SOME OBSERVATIONS OF THE SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS LIFE OF A DANI-GROUP

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CHAPTER I

GEOGRAPHICAL ENVIRONMENT

High mountain ranges stretch throughout the head and body of the bird-like island of New Guinea, the western part recently being named West Irian (now Irian Jaya - Editor's note). Between the ridges of these ranges one finds numerous valleys with concentrations of people. The widest valley with the densest population in these central highlands of Irian Jaya is called the Grand Valley.

This valley is part of the Baliem Valley, named after the Baliem river, which runs through it. The two main source rivers for it are the West Baliem, coming down from the northern slopes of the Carstens Mountains (now Jayawijaya - Editor's note), and the East Baliem, rising on the slopes of the Wilhelmina Peak (now Puncak Trikora - Editor's note). Both join into the North Baliem, which first runs through a rather narrow valley in a north easterly direction, gradually turning off to the east and then in a south easterly direction into a large plain. This plain is the Grand Valley.

TOPOGRAPHY

The Grand Valley, about 7 miles wide, stretches over approximately 30 miles in a south easterly direction along the Baliem, and is situated at about the intersection of 139 degrees East longitude and 4 degrees South latitude. Its altitude is about 5,000 ft. and it is surrounded by limestone formations up to 9,000 to 12,000 ft.

The Grand Valley was discovered by Kremer and Hubrecht in 1921 during Kremer's second expedition from the Lakes plain to the Central highlands.

Seen from the air, the valley is like a blanket with light and dark green patches of old and new gardens, dissected by ditches or separated by fences. Scattered throughout the valley are patches of trees, shrubs or cane, concealing the villages. One also finds vast grass lands without any villages or gardens. These are the so called areas of fear (jukmo), no-man's lands between the territories of hostile groups.

On both sides of these no-man's lands there is a row of four or five look-out huts on poles, from which the enemy's movements can be spied. Under the port there is a shelter built against the rain and the sun, where the men can sit to smoke. In times of tension a number of warriors sit down together, while the 12 to 15 ft. long spears are stuck in the ground outside.

The Baliem river flows in the centre of the Valley, its banks grown with stretches of casuarina trees. The river meanders through the length of the valley, breaks out through the southern ranges and joining the Vriendschaps river flows into the Arafura Sea.

The most important rivers that drain the northern and eastern parts of the valley into the Baliem are the Wylyk, the Aikhe, the Miki and the Nukai; the tributaries from the south and the west are the following: Hupin, Bele, Elekait, Holia, Uwe and Jetnya.

RUTES

To cross the rather wide Baliem river, the people use rafts made out of two or three tree trunks of a light kind of wood tied together by rattan. They push themselves forward with a long pole. In the southern part of the Valley, where the river is quite rough, there are suspension bridges, which are very solidly constructed. The Baliem river is seldom used as a transport route; from time to time some people float down over short distances on a raft, loaded with building materials, wood and grass. The smaller rivers have bridges across ditches and creeks tree trunks or thin poles suffice.

There are no roads in the valley except for the ones in and around the district headquarters, Wamena, which were built by the Government and the Mission. There are, however, numerous tracks throughout the valley, used by the people. On all sides of the Valley there are tracks that lead over high mountain ridges to the areas of other tribal groups outside the valley.
CLIMATE

The average temperature for 1961 was:

6.30 a.m. - 15 deg. C  12.30 p.m. - 23.9 deg. C
6.30 p.m. - 18.8 deg. C  The maximum was 25.6 deg. C
and the minimum 11.1 deg. C

The average relative humidity was:

6.30 a.m. 97%  12.30 p.m. 58%  6.30 p.m. 81%

Rainfall in 1960: 2233 mm; in 1961: 2139 mm.
The average rainfall over five years is 2082 mm with an average of 237 rain days per year.
The rainfall is considerably lower than in the Wissel lakes area, which has an average rainfall over 13 years of 3324 mm a year, with an average of 248 rain days.

There may be very strong winds in some parts of the valley at certain times.

There is not a clear distinction between a wet and a dry season, yet there are a few months with definitely more rain than other months, but this "rainy season" is not consistently at the same time every year.

The weather statistics given by the meteorological office in the valley over five years do not lend themselves to firm conclusions. Both Danis and non-Danis feel uncomfortable in this climate. It's also good for various crops. According to agricultural specialists the soil is not bad; at some spots even quite reasonable.

Sweet potato, which forms the staple food for the Dani, taro and yam grow better here than in other parts of the Central highlands, e.g. the Wissel lakes, the Iлага, and the territory of the Amungmá. Various kinds of vegetables grow well too, as do most European crops.

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THE PEOPLE

There are about 50,000 people in the Grand Valley, known by the name Dani.

In expedition reports and other literature the name Dani is generally used for the highlanders from a part of the Iлага and the regions to the east including the Grand Valley. The people of the Grand Valley themselves use the name Dani (or Hndani or Lani) for only one of the numerous clans.

Referring to themselves as groups they use the phrase niti alhuni Balim-meg, i.e. "We, people of the Balim", or the name of their group of villages, e.g. Itlai-Hadluk, Sitp-Goasi. We will follow the name in current usage here and refer to the people of the Grand Valley as "Dani".

AREA OF RESEARCH

This monograph deals with three groups: Mugogo, Sitp-Goasi and Itlai-Hadluk.

MUGOGO

The Mugogo live in the area around Wamena, for several years the government (1956) and mission (1958) headquarters in the Grand Valley. (see map)

By far the most Mugogo villages lie on both sides close to the wide Balim river and the Uwe, a tributary. Other smaller rivers in this area, which feed the Balim, are the Wesaik, Mulele, Halu and Hadu.

Right in the centre of this area the Dutch Government built a big airstrip (1150 m) and the settlement Wamena where representatives of government and mission live. The Mugogo group consists of 43 villages with a total of over

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1The figures are taken from the "Rapport insake Nederlands-Nieuw- Guinea over het jaar 1961" reported to the U.N.

2Details about the nature and structure of these groups will be discussed in the following chapters.
1100 people.

During the months of March, April and May, 1962 I made a detailed survey of this group. Insofar as my other missionary activities allowed me during my stay of two years, I also took the opportunity to do ethnological research.

"Mugogo" is a nickname, according to Mugogo informants given to this group by a powerful leader, gain of the hostile Hupi-Giak.

"They are like mugogo (black herons)", he had said, referring to the fact that the group was continually chased like herons.

Indeed, the Mugogo are a group that was often ravaged in the past. They are surrounded by enemies on five sides: the Hupi-Giak in the west, the Siip-Gosi in the north, the Chena in the east, the Aso-Logopal in the south eastern direction, and the Welesi in the south (see Map 1).

Up till now Mugogo informants are able to indicate the places to which the Hupi-Giak had penetrated, into the gardens along the Uwe river. As recently as 1957 the Mugogo and Welesi fought a war on the site of the present Wamenia air-strip.

The Mugogo's head "gain" is Nadukanhe. But there are several dubious characters, who pretend to be a "gain" by associating themselves with government or mission. The Mugogo, however, accept them only as persons by whom they can relate to these institutions.

From the fact that they live around the government and mission headquarters, it is not hard to imagine that the Mugogos are liable to foreign influences, in material as well as social-economic and religious aspects. Some examples are: the acceptance of foreign clothing; the adoption of money (notes) as exchange, especially in relation to foreigners; Dani women marrying non-Dani men, e.g. coastal Papuans in police service; their search for justice by intervention of government and police; burying their dead instead of burning the corpses.
Step-Gosi and Itlai-Hadluk

Both groups live at about one and a half hours' walk from Wamena in a north easterly direction.

The STEP-GOSI live in a corner of the valley, on three sides enclosed by mountains; to the north their area opens towards the valley plain.

The research among this group lasted about 5 months, October 1962 - February 1963. The research was difficult because of the people's attitude of indifference, sometimes even of rejection.

The Step-Gosi live in eleven villages, three of which I was able to survey (namely Amigopa, Gelakampa and Stidima). The whole group consists of an estimated 300 people. Their primary enemy are the Siel-Floksak, but for several years there has now been an official peace agreement between them through the intervention of the Dutch Administration. Other enemies are the Hupi-Djak and the Widaja, whose areas are further away, and according to some, recently also the Magogo, who used to live in peace with the Step-Gosi. The most important gain of the Step-Gosi is Wasin from Amigopa village.

The ITLAI-HADLUK live south of the Step-Gosi, mainly in a small valley surrounded by mountains, called the Buki Valley.

The research among the Itlai-Hadluk took a year (April 1961 - April 1962). Through a fortunate coincidence of circumstances I was invited by Takalek, one of the important warriors of the group, to live in his village Anelakak. He himself and his son Umashako became my best informants.

The Itlai-Hadluk group consists of 15 villages, five of which are situated close to the Step-Gosi area, the other 10 in the Buki Valley. The Itlai-Hadluk number about 400. I was only able to do the survey in 4 villages, Anelakak, Lefusko, Apulakas and Owasiak.

The Itlai-Hadluk's enemy are the Itlai-Hisake, who live in the small valleys in the rough mountainous country to the east. In the past the Itlai-Hadluk also used to make warfare with the Gena who live on the south slopes of the Buki Valley. The border was right in the middle of the valley. Only recently they have made peace.
It is worth noting that the Itlai-Haduluk call themselves _inaitek_, which means "the indigenes, the originals". They explain this as follows: "We live at the place where in the old days the first people came out of a hole in the mountains", that is at the place Apulaka, near Anelakak.

Photo of Valley
(warriors carrying spears in front)

CHAPTER II
SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

In this chapter we will discuss the social and the political structure in Dani society.

In the social realm the Danis are organised on the basis of kinship in the territory-bound units of family and patrilineage and the cross-territory units of clan and moiety.

These social structures are relevant with respect to marriage, economic cooperation and exchange systems. Within the political structure, partly interfering with the social one (particularly as far as the clans and moieties are concerned), the Danis are organised on the basis of territorial units that cooperate in warrimes: the patrilineage combinations and the war alliances.

A. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

1. UNILATERAL GROUPS

Moieties (epa)

The Dani society of the Grand Valley is divided up in exogamous halves of the tribe or moieties, the Wyda and the Maja. Each Dani belongs to either one; he is either Wyda or Maja. In each village throughout the area there are representatives of both groups. As has been said both halves of the tribe are exogamous. To marry a wife from one's own moiety is considered very bad. The man's and woman's relatives would be deeply ashamed.

This crime is referred to by the same terms as are used for forbidden intercourse between close relatives, namely _bapu_ and _etoupa_ which are best translated as incest.

Due to a lack of general registration, little can be said about the number of both moieties. However, on the basis of the 13 Nugogo villages
around Wamena, where I counted 1125 persons, I could establish the ratio ofWyda and Waja within this group. I do not know the membership of 24 persons. The remaining 1101 people are divided into 543 Wyda and 558 Waja. This leads to the conclusion that there is no significant difference in number between the two moieties among the Muguolo.

Neither could I find a significant difference between the Wyda and Waja in 5 random chosen villages in the Slop-Gosi and Itlai-Hadluk area: Arigapa, Gelekupu, Etdina, Anelakak and Lejukno. Of the 403 persons, whose membership was known, 208 belonged to the Wyda and 195 to the Waja.

It is worth noting that some men (it only holds for men and boys) of some clans are said to belong to Wyda as far as the lower part of the body, below the navel (alogoge), is concerned, and to be Waja with respect to the upper half (ugul-oak). The reverse: lower half Waja and upper half Wyda is not observed.

As far as I know this phenomenon is only relevant with regard to the initiation ceremony: Only Waja boys are initiated. But the boys of the middle groups (lower half Wyda, upper half Waja) who are basically Wyda are partially regarded as Waja, so that they also can join the initiation ceremony, which is strictly taboo for those who are only Wyda.

The fact that boys and men of these groups, who are Waja in ceremonial respect, yet socially or, rather, sexually, are considered as Wyda, can be seen from the firm assurance informants give on whether they have to take a wife from the Waja-half.

Clans (ugul-oak)

The two moieties consist of a great number of clans. We define clan as an unilateral exogamous kin group which traces its descent to a traditional ancestor. The Dani clans are obviously patrilineal: the children belong to their father's clan, and through this clan also to his moiety. The clans are not restricted to certain places. Members of one clan e.g. the Hupi and Gosi can be scattered through the valley; on the other hand, there are clans, that are only found in a particular area, for instance the Itlai in the area around Wamena.

