think of God as the new form of the sun, formerly thought of as the "good provider."

There has been little change in the function of religion. Christianity continues the social function of religion, operating on the clan level through clan leadership. The good things brought by the missions such as: education, medicine and agricultural expertise, are functional substitutes for the traditional function of religion. Religion (especially success in ritual) is still associated with the general welfare of men and society. Despite the new emphasis on redemption and morality, Christianity is still seen as a technology for understanding and controlling a threatening environment.

The rapidity and extent of the acceptance of Christianity among the Ipili is not unprecedented in the Western Highlands. Bulmer (1965: 158) says that among the Kyaka Enga, most of the outward forms of the old religion disappeared quickly and that both Christians and non-Christians believe in the existence of the Christian God, Jesus Christ and Satan.

But such a wave of "conversion" calls for an explanation. Bulmer attributes the change among the Kyaka to the evangelical attentions of the materially well-equipped Australian Baptist New Guinea Mission. I have shown that other factors apply to the Ipili situation in addition to the proselytizing of the missions.

The essentially pragmatic (problem solving) orientation of Ipili religion meant that traditional religion was quickly replaced when new and more effective ways were offered for solving problems such as crop failure, disease, sickness, death and the gaining of prestige. The missions and government have provided the services which lessen the source of anxiety and solve these problems more effectively.

This pragmatic orientation was also operative in the Ipili acceptance of Christianity. They tried it. It worked because they experienced a state of greater well-being and so they saw an intimate association between the response in accepting Christianity, the white man's religion, and the better state of greater well-being.

There have also been socio-historical factors which help explain the rapid acceptance of Christianity. Such factors include: the combined effect of four Christian missions; the Paiela people's history of changes; the fact that changes were expected; the way Christianity was presented in an initial power encounter; and the effect of the memory of a former Millanerian Movement which is linked to the millanerian teachings of some of the Christian missions.

It is this former Cult, unique in its effects on the Ipili, which has been important in making Christianity immediately intelligible to the Ipili. Through the operation of a feed-back mechanism, the Cult pre-disposed the Ipili to accept Christian notions, and this acceptance of Christian dogma has "proved" to their satisfaction that the Cult is true. People accept the millanerian teaching of Christianity, accept baptism and wait for the last day when Jesus will come to take them to Heaven.

The current movement towards Christianity is still gaining momentum. Experience in other areas in the Western Highlands has shown an initial enthusiasm for Christianity and then a dropping off when the expected benefits did not materialize. Feacham (1973:283) found that most Enga patients who went to clinics in the Saka Valley were "disappointed to discover that there were no miraculous, or even dramatic, cures and in many cases the treatment seemed to have little effect." Today Ipili resort increasingly to Christian faith-healing and place great trust in modern medicines, a trust which shows no signs of abating.

Certainly there will be changes as the Ipili experience new sources of anxiety. There will probably be new religious responses, whether Christian or otherwise, to the stresses of full independence to be granted in 1975 and the strains of responsibility on local leadership. There will be changes as the government assumes greater control of the present wide-spread mission activities in the fields of health-care, education and agricultural assistance. There may be developments

in the Christian millanerian movement, though the history of the Christian church itself shows the ability to adapt when the expected "Day of the Lord" does not eventuate. There will be changes in four to six years when the gold mining operation concludes in Porgera and the substantial influx of money to the area ceases abruptly. Then I think it is likely that the present millanerian form of Christianity will tend more to become a "cargo" millanerian movement. It will be interesting to return in ten year's time to see if there has been a revival of traditional religious beliefs and practice, and to find if new myths have developed which tell of the origins of Western goods, or whether the myth of Kaunala Tape or Kimala have changed in content as a result of the changes in Ipili society today.

APPENDIX A

MYTHS OF KAUNALA TAPE AND KIMALA

I have noted (p. 80) the difficulty of classifying the named personnel of these myths. Kaunala Tape, Kimala and the Kawara woman are all probably taweakali because the myths finish with them going to tawetoko. Yet as I have noted, there is also a connection between these and man's first ancestors, and the people think of them in terms of Folk Heroes who actually lived long ago. The Kawara woman is a special case. Her superhuman powers thought to affect man today, make her more like a deity.

The Story of Kaunala Tape

At the time when the ground and water began there lived two men: Auwala, also known as Kimape, and his younger brother Kaunala Tape. The elder brother was big and strong and was able to cut a garden from the forest. The younger brother Kaunala Tape used to cut firewood and fetch water. His legs and hands were small and his hair was soft and fair.

Kimape cut down strong trees like Pipi and Maukele to build a fence around his garden. When finished, the fence looked like possum's teeth. He grew Taro and these grew like rat's tails. So much green food appeared that it looked like a lake.

However Kimape was not happy. He used to think about where he could find a woman to share the fruits of his labor. As he sat thinking a Piawi bird alighted on a nearby tree. Kimape spoke to the bird and asked, "Is there a ceremonial dance somewhere?" "Are they dancing somewhere?" The bird did not reply so Kimape sat silently for a while, then he asked, "Are they beating drums and is there a celebration somewhere?" As he spoke the bird took a twig in its beak and flew away along the Yongope river.

Then the older brother called out and told Kaunala Tape that they should kill the pig which they owned. Kaunala Tape objected saying that the pig was his. But the elder brother explained how he was going to a ceremonial dance down at the Hewa and that they must kill the pig, so Kaunala Tape went to the garden to get food, and prepared to kill the pig. He cut firewood with his stone axe and prepared the ground oven; then he brought out their pig which had ears like plates and a nose like a "kundu" drum. He struck it on the head, killed it, and scorched off the hair.

Kaunala Tape called out to his brother, "I've got everything ready but I won't eat with you. If you give me taro I won't eat it. I eat only snakes."

Kimape butchered the pig and put it in the ground oven. When it was cooked he removed it and ate half of it. He put the head and entrails on top of Kaunala Tape's house. Then he called his brother and told him how he was going to the Hewa or the Sepik.

Kaunala Tape saw that his brother was a big man. His legs were strong enough to carry four women, but he did not have any decorations. His head was bare. So Kaunala Tape teased his brother's hair and put feathers in it.

Kimape told his brother that he would be away three days. If on the third day he saw smoke rising from a distant mountain, then he should cook the rest of the pig and prepare food.

The next day Kaunala Tape took his bow and arrows and went into the forest. He sat down on a fallen tree and thought about his older brother. Then he saw a beautiful bird feeding on some berries. Kaunala Tape wanted to shoot the bird and whispered a spell as he crept up to the tree. Tapeyo (Kaunala Tape) thought it would be good if he could shoot the bird as he had given all his decorative feathers to his brother. If his brother brought some girls back, then he could wear the new feathers and surprise them all. He shot at the bird and hit it. Tapeyo danced for joy. However he had not killed it and the bird was able to fly to another tree. Tapeyo was only small and found it difficult to keep up with the wounded bird as it flew from tree to tree. He was still following when darkness came. There was no house, so Tapeyo slept in a hollow at the base of a large tree where cassowaries and wild pigs sometimes slept.

He woke to the bird's cry. Again he tried to follow the bird but fell down and began to wonder why he was hunting so deep in the forest. He would have preferred to stay near his house.

Then he heard a girl calling angrily. As she approached Kaunala Tape hid behind a garden fence and watched, his eyes wide open with fear. The girl was very beuatiful and wore several pearl shells around her neck. She was obviously wealthy.

The girl asked Tapeyo whether he had shot her pig. Tapeyo replied that he had not shot a pig, only a bird. Then the girl took a stick and began to beat him on the head. Tapeyo told her that she was not hurting him. "I know you," he said, "You are the child of Patali tambu." Then he poked her in the breast. It hurt her and Tapeyo was able to run away. He ran to the girl's house and she followed him.