I don't have exact figures as to the number of people the clans include. From a number of information trips through the valley, I have got the impression that there exist a few rather large clans (probably some thousand members), which are widely scattered, which also form the strongest groups in warfare, as we shall see later on. Besides these, there is a larger number of smaller clans. These small clans are mostly found on the hills at the sides of the valley, whereas the larger ones live in the plains.

Twenty three of the clans that I know belong to the Wyda, and 26 to the Waja moiety.

Here is a list of clan-names and the moiety, to which they belong. The large clans are printed capitals.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wyda</th>
<th>Waja</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GOSI</td>
<td>LOKA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WAmu</td>
<td>Jukwu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASO</td>
<td>Walela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ITLAI</td>
<td>HUPIT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waja</td>
<td>Aloa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Onemai</td>
<td>LOKO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ekohete</td>
<td>Njari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WINDIKBO</td>
<td>Selman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAPEL</td>
<td>Slop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wulil</td>
<td>Maduan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lokopan</td>
<td>Buteagalek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walilo</td>
<td>LOGOPAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matian</td>
<td>Mualai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jokopi</td>
<td>Eginia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lani</td>
<td>Hadluk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Molama</td>
<td>Molama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hiseke</td>
<td>Hiseke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isewa</td>
<td>Ca'ai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wandingo</td>
<td>Walingen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Napiga</td>
<td>Meke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gelmilk</td>
<td>Halidobo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lega</td>
<td>Milabok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerda</td>
<td>Jeli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dibo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Heselo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thotaput</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From these columns it appears that two clans, Holama and Hisake belong to both moieties. Indeed, I have been told that there are clans that are Wyda in one region of the Valley and Waja in another. The registration gives examples of marriages in one (and the same) village that involved both Waja men and Wyda men with wives from the Holama clan. Considering the fear and horror incestuous marriages induce among the Danis (i.e. marriages within a moiety), it can be assumed that these few cases are not instances of such marriages. Moreover, time and again informants assured me this was by no means the case. The Holama wives of the Wyda men belong definitely to the Waja moiety, and reversely, those of the Waja men belong to the Wyda.

I also know of a few similar cases in the Hisake clan. These are the facts; I am not able to explain them. Neither could my informants; the only thing they could say, was "jythoko weak", which means: "That way (i.e. both Wyda and Waja in one clan) is not good".

Another noticeable fact about the clan is the possibility to change clans. I know of two cases where men from the Jokopi clan who moved to an area where no Jokopi lived, were adopted into the Gosi clan. There are other cases with respect to other clans. In all cases it appears that, whenever a person changes clans he stays within his own moiety. It is impossible to change moiety, according to my informants.

This allows the conclusion that belonging to a moiety is more essential than the clan membership. This can also be seen in the kinship structure and the social-economic exchange relationships based on this. In both cases the moiety is of more importance than the clan. The registration and the clear statements of informants both give evidence that the choice of partner in marriage is determined by moiety and not by clan membership.

The relationship between certain clans is sometimes expressed by kinship terms. For instance, two clans from a different moiety that have frequent marriage relations can be called each others "alun-alo" (husband-wife). This applies to the Itlai and Hadluk, as well as to the Hupi and Gosi.

Clans from the same moiety call each other "akadak", that is: moiety-mate, or, in more restricted sense, step-brothers. Examples are the Jokopi and the Gosi; the Gosi and the Lakowan.

At this place it is appropriate to consider the phenomenon that suggests the existence of clan totemism among the Dani. Wirs notes something similar among the people of the Swat-valley. According to Wirs, these people know a "totemistische Zweiklassenteilung" (totemic dichotomy) which not only divides human beings into two classes, but also animals, plants and natural phenomena. The two classes are called Woya and Wenda (surprisingly akin to Waja and Wyda (prenasalized) among the Dani) meaning tree kangaroo and possum.

The relationship people have with their totem animal is not to be conceived of as kinship or origin, but rather as a "enge Zusammengehörigkeit" (close solidarity). The Woya class is allegedly distinguished from the Wenda class by certain characteristics, like better developed incisors, bigger skull and higher hairline.

Preferably they wear strips of tree kangaroo skin around their forehead, whereas the Wenda wear possum skin. The relationship between the two classes is alleged to be characterised by envy and jealousy. The people are allowed to kill a totem animal, but not to eat it.

Most clans that belong to either class, adopt their names from an animal, plant or natural phenomenon of which the clan members used to say: "This animal, that plant or that phenomenon belong to me". Whether it is taboo to eat the clan totem, Wirs was not able to discover; he thinks it is not. He is not quite sure whether this is an example of clan totemism. It is well possible that the clans are named after natural objects without any totemistic significance.¹

significance. The people could not give a translation of the terms Waja and Wyda, the answer was simply "That's the way the halves of the tribe are called".

It never appeared that there was a relationship between the names of the moieties and animals, plants or natural phenomena. Some of the boys told me that one could tell whether someone belonged to Wyda or Waja by his eyelashes, according to others, by the flexion of a stretched arm. (I have forgotten how); older and more reliable informants however, would qualify this as egalat (nonsense).

On the other hand, however, it is maintained that certain animals and sometimes plants do belong to a particular clan and consequently to a moiety, e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Birds (type of duck)</th>
<th>Clan</th>
<th>Moiety</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Uno</td>
<td>Elokkak</td>
<td>Waja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mugogo (black heron)</td>
<td>Ekkai</td>
<td>Waja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lokoweal</td>
<td>Bapiga</td>
<td>Wyda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalmai</td>
<td>Dokomai</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domamai</td>
<td>Logopal</td>
<td>Waja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eiije</td>
<td>Helman</td>
<td>Waja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esolpeti</td>
<td>Wili</td>
<td>Wyda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slo</td>
<td>Wamua</td>
<td>Wyda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pusa</td>
<td>Loka</td>
<td>Waja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waluem (type of duck)</td>
<td>Hupi</td>
<td>Waja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jokodk (type of pigeon)</td>
<td>Meduan</td>
<td>Waja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bedwodo</td>
<td>Wiga</td>
<td>Wyda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wetono</td>
<td>Juli</td>
<td>Waja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wiga</td>
<td>Wiga</td>
<td>Wyda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Embuti</td>
<td>Isawa</td>
<td>Wyda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phutue</td>
<td>Bapiga</td>
<td>Wyda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Budilii</td>
<td>Hadiluk</td>
<td>Waja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juul</td>
<td>Walilo</td>
<td>Wyda</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other animals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Other animals</th>
<th>Clan</th>
<th>Moiety</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jega (dog)</td>
<td>Elokkete</td>
<td>Wyda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bugale (rat)</td>
<td>Widikbo</td>
<td>Wyda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mapul (rat)</td>
<td>Jokopi</td>
<td>Wyda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gopa (rat)</td>
<td>Jukusai</td>
<td>Waja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buna (tig lizard?)</td>
<td>Meake</td>
<td>Waja</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other animals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Other animals</th>
<th>Clan</th>
<th>Moiety</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Badi (big snail)</td>
<td>Hilabok</td>
<td>Waja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sidna (big lobster)</td>
<td>Hilabok</td>
<td>Waja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malupan (fly)</td>
<td>Hilabok</td>
<td>Waja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lemy (mosquito)</td>
<td>Lent</td>
<td>Waja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wido (rat)</td>
<td>Holik</td>
<td>Wyda</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plant

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Other animals</th>
<th>Clan</th>
<th>Moiety</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Logop (type of cane)</td>
<td>Logopal</td>
<td>Waja</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Asked why these animals (or that plant) belonged to that particular clan, the people told me that they had originated from hair that their ancestors had shaved off. So they belong to the clan of that ancestor, from whose hair they had originated. It did not seem to me that the clan members consciously felt any relationship to these animals. Neither did they seem to possess any taboo against the eating or killing of an animal which belonged to their clan.

There is some vague indication that certain clan names are taken from animal terms, e.g.:

Gutesi perhaps from Gu-sesi (white heron's feather)
Widikbo perhaps from Widikbo (rat)
Hupi perhaps from Hukupi (cassowary, dubious)
Logopal perhaps from Logop (type of cane)
Bapiga perhaps from Bapi (type of wood)

I did not find clan relations with other animals that lived in the valley. It is not clear whether there are clans without any relation to animal or plant. Probably there are, because several informants gave the same list (above) of animals and plants with a clan relation, independently and commented, "There are no more". Nobody mentioned other clans that have a relation to animal or plant.

All this can lead us to a tentative conclusion that there is at least something that is commonly called totemism.
Patrilineages

Within the clan, which is not bound to a certain place, there are smaller, locally limited groups of clan members. These groups consist of a number of brothers together with their children and grandchildren, who trace their descent patrilineally to an ancestor still known by name, who lived four or five generations before. We could call these groups patrilineages. The number of a patrilineage may vary from some tens to some hundreds of individuals, depending on the number of male descendants and the frequency of polygamy within this kin group.

The members of a patrilineage are spread over several villages in a rather limited area. The Haduk live in 15 villages; the Siep in 11. They live together with members of other patrilineages from other clans.

The situation in two villages is given as an illustration, the Haduk village of Lajukmo and the Siep village of Amigopa.

Lajukmo has the following inhabitants:
3 married men (Haduk) with a total of 8 children;
4 married men (Italai) with a total of 14 children;
5 married men (Walilo) with a total of 7 children;
1 married man (Siep) with no children.
The 21 wives (some of these men have more than one wife) are from 7 different clans.

In Amigopa the situation is as follows:
6 married men (Siep) with a total of 14 children;
6 married men (Gosi) with a total of 8 children;
2 married men (Walilo) with a total of 3 children;
2 married men (Italai) with a total of 6 children;
1 married man (Heiman) with a total of 3 children;
1 married man (Jokopi) with a total of 2 children;
1 married man (Italai) with a total of 2 children;

Their 35 wives are from 14 different clans.

The Haduk say that Lajukmo belongs to their patrilineage because they have a number of patrilineage members in their village. With the same right the Italai and Walilo take it to belong to their patrilineage. Likewise the Siep, as well as the Gosi, and the Walilo take the village Amigopa to belong to their patrilineages.

Families

The patrilineages consist of a number of families: man, and wife (or wives) and their children.

Families vary quite a bit in number, also depending on polygyny.

In Lajukmo there are:
1 man with 6 wives and 6 children;
6 men with 2 wives;
6 men with 1 wife.

In Amigopa one finds the following distribution:
1 man with 6 wives and 7 children;
1 man with 4 wives and 3 children;
5 men with 2 wives;
12 men with 1 wife.

The number of children is not large, an average of between 1 and 2 children per wife.

I will discuss this point and polygyny later.

2. Marriage and Family

Relationship before marriage

The relationship between boys and girls and their behaviour impresses us as being natural and uninhibited. There is no forced separation of the sexes. The adolescents like flirtations and both sides are preoccupied with
drawing attention and impressing the others. The young Dani show by their way of talking, gestures and allusions that they know about sexual life early. They talk quite frankly about it and jokes about it are very popular. Yet there is a certain bashfulness (egality) between boys and girls who are to be married. They avoid each other when in public. Informants have different attitudes towards secret sexual relations between boys and girls, in particular concerning intercourse. Some say that premarital intercourse is frequent and is accepted as normal; other informants react quite indignantly against this statement. They admit that, of course, it occurs, but that it is strongly condemned. Personally I have never noticed any sexual freedom between boys and girls during the four and a half years that I stayed in the valley.

Choice of partner

According to explicit statements by several informants the boys as well as the girls are free to choose a partner, provided she or he belongs to the other moiety. Theoretically the opposite moiety gives all the choice possibilities, however in practice this range of possible choices is restricted by existing war barriers, and as a consequence of the infrequent contacts between the hostile parties.

Table I shows the marriage frequency between the clans in Mugogo and Ship-Gozi groups.

It appears that marriages between members of the Wydja clans, Gosi, Iti, Lakapen and Wuga with members of Waia clans Hapi and Madman are most frequent among the Mugogo. Among the Ship-Gozi the most frequent are marriages between Wydja clans Gosi, Jokopi and Walilo and the Waia clan Ship.