At the house she asked Tapeyo if he would like some food. He said he would like this and that she should go and get food and prepare it for him, meanwhile he would but firewood. Tapeyo said that it would be good if they had pig too, so the girl killed the pig which Tapeyo had shot. Tapeyo made the girl do the hard work while he went and looked for snakes. She had to kill and cut the pig and prepare the ground oven. When it was cooked, she had to remove it. When it was ready Tapeyo told her that she had to eat it all by herself, he only ate snakes. "I know your name," he said, "It is Iputime."

When she heard that he would not eat and that he had been lying to her Iputime wept for a long time, then took all the food and went to another house. She called out to Tapeyo that he should go away but he replied that it was nearly night and that he would like to sleep in her house. However Iputime told him that there would be a full moon and that he should go hunting possums. So Tapeyo borrowed a bow and arrows from Iputime and asked where would be the best

place to go if he wanted to find possums. The girl directed him to a large fallen tree. He did not really want to go. He felt cold and would have much preferred to stay close to the fire, but he was afraid of the girl and so went to find the tree which she had told him about. She told him not to look at the ground, but to look only at the mounatins above him. He did this and fell into a lake. He went inside the lake and found the tree which the girl had spoken of.

He sat down on the tree and suddenly grew into a mature man with thick hair. He went back to Iputime and she told him that he could not come close to her. He had to sit down on the other side of the house. She gave him food which he ate and then asked whether she could comb his hair. She combed his hair so that it came up like a new moon in the sky. She combed his hair and put all sorts of decorations on his head and bldy. Then she told him that his brother was coming back with a Hewa girl and that he should go and prepare food back at his own house. "I wanted to marry him," she said, "but he has gone to marry a Hewa girl." She told him that the young sister of the Hewa girl was coming along too. She must not see Tapeyo's house.

Iputime warned Tapeyo that his brother might not have enough bride price to satisfy the Hewa people. If he did not have enough then Tapeyo should get a pearl shell which Iputime would put in his house. She gave him eight sweet potatoes and told him to eat some on the road, and to put some in his house.

Tapeyo came to his home and saw the smoke. He ate the sweet potato which Iputi had given him and changed back into a thin young boy again. He cooked food for his brother and then went to find snakes for himself to eat.

Presently his brother arrived with the two Hewa girls. They were laughing and eating sugar cane. The bigger sister ate all the sugar cane and her little sister was cross at this. "Why do you eat everything when you don't even make gardens where you live?" she told her. The older sister did not like this and they fought in the garden.

When they had finished fighting, Tapeyo invited them to come and eat the pig which he had cooked. While they ate pork, he ate snakes. The little Hewa girl looked at Tapeyo and decided that she would like to marry him.

Tapeyo's brother told him that he wanted to get the bride price ready, so Tapeyo went into the forest to try to find wild pigs, possums and cassowaries. In the morning the Hewa people came, but when they saw the pay they exclaimed, "Are you really giving bride price or are you merely playing?" Then they took the girl away with them. Kimape wept. Tapeyo went and ate some of the sweet potato which Iputime had given him. He ate and grew to become a mature man again. He ran after the Hewa people and asked them where they were going. They explained how they had gone to collect pay for one of their sisters, but that the two brothers had not given proper pay and they were going home with the girl. Tapeyo told them that he had special pearl shell which he would give them if they went back to see Kimape. Tapeyo went to his house, collected the shell and some pigs which Iputime had left there and presented them to the girl's family.

When the Hewa had gone Tapeyo went down to the Yongope river, ate some of the sweet potato which Iputime had given him and became small and thin again as before.

The younger Hewa girl came to Tapeyo's house and he gave her a pearl shell and a pig. But the girl put Tapeyo in her net bag and carried him down to the Hewa, leading his pig behind her.

When they reached the Hewa she hung Tapeyo up in the net bag inside the house of an old woman. The old Hewa women said they would like to eat Tapeyo and argued over who would eat his head. The women went to find greens to cook with Tapeyo, and while they were away Tapeyo managed to cut a hole in the net bag and escape.

He went back to his house and ate some sweet potato and developed into a strong man again. Then he went to find Iputime, but found her gardens overgrown and her house rotting. All that was left inside the house was a net bag containing some taro and some tanget leaves used in a net bag for a baby to lie on. Tapeyo called out for her but there was no reply. So he set out to find her. He climbed to one mountain and slept there the night. The next day he came to an open place where there had been a singsing, but all the people had gone. That night he slept in a cave. During the night a demon attacked him and they fought until morning. In another cave he found a possum which came and sat next to the fire. Tapeyo fed the possum with pork and then followed it. The going was dificult and in the very steep spots Tapeyo held the possum's tail. They came to the top of the highest mountain and could see as far as Wabag, Porgera, Tari, Kopiago, Wage, Paiela, Mount Hagen, Laigam, and Hewa. Tapeyo could see everywhere.

A girl approached Tapeyo and talked to him. He followed her to her house where plenty of women were gathered. Iputime and her child were with them. Tapeyo wanted to go into the house but the women told him to go to the men's house.

Iputime his wife woke him in the morning. Together they went to the garden and cooked taro. Then she told him to go to the Hewa again because they were killing the pig which he had given to the young Hewa girl. "You can only stay three days in Hewa," she said to him. "You must be back here within five days."

So Tapeyo went down to the Yongope river and came to the Hewa. He had to stay more than five days as they killed the pig on the sixth day. The next day he started back, but the young Hewa girl followed him. This annoyed Tapeyo. They went through the bush and night came and they slept in the base of a tree, Tapeyo on one side, the girl on the other. In the middle of the night Tapeyo crept away. Tapeyo was mistaken. He thought the girl was the younger sister of the Hewa girl which his brother had married, but really she was the sister of Iputime his wife.

Tapeyo took a long time to find a way home and he was extremely hungry. At one place he found a young man cooking pig. Tapeyo hid, but the young man saw him. He offered Tapeyo some pork and sweet potato saying that it was from his wife Iputime. Tapeyo ate and grew big again.

Then he went and found Iputime in a house nearby. She had almost given him up for lost because he had not come back within five days, and so she was delighted to see him. They ate pig

together. That night he went hunting possums accompanied by Iputime's dog. Iputime warned him that he must not lose the dog or they would not be able to go to the sky. They brought the possums home and bound them up with vine. She told him to put some of the possums in his net bag because he could exchange them for a pig the next day.

The next day at a kepele ritual offering they bought the pig, a very old sickly one. However later when they killed the pig, it suddenly turned into a large healthy one, bigger than any other pig which they had seen. As they cut the pig Iputime warned Tapeyo that her sister whom he had left alone in the bush was very angry with him and that he should present her with the pig's heart. This he did and she was pleased.

Iputime then told Tapeyo that he should leave the pig cooking in the oven until the part of the kepele ceremony where an old man climbs onto the oko house to sing. Tapeyo did as she said. They removed their pig from the ground oven before anyone else and they left the gathering. Together they climbed a nearby mountain. They found another young woman on top of the mountain. Together the four of them: Tapeyo, Iputime, her sister and the young woman went into the sky and the clouds hid them from sight.

I recorded the story a second time in the Paiela Valley. It followed the story above in almost every detail. However the woman who helps Kaunala Tape is called "Malo." She comes to save him when he is in the net bag in the Hewa's house. There is no mention of them marrying. Rather she is Kaunala Tape's protector. In the end she carries him to the sky (tawetoko). The Hewa girl became the mother to all the people of Laiagam, Paiela and Porgera.

The Story of Kimala (Porgera Version)

A long time ago when everything on earth was new there lived a beautiful young girl named Tapuwan Ipaliya. With her lived a boy Oneane Kimala and a dog Wai, also known as Masawa. None of them had parents. They came from nothing just as mushrooms appear.

The boy and girl were very handsome. The girl had a nice face, nose and breasts. The boy did not yet have a beard. They did not have a house, but slept in caves or at the base of large trees. They found food in the forest.

Several years passed and they grew up. Tapuwan was a really big girl now and Kimala began to develop a beard. They got knowledge and Kimala began to make houses, one for himself and his dog and one for Tapuwan and her pig. He also made a garden, found food plants and put them in the garden.

One day Kimala and his dog decided to go into the forest to kill possums. They told Tapuwan that they would return within five days. They walked a long way over the mountains without finding any possums, but then they found one in a hole at the top of a dead tree. Kimala said to himself, "I haven't got a father or mother to teach me to do these things. I think of how to do it myself." After twisting the possum's neck, Kimala began to pluck the fur. The wind carried some of this fur right down to the Hewa. There two girls stood near the door to their house. The smaller of the two saw the possum fur and took it in her hand. The older sister saw this and said that the fur was hers. They argued and then they fought over the piece of possum fur.

Kimala and his dog killed plenty of possums and on the fourth day went back to their home. From the hill above, Kimala could see his sister Tapuwan getting stones ready to cook the possum. She was very happy to see him return and sang and danced for joy.

One day they were sitting by their house because it was raining when they saw a very big man approaching. Kimala called out and asked why he was coming. "Did he want to fight?" The Hewa man replied that he was coming peacefully. Tapuwan went and hid inside her house and the two men went to Kimala's house. They made small talkfor a long time, then the Hewa man told Kimala why he had come. "I would like your sister," he said. "Who said I had a sister?" replied Kimala. "The wind and the birds told me and I came," said the Hewa man. "I have not got a sister," replied Kimala. "I saw her," said the Hewa man. "If you won't get her then I'll go and get her myself." So Kimala agreed that the Hewa man could have his sister and said that he would go and tell her. Kimala went and told his sister that she was to go with the Hewa man, but then he changed his mind and wished he hadn't agreed that she could go. So he and his sister changed clothes and it was Kimala himself dressed as a woman who went back to the Hewa man. The man took Kimala away across the mountains and rivers and right to the Hewa.

Presently they reached the Hewa's house. Two girls were there. They saw Kimala and his dog approaching and wanted to play with the dog, but Kimala warned them that they shouldn't do that as the dog would bite them. His dog was a very special dog.

Kimala looked like a girl so he went and sat in the house with the two girls. They told him how there was a ceremonial dance the next day and asked whether he would like to come with them. He replied that he was now married and that he had better not go dancing or "her" husband would be very cross. Later the Hewa man came and suggested that he and Kimala should go to the forest, but the dog knew what was going on and barked so much that the man gave up his idea.

The next day the two Hewa girls put on their decorations and practiced their singing outside their house. They looked very pretty, and Kimala told them that he had a brother who would most probably come to the celebration the next day. After the girls had gone, Kimala sent his dog back to his sister to tell her to come. She came and they changed clothes and Kimala became a man again and began to decorate himself for the ceremony. His sister helped him get ready and he helped her get ready. His sister decided not to go, but Kimala went, putting his dog inside his hand drum. From inside the drum the dog sang songs like, "You girls from here, are you going to sing? Girls from Epealene, are you coming? Girls from Puyangi, are you going to sing?" He sang plenty of similar songs.

Kimala approached the dance ground and all the people were amazed at his singing hand drum. There were people there from Tari, Laiagam and Hewa, and they all stopped dancing and ran to look at Kimala dancing and singing. Everyone watched and then the two young Hewa girls came on either side of him and sang with him. As the smaller girl danced she took some white clay and rubbed it on Kimala's leg. They danced all day and the time came for Kimala to go. The girls wanted to come with him but he told them to stay.

He returned to his sister, washed quickly, and the two changed clothes again. Then he went to the women's house and waited for the two girls to return.

The girls returned, but one was very ill. The Hewa men tried their ritual cures but they didn't work. The sick girl told Kimala how she had danced with "her" brother and then got sick. Did "she" have some prayers which would cure her?" The younger sister was suspicious. She asked Kimala to go and fetch water outside. Kimala did this and the girl noticed the white clay which she had rubbed on Kimala's leg while they were dancing. When Kimala returned she told him to sit on a rain mat on the other side of the house where the men sit. They shouldn't touch each other. The bigger girl was surprised and asked what was going on. The little girl whispered how she had rubbed clay on Kimala's leg while they were dancing and how now this "woman" who was Kimala's sister had the same marks.

Kimala realized that he had been found out, so he sent for his sister again. They changed clothes and he became a man again. By this time the Hewa girl had recovered, so Kimala told them to take their pigs and accompany him back to his place.

They came to the house of Kimala's sister. She was sitting inside. She was very be tiful with long fingers. She asked them why they had come and they explained how they were tired of living down below in the Hewa.

A liko tree stood close to the house. Pearl shells grew on it. The girls took the pe l shells and began to cut the ground with them, cutting it to all different shapes, making mountains and rivers. They did this and chanted various formulas now used in takia magic.

By now the dog Wai was very old. His ears were like Mount Kumbipara and his teeth like a fence. He held a liko leaf in his teeth and barked and barked. Then they saw a Hewa man approaching, carrying a spear. He threw the spear at the woman and got the bog-iris plants which they carried in their net bags. The clouds carried Kimala and the women into the sky. The Hewa man got the bog-iris plants and now men plant them.

Kimala (Kolombi Version)

Before water cut up the ground and before men lived there, there was a man named Wabiyawe. He was the father of all the people from Enga, Wage, Paiela and Kopiago. Wabiyawe had a brother called Tiri. Tiri and Wabiyawe had an argument over food and Tiri ran away into the forest and lived there. He had his axe with him and cut trees down to make a garden. He made his garden and got plenty of knowledge. It was a good time and plants grew well and Tiri was never short of food. Sometimes he would find the marks of possums at the base of a tree and he would climb the tree to kill them.

One day he had killed fourteen possums and he put leaves on the ground so that he could cut them. He cleaned them, bound them up and carried them with him over the mountains. When he reached his house he saw smoke rising and wondered who could have lit a fire. Then he saw a young girl working in his garden. Tiri put his load down and went into the forest and put on his wig so that he would look like a big man. Tiri knew he was a "rubbish man," but did not want the woman to know it.

He came back to the woman and gave her the offal of the possums which she took and ate. Together they cooked the rest of the possums. That night the woman brought taro to the cave where Tiri used to sleep.

Later, the woman, whose name was Pange, bore him a son. They called him Kimala. Kimala grew quickly and was soon asking his father to give him a stone axe. The boy took the axe and tried to cut trees, but he didn't make a very good job. Kimala practiced so that later when he was big he could make a garden.

One day Tiri was cutting a very big tree. He had always worn his wig because he was afraid that his wife might think he was a "rubbish man." As he cut, his wig fell off and rolled down the hill. He saw his wife coming and went to retrieve his wig. However a stick went into his leg and he died and the ghost went down to the Hewa. Kimala and Pange cried until morning when they buried Tiri.

Kimala told his mother not to be worried. He could look after her. By the following year he was a strong man. Now he had plenty of knowledge. He cut trees and built houses for his mother and himself.

His mother told him how Tiri used to go finding possums in the bush at night. So Kimala went into the forest to find possums. He killed some and was plucking the fur when a bird came and took some of the fur to make a nest. It flew away with it and some fell down to two Hewa girls. The two fought over the fur.

Kimala returned to his house and presented the possums to his mother, saying that he had killed all the possums there were in the bush. She was delighted with his success. She knew that he hadn't tried killing possums before.

One day when Kimala was walking in the forest he heard people dancing. He looked and saw people from Laiagam and Lyeimi singing. He continued looking for possums. He killed one and was gutting it when he heard a twig break behind him. He looked and saw a beautiful girl approaching.

The girl asked him what he was doing, and he told her how he was killing possums. The girl was angry that Kimala should hunt possums in her part of the bush and she took the possum from him. It was late afternoon and the girl suggested that they find somewhere to sleep. She told him to follow her. They crossed some mountains and rivers and bush. She brought him to a house where people from Hewa, Laiagam, Tari and Paiela had been eating pandanus nuts. The people had gone, but they had left plenty of firewood, so Kimala and the girl cooked the possum and slept in the house.

Kimala woke to the sound of the birds. He got up and began to play his pan pipes, calling the names of mountains and rivers which he knew. The girl liked the music and asked Kimala whether he would do something for her. She wanted to test him. She asked him to go find a bog-iris and bring back two leaves from it. She put some spittle on a piece of wood and said that he had to return before the spittle dried. He found the bog-iris, using the palama which she had given him, and returned with the leaves.