Marriages between members of the mentioned clans and clan members outside their area are very few. Before the choice of a partner is made (benasi) both sides make inquiries on the character and behaviour of the person concerned (steput ballin).

After that, the young man will cautiously let the girl know of his choice via his sister or other girls of his own moiety. In the case of a positive answer from the girl, which he will receive via her brothers, the relatives of either party will be informed. They will then negotiate.

According to a Mugogo informant, a girl who would like to marry a boy will let this be known by giving sweet potatoes to his mother; the young man on the other hand would give a piece of pork to the girl's mother during a feast.

Negotiations and Wedding

According to Veldkamp (personally I have never seen it), official negotiations between the parents would follow after that. "The boy's parents go to the girl's family. Her brothers play an especially important role; her father and mother do not join in the discussions. The boy's mother will go to the lege (cooking house), while his father meets the girl's brothers in the men's house. If he is offered tobacco and sweet potatoes he will know that his proposal is accepted. If they do not offer him anything, he knows that it is better that he does not mention the matter.

In the first case he can return home with good news. Then the boy's closest relatives (in the first place, his father) will give a number of pigs to the girl's brothers, which starts off the actual wedding ceremony.\(^2\)

\(^2^\)Compare the same findings in VELDKAMP, P., Enige gegevens over land en volk van de Grote Vallei der Ballen. Administration report, unpublished, p. 65.

\(^3^\)VELDKAMP, op. cit. p. 63
### Table I.

Frequency of marriage relations between clans within the Mugogo and Step-Gosi groups.

**Among the Mugogo:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mugogo</th>
<th>Gosi</th>
<th>Hupi</th>
<th>Meduan</th>
<th>Logopal</th>
<th>Molama</th>
<th>Okai</th>
<th>Okutbete</th>
<th>Wallagen</th>
<th>Hiiseke</th>
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<td>Hupi</td>
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<td>Itlai</td>
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<td>Wuga</td>
<td>Lakapan</td>
<td>Wallagen</td>
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<td>Aso</td>
<td>Molama</td>
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**Among the Step-Gosi: three villages: Amigopa, Gelekapma and Ebitina.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Step</th>
<th>Gosi</th>
<th>Hupi</th>
<th>Meduan</th>
<th>Logopal</th>
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<tr>
<td>Hupi</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>Itlai</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Wuga</td>
<td>Lakapan</td>
<td>Wallagen</td>
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<td>Aso</td>
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The girl's uncle on her mother's side (any) will get a few of these pigs; the rest are killed during the jugal isin, i.e. when the girl is dressed with a woman's skirt, and a few days later, at the wedding. The pigs are given to the girl's brothers about a month before the jugal isin. The number of pigs that are given varies according to the wealth of the boy's family and the mood of the girl's brothers. The boy who worked in my house married in 1963. He told me that his family had to pay five pigs. Sometimes the price is less.
Even after they are married the man will have to give pigs to his wife's relatives. When I inquired on what occasions this would happen, they told me there were no special times set. A possible occasion would be the birth of a child, but not necessarily. An important factor is whether pigs are available. During the jegal isin the girl eats enormous quantities of pork and shares also with visitors (see also the descriptions of the jegal isin ceremony in Chapter V). Because of bashfulness the bridgroom does not show himself during this feast. After having feasted for about four days the bride is transferred from her own village to her husband's village in a joyful procession of women. The bridgroom is called and after a ceremony when bride and bridgroom eat pork together, they retire to a family house where they have intercourse. This great wedding feast will be described in detail later on when I discuss the big pig feast, during which the jegal isin takes place.

The bridgroom's parents will inquire how many pigs the girl's relatives have killed. The bridgroom's relatives will pay the relatives of the bride back with the same number of living pigs. The procedure described is the most frequent, but I know of a few cases where the girls were forced by her relatives to marry a certain man. In most of these instances it involved a married man who had one or more wives. The man himself forced the girl by beating her and pricking her with his spear. The wedding procedure remains the same however. I guess these cases are exceptions. It happens more often that girls of a marriageable age voluntarily want to become the wife of a gain, an important man, even if he has one or more wives.

4 Probably I forgot to confirm this; this takes place in the family house where from then on the bride will sleep together with a few other women. I know of two cases when this was her mother-in-law's family house. Sometimes the bridgroom has built a new family house for his bride before the wedding. Pretty soon a few other women from the village will join her in this house. The women do not like to sleep alone.

On the occasion of wedding feasts during the big pig feast, held once in three or four years, almost all marriageable girls are married at the same time. During the pig feast held by the Slop-Ost and Itik-Haluk in January 1963, 27 girls were married, 9 to married men, 18 to single men. When one visits the area of a war confedery shortly after the big pig feast, it is not likely that one finds a marriageable girl. Only rarely is there a marriage in the time between two pig feasts. If so, it is possibly an elopement; or the girl was considered to be too young at the time of the feast; or the man's relatives did not have enough pigs. In Wetanepaka village I observed an event in which several factors played a part. The girl who was too young at the time of the previous pig feast, was kidnapped one and a half years later by her husband-to-be and his brothers while she was working in the garden and brought over to the man's village. After heavy fighting between the two families, in which her foster father and her mother's brother especially took part, they arrived at the decision that the girl could marry the young man. The very next day the same ceremonies as those of the big marriage feast were started though shorter and less festive.

Marriage structure

The information and genealogies I have been given do not clearly suggest a preference for a marriage between certain relatives, for example cross-cousins, or for a marriage between members of certain clans. Cross-cousin marriage is not even tolerated in the social structure of the Dani. The relationship between children (of the opposite sex) of brother and sister is called akosa-eak (I) and any-eak (II). The prime meaning of the terms akosa-eak is: mother-child; of the terms any-eak: mother's brother-sister's child. Apparently these terms also bear wider meaning as the following examples will show:

...
Monogamy and Polygyny

Although monogamy predominates, there is a striking frequency of polygyny among the Dani. During the survey of the Mugogo group I registered 230 men whose wives were still alive. 116 of them (or 43%) had one wife; 50 (22%) had two wives; 34 (14%) had three or more wives. This means at that moment 36% of the Mugogo men were polygynous.

Among the Sip-Gozi and Itlai-Sedlu, as far as I could register, the situation was as follows: of the 73 married men whose wives were still alive:

- 39 (i.e. 54%) had one wife;
- 23 (31%) had two wives;
- 11 (15%) had three wives or more.

So 46% of these small groups were polygynous. This rather high percentage is of limited value as generalisations from such a small group are not really valid.

A few other considerations concerning polygyny: To have more than one wife is the privilege of the gain, men who have distinguished themselves in fighting the enemy by their courage, which in fact means by their killing of enemies. These are the warriors who are especially wanted by marriageable girls. There are cases of young girls asking a gain to allow them to stay with him as one of his wives. The social appraisal of the man satisfying the image of the ideal is surely an important factor. His social prestige is reflected on them. They can feel safe when he is around and there is less chance of their being troubled by other men.

On the other hand my impression is that by no means is this polygyny at the cost of the young men who would not be able to get a wife because of it. Except for a small group of mentally deficient who will remain single, all young men will get a chance to marry, though they may have to wait a little longer.

The only possible conclusion then is that there is a surplus of women. This also appears from the figures:
The Mago group consists of 1125 individuals of which 527 are men (47%) and 598 are women (53%). The surveyed villages of the Sleip-Gosi and Ittali-Hadluk have a total population of 412, of which 183 are men (44%) and 229 are women (56%). The surplus of women is explained by the fact that in the past many men and older boys were killed in wars and ambushes, more so than women and girls. One can expect that a continuing pacification and also the missionary influence will inhibit polygyny more and more. This process has already started. The older, powerful gain with their many wives die out, and the younger warriors get increasingly less chance to become a great and privileged gain in warfare. This process of levelling has the effect of cutting out polygyny.

Relationship between marriage partners

It is very difficult to make a general valid statement about the relationship between marriage partners. On the basis of contact with the Dani in a large part of the valley for years I have got the impression that in general there is a good mutual understanding. This also holds for the polygynous marriages, between the man and his wives as well as between the wives themselves. This impression is confirmed by a special directed investigation in Anelakak, and other Ittali-Hadluk villages where I could closely observe village life for a year.

Admittedly the women are obviously subject to the men in this society, but they are certainly not in a subservient position, neither are they treated as slaves. The wives too have their rights, and these are observed by the men. When pork has to be distributed during a pig feast, the women are often asked for advice. When the women are not pleased by the behaviour of the men they will certainly let them know.

Of course the man has his weapons to strengthen his claim and will sometimes use them against the woman, but this does not happen often. On the other hand, women have another, more emotional weapon in their temper tantrums which they can use to embarrass the men mercilessly. They just go and live in another village with relatives and it is up to the man to see how he can manage. Or worse; they may run away in rage, sometimes with a child, jump into a fast running river and be drowned, or in a revine and be killed, or they may run berserk to the area of an enemy and be stabbed. I have personally observed these cases. But these are infrequent, pathological temper tantrums. I do not know anything about the reactions of the woman’s relatives toward the man in cases like these.

The normal pattern of behaviour is that the man loves his wife and children and takes good care of them, although they express their love and care differently from the way we do. To our way of thinking, they can treat each other quite roughly in the case of a conflict, but they are soon reconciled again.

I cannot understand why Bromley, who knows the Dani quite well, speaking in general about the Dani of the Grand Valley can maintain: “Marriage is a brittle thing, in contrast to neighbouring culture area practices, and either spouse may end it”. This generalization suggests at least that many Dani are not very faithful in marriage and that they are quite free in sending the partner away or deserting him or her. This statement in its generalized sense does not hold for the groups under consideration. Faithfulness in marriage is a serious thing; in case of divorce the wife is punished by being wounded with spear or arrow. Admittedly there are cases of a man deserting his wife, or the reverse of a wife going to another man. The reason is often a serious long-term conflict or bad treatment. But these cases are not so frequent as Bromley’s generalization might suggest.

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Finally there is explicit statement by many informants that the men would like to have more children, but the women would rather not. Whether they use contraceptives, I do not know.

They know however how to abort the unwanted foetus by pressing and squeezing from outside, as was told by men as well as women. Abortion seems to occur rather frequently.

Children with congenital physical or mental deficiencies are accepted as they are. As long as they are young the people love them as they do other children. But when they grow older reactions towards them may differ considerably. Some, especially the mentally deficient, are neglected, hardly dressed, filthy; they are snarled at and hit. Others who only have a minor physical problem are accepted and are allowed to participate in all normal activities. I know of a few men who have become renowned warriors in spite of their physical handicap.

The Dani loves children. This can be stated in general without challenge. As far as little children are concerned the Dani are remarkably patient. They are not spanked; adults do not get angry because “they still have their heart on their back” (indaygen obilik open) a figure of speech meaning they do not know right from wrong. Adults cannot bear to hear children crying for a long time; immediately the child is given the breast, the unsparing comforter. When the children are a little older, about six or seven years of age, they are treated a little more strictly. They are directed with a commanding voice. If they do not obey, they are sometimes hit with the knuckles of the fist on their head or back, provided they are within reach.

Sometimes one can observe rather hilarious scenes, for example when an old man with a long stick chases a boy or girl. Other times it is astonishing to see the uninhibited aggressiveness towards little children arising from anger. A few times I have seen a woman hitting her daughter of about seven years on her head with a sharp stone. The differentiation between the sexes develops automatically. The small boys are always in the company of the adult men; the girls are with the women.

Children

The number of children per family is not high. I have never found a mother with five children still alive. Rarely one finds a family with four children alive. From the survey data the average number of living children per woman is calculated. Notice that widows are included as well as young who are likely to have more children. Among the Magogo are 192 women with 1 child; 75 women with 2 children; 10 women with 3 children. The average number of living children per family is 1.5.

Among the Siep-Gosi and Itlai-Hadluk there are 68 women with 1 child, 40 with 2 children, 8 women with 3, and 1 with 4 children. Here the average number is 1.5.