The girl was pleased and went to test him again. She asked him to climb a tree and fetch some bog-iris leaves which grew on top. He got them and gave them to her. She gave him three sweet potatoes. Then Kimala asked why she was asking him to get the bog-iris leaves. She told him she wanted them so that she could improve his hair and body. Kimala was pleased. They planted the bog-iris at the rear of their house.

One day Peleme told Kimala that he should go back to his home, as his mother was ill. Before he went she made Kimala sit down. She got some pig fat from out of a large kaiko tree and began to make a wig for Kimala. When this was finished she presented him with a belt, armlets, a pearl shell, a cassowary feather head dress, a spear, and ten net aprons. She gave these to him and told him to be especially careful with the cassowary head dress and the spear. With these decorations Kimala looked very handsome.

When he arrived at his mother's place, Kimala saw that his mother would soon die. She spoke to him, gave him an arrow and told him how one day he must use it to shoot a possum which was eating his bananas. With that she died.

Kimala buried his mother and mourned for a month. One fine day he went to the banana tree which his mother had spoken of. Two possums were eating his bananas. He shot one and the other ran away. The possum ran away with the arrow and Kimala followed the trail of blood. He followed and saw a woman's footprints in the sand at the side of the river. He followed the trail down to the Hewa, to a house with smoke rising from the roof. The woman's footprints led inside. He found Paleme very sick. She told him how she had gone to collect fruit and that Kimala had shot her. He told her how he had not seen her, only a possum.

Peleme recovered to try him a third time. She asked him to go and fetch water from a long way off. It was night so he made a torch and set off. She came too. It was almost morning when they came to a lake. Kimala was carrying some pig fat and Paleme instructed him to cook some of it at the base of a liko tree near the lake. He did as she said and saw a road open up into the lake. They followed this road inside the lake. Presently they came to a house and went inside. Paleme told Kimala to climb a post inside. He obeyed and found it was really a liko tree and that plenty of pearl shells were at the top. He threw them down onto her pandanus rain cape.

In the morning a bird came and spoke to Kimala telling him that there was a ceremonial dance and that he should come bringing Peleme with him. They went carrying their pearl shells and came to Lyeimi. The next day Peleme decorated Kimala and he looked really handsome. They went to the celebration and were admired by everyone. In the afternoon they were very thirsty. They drank and then climbed a mountain. Peleme gave red paint to Kimala and painted both him and herself and they both turned into Paiyali birds.

APPENDIX B

VARIOUS RITUAL PRAYERS

Various Kamo

A discussion on where these spells derive their power can be found in the text on pages 104-108. Most of these spells are referred to in the sections on protective ritual and wealth magic.

1. A Curse

Put on a man who has stolen a pig. He calls on the ancestors and the two sanguma women of the One ritual to help kill him.

He dies, I kill him and I come.
A man has died and I kill pigs at his funerary feast.
I give you a pig with plenty of hair.
You must give me a man with no hair.

Yoke tree,
Adopi river.
The two Sanguma women.
Pigs of the two Sanguma women.

He dies, I kill him and I come.
A man has died and I kill pigs at his funerary feast.
I give compensation to a man who has died.
I speak these words and I kill him.

2. A spell to promote health and growth.

A young girl comes out very early in the morning and shakes the dew over her head and body, hoping that she will grow quickly.

Dew what are you?
Dew what are you?
Little stars what are you?
You come onto the leaves and the vines,
What are you?

I am a young girl, make me beautiful,
Make my breasts beautiful.
Make my hair beautiful.
Make me beautiful.
Make my hands strong.

3. A spell made by a girl to attract her boyfriend.

Thinking of her friend, the girl makes this chant and asks that he might see her, want her and buy her. This would be made when the girl was tending her bog-iris plant which grows at the rear of her house. When the spell is finished, she takes a cassowary wing bone and jabs it

at one of the leaves of her plant. If she misses, she will not marry him. If she does spear the leaf and then sees two Pailawe birds, the man who she will marry has two brothers. If three birds are seen, the man will have three brothers.

The boys of Arapis are here.
The boys of Mungalep are here.
The boys of Paiela are here.
The boys of Paiam are here.

Child of one woman,
Child of one man.
Shall I come to take your pigs?
Shall I deal the pigs you have given?
I, a young Kewai girl come to deal them.
Shall I come to take your pigs?
Shall I come to take your pigs?
We can be married and be together in the open.
We can be married and be in the open.
We can go where all the women are gathered.
We can go where all the men are gathered.

Look into my eyes and take me.
Look at my face and take me.
Look at my nose and take me.
Come stay close to me.

Shall I come to take your pigs?
Shall I deal the pigs you have given?

4. A love spell.

A girl chants these verses so that her boyfriend will think of her. The teke vine and the gulu tree have thorns on them The makua tree is similar to the gulu but has no thorns.

Boy are you afraid of the teke vine
that you don't want me?
Do you want me or not?
Young man you must think of me all the time.
I will worry your thoughts like the teke vine.
I will worry your thoughts like the gulu tree.
Young man you must think of me all the time.
I will worry your thoughts like the makua tree.
I will worry your thoughts like the teke vine.
Young man just worry about me like the small pieces of bark
which cling to your skin,
or like the pieces of possum fur which stick to you.

5. A love spell.

Made at the time of the bachelor ritual by the boys so that their girl friends will not forget them. It uses the same symbol of the prickly gulu vine used in the girl's spell above.

I go to Pilli on Mount Paiam.
You cannot rest.
Girl your heart and liver must think only of me.
I go to Walumbi on Mount Paiam.
Your liver must be glad.
I go to Luku on Mount Paiam.
Your liver must be glad.
I go to Laiyapi on Mount Paiam.
Your liver must be glad.
I go to Wanoli on Mount Paiam.
Your liver must be glad.

I go to all the places I belong,
to Arapis, to Tawebekal.
I go on top. I go down below.
I speak of the place Telabu but I leave there.
I speak of the place Liminu but I leave there.
I speak of the place Auyuba but I leave there.
. . . . . (16 places referred to)
Young girl you worry about me,
as though a stick of gulu were inside your body.
You should not hear the talk of your mother.
You should not hear the talk of your father.

6. An Umaritsia chant.

This is chanted while the boys cut the pieces of bamboo used in the Paiela bachelor ritual. They recall Waiyapa, the Kawara woman. Later they will fill these bamboo tubes with her "blood."

Is the Kawara woman at Lake Lada or not?
Is the Kawara woman at Lake Ipada or not?
Is the Kawara woman at Lake Aiyala or not?
Is the Kawara woman at Yaya or not?
Is the Kawara woman at Mount Iparu or not?
. . . . . (15 places named altogether)
I cut the leaves of the wild pandanus.
I, a man of the Tieni clan cut them.
I cut the leaves of the wild pandanus.
I, a man of the Paiaka clancut them.
I cut it with this piece of pearl shell.
I cut it, I cut it.

Brothers of Paiela.
Brothers of Waya.
Brothers of Mungalep.
. . . . . (7 names)
Cut long bamboos.
Cut small bamboos.
Let the new shoots grow.

7. An umaritsia song.

Made when stripping bark from makua trees.

We stay in the forest.
We stay deep in the forest.
The Kawara woman does not come.
She is menstruating.
So I call all the men down below.
All the men above.
Men from everywhere.
All the women and children grow big.
We plant the kawara and she does not come.
She sleeps in her bed.
Now we mark the trees and the mountains.

8. An umaritsia song.

Made in early morning when washing their head and hair.

Water, water, water, water, they say.
The water goes they say.
Water, water, water, water, they say.
Some water is touched by people's feet.
I touch this water and I say these words.
This water comes from inside the ground. [It is not contaminated.]
It comes from a lake.
It comes from inside stones.
It comes from holes in trees.
I wash my hair with this water.
I rub my body with this pure water.