This low number could be explained by a probably high infant mortality rate. There are no exact figures, but from conversations with the people I would conclude that it is certainly not low. Added to this there is the fact that in wars, especially in ambushes and attacks on people working in gardens, and on villages, women and children are also killed.
In a natural way while playing they are introduced to the activities of the adults. As far as a girl is concerned, especially her mother, but sometimes an older sister plays the important role in her upbringing. In the case of a boy, besides the father there are also the other men of the same men's house as the boy who are responsible for his development. Orphans are adopted by their relatives, especially by their mother's brother.

The boys as well as the girls are taught that they have to supply enough firewood, and to look after the pigs in the neighbourhood of the village. When it is the time for making new gardens, little boys help the men.

While they are helping, their fathers or older brothers teach them how to till the soil, how to dig ditches, etc.

The girls accompany their mothers or older sisters to the gardens every day, where they are taught to weed, to plant sweet potatoes and to take care of them, and to dig them out and carefully put them in the net bag. At home they are taught how to prepare the food.

During the day the girls are often in or around the village playing with a younger brother or sister, or carrying them in a net bag until their mother comes back from the garden. There is enough time left to play both for the boys as well as for the girls. Children's games are: to make little spears, bows and arrows and make warfare; to build miniature villages with little sticks; to make dolls from certain fruits and to make string figures.

3. LIFESTYLE OF MEN AND WOMEN

Birth

The delivery takes place in the family house. Older women act as midwives; men are not present because of embarrassment or shame (i.e. inactivity). Holding the poles of the house with both hands, the woman gives birth to the child, while partly standing, partly squatting with spread legs. The attending women help her by pressing and rubbing her abdomen and by catching the baby. The membranes (esel balak), the umbilical cord (amun amagon) and the placenta (cuphase) are disposed of in running water. After the delivery the woman stays at home for a few days before taking up her responsibilities again. As far as I know there is no special ceremony at the occasion of a birth.

Naming the child

The giving of a name also occurs without a ceremony. Soon after birth a child will receive a name, which can be given by anybody, according to my informants. Probably just appreciation plays a role in accepting or rejecting the name. Either one likes the name, or not. On inquiring the reason of a certain name, one often gets the answer welekat, i.e. just this, for no reason. Names of animals and plants, colours and verb forms are very commonly given.

As illustration some names that I know reasons for: Matluk and Nkholo, the names of two boys in Anakhis, both mean "chased, caused to flee". These names were given because the mothers were driven away by the Bupi-Gik when they were pregnant. Wankile (literally: the bad ones): this name was given to a Radik boy to commemorate an important event - the war when the Itkal-Madukk stabbed the great hostile Gain Wankile to death.

One person often has two or three names. Sometimes the reason for adopting another name is simply that the adult no longer wants to be called the name of his childhood; or, as a woman told me, that she did not want to use any more the name given by her father, after his death. Generally they are quite reluctant to give their own name; and the only way to get it is by asking others.

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6 It is worthy of note that the placenta is called cuphase, i.e. father. The same phenomenon is found among the Xemungu, who live in the valleys of the southern parts of the Carstens mountains. Their word for it is okaa which also means father.
Having dealt with the life period which is the same for both sexes we will now turn to a description of the life cycle of man and woman separately according to the terminology the Dani use in marking the various stages.

Classification of life periods

The classification for the men is as follows:

Eleke joketek (lit.: boy yet). This period begins at the age of 3-4 years, when the children can move more independently and so become free of the immediate sphere of the mother, and gradually enter the world of the men. This period is to approximately the age of thirteen or fourteen years, when adolescence starts. At the age of six or seven the boys are admitted into the men’s house.

Eleke: the older boys or young men. Married men up to thirty years old are also included in this category. This is the period when a man becomes a warrior.

Ap alue: this term included the men between thirty and forty five years old.

Hun: are the men of about 50 years old, who usually have grandchildren by that time.

Hun alue, atose: the old men.

It is not clear what the criteria are for this classification. There are biological as well as social aspects. The different periods are not clearly defined. Except perhaps for the first period there are no biological or social features in the life of the boy or man that could be taken to determine the transition between periods. On the contrary, the important events like the change from the family house to the men’s house, initiation, and marriage do not coincide with this classification. The change from the family house to the men’s house takes place without any ceremony. Yet this transition must leave a definite impression on the boy’s life both socially and psychologically. He is adopted into the men’s society, gets to know in actions as well as in conversations the ambitions and interests of the Dani men and gradually learns about the values of the Dani in all kinds of areas.

The initiation ceremony, which will be described in detail later on, can hardly be seen as a transition rite leading to adulthood as the two ceremonies I attended involved boys of an age varying from three to fifteen years. The mother of the three year old boy had to stay at hand for nine days, the duration of the ceremony, in case the boy would get hungry or cry.
Although there are actions and allusions in the ceremony that definitely refer to 'becoming adult', the implication of the ceremony in general is clearly this: the hope that the boys will become dauntless warriors. As has been mentioned before only boys from the Waja society (or the part Waja) are allowed to participate in this ceremony. Marriage, which is no doubt an important event in a boy's life, receives hardly any notice in the Dani culture, neither in the above mentioned classification, quite the opposite to the festive marrying off of the girls during the big pig feast.

The classification for the women:

Hodlak get petelak (lit.: girl, just born). With respect to this category the same can be said as for the boys. Dependence on the mother and continuously being with her characterizes this period. The difference between the boys and girls is that the girls of this period are dressed in a little skirt, sometimes even at the age of one, whereas the boys often do not get a sheath before they are five or six years old.

Hodlak jagetek (lit.: girl young). Girls of three to eleven or twelve years old. As with the boys, increasing independence is characteristic of this stage but to a lesser extent, because the girls stay with their mother till their marriage.

Hodlak saly isik (lit.: girl, dressed with skirt). This expression covers the period from 11 or 12 years to the girl's marriage: adolescence. The addition saly isik probably indicates that in this period more attention is paid to clothing than before. This can also be observed from the girl's behaviour.

He dukum: young woman, married woman with children.
He epe: "real" woman; married woman with children.
He alue: the older women with grandchildren.
He atoga: the old women.

Classification is clearly based on three important biological or social events in the life of woman, that demarcate the transition from one period to another: the first menstruation marks the change from hodlak jagetek to hodlak saly isik; marriage is the beginning of he dukum, and the young woman becomes he epe by the birth of her first child.

The first menstruation (eget nep, lit.: vagina-blood) is locally celebrated with a feast, called hodlaluk. The Mugo, Omena and Aso-Lagopul do not celebrate it. The women burn grass with menstrual blood on the village ground, or they dispose of it in running water. In places where they celebrate it, the women and the girls dance and sing in the long kitchen where the girl lives, all through the night after the menstruation till dawn. They dance closely to each other without changing position, again and again jumping with slightly bent knees, and squatting when coming down, all the time very heavily swinging the upper part of the body. It is a mass of sweating bodies. Some dance till they are exhausted. The older women especially work the others up and would not let them rest. The songs they sing on this occasion are called weken bukat. I cannot say anything about the contents because, in spite of many attempts, I have not been able to get a good translation, if they are translatable at all. With respect to literary form they are interesting because of many puns, rhyme, grouping in couples, repetition, etc.

An illustration:

Juxa haly hala-ke
Jokoni haly hala-ke
Jako buk hethesak
Nawa gok akha puk
Watako buk hethesak
Nawa sied akha puk

Apparently the first menstruation is considered as a crisis situation when the evil spirits (probably from some dead people) have to be driven away by dancing and singing continuously during the night. According to some informants the spirits of the dead want to kill people at the moments of crisis, like menstruation or sickness. The morning after the dancing, they have a mud game (heji, jepin), outside the village in the mucky ditches.
Women as well as girls, (including the menstruating girls), dressed in the shabbiest skirt they have, try to smear each other with mud. With their hands full of mud they steal up on each other and daub the head and face of the victim who will try to take revenge. After an hour or so they will retire to wash themselves and put on a clean skirt.

What is the meaning of all this? Is the menstruation seen as something impure? And is the mud game a collective actual expression of identification with the girl, followed by a purification? It is very hard to get an answer to questions about the reason for a certain ceremony. Mostly the answer is: welakat, i.e. nothing in particular. Probably they themselves no longer know the answer.

The jogonal isin is the dressing of the marriageable girl with the married woman's skirt, the jogonal. The girls wear a grass skirt (saly) which reaches from the hips to just above the knees. The women's skirt consists of long cords, which are tightly wrapped around the thighs and are tied up at the sides, so that they hang in half circles at the front and the back. Immediately after they are dressed with the jogonal the girls are addressed with he (woman), even by the children. As long as she has no children a woman is called he dukum. With the birth of her first child she becomes he ope, which can be best translated by "woman with children". Personally I am inclined to translate it with "real woman", as I am convinced that motherhood is considered as intrinsically part of being a woman among the Dani.

7 Ope is a word that is hard to translate. It has the following meanings:
   a. (as isolated concept) body, corporality, person.
      e.g. ope oba vetek: he is in the house
      ope lan: get off/ shut up
   b. (referring to something else): the appropriate, the essential, the most important.
      e.g. hamon ope: the inside of a cigar (as opposed to the wrapper)
      ope ay: family house
      ope-st: honestly
   c. indication of the moiety
      e.g. nepo wyda: I am Wyda; my moiety is Wyda.

Old age

In general the Dani show respect to older people, men as well as women. They take good care of them and are very helpful, especially towards invalids. Respect for old age is taught at a very early age. I have seen how boys of about 12 years old went to get firewood for an old blind woman, without being asked. The older people are considered as people "who know a lot". For this reason the old men are asked for advice on a number of occasions. They act as the advisers and teachers. When shell-strings are to be divided at a cremation, a group of old men, sometimes even women, form the board of advisers. Sometimes they disapprove of certain actions of the younger men during ceremonies and correct them.

Older women are most of the time the experts at deliveries and abortions. They are also consulted when pork is divided up. They are the ones who will remember exactly which women and girls have shown sympathy when somebody died.

4. Kinship

Dani kinship terminology is quite complex, and to discover the terms is not easy. Often informants contradict each other. Except for the language problems, there may be various other factors that can confuse the investigator.

First there is the mixed use of terms that refer to a kin relationship and those that are used in greetings or address. When a man is asked what his relationship is to a certain woman (the questioner knows that she is his own wife), he will laugh and most of the time answer, netok (= classificatory sister), which is the term he uses when he greets her, if he greets her at all. Rarely will one hear him say, nake, or my wife.

This is connected with a certain shyness (egaly), as the people attest, which inhibits them from calling or greeting their close relatives with the term that refers to this relationship. One would rather use a term connected with a more distant relation or the name of the person. Often I heard father
and son greet each other with the term nakadlak, which means: my half brother, clan member or even moiety fellow. When a girl calls for her mother, she will not use nakosa (my mother), but be jy, i.e. "hey, woman", or her name. It can be expressed even more strongly. If one hears a boy or girl call a man with nouphase (my father), one can be almost sure that this man is not their real father; for in that case the boy would have said nakadlak and the girl netouk (my stepbrother) or they would have used his name.

Another difficulty is that a relationship between certain persons can be referred to by various terms. For mother's brother sometimes the term any is used, other times akosa (mother). The reason is not clear to me. Some informants say that the use of both terms is optional. The terms nakadlak, akikhe (classificatory sister or sometimes brother) and akot are very confusing in this respect. Which relationship do they refer to?

Repeatedly I asked two men, who I knew were half brothers, how they would express their relationship. Their answer was: the older one is the oe, the younger is akot but we also call each other nakadlak, and akikhe is also permitted. Half sisters also call each other oe and akot (older and younger sister respectively), but other times stouk or akikhe. There are dialectical variations, but once these are known, they do not cause too much of a problem. In the centre of the valley, for example, one says, nouphase and nakosa (my father and my mother respectively); in the area of the Loko-Napel, Widikho-Aloa and Gosi-Loka one uses nouphase and nakosa.

More confusion is caused by the local variations of terms for one and the same relative. In the centre of the valley, for example among the Itlai, Hadluk and Mugogo, they use oupha for grandfather (both on father's and mother's side); in the three areas mentioned above the term akoupha is used. Among the Itlai-Hadluk a son-in-law refers to his father-in-law as nouphase (the same term as for my father); in the three areas of Loko-Napel, Widikho-Aloa and Gosi-Loka he would say nakobpak.