9. An umaritsia spell.

Made when the boys plant their bog-iris plants, packing the mud around the base of them. The spell is designed so that the plant will be his only. Noone else can come and take it.

The tina bird makes a nest and I help him.
A man makes a noise, breaking twigs as he comes.
A thief is coming.
One not to be trusted.
You can disappear into the water or the mud.
You can hide in the water.
Only I can come right up to you.
I can make a noise and still see you.
Thieves come and you disappear into the ground.
Hide in the water.
You can hide in the trees.
You can hide by covering yourself with ground.
I put some ground around you.

10. An umaritsia spell.

Made when a man comes to tend his bog-iris plant. He replants the tangets which surround and protect it and then cuts off a piece of leaf and fits it into the end of the stem of an engapo fern and uses this to insert the piece of leaf into his hair. On withdrawing the fern stem, the bog-iris stays in his hair.

You who live in the mountains.
Come to this boggy place and make my hair long.
I put the leaf inside my hair.
I plant the kembone tanget around.
I surround my bog-iris with the tanget.
May my skin be like the kengali tree,
which grows on top of Mount Kumbipara
or Mount Iparu.

11. An umaritsia song. (A kangali kamo)

You women who wear many skirts.
You say that we are not ready to make our hair grow.
You women say that we are only small boys and
ask why we like to make our hair grow.
You talk and you laugh.
You ridicule me and make jokes.
You women sit on your beds and talk about me.
Close to the fire you ridicule me.
You talk all about me.

12. An umaritsia spell (A kangali kamo)

People say that his hair is like that of the strange little ipatiti demon. By ritual combing he wants to make sure that this is not true.

The Wawe Wabuni ipatiti has not got good hair.
The Lape Ketape ipatiti has not got good hair.
The Wawe Wabuni ipatiti has not got good hair.
The Nape ealepe ipatiti has not got good hair.

I want my hair to grow long,
to grow very long.
But I am ashamed it does not grow quickly.
So I call on my hair and pull it.
I call on and pull my hair.
I call on and pull my hair.
I call on and pull my hair.

13. An umaritsia spell.

To make the hair grow quickly. They believe the Mapia and Piawini possums eat Pombata beatles which makes them sleep and grow fat.

Home of the mapia possum.
Home of the piawini possum.
You have two pombata beatles inside the tree.
I have two pombata beatles.
You have three, I have three.
You have four, I have four.

These two live in a hole in a tree.
These two live in a hole in wild pandanus.
These two live in a hole in the ground.
They have sores around their mouths.
The two climb in the trees.

I have long hair.
My hair grows and I am handsome.
The two climb in the trees.
You sleep and you dream about me.
You remove your fur and your tail.
Come and make my hair as good as yours.
You have good sleep, food and hair.
Make mine become like yours.

14. An umaritsia spell.

The anjo bird is an early riser (like the bachelors). Its black and white feathers are striking. The wamale and luyope birds are similar to the anjo. He uses the beak of the anjo to comb his hair during the night.

Who will make my hair grow long?
Who will hold my wig?
Who will pull my hair?
Who will hold my wig and remove the pieces of rubbish?
Who will make my hair look attractive?

I am like the anjo bird, I rise first.
I am like the anjole bird, I rise first.
I am like the wamale bird, I rise first.
I am like the luyope bird, I rise first.

My wig is like the tail of the anjo bird.
My wig is like the feathers of the wamale bird.

15. An umaritsia spell.

Before they return to their houses, the boys decorate themselves, crushing ashes into powder to rub on their faces. They hope that people will look at them on their return and think they are impressive. The Yaki, Yakena and Kaliane are all animals with a brightly colored male and a dull female.

One little yadi snake.
One little yakema bird.
One big kaliane snake.
You come to rub ashes.
You put ashes that are bright.
I put ashes that are dull.
I hide and I rub them.
I put them on top of Mount Kumbipara.
I put them on top of Mount Waraya.
I put them on top of Mount Iparu.
I put them on top of the Kevologa tree.
I put them on top of the Warasia river.

16. An umaritsia song.

On the fifth day they decorate themselves, wanting to become as bright as the mythical rainbow snake which lives at the base of Mount Paiam, as hairy as the moss on the trees, and with skin as smooth and slippery as the inside of the bark of the Kola tree. Then their families will be impressed by their handsomeness.

I stand in a clearing in the forest.
I become like Mount Paiam.
I become like the moss on trees.
I become like the Kola tree.
I become like the Kola tree.
I put on these things and dance.
With a painted face I go in the afternoon.
With a painted face I go in the afternoon.
The people will be afraid when I return.
They will run away when I return.

17. A spell for those newly married.

Made before they live together so that they will be wealthy and will not become "takowa" or "rubbish" people. The mangope and poloma trees have plenty of fruit on them and birds like to come to them for food. The sun shines on the high mountains first. Similarly the couple will have children quickly. The sun is believed to give children.

One mountain Kiliowape stands,
a very high mountain.
The sun strikes this mountain,
the top of the mountain.
The sun comes first to this mountain.

One mountain Iparu stands,
the sun comes first to this mountain.

One mountain Yanangi stands.
One this very high mountain,
the sun strikes first.

One mountain Mailai stands.
One this very high mountain,
the sun strikes first.

At the foot of all these mountains that the sun strikes first,
there is a mangope tree with fruit.
The poloma tree was full of fruit.
Woman and man go round the foot of the mountain.
The langape tree has plenty of fruit.
We carry a net bag and fill it.
We carry food from the forest.
We get this and we stay.

18. Takia spell.

This incantation is said quietly in the forest as a man prepares to go to a pig distribution.

I cook a side of pig.
I cook pig fat.
I hold pig fat.
I cook a side of pig.
I hold a side of pig.
I cook pig fat.
I cook a side of pig.

You make much noise at the ceremony.
You make much noise.
You have a moka distribution at Ipaiya.
You have a moka distribution at Yapena.
The men of Paiyaka fight with them.

Cook pig fat.
Paiyaka you do this.
They all come with sides of pig.

Just as the sun sees everywhere,
so all men must see me.
Look only at me. Look only at me.

19. A Takia spell.

Said to himself when going to a pig distribution.

Cook, cut and give to me.
White and brown pigs give to me.
Shoulder bone and shoulder give to me.
Belly and backside give to me.

20. A Takia spell.

When a man makes takia magic he goes to the bush for four days. During this time he is not permitted to drink water. On the fifth day he is permitted to drink and he says this incantation while he does so. The talk of a rope refers to him having possession of these things as though he were holding a rope tied onto them.

I call on the rivers Lokai and Kagula.
I call on the rivers Okope and Yalape.
Water comes up to the posts of my house.
Sleep and them come up, come up.
They say sleep and them come up, come up.
Sleep and then go.
Pearl shell come as the water goes down.
I take a vine and disturb the water.
I take a pig rope.
I take water into my mouth,
and drink through my teeth.
Water goes on the rope of a multi-colored pig.
Water goes on the rope of a black pig.
Water goes on the rope of a white pig.
Water goes on the rope of a multi-colored pig.
I take a rope of pearl shell and draw the water to me.
I take a rope of pearl shell and draw the water to me.
I take a rope belonging to people.
I take the rope of my father and mother.

APPENDIX C

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

In studying traditional religious belief and practice of the Ipili, I was exposed to many of their present religious attitudes expressed by people in narrative and discussion. I took note of these, but in an attempt to get more statistical evidence on what seemed crucial factors in their attitudes to Christianity, I used a questionnaire adapted from an instrument developed by Max Scheimann in his study "Motivations for Christianity: Satisfaction of Enga Needs."[1]

The crucial questions seemed to be:

1. How do the Ipili view the Christian religion?
2. In what way do they see it related to the Western culture agents who introduced it?
3. What benefits were seen in accepting Christianity and what was the motivation for acceptance of it?
4. How does acceptance of Christianity affect the acceptance or rejection of their traditional culture?
5. Is there cargo thinking involved?

The questionnaire was administered orally in Melanesian pidgin with the help of a translator who used the vernacular.