Finally the fact that the terminology is strictly classificatory can cause confusion. The terminology as given here I recorded and checked with genealogies from the Itlai-Hadluk. Later it was checked in the areas of the Loko-Napel, Widikho-Aloa and Gosi-Loka and Mugogo. From this checking it appeared that especially the terms that refer to kinship, are rather different from place to place as has been illustrated.

Kinship terms:

**oupha**
- father's brother; father's sister.
- wife's father; wife's father's brother;
- sister's husband.

**aphut**
- son, daughter (used by father, father's brothers and sisters)
- brother's son, brother's daughter; daughter's husband;
- son's wife (by mother).
- husband's brother's son; husband's brother's daughter.

**akosa**
- mother;
- mother's sister; (sometimes) mother's brother;
- father's other wives;
- father's brother's wives;
- mother's brother's daughter (by father's sister's son)

**eak**
- son, daughter (by mother);
- sister's son, sister's daughter;
- father's sister's son;
- father's sister's daughter (by mother's brother's son);
- mother's brother's daughter (by father's sister's daughter).

**oe**
- older brother or sister;
- father's brother's older son or daughter.

**akot**
- younger brother or sister;
- father's brother's younger son or daughter.

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3 Brother or sister is to be understood as classificatory, so half-brother and half-sister are included.
It is not easy to determine which relationships are exactly referred to by three other reciprocal terms akadak, akakhe, and etouk. Often they refer to half brothers and/or half sisters, but in some instances the meaning of these terms is much wider.

akadak: half brothers among each other (if about the same age);
males clan members among each other;
males moiety members among each other.

akakhe: half sisters of about the same age to each other;
female clan members and moiety members to each other;
sometimes also: half-brothers - half-sisters.

etouk: half brother - half sister of about the same age;
clan members and moiety members to each other, irrespective of sex.

5. VILLAGE AND VILLAGE LIFE

Composition of a village

The Dani live in villages, or rather hamlets of a definite form. This is in contrast to the other tribes in the highlands, for example the Kapanu and Amungo, who live in small houses scattered near their gardens.

There are villages in the open plains but far the most lie concealed in the bush or high shrubs and cane. Probably protection from enemies and the hard wind plays a part in the choice of a place for a village. Certainly the banana plantations that surround each village serve this last purpose. A village (g opul) may consist of one or more sections (eili). But around the village as a whole there is a fence of rough timber about one and half

The question marks indicate that contradictory evidence has been given for these terms.

10 Because Dutch and American literature use dorpen and villages, I will make use of this term instead of hamlets, which would be more appropriate with regard to the size of the villages.
meters in height. Inside the fence lie the various sections, divided by lower fences which one can cross using a stile. An opening in the outer fence is the entrance to a section (sometimes one has to pass a special entrance of the section too). After having entered through this, one comes to an open yard or square. At the other end of this square, often opposite to the entrance, is the men's house so that the men who stay there can see who comes in. To the left and the right of the square one sees oblong sheds: the kitchens and sties. At the end of these sheds or between them are the family houses.

A Dani village.

... a houses (belai)

The men's houses are round and low. The height from floor to rooftop is about two meters. The walls are one meter high. The diameter may vary from three to five meters. Before building a house they would mark the place with a vine in a circle. Along this circle they place planks and roughly split wood in a double row in such a way that the outer row covers the slits between the planks of the inner circle. Both inside and outside they tie flexible but strong twigs against the planks with a thin but strong sort of ratan that fastens the planks tightly together. The planks are made by splitting tree trunks with a stone (or nowadays also steel) axe and wooden wedges into planks a few centimeters thick, which are touched up with an adze. To the side of the village square they leave an opening of about 80 centimeters high and 50 centimeters wide, which is the door opening. They have to crawl inside. In the middle of the house they erect four strong posts in a square, which reach to about two meters, to the ridge of the roof.

On top of the standing wall they fasten strong cross beams, approximately 20 centimeters apart, which are tied to the four erect posts in the middle. On top of the cross beams they place a ceiling of cane with dry grass on top of that. The dome-shaped roof is built from long, strong flexible branches which are put in the ground against the wall, tied to it with ratan and are bent toward each other and fastened to the four posts and to each other. The dome is strengthened by cross twigs tied to the vertical ones on the outside as well as on the inside in still smaller circles. On top of that they put a ten to fifteen centimeters thick layer of grass. They start to lay one layer of long grass at the bottom near the ceiling; then one higher, overlapping the first one a great deal, and so on. The grass is loosely laid. It will not leak easily in a skillfully-roofed house, not even with the heaviest rains. The cane ceiling has only a small opening left or right of the entrance, which is used to climb up to the sleeping place. Above the entrance is a small roof built to keep the rain out. The floor in the house and under the 'porch' is covered with grass. Before entering the house, the men wipe their feet, under the porch. In the centre of the house between the poles the bottom has been dug out a little and plastered with clay, forming a fireplace.
On the wall inside the house one sees all kinds of articles of use: penis sheaths, cups, bow and arrows and adornments of feathers. In many men's houses, though not in all, a wooden box is fixed against the back wall which contains long, flat, and oval stones, sometimes old shell strings too or cowrie shells and, according to some, a handful of hair from an ancestor. This last item I have never seen myself. All articles in this box have a sacred character.

The men's house is the normal shelter for the night for men and boys from about six years of age on. During the day if they stay home they may sit sometimes in the kitchen with the women and the little children, but mostly they stay in the men's house. The common number of persons in a men's house does not often exceed ten. During feasts it is very crowded in the men's house, during the day as well as by night. During the day they sit packed close to each other, by night they sleep side by side above the ceiling. Most of the time the occupants are a father with his sons, married or single; or a few brothers with their sons; often they have an orphan of relatives living with them. By way of illustration I give the names of the occupants of the men's houses in Anebakak. This village consists of two sections with one men's house each.

Men's house I: Takalek, an older man (Hadluk);
one married son and his sons;
three unmarried sons;
one other grandson.

Men's house II: Ekakweak, Takalek's younger brother;
one of Takalek's married sons;
two brothers from the Bapiga clan, probably orphans;
one older man (Hadluk); single and mentally deficient.

No female is allowed in the men's house where sacred stones are kept. In the houses without stones, I have often seen little girls with their fathers.

Family houses (opo-ay)

These are built the same way as the men's houses, the only difference being that they are somewhat smaller. Inside the house a platform is built on which grass is spread out. On the wall are nets and small skirts. Here too they sleep above the ceiling. The family houses are mainly the evening and night quarters for the women and girls and the little boys under six years of age. When the women are in the village during the day they sit with their children in the kitchen most of the time. Often the men are together with the women and children in the family house. Except for the time they are just married, a man and wife do not spend the nights together as far as I know. They have intercourse in the family houses. Whether this takes place in the daytime or in the night I do not know. Several times the men in the men's house made clear to me by unambiguous gesticulations that the man I was looking for was in the family house with his wife. On such occasions they shut the opening with planks from the inside. The family houses are also the places where the children are born. Normally the number of occupants of these houses does not exceed eight persons. Again by way of illustration I want to give the list of occupants of the six family houses in Anebakak village.

In Takalek's section:

Family house I: 6 persons: Takalek's wife and her two daughters;
Married daughter of Takalek and her two daughters.

Family house II: 4 persons: Takalek's wife and her daughter;
Another wife of Takalek;
A daughter-in-law of Takalek.

Family house III: 7 persons: Two daughters-in-law of Takalek;
The mother of one of them;
A widow and her little son;
A married daughter of Ekakweak;
Her mother-in-law.
In Elakwéak's section:

**Family house IV**: 7 persons: Elakwéak's wife and her daughter; Daughter-in-law of Elakwéak and her little son; Second daughter-in-law of Elakwéak and her daughter; A third daughter-in-law of Elakwéak

**Family house V**: 7 persons: A second wife of Elakwéak; Another wife of his with her daughter and young son; A married daughter of Takalek; Another woman with her little son.

**Family house VI**: 5 persons: Takalek's wife; Two old widows; Younger widow with her little daughter.

The oblong sheds serving as kitchens have several fireplaces and cooking pits. Each fireplace and matching cooking pit is regularly used by a particular group of women and children. As far as I could check such a group does not consist of the same persons that occupy a family house.

From family house V both Elakwéak's wives and the two children have one fireplace together whereas Takalek's married daughter and the other woman with her little son have another fireplace.

From family house VI Takalek's wife and the younger widow with her daughter share one fireplace, while the two older widows sit near another one.

The six persons from house I share one fireplace with Elakwéak's married daughter from house III.

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**Pigsties**

Seen from the outside these are the same shape as the kitchen. However, the inside is completely different: it is divided into small pens, one for each full-grown pig. The pens open towards a long passage on the side of the village square.

Dani villages vary considerably in size. The majority of them are not very large. By 'large' I am thinking of a village of more than one hundred people. The largest of the 43 Mugogo villages has three sections with a total of 68 persons. The rest vary between 10 to 60 inhabitants. The three largest Steep-Gori villages are Ambwa, Bidiwa, and Galakapwa with 120, 107, and 72 inhabitants respectively. The largest village that I visited in the valley had eleven sections with an estimated total of 200 people.

We simply discussed the people of a village in pages 46-48. Concrete examples showed us that the inhabitants of a Dani village belong to various clans and to both moieties. So this is completely different from Wirs's description of the Swart valley, where he thought he had found "woga- und wanda- Siedelungen" (Woga-and Wanda settlements) and "reine Clansiedelungen" (pure clan settlements). The occupants of a man's house all belong to the same moiety and clan according to Wirs. 11

**Village life**

Normally the Dani wake up quite early. Towards dawn it becomes very cool above the ceiling. They feel cold and soon go down. The fire, hidden under the ashes, is poked up; firewood is dragged along to be cut into smaller pieces. They then let the pigs out of the sties. In the kitchens

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11 WIRS, op. cit. pp. 46-50
the women start to cook sweet potatoes in the ashes. Around half past seven they start to eat. If the activities that are waiting to be done are not too urgent, they stay a while: the men in the men's houses, the women in the kitchens where it is nicely warm. When the sun has risen above the mountains and it gets a little warmer, the women and girls go out to the gardens. The men do the necessary jobs within the village, such as repairing the fences or the houses, etc., or they also go to the gardens. Some go to pay visits to relatives or acquaintances. During the day there are normally not many people around the villages, except for a few older people. The village entrances are shut with planks. In the neighbourhood of the village the younger boys and girls watch the pigs or play. By four o'clock in the afternoon the women and girls return from the gardens, their net bags filled with sweet potatoes and vegetables and a bundle of firewood on their heads. They start to prepare the meal in the cooking pits. The men and boys are also present again towards the evening. Most of them wait quietly for the meal, talking and smoking in their house while the boys supply the firewood. Towards the evening the women and girls drive the pigs inside. When the food is ready the women and children take the sweet potatoes and the vegetables to the men's house or the men come to the kitchens where they have their meal together with their wife and children. After that they sit sociably around the fire, talking and smoking, sometimes everybody together in the kitchen, but most times the men and boys in the men's houses and the women and girls in the kitchens, or later, in the family houses. About nine o'clock it becomes silent in the village, everybody is in bed. At the time of full moon especially the young people, both boys and girls, sing and dance in or outside the village till midnight.

B. POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The way the Dani talk about things suggests that, besides the social organization in moieties, clans, patrilineages and families, there is another organizational structure which brings two clans together in a combination.

When a Dani is asked to which clan he belongs he would rarely give one clan name, like Hupi or Gosi, but almost always answer by giving a combination, e.g. Hupi-Gosi or Step-Gosi.

When one inquires about a war as to who formed the two fighting parties, one would invariably receive an answer like: the Itlai-Hadluk against the Itlai-HIsake or the Step-Gosi against the Step-Hlokzak; always one combination of clans against another combination.

Further investigation reveals that not clans as a whole are allied, but that these "clan"-combinations in fact consist of local representatives of one clan, e.g. the Itlai, and the local representatives of another clan, e.g. the Hadluk, who entered an alliance because of a certain reason. If one traces, in the census data, who the local representatives are, they appear to be a number of brothers (older men) with their married sons and their children. In other words we are dealing here with patrilineages. Various patrilineages of a clan can combine with patrilineages of various other clans e.g. patrilineages of the Gosi clan can be found in the following combinations at various places of the valley: Hupi-Gosi; Step-Gosi; Gosi-Loko; Gosi-Lakopan; Gosi-Hilabok, etc.