There were 51 persons altogether:

36 males and 15 females;
20 persons were baptized Catholics;
29 persons were preparing for baptism (catecumens);
1 was a baptized Lutheran woman married to a Catholic;
1 was a man who was uncommitted (though he said he would become a Catholic if the priest gave him a job!).

Table 6 shows the responses of 49 people. I have ommitted the Lutheran woman and the uncommitted man from the statistics in the table though they are included in the general results of the questionnaire on pages 192-195. In the table I have divided the respondents into baptized and unbaptized, male and female. I did not think age was relevant because there is no real generation gap. The primary school has only begun recently so there is no educational split in the community.

Several of the questions need some explanation.

Question 1 was designed to help guage perceived differences between Christians and non-Christians. I hoped that they would evaluate the observed behavior of their neighbors and answer accordingly. In fact by presuming Christian virtue it turned out to be rather biased towards seeking out their own attitudes to the Christian ideal. Non-baptized persons are generally more optimistic over the benefits of Christianity than baptized Christians. Seeking the reasons for such trends is more valuable than working with the raw figures in this question.

Question 4 was topical at the time, several sections of the Catholic community joined the Apostolic mission and a short time before another two groups had joined the S.D.A. mission.

Question 5 compares the Government and the Mission because in conversation the two were often compared. At the time when I was administering the questionnaire, the government officer from Porgera started to build a permanent patrol post in the Paiela Valley. Many thought they had to decide which of the two they would give their allegiance to.

There are some limitations to the Questionnaire which I would like to point out.

1. I could understand enough of the Ipili conversation to get the general meaning but could not understand the details so that with the exception of two respondents all conversation had to be translated into the vernacular and back again into pidgin for me.
2. There are only 51 respondents all from Paiela. This represents about 3 percent of the adult population. This was all I could cover in the time as each one took from one to one and a half hours to complete.
3. I would like to have interviewed more females but this is difficult as women will not answer freely in the presence of men-folk and men generally do not trust their women alone with European men.
4. With one exception the respondents are all Catholic followers. This was due to the poor ecumenical situation in the Paiela. My trying to talk at length with adherents of other missions would have been taken as some indirect form of evangelization.

5. People seldom answered in the categories suggested. They preferred to talk for a minute or two on the subject. I then had to classify their response. People would much prefer to be given a topic and to talk for fifteen minutes on that than to be faced with a barrage of questions. Sometimes people became tired or restless and I missed out some of the questions so as to finish quickly. This is why the number of responses is seldom the same as the population of respondents.
6. Many of the questions are too abstract. They should have been oriented more to asking what <u>did</u> a person do, rather than what he <u>would</u> do. I could have done well to compare their answers on attitudes with statistics in practice, but time limited me. For instance, in 1-d I should have compared responses with the statistics of court records for such cases.
7. I wanted to compare the attitudes of Christians and non-Christians to see if there was a significant difference. Only when I tried to find some who wanted to remain a non-christian did I realize how complete the conversion has been. For most centers my list of adherents was identical with the government census records. Those answering question 3 said that everyone in their clan wanted baptism with one of the missions or at least an association if they were restricted by a polygamous marriage. In stating that I could not find any persons who wanted to remain non-Christian I do not want to imply that all pagan customs have been given up.

Despite these limitations, the responses to the questionnaire have been helpful in comparing attitudes. Statistical variations in responses call for explanation. Answers to open-ended questions and notes from discussions related to the closed questions were fruitful.

The results of the Attitudinal Questionnaire are as follows:

1. Think of the ways of people around you. Are the ways of Christians and non-Christians the same or do they differ?

   a. Christians are more ready to obey the government leaders than non-Christians. Think of the ways of the people around you. What do they do?

      Yes 15 (36%) No Same 27 (64%)

   b. Children who have been baptized are more respectful to their parents. Think of the ways of those around you. What do they do?

      Yes 25 (59%) No 2 (5%) Same 15 (36%)

   c. Non-Christian men often quarrel. Christian men do not do this. What do men around you do?

      Yes 28 (70%) No Same 12 (30%)

   d. Non-Christian men often seduce and fornicate with women. Christian men do not do this. What do men around you do?

      Yes 25 (58%) No 5 (12%) Same 13 (30%)

   e. Christians are happy; non-Christians are not. Is this true or not?

      Yes 29 (62%) No 3 (6%) Same 15 (32%)

   f. Christians are seldom sick, but non-baptized people are often sick. Is this true or not?

      Yes 25 (54%) No Same 21 (46%)

   g. Christians are richer than those who have not been baptized. Is this true or not true?

      Yes 6 (13%) Same 39 (87%)

   h. Quarrels often occur in families which have not been baptized; this does not happen in families which have been baptized. What do people around you do?

      Yes 14 (35%) No 2 (5%) Same 26 (65%)

   i. Christians are not afraid of ghosts; non-Christians are afraid. Is this true or not true?

      Yes 31 (72%) No 2 (5%) Same 10 (23%)

2. What is the foremost task of the Mission? (Open-ended)

Worship	14 (30%)	Tell about God	13 (28%)
Give Baptism	10 (21%)	To help us	2 (4%)
Give good news	6 (13%)	Show Christian ways	2 (4%)

3. Why are some people in your clan not yet baptized? (Explanation brought into text).

4. Why do some Catholic people join other mission bodies?

They saw picture	3 (12%)
Sickness cured	6 (23%)
Want to go bodily to heaven	4 (16%)

Miracles 2 (7%)
Afraid of going to the big fire 9 (35%)
Their prayers 2 (7%)

5. Both the government and the mission want to help.

a. Which has helped you most to stop feuding between clans?

Government 9 (19%) Mission 11 (23%) Both 27 (58%)

b. Which has helped you more in overcoming sickness?

Government 2 (4%) Mission 18 (39%) Both 26 (57%)

c. Which has helped you more in overcoming fears?

Government 3 (7%) Mission 24 (56%) Both 16 (37%)

d. Which has helped you more to earn money?

Government 5 (10%) Mission 24 (50%) Both 19 (40%)
God 1

e. Which has helped you more to improve your gardens?

Government 2 (5%) Mission 17 (41%) Both 7 (17%)
God 16 (38%)

f. Which has helped make marriages more peaceful?

Government Mission 30 (68%) Both 12 (27%)
God 2 (5%)

6. I think that sometimes people disagree with the Church. If this is so, what do they disagree on?

Pay 4 Pay for 2 wives 2 Church leaders 3 Two wives 1

7. Do you think the foremost work of the mission is to:

a. Educate children? 12 (36%)
b. Help people get rid of ancestral ways? 8 (24%)
c. To tell people about God their father? 11 (33%)
d. To tell people what to do and not to do? 2 (6%)

8. Some say that the mission should not involve itself in business. Are they right or wrong?

Right 9 (18%) Wrong 42 (82%)

9. If father went on patrol and he did not have enough money to pay cargo carriers, do you think he could find some people to carry it for free?

Able 13 (28%) Not able 34 (72%)

10. If father did not have money to pay people to build a house for him, do you think he could find people willing to build it for free or not?

Able 11 (24%) Not able 35 (76%)

11. Do you think that father can always find enough money or is he sometimes short?

Always 19 (44%) Sometimes not 24 (66%)

12. Where does father get his money from?

God	8	(16%)
The company	2	(4%)
His store	17	(34%)
His father and mother	8	(16%)
He has the secret	4	(8%)
Don't know	15	(30%)

13. Some have said that the ways of white men are very good and the ways of your ancestors are bad. Do they talk correctly or not?

Correct 31 (67%) Incorrect 15 (33%)

14. Do all white men follow the law of the mission or not?

Yes 18 (36%) No 32 (64%)

15. What do you think:

a. Is the custom of pig-exchange good or not?

Good 13 (26%) Not good 38 (75%)

b. Is the custom of death-payment good or not?

Good 19 (37%) Not good 31 (62%)

c. Is the custon of payment for burying a man good or not?

Good 6 (13%) Not good 40 (87%)

d. Is the custom of the courting ceremony good or not?