Closer study of the composition of the patrilineage combinations show that in most cases patrilineages of a Wyda clan and a Waja clan are involved. Examples:

- Itlai-Hadluk (Wyda-Waja);
- Hadiuk-Walilo (Waja-Wyda);
- Nupi-Lakopan (Waja-Wyda).

But there are also combinations of two patrilineages from the same moiety, e.g.:

- Hokopi-Gosi (Wyda-Wyda);
- Gosi-Lokabok (Waja-Waja);
- Gosi-Lakopan (Wyda-Wyda);
- Step-Hlkazak (Waja-Waja).

When one is looking for the reason why certain patrilineages are always mentioned in combinations it would be obvious to assume that there are fixed marriages relationships between the two partners of the combination, at least as far as patrilineages from different moieties are concerned. From the census data one must indeed conclude that in many of the combinations
marriages between the two parties are very frequent.

Table I (pp. 22-23) shows that there are a number of marriage relationships between the partners of the Hupi-Gosi combination; but on the other hand both the Hupi as well as the Gosi also marry members of other clans. The same holds true with regard to the Hupi-Lakopan and Wuga-Hupi combinations. Our conclusion can be that marriages between combination partners are frequent but also that marriages outside the clan combinations do take place. With regard to patrilineage combinations with partners from the same moiety it is out of the question to seek the reason of alliance in the marriage relationships because of the exogamy of the moiety.

If the Dani are asked for the reason why two patrilineages of different clans are always mentioned together, they tell how in the early days there were fights between people which resulted in fatalities. To revenge their relatives who were killed, the members of one clan formed an alliance with the members of the other clan who lived in the same area. For this alliance they use the term dikabukoko (joint) and they hook the forefingers of each hand to each other. The reason for the combination of patrilineages from different clans, who live in the same area lies in the political realm: cooperation in times of war. The territorial nature of these politically based groups is vague. When determining the size of a patrilineage combination they do not indicate a clearly marked area but they count all the villages that belong to it. The villages belong to a combination because members of one or both patrilineages live in them. The alliance does not concern territory but people. But still the villages belonging to a combination lie in fact close to each other. The number of villages that belong to a combination varies quite a bit. For the Step-Gosi they gave me the names of eleven villages, for the Itlai-Hadluk, fifteen. In both cases it concerned the same villages as the ones that are taken as belonging to the patrilineages Step and Hadluk respectively. I do not know how many villages are included in the various combinations among the Magogo group.

It will be clear from what has been said about patrilineages and villages that the inhabitants of an Itlai-Hadluk village are not necessarily all Itlai-Hadluk. There are more clans represented in a village. In fact one village can be reckoned to belong to more than one combination, e.g. Lejulmo village where men from the Hadluk, Itlai and Wallilo clans live, is counted as belonging to the Itlai-Hadluk combination, as well as the Hadluk-Wallilo. Actually the combinations are partially overlapping.

These political groups (patrilineage-combinations) partly intersect the social structure, i.e. clans and moieties. Namely, it happens that members of the same clan and moiety are enemies. Members of the Itlai clan oppose each other in the combinations Itlai-Hadluk and Itlai-Hisake. There is also traditional hostility between the Step-Gosi and Step-Eloksak.

A patrilineage combination has its own traditional enemy, often together with other combinations in the same area. It has its own war territory, its own war-leader. This combination is responsible for the war against its enemy. However, it can count upon help from other combinations. The confederation of all patrilineage-combinations that help each in the war we call a war alliance. A war alliance is named mostly after the strongest combination of the alliance, or referred to simply by the name of this combination's gain.

The largest war alliances in the valley are:

Aso-Logpal (includes at least 7 combinations): gain Ugunbeatik;
Hupi-Gisk (at least 6 combinations): gain Dukuli;
Loko-Lapal (at least 11 combinations): gain Galul;
Gosi-Loka (number of combinations unknown): gain Silo;
Widikbo-Aloa (includes at least 11 combinations): gain Idogo.

I mentioned the Hupi-Gisk and Widikbo-Aloa as separate war alliances, because they live far from each other and are counted as separated groups by the people. But I presume (though I am not sure) that when it really matters, they form one large alliance. There are no exact figures available concerning the size of the war alliances.

According to Bromley, who has worked in the valley since 1956:

"The population included in a single confederacy might range from fewer than
a thousand to two or three thousand or perhaps even five thousand. Personally I am inclined to estimate the confederacy of the Loko-Mapel at six to seven thousand, the Gosi-Loks at 5000, the Wdikbo-Aloa and the Rupi-Giak together at about 3000.

The Mago group which can be considered as a small confederacy, consists of five important patrilineage combinations, namely Hupi-Lakapan; Hupi-Gosi; Wuga-Hupi; Lakapan-Maduan; Iltai-Maduan. The most important is the Hupi-Lakapan with the gain Madukanbe. These combinations help each other against the enemies that surround them from five sides.

The small confederacy of the Slep-Gosi includes seven patrilineage combinations: Slep-Gosi; Iltai-Haluk; Haluk-Walilo; Walaloa; Jokopi-Gosi; Iltai-Okai; Iltai-Halidobo. The most important of these is the Slep-Gosi with the gain Wasin.

The confederacy is also the group whose members celebrate the periodical pig feast together. The date for this is set by the most important gain. War activities are stopped at that time.

The war confederacy is a clearly territorial group, its area being limited by the surrounding no-man’s lands.

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12 BROOKLYN, op. cit. p. 212.

CHAPTER III

ECONOMY

Agriculture is the main means of subsistence for the Dani. Before describing this, I first want to deal with land rights.

LAND RIGHTS

The patrilineage-combinations, like the Iltai-Haluk, Slep-Gosi, etc. each possess a particular strip of land in the valley about which they say: nitmage, that is "ours". Their ancestors have given them this area. Probably they have received the rights to this land by just occupying it for the first time. It is not clear whether both combination partners have equal rights or not. On the other hand there are informants who say that the land rights belong to the individual patrilineages. As borders of such an area they would mention rivers, creeks, large trees, mountains, etc. which are also claimed as property by the groups mentioned above.

Although the land is owned by the lineage-combination (or by one lineage separately) in actual practice it is the individual gain, the most important man of the group, who has the say about it. He is the one who divides the land among his brothers, sons, and other relatives, including the relatives-in-law. People who do not belong to this group and who want to lay out a garden have to ask this gain for permission. He will designate a piece of land to them. They do not need to pay anything. Yet it happens when the previous user of the land had a lot of hard work in cultivating it, e.g. had to cut a lot of trees, that a compensation is required in the form of a pig. If somebody has once tilled the land he may give it to his brothers or sons without permission of the gain. Apparently by cultivating the land one receives the rights to it.

Whether one may sell or give land to non-members of the lineage without permission from the gain is not clear. Some would say it is possible, others
deny it.

When strangers want to build a village on the territory of a group (which means a loss of potential farmland) then a payment is required, e.g., a pig, which in the case I observed, was allotted after consultation with the gain to the latest worker of the land. Therefore one could say that the land rights are actually vested in the people to whom the land was assigned to be tilled. The individual right, obtained by cultivation, is more important in practice than the right of the group.

A village surrounded by the gardens

AGRICULTURE

The laying out of new gardens or the preparing of old ones, that lay fallow for years is a job for the men and boys, who would ask help from patrilineage members, brothers and sons, also from brothers-in-law and friends. A Dani does not like to work in the garden on his own; it is boring and he does not make much progress. He would rather work in a team. During certain months of the year, one can see groups of hard-working Danis throughout the valley, from early in the morning till late in the afternoon. From far off one can hear them singing during their work. One could distinguish the following stages in the work. First they clear the land of large trees and shrubs, where necessary. Some trees are simply cut and used as firewood. A frequently used method is this: one cuts the branches off and after that ring-barks the trunks, i.e. at some height off the ground one cuts a strip of bark away around the trunk, so that the sap cannot rise and the tree dies and later can be used as firewood.

When all the wood is removed they pull out the grass or cut it with sticks and bushknives. The types of grass, that shoot up persistently and fast are pulled out by the root as much as possible and are burnt; other kinds are turned in the ground as compost. Once the land is cleared they can start to dig it with digging sticks. The sticks are about two meters long and four or five centimeters thick, and end in a broad sharp point at the bottom. By poking such a stick a few times vigorously in the ground and pulling it towards oneself one can loosen quite a lump of ground. These lumps are worked into a bed by hand. Next the women and girls cut the hard lumps into smaller pieces with shorter and thinner digging-sticks. Then the men and boys start to dig ditches between the beds. The mud from the ditches is thrown on the garden beds and the ditch walls are firmly plastered with clay to prevent them from falling in. In the gardens that are laid out on the mountain slopes, rather shallow drains between the beds suffice. If necessary, fences are built around the gardens to keep the pigs out; in the plains these are normally made of wood; against the mountain slopes, sometimes also near rivers with plenty of stones, they build fences by piling big stones up to a meter high or more.

Now the men's part is finished. The owner of the garden will divide the various garden beds among his closest female relatives, his mother, his wife, his married sister and daughters if he has any. These women start to
work, each on her own garden bed. They take care of it in all respects, (including the harvest). The young sweet potato slips are taken from the existing gardens and planted in the new beds. Around the slips the ground is heaped up a little. When the slips have taken root, and when the new shoots come up, they cut the old shoots, heap up the ground a little more and remove the weeds. As the tubers grow thicker, the ground around them is heaped up again. The digging stick is used for harvesting. The sweet potatoes that are thick enough are dug out and the rest are covered again. About the same time as they plant the potatoes, they also plant taro, yams, beans and various vegetables.

With the produce from her garden, assigned by her male relatives, the woman provides for her family, sometimes including an old father or mother to whom she is indebted, and for the pigs.

The work in the garden is a school both for boys as well as for girls; it is a school of practice. The teaching is incidental, as it were by means of play, but it is quite effective.

The Dani have developed a rationally based method for their agriculture with the means their environment offers. If necessary they build dykes, fortified by the planting of shrubs. They have also a system to regulate the water level: a system of ditches between the gardens which are connected through one or two main ditches with a river. When the river rises, the ditches fill up. When the water falls, they can keep the water in the ditches at the required level by damming up the main ditches.

They yield from the gardens is reasonable, because the quality of the soil is not bad.

Although their diet is one-sided, i.e. poor in protein, especially animal, it still seems to be better than the diet of other highlanders like the Kapanu, the Moni and the Amungnà. Compared with these the Dani look more stalwart and healthier. There is something else to be noted about the first yield. When they harvest a new garden for the first time, the men help with it. They leave a few very thick sweet potatoes in the ground to rot. When I asked why they did this they answered: "Then the potatoes will be big and thick with the next yield. If we do not leave them no other sweet potatoes will grow in this field". When they give this answer they point carefully to the sun and whisper ro (sun). "Mo ninajuk-em", which means: "We shudder with awe for the sun". They did not want to tell me more about it.

Maybe a remark made by my houseservant and informant Malek (20 years) throws some light on the question. When the people find a very big sweet potato at the first yield they say, according to Malek: "Mo-nen hakathik-hemo, hili ekatnek", which means: "The sun has made it, let it rot".

From these observations it may be concluded that the Dani see a relation between the good growth of the sweet potatoes and the sun. This relation is a mysterious one, and fills them with awe.¹

The first sweet potatoes from a new garden, which are harvested by men and women together, are piled up to be blown upon (samalín) by the important men of the village. After this blowing ceremony the rest of the yield is handed over to the women. After this they take the first harvested potatoes to the win-syla, the men's house where the sacred war-stones are kept. (These will be dealt with later on). They are roasted in front of this house, and eaten by all the men who helped in laying out the garden. The women are not allowed to eat these. Some of these potatoes are given to the so-called wam henek, pigs that are set apart to be killed for certain well-known ancestors.

I now want to give a list of the main agricultural products and plants, that are used by the Dani.²

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¹ At some other place we find that the Dani believes that the growth of sweet potatoes is connected with their ancestors (see under Famin later in the chapter).

² The Latin family, genus and species names are from VERSTEGH, CHR., List of plant names in the Dani-language, published by Boezenen Med. Nieuw-Guinea, No. 330, 1951. They are checked and, where necessary, corrected by C. Kadem of the Rijksheerbarium at Leiden.
hybty: Ipomoea batatas (family Convolvulaceae), the sweet potato, which forms the staple food. They named 4-5 different varieties, which could be found in the gardens.

holu: Colocasia esculenta (family Araceae), taro, which is sometimes planted in separate fields, but most of the time grows in the potato beds, right near the ditches or even in them. I noted 21 species of taro. Taro is planted to a lesser degree than sweet potato.

cain: Dioscorea spp. (family Dioscoreaceae), yam. In every garden one finds at least a few plants. They distinguish 10 species.

beide: Zingiber officinale (family Zingiberaceae), ginger. This is considered as a special delicacy. It is not to be found frequently.

hybty-ga: The sweet potato leaves. The people use them as vegetables after they cook them in the cooking pit together with the potatoes and pork.

zpy: Amaranthus spp. (family Amaranthaceae), a sort of spinach (bayem) which can be found in 6 varieties.

zoe: Setaria palmifolia (family Gramineae), kind of grass with wide leaves, used as vegetables. I noted 6 varieties.

beinali: Psophocarpus tetragonolobus (family Leguminosae), black beans in thick fleshy pod.

wydat: Physalis spp. (family Solanaceae), greens.

gilu: Cucumis sativus (family Cucurbitaceae), cucumbers which are eaten uncooked.

musa: Trachymene (?) (family Umbell.), a sort of wild parsley which is eaten uncooked. The taste is refreshing. They often eat it on the occasion of dibat isin when it is mixed with pig's blood.

el: Saccharum officinarum (fam. Gramineae), sugar cane. This is especially planted around the villages. I have been told that there are 12 different kinds.

bagy: Musa paradisiaca (fam. Musaceae), banana. These are also planted around the villages. They gave me 17 different species.

duke: Pandanus sp. (fam. Pandanaceae), pandanus with large round collective fruits. Wild pandanus trees grow in the mountains around the valley. The fruits are a special delicacy for the Dani. 

saik: Pandanus sp. (fam. Pandanaceae), another pandanus species with long, red fruit made up of small segments. This fruit can be as long as 30 to 40 centimeters. In the little individual fruit petals the pits are surrounded by red, juicy flesh. In a banana leaf the fruits are mixed with water to a red porridge which they really appreciate. I noted nine different varieties of this pandanus. It is rarely found.

sek: Edible mushrooms, which are very much sought after by boys and girls. The children could name 39 different kinds even.

banan: Nicotiana tabacum (fam. Solanaceae), tobacco. This is mostly planted in the neighbourhood of the villages. They named six kinds. The ripe tobacco leaves are squeezed to hard sticks or rings and are kept in a dry place in the house. When somebody wants to smoke, he scrapes some tobacco with his thumbnail from the stick and folds that in a certain leaf (leseriga), after this is dried a little over a fire. Men as well as women smoke rather heavily, inhaling deeply.

bolim: Lagenaria siceraria (fam. Cucurbitaceae), a cucumber like plant, whose oblong or round fruits they scoop out. The bark is dried near a fire. The oblong ones are used as penis sheaths, the round ones as water containers. Often they force the fruits to grow long by binding a stone underneath. Around other fruits they hang nets so that they do not grow lengthwise, but expand widthwise.

halk-egen: chestnut-like fruit. The kernel is roasted in a fire, and then they rubs it into fine grains in the hands. That gives a black greasy mass which the people use to oil their hair so that it gets a black gloss.
SALT

Another important ingredient of the diet we need to discuss is salt. The salt is won from salt-mines. There are two salt-mines in the Grand Valley; one is in the southern part which I have never seen and one in the mountains behind the Loko-Dapel area, which I have visited three times. This mine is a small shallow pond of about 1 meter in diameter which probably has a well in the bottom from which salt water emerges. Two meters away from the pond runs a small mountain stream, which contains fresh water. You will always find people near this salt-well, mostly women and girls from all parts of the valley, who are collecting salt. Sometimes there are even women and girls from the Jali area, who have crossed the mountains, together with a few men, to get salt here. When a person is collecting salt she stands knee high in the salty water. On the surface of the water lie long narrow strips torn from the spongy kernel of the banana trunk; also long strips of beaten banana pith. When these have absorbed the salt water a few times, and the fluid has been squeezed out, it appears that the salt sticks to the fibres. They take the treated strips and fibres home and lay them on the roofs of their houses to dry. When they are well dried, the people fold them into packages, which are burnt between layers of firewood. The burnt packages are pulled out of the ashes, and rubbed to powder on a banana leaf. This leaf with the salty ashes is tied up and kept in the house so that they can use it in due time, preferably at ceremonial occasions.

One can also observe that the people when they come home from the salt well just eat the wet strips and fibres. They may also take cups with salt water home. Le Roux cites in his book a passage from Teerink's report on the Archbold expedition: "Often the young banana plant is cut just off the ground, its leaves and outer layer stripped off, and beaten with a stone, so that the trunk can be divided in layers. These battered strips they lay on the roof of the house to undergo a process of rotting, which presumably forms saltpetre. Having been dried the strips of the banana trunk are burned.

The ashes which are used as salt are wrapped in leaves and saved like that. Teerink's description is identical to the description of saltwinning I have given but lacks the essential detail, namely the submersion of the battered strips in salty water.

PIGS

The pig has a very important and many sided significance in Dani society. Though one cannot hold that the main purpose for their keeping of pigs is meat supply, pigs nevertheless are the main source of animal protein for the Dani.

Besides pigs they also eat rat, lobster and fowl; in some places also cuscus and dogs, but the protein supply these animals give is not as great as comes from the pig. One could not say that the people eat pork on a regular basis. The Dani rarely or never kills a pig just for the meat. To kill and eat pigs is always connected with socially relevant events, like a cremation, a marriage, initiation etc.

An exception to this rule is a sick pig or one that has been stolen. They would rather eat this as soon as possible. The most regular times when they can eat pork is on ceremonial occasions. Everyone, men as well as women as well as children, can eat pork every day for a few weeks during the big pig feast. It is incredible what quantities of meat they eat then in a short time.

Also in the social set-up the pig is of great importance. The number of pigs someone owns determines his social prestige. An important man, a gain, owns many pigs. Someone who does not have pigs or only a few, cannot be a gain. The pig is also one of the important devices to keep the social

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This passage is cited by LE ROUX, C.C.P.H.L., De Bergpapoea's van Nieuw Guinea en hun woongebied, Leiden 1943, part 1, p. 212 - 213.
balance or to restore it. All kinds of services, debts and obligations to one another are paid with pigs or pork.

Finally, the pig plays an important role in religious ceremonies. No ceremony is possible without the killing of one or more pigs.

Pigs are a personal possession, certainly as far as men are concerned. But it seems that women and children can possess pigs. In Anelakak village they pointed at some pigs time and again, naming the owner, and often the owner was a woman or a child. On some occasions I saw women contribute a pig to the feast. When I asked if this was her husband’s pig or her father’s the answer was negative; it was her own. A few informants however denied that women and children could own pigs. According to them the men gave their pigs to women and children to take care of. They would consider these pigs handed over into their care, as their own.

Most of the male pigs are castrated (wam ou para gen wakam) to let them grow faster. For this operation the help of experts is called in. They bind the pig to a pole with its head down. While one man keeps its snout closed with his hands, and a few others hold its legs, the expert cuts the testicles out with a bamboo knife. Then the wounds are sewn up with a fiber and sometimes smeared with some gray mud. A few male pigs are kept for breeding. It seems as if they want to prevent interbreeding. A few times I saw people from other villages take a pig to Anelakak to let it be served by a breeding boar belonging to Takalek. Whether one wants to be paid for this service, e.g. by a piglet from this bred pig, I do not know.

During the day the pigs wander freely and gather their food by themselves. In the evening they get the sweet potatoes the women have brought from the gardens.

Throughout the valley they kill and prepare the pigs in the same traditional way. They kill the pigs by piercing them in the heart area from about 10 cm. away. As a result the pigs die in a short time probably because of suffocation. Then the tail and ears are cut off and the hairs are burnt off over a fire. When they cut the pig in pieces, they do the following: first the skin on the belly side, together with the attached fat and muscles that are connected with it, are cut off as one piece, together with the lower jaw: then they cut loose the membranes and muscles that surround the internal organs on all sides so that they can lift them out, all packed in the membranes. These are cut open by the men. The intestines are cleaned and washed by the women and girls. The rest, that is the back skin with the fat layer, muscles plus the upper jaw, the legs and the spine, are left as one piece, which is called wam-out. All internal organs, such as heart, liver, lungs etc. and all pieces of meat are put on sticks to dry in the sun. The rest is cooked in the earth oven.

The preparation of the pork and sweet potatoes goes as follows: They make a shallow pit in the ground varying in diameter from half a meter to a full meter. Over the bottom they spread long bundles of grass which stick out over the rim of the pit. They throw stones that are heated in a fire on the grass floor. Next they lay vegetables and potatoes, then other vegetables (often sweet potato leaves) or leaves of a fern variety, then hot stones and, on top of these, pieces of meat and more vegetables. Everything is covered with large pieces of skin from the pig’s back and on top of that again some vegetables and stones. They sprinkle water over everything, and then they fold the bundles of grass that are sticking out over the sweet potatoes, meat and vegetables. It is well tied up with long ratan, and stones and wood are put on top of it. After it has cooked like this for an hour and a half or so, the hole is opened up. Everything is well cooked. The big pieces of meat are cut in pieces, and distributed to all the people that are present. Everybody also gets his share of the sweet potatoes and vegetables.

At several kinds of ceremonies the people have the cooking pit outside on the village ground and they will eat there too. But on normal days the women prepare the meal in this way in their kitchens. The meat that was hung on the sticks they eat the following days. Another way of preparing the meat is roasting above a fire. But they do not do this frequently. The sweet potatoes are often roasted in the ashes. When they distribute the food they see to it that everybody gets something. When there are a lot of people at a feast some men walk around to see that nobody is left out.
Famine (bybyty-no)

Periodically there are times that they face relative food shortage. Relative, because it is seldom the case that there is a real serious famine. They do have food but not as abundant or good as they would wish. During these times the people eat the sweet potatoes that in times of abundance are given to the pigs: the smaller ones and those of poorer quality. The children look for a compensation by collecting all sorts of edible fruits and plants or mushrooms.

The periods of relative food shortages are the times that old gardens are nearly exhausted and the new ones are not yet ready for harvest. The Dani seem to accept this phenomenon as a sort of fate. They complain about hunger but every year an outsider wonders why the Dani who cultivate otherwise so rationally do not decide to start earlier to lay out new gardens.

More serious is the food shortage caused by long periods of drought or too much rain. Almost every year certain lower situated gardens in the northwestern part of the valley are under water. In the first months of 1964 there was a real flood. Even the Balim River overflowed its banks. Vast areas of gardens were flooded. When it reaches the point that even the raised garden beds are under water one tries everything to save what is possible. Wading in water to their waist, they push hastily improvised rafts. With a digging stick or with their feet they dig the sweet potatoes out of the ground and water and put them on the raft. Relatives and acquaintances from the other villages are called in for help and all day you can see women and girls walking home from the area with net bags almost bursting with potatoes.

These bybyty i noko (the sweet potatoes eaten by water), cannot be kept for long. Hence at such times the people as well as the pigs eat enormous quantities. The victims can be certain of the help from others whose gardens lie in better places and have not been inundated.

Several times I heard in conversations that the Dani connect the periods of drought or too much rain with the arrival and presence of the administration in the valley. This is also noted by Veldkamp in his report. The people refer especially to the prohibition on warfare, which would have disturbed the order of life as the ancestors wanted it. The ancestors would have become angry and caused the failure of the harvest. It is strange however that the Dani themselves are punished, unless one assumes that the ancestors blame the present Dani for accepting the administration and other strangers in the valley.

Several times I have heard Dani talking in this vein. Perhaps this could partly explain the various difficulties the administration as well as the mission have met from the people, and still are meeting, such as armed attacks in particular against the police, the resistance against schools and foreign clothing, etc.