Good 18 (35%) Not good 33 (65%)

e. Is the custom of marrying more than one wife good or not?

Good Not good 48 (100%)

f. Is the eating of pig good or not?

Good 48 (96%) Not good 2 (4%)

16. Do you think that when a person is baptized he must wear new European clothes or are his native clothes acceptable?

Must wear European 12 (24%) Native Clothes 39 (76%)

17. Do you think that when a person becomes a Christian he must lose all his former ways or only some of them?

All 34 (71%) Some 14 (29%)

18. Why do/did you want to become a Catholic rather than an Apostolic, a Seventh Day Adventist or a Lutheran? (Explanations brought out in the text.)

19. Do you think a poor man can now live more contentedly if he is baptized and becomes a Christian?

Yes 40 (100%) No

20. Do you think it is hard for a rich man to become a Christian?

Yes 29 (83%) No 6 (16%) Same 1

21. Do you think Christian women are happier because they have a higher status in the eyes of men?

Yes 34 (89%) No 4 (11%)

22. Do you think Christian men are more prone to fornication because they are less afraid of women than non-Christian men?

Yes 18 (53%) No 16 (47%) Same 2

23. Were you very afraid of death before or not?

Yes 38 (90%) No 4 (10%)

24. (If yes to 23) Now are you just as afraid or less afraid?

Same 6 (14%) Less 36 (86%)

25. Now are you very afraid or only slightly afraid of ghosts?

Very 11 (22%) Slightly 40 (78%)

26. Now are you very afraid or only slightly afraid of Ipatiti demons?

Very 19 (40%) Slightly 29 (60%)

27. Now are you very afraid or only slightly afraid of getting sick?

Very 11 (22%) Slightly 38 (78%)

28. Before the white man came and you got sick, what did you do?

Offering to:	Tumbuna	7 (20%)
	Tambaran	2 (6%)
	Satan	3 (8%)
	Father and mother	21 (58%)
	Kolo	3 (8%)

29. a. True or false: when you are baptized you seldom get sick?

True 40 (87%) False 6 (13%) Same 4

b. True or false: when you are baptized your garden produces more?

True 36 (82%) False 8 (18%) Same 8

c. True or false: when you are baptized you get more pigs in the pig exchange?

True 22 (52%) False 20 (48%) Same 18

d. True or false: when you are baptized your family becomes stronger?

True 40 (87%) False 6 (13%) Same 3

30. Some say that the government is like a father. It is powerful and can imprison you. The mission is like a mother, it tries to protect you. Do you think this is a good analogy?

Yes 48 (100%) No

TABLE 6

RESPONSES TO CLOSED QUESTIONS IN QUESTIONNAIRE
ACCORDING TO BAPTISMAL STATUS AND SEX

Q.	Yes					No					Same					Grand Total
	Baptized		Non-Baptized			Baptized		Non-Baptized			Baptized		Non-Baptized			
	M	F	M	F	Tot.	M	F	M	F	Tot.	M	F	M	F	Tot.	
1a	1	3	7	3	14	-	-	-	-	-	6	3	12	6	27	41
b	3	4	11	7	25	1	1	-	-	2	6	-	8	-	14	41
c	6	2	15	4	28	-	-	-	-	-	2	3	3	4	12	41
d	4	3	14	4	25	3	-	1	-	4	3	2	4	4	13	42
e	5	4	12	7	28	1	-	2	-	3	6	2	6	-	14	45
f	4	3	12	5	24	-	-	-	-	-	7	3	7	3	20	44
g	2	1	-	3	6	-	-	-	-	-	8	5	19	6	38	44
h	5	4	1	4	14	1	-	1	-	2	4	2	15	3	24	40
i	5	4	16	6	31	1	1	-	-	2	5	1	2	1	10	43
	Government					Mission					Both					
5a	3	1	2	2	8	1	-	10	-	11	8	3	8	6	25	44
b	1	-	1	-	2	2	3	12	2	19	8	3	8	5	24	45
c	1	-	2	-	3	4	4	10	5	23	6	2	8	2	18	44
d	1	1	3	-	5	5	2	12	5	24	6	3	5	3	17	46
e	-	-	2	-	2	1	1	11	4	17	1	1	3	1	6	25
f	-	-	-	-	-	6	4	13	6	29	3	1	6	-	10	39
						(e)God 6	2	7	1	16						

TABLE 6--Continued

Q	Right					Wrong					Grand Total
	Baptized		Non-Baptized			Baptized		Non-Baptized			
	M	F	M	F	Tot	M	F	M	F	Tot	
8	3	1	4	1	9	11	5	17	7	40	49
	Able					Not Able					
9	2	2	6	3	13	11	3	13	5	32	45
10	-	2	7	3	12	12	3	13	5	33	45
	Always					Sometimes Not					
11	7	3	6	2	18	5	3	11	4	23	41
13	6	3	15	6	30	5	2	6	-	13	43
	Yes					No					
14	2	2	9	4	17	11	4	12	4	31	48
	Good					Bad					
15a	3	-	7	2	12	11	6	14	6	37	49
b	8	-	8	2	18	6	5	13	6	30	48
c	2	1	3	-	6	12	4	15	7	38	44
d	4	2	10	2	18	10	4	11	6	31	49
e	-	-	-	-	-	13	6	20	7	46	46
f	14	6	20	6	46	-	-	-	2	2	48
	European					Native					
16	2	4	3	3	12	12	2	18	5	37	49
	All					Some					
17	11	4	12	5	32	2	2	8	2	14	49
	Yes					No					
19	9	4	20	7	40	-	-	-	-	-	40
20	6	3	14	6	29	1	1	1	1	4	33
21	6	5	17	5	33	2	-	1	1	4	37
22	4	2	7	4	17	5	2	7	1	15	32
23	9	5	19	4	37	1	-	1	2	4	41
	Same					Less					
24	3	-	1	-	4	6	4	18	7	35	39

TABLE 6--Continued

	Baptized		Non-Baptized			Baptized		Non-Baptized			Total
	M	F	M	F	Tot	M	F	M	F	Tot	
	Very					Slightly					
25	6	1	4	-	11	9	4	17	8	38	49
26	9	-	7	2	18	4	5	12	7	28	46
27	6	1	2	1	10	8	5	19	6	38	48
	True					False					
29a	13	5	14	7	39	-	-	5	-	5	44
b	12	4	13	6	35	-	1	7	1	9	44
c	5	-	9	6	20	6	2	11	1	20	40
d	10	5	17	7	39	1	-	4	-	5	44

APPENDIX D

SPONTANEOUS CHRISTIAN PRAYERS

Spontaneous prayer at Sunday Eucharist by churchleader, Michael Pala. (Translated from the vernacular through Melanesian Pidgin.)

Men, women, children; one God made us all.
He loves us and looks after us.
He gives us morning and evening, women, children, men, old people, everything; stones, water, night, God gives us.
Heaven and earth, good food and bad food, God you yourself make them.
You are our father.
God makes everything.
The one God gives things to us.
It is he who inspires us and cares for what is inside us.
It was his thought that created us.
During the night and in times of sunshine he looks after us.
Inside us; we don't see; God is caring.
We walk, sit, eat, sit; he looks after us.
We are buried in the ground and life continues in Heaven.
God, you yourself look after us but we have many troubles.
Many fight and quarrelsome but you still care for us.
We here on earth are backward and sinful.
You yourself look after us but we forget about you.
We fall into rivers.
Demons tempt us.
Tree branches fall and kill us.
We get sick, but God, you yourself look after us and we are able to get well.
Our two first parents sinned and took the fruit from the tree, and we follow them.
But you put Jesus in the womb of Mary.
It is he who came down to help us.
Jesus walked around, he grew, cured the sick and raised the dead.
Now it is he who can help us all in New Guinea, Kopiago Tari, everywhere.
Now it is Sunday and we think of you,
and receive Christ's body and we rejoice.
The body of Jesus comes to me.
We don't see his face.
We don't look after you, but you look after us.
We praise your name, you are one but you have three names;
Father, Son and Holy Spirit,

Amen.