In the Grand Valley I have not noticed anything of the acculturation movements, which O'Brien and Floeg report about the Dani who live west of the valley at Karubaga and Bekondini: an excessive expectation of an abundance of European goods, like hardware and clothing; an expectation of receiving a white skin, never getting sick any more or of immortality; the rejection of one's own traditional culture, the burning of weapons and religious artifacts; mass "conversions" in order to receive all this . . . . I have not seen a sign of this among the Dani of the Grand Valley. They are much more sober, more resistant to strangers and their ways, less amenable to foreign influences than their fellow tribesmen in the west. They are self-sufficient to a large extent and less co-operative towards strangers.

When, at the beginning of 1963, the Sleb-Gosi and the Itilai-Haluk experienced a food shortage because they had waited too long to lay out new gardens while busy with the big pig feast and its preparations, Alelemuluk, the gain from the Sleb-Gosi established a so called bybyty no abe (lit.: sweet potatoes- shortage-opening). This is a round fence with a height of

5 VELDKAMP, op. cit. p. 20.
sweet potatoes may stop; in order that the sweet potatoes may come into being."

During the flood of early 1964, which ravaged the Sip-Gosi area in particular, the Sip-Gosi led by Alelemuluk, had killed pigs that they called was vagum-oak. "in order that the rains of recent times which cause the sweet potatoes to rot in the ground, would stop and it would become dry again", according to the actual words of the informants. They asked themselves in connection with the heavy rains: "mokhat wenewuk a? samo a?, which is: "Are the spirits angry? Are the spirits (of the dead) hungry for pigs?"

Also the Iltai-Hadlik, the Hadlik-Walti and the Waltlos, who have gardens in the territory of the Sip-Gosi contributed pigs for this ceremony. The first day the pigs were killed and they ate part of them. The second day they consumed the rest. Only men and boys were allowed to eat these pigs. A special kind of grass (lugia) which had been cooked together with the pig meat, was deposited near the vagum-oak, the place where the spirits of the dead Sip-Gosi are assumed to dwell. The vagum-oak is a little rectangular house, far away from the villages, built in a grove or between cane, with gourds and bundles of grass hanging in it: a gourd (lokak) for every dead person who was initiated; for a non-initiated dead person there was a bundle of grass (siluk jilik).

In the afternoon of the second day a group of young men, accompanied by enormous noise and shouting, built a symbolic fence in a wide circle around the vagum-oak. That is to say they gathered grass, pulled branches off the trees and laid those close to each other on the ground, so that the area around the vagum-oak was closed by high mountains at the backside and at the other sides by this fence. The significance, according to the informants, is that from then on the spirits have to stay inside the fence and no longer can roam around in the gardens to steal the sweet potatoes. During those days there was a continuous singing and dancing outside.

The day after the pigs were killed, the second day, it was forbidden to work within the territory of the Sip-Gosi until late afternoon of the next day. The women were not allowed to work in the gardens or cut firewood there.
even the pigs were forbidden to root up the earth. The people kept them home or took them far away. During this time abat usa i.e. the ground is taboo.

Only late in the afternoon of the next day, when Alelemuluk had blown upon a digging stick whereby he evidently abolished the taboo, they were allowed to start work again.

Nevertheless here and there I saw a woman by herself working in a garden far off. The men who were with me started to scold her, but did not go to chase her away.

**VALUABLES**

The valuables that the Dani use as exchange goods in trading are: pigs, salt, tobacco, steel axes, bush knives, cowrie shells, sometimes nassa shells and cymbium shells. Concerning the exact exchange value of these goods I cannot say more than I will do in the next section on TRADE. The various shells, the jeter-egen (cowrie shells), the waling-egen (nassa shells) and also the mikhak (cymbium shells) are more appreciated as ornaments (the shells are seen on narrow bands and worn around the neck) than as trading articles.

It is well known that the first two kinds of shells play an important role as money among the Kapauku and also belong to the substance of the bride price. Among the Dani these shells are hardly used as money, neither as far as I know, are they part of the bride price. In contrast to the Kapauku who distinguish the shells in detail according to size, form, colour, and age and accordingly value them, the Dani makes hardly any distinction. At the most he could hold that he would rather have big shells than small ones. You would never see a Dani look at a cowrie shell as fascinated as a Kapauku would. Perhaps it is significant that the Kapauku have a "purse" whereas the Dani have not. They keep the shells in a leaf or a piece of cloth or paper. To the Kapauku the Grand Valley is a rich hunting area for cowrie shells. They love to work in the Grand Valley; even an expensive flight is worth it for some.

Valuables that play a role in the traditional mutual trading among the Dani themselves (see also later on) are: pigs, shell strings (jeter), long flat stones (je) and nets (su). The shell strings are long, narrow bands, woven from thin string, with an average of about fifty cowrie shells sewn on them. The shells have the split or mouth on top. On the other side (the side towards the string) the little round pimple is cut off with a sharp stone (or nowadays with a little steel saw). These shell strings are carefully kept in the men's houses.

The je are oval, flat stones, of a bigger size than the sacred stones (ganae) which I will discuss in Chapter IV. They are ten to fifteen cm. wide, and the length may vary from 30 cm. to one meter. They lack the sacred nature of the ganae, but stand against the back wall of the men's house, visible for everybody. When they are transferred from one village to another they are sometimes also carried by women. Many je are dressed with a small jegal (the little skirt that married women wear), just under the middle of the stone. On the jegal they have sometimes attached a few skins of the itik (a sort of rat) and a few feathers. Other je wear a saly (a grass skirt that girls wear). The smaller je are naked. What the meaning of the clothing is nobody could tell me. When I asked whether je perhaps were considered as women the answer was negative.

The nets that are used in the goods exchange are of two kinds. First there are the su-sue, the normal net bags. Then there are also the su-saka long, rectangular nets, open on both sides. Sometimes women use this kind for clothing, hanging from their head over their back to the back of the knee. These nets that are used as exchange goods, which are carefully kept in the houses, are not greased with pig fat, like the nets that are worn by the women.

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7 Instead of usa, they also used wusa while in other places also wesa.

8 POSPER, L., Kapauku Papuan Economy, Yale University Publication in Anthropology, no. 67, 1963, p. 300 - 305.
In general it is safe to say that trading is not important to the Dani. There is hardly any trading or nothing to all, between the groups that live in the valley. Sometimes I have noticed small groups of Mugogo gathered around a few Nelesi men or women who were trying to sell netbags. For one netbag they paid ten cowrie shells. Sometimes they exchange a steel axe or a cymbium shell for a pig.

More frequent and more extensive are the trading contacts with the various groups outside the valley, like the Baliga, which seems to be a collective name for all groups who live south and west of the Grand Valley; also with the Jali who live northeast and east of the valley, about a three or four hours walk away. (see map 1) Probably some articles that come from areas even further away, like the Wessel Lakes, are introduced into the valley via the first groups.

Some informants told me that the Jali, who in turn have contacts with people farther toward the coast have introduced the cowrie and cymbium shells in the valley. My impression is that the movement of people toward the Grand Valley is stronger than the Dani migration outside the valley. To the other Highlanders the Grand Valley is well known for its abundance of pigs. Among the Amungmè, where I worked from March 1957 to July 1959, the Dani area was pictured as a sort of paradise, where pigs abound.

Now we will turn to a description of the trading relations of the Mugogo, Slep-Gosi, and Itlai-Hadluk groups. The Mugogo have trading contacts with the Baliga and Jali. For the contacts with the Baliga very often Mugogos who in early days had fled to the area of the Selepa, function as intermediaries. One of the trading routes from the east ends in the valley, in the Selepa area. The following goods are taken to the valley by the Baliga: stone axes, probably from a stone pit near Mulia, salt blocks, massa shells, orchid-fibre, nets, cassowary feathers. The Mugogo give in exchange mainly pigs, but also salt and tobacco, and nowadays also steel axes and bush knives. From the Jali the Mugogo receive the same goods as do the Slep-Gosi and Itlai-Hadluk, which I will discuss below. From the Mugogo area to the Jali it is a walk of three or four days through rough terrain and crossing the watershed.

The Slep-Gosi and the Itlai-Hadluk keep up trading relationships exclusively with the Jali; they have even marriage relationships with them. It seems that people from the valley do not often go there, certainly not the Itlai-Hadluk as the path to the Jali area passes the territory of their enemies the Itlai-Hisake. More than once I heard that people on their way to the Jali area were attacked and killed by the Itlai-Hisake. But from time to time one can see groups of Jali people travelling through the valley, especially toward the time that the big pig feast is held in several places. They carry the following goods: bows of dark coloured wood; very fine nets and cords for the women's skirt; little bamboo knives; cassowary feathers, feathers from the bird of paradise; heilam, a kind of tree fibre which the Dani use to make dita; sago, corky wood which is used for magical purposes; sago; hadalay, a type of resin, also used for magical practices. The goods are exchanged for pigs, tobacco, steel axes and bush knives. Once I observed that a Jali accepted a not yet fully grown pig in exchange for four fine netbags and a cassowary plume, and a steel axe for five netbags.

After the government administration (1956), the American mission (1956) and the Catholic Mission (1958) had settled in the valley, some trading was slowly developed between the Dani and these strangers at their stations which were spread throughout the valley. The Dani bring their agricultural products, crayfish, ducks, their artifacts, and sometimes pigs, and receive in exchange cowrie shells, massa and cymbium shells, steel axes, bush knives, mirrors, torches, foreign salt, red textile fabrics; in Wamena they may also get clothing, blankets or money. Also, work is paid for with these goods.

Traditional goods exchange

As far as I know there is traditional goods exchange between a mother's brother (maw) and sister's child (nak); husband's relatives and wife's
relatives; husband's sister (aksu) and brother's wife (aksu).

In each of these three cases the goods exchange is a barter between members of both moieties.

The goods are transferred between the moieties. When for instance a Wyda man gives shell strings to his sister's child (Naja), the latter will in turn give them to his sister's child (Wyda) in due time. Also pigs are exchanged for shell strings, which means that there is a regular exchange of pigs between the moieties. This exchange of goods is called aik hunesin, literally: "to press one's teeth", which is probably a symbolic expression for the close relationship that arises from this barter.

The goods that are bartered are pigs or pork from one party; the other party supplies nets, shell strings, large, long and flat stones (je), and sometimes other goods like nassa shells, cymbium shells, women skirts (jowal) and bows.

In practice the exchange goes as follows:

Mother's brother - sister's child

When his sister's son is initiated mother's brother gives him shells which he wraps around his head; a bow of dark coloured wood, a bunch of arrows, and a small net which the boy wears on his head during the initiation. After the initiation the boy gives his mother's brother a pig.

On the occasion of the jowal isin ceremony, immediately preceding the marriage, mother's brother wraps shell strings around the bride's head. In exchange for this she will give him a pig later on. When sister's child dies mother's brother will bring shell strings, nets and je for the relatives, for which he receives pigs in exchange.

Husband's relatives - wife's relatives

Some time after the marriage the close relatives of husband and wife will have a goods exchange. The husband's relatives give shell strings, nets and je to the wife's side, while they will receive pigs. Particularly husband and wife's brothers seem to be involved.

Husband's sister-brother's wife

The wife will give her husband's sister shell strings, nets and je, and receive pigs in exchange. On what occasion this is done, I do not know.

I am not able to give more details as I observed only parts of the exchange actions between mother's brother and sister's child. The rest I had to find out through verbal information. It is not the case that the two parties of a good exchange sit together and then barter all their goods. Often quite a long period of time lapses between the giving and receiving of the goods. Hence it is sometimes much later that the observer discovers that the giving of goods to a person is not just a gift, but part of the traditional goods exchange between certain partners.
CHAPTER IV

WARFARE

THE CONCEPTION OF WARFARE AMONG THE DANI

Every non-Dani who stays a long time in the Grand Valley, finds out that war is a strikingly frequent phenomenon; even now, despite eight years of warlike efforts by administration and police to eradicate warfare. With dogged persistence the Dani stick to their warfare.

The Dani men speak about their warfare as a necessity of life. They crave for war (min su). "If there is no warfare we will become blind", they say in the southern part of the valley. "If there is no war, we will die", declare the older men in the Rypin area. And during an enthusiastic recollection of the good old times when warfare was not yet forbidden