Spontaneous prayer at Sunday Eucharist by churchleader, Ekepa. (Translated from the vernacular through Melanesian Pidgin.)

O God Father.
It is Sunday and we come together in the church at Mungalep.
We come and are all in the church.
O God Father, we have all sorts of sickness and troubles
and we forget you.
O God Father, now you give us bread and wine,
and we ask you God Father, we come to church and we love you,
and we gather.
God Father you give us beuatiful things.
God Father you help Christian men and all men.
God Father you are very good.
Don't let us fall and cut ourselves.
Look after us as you do your sheep.
You are good to us and we remain well.
But we are not good.
I am a quarrelsome man who ridicules others.
Please O God Father you are very good.
You order the days and we are alright.
God Father we are deaf and blind, we ask you to help us.
Now we have started a Council and Committees to work here.
You must help us.
We have Self Government and Committees.
They begin their work, help them God Father.
God Father we begin important work.
Help guide our discussion.
Please guide our talk and assist us.
You must bring everyone into your fold [Melanesian Pidgin-banis].
God Father smooth the work of the Mission.
God Father look after us well.
God Father you are very good.
God Father you existed long before and you are here now.
Help the Mission and Government and the Company.
You know everything we do, heal our hearts.
With your power make our work successful.
Jesus Christ, you existed before and you exist now also,
and in the future.
God Father you are with us now,

Amen.

Spontaneous prayer at evening prayers by Leo Lyala. (Translated from the vernacular through Melanesian Pidgin.)

O God Father, we are here, now care for us well.
Don't let us think of fighting or stealing things.
So often we like to slander others.
Watch us good.
Before Adam and Eve both ate the fruit and ruined our good place.
We follow their behavior and we are sinful.
Now some of us live happily, but some want to fight or quarrel
with men or children or anyone.
They remain angry men.
O Father God watch over us during the night as you watch us during the day.
Don't let us dream of devils or burn to death in our house or
an enemy come to kill us.
Don't let Satan come to tempt us as we sleep out in the forest.
Don't let us be troubled or get sick and die during the night,
so send your good angel to watch over us.
We remember your ten commandments.
God Father you have given us the Confiteor and we can pray this
and be sorrowful in our prayer.
O God, all of us, Father, Mr. Philip, teacher, catechist,
and the new man who has come to fix our car, help us.
Help the mechanic in his work so the car can go.
Remember us in this very rough place New Guinea.
They come to New Guinea to help us,
God Father remember us all.
We ask you God Father,
we don't think straight so we pray to you.
The Fathers bring the Bible to us, but we don't have good ideas.
We are deaf.
Give us good thoughts.
You sent Jesus to die here on earth to help us
and you sent Father to help us also.
When Jesus was with his apostles he wrote the gospels
and now Father and Jesus tell this to us.
Help us to take the gospel to heart.
Hear our prayer and give us good thoughts and watch over us.
We ask you this so you will give a time of peace and prosperity
to us,

Amen.

NOTES

Introduction

1. There is a slight chance that in 1934 the prospecting Fox brothers might have come near the area along the Lagaip River, but it is difficult to tell from their account exactly where they went. (J. Taylor, personal communication.)

2. For all references to places in Porgera and Paiela, see Map 2.

Chapter 2

1. See excellent illustration of this in Glasse (1968, photo 1).

2. Meggitt (1965b:128) gives an account of similar action among the Enga and says that the side on which the mark is found indicates whether the victim's patriclan or matriclan are responsible. My informants said that they did not bother to note the positions of the marks, but preferred to think of who in the community would have a reason for killing the man.

3. Meggitt (1957-58a:51) calls the ceremony angauwenge. My informants said this was the Enga term for it. They also denied that a piece of string is tied on the hair of the dreamer's child to remind the ghost of the pig killed for its benefit.

4. Even ghosts of the recent dead can be referred to by the broader term yama. I will explain this usage in the next section on yama.

5. Meggitt (1973:12-13) gives an account of a similar ceremony among the Enga.

6. Yama in the Ipili language is not to be confused with yama in the related Enga language. In the latter it means a poison communicated by evil thoughts. The meaning in Ipili is closer to the Huli term dama (see Glasse 1965:33) which refers to "invisible deities possessing supraphysical powers."

7. Some of these yama inhabit only one locality, but most men have at least heard of them all throughout Porgera and Paiela. The Paiela Valley is richer in both yama and sorcery techniques. The Porgera Valley is divided by the Porgera (Palaipaka) River. Those on the Tipinini side of the valley claim to know only major clan ritual and few yama or sorcery techniques. They say the people on the Paiela side of the Porgera Valley have a greater knowledge of these things, but even these do not have as great a knowledge as the Paiela people.

8. Meggitt (1965b:107) says the Mae Enga believe that when clans first began, sky men arrived carrying "eggs of the sun," stones from which their wives and children sprang. Such stones are now the residences of clan ancestral spirits.

9. Meggitt gives an account of this Ipili ceremony (1957-58a:52-53). He writes of a similar ceremony among the Enga people (1965b:119).

10. M. Heidorn, "Illness, Sorcery and Medicine in the Ipili Culture," Anthropological Study Conference. New Guinea Lutheran Mission, Amapyaka, 1968.

11. Meggitt (1956-57:115-16) gives a brief description of a similar ceremony performed in the neighboring Wage Valley. My notes were gathered before I had reference to Meggitt's work on the subject.

12. In many major ritual offerings (kepele, one, litu) the sticks to start the fire of offering have to be brought from the bower of the lipaiye. I have not been able to determine why.

13. A common practice at feasts where more especially the children crouch outside striking distance and wait for the tid-bits to be thrown to them.

14. Like Meggitt, I also asked whether the copulation was meant to increase the clan's children but they denied knowing why they did it and passed it off in the usual way as "something that our ancestors taught us."

15. The only art form common to the Ipili is the design made by a series of crossed lines which they carve into their bamboo pipes. I wonder whether this art attempt in the house umane has been influenced by their neighbors the Hewa people who do have paintings on bark plaques inside their houses. I understand these have a religious significance in warding off evil spirits.

16. These are in various shapes and colors. Some are fossils or pieces of carved stone, the remains of a former culture which the people know nothing about. I have seen heads, the heads of stone clubs and pestle and mortar sets.

17. One means red and is the standard term used for Europeans:--"red skins."

18. The wood is soft, dark and has a peculiar smell--sandalwood?

19. All kamo in the one ritual are in the Huli language which is related to Ipili. Paiela people find it easier to understand the speech of a man from Tari than that of an Enga from Laiagam.

20. When I asked what the painted stones looked like, Peyau pointed to the black and yellow pattern of our dartboard.

21. See Glasse (1965:33).

22. Another punishment for grossly anti-social acts is to be hit by lightning.

23. The Sanggai ritual of the Enga (Meggitt 1964:211-17) is a similar ceremony fulfilling the same function.

Chapter 4

1. The Ipili do not have practices abhorrent to Christianity such as cannibalism, human sacrifice or infanticide.
2. There seemed to be no worry about hypocrisy here. On several occasions I heard Tongibe, who has been married eight times and has four current wives, roundly condemning the marrying of more than one wife.

Chapter 7

1. This statement is identical to the explanation why traditional ritual experts were not the rich Big Men, except "spells" was substituted for "heaven."
2. In practice some get around the law by having their pig presented to a non-baptized relative or friend who will give the pig to him under some other pretext at a later date.

Chapter 8

1. Today a large waterfall can be seen on the side of Mount Kaijende.
2. This would not seem so incredible to people, as they would no doubt be familiar with the myth of Kimala and the Kawara Woman. In this myth the water parts for them and they go inside (see the last section of the Kimala myth -Kolombi version).
3. The Cult of the 1940's was an adaption of existing components of the traditional magico-religious system. It is highly unlikely that it had any connection with a Pentecostal Religion.

Appendix C

1. See Brennan P.W. (ed.) (1970:364-68).

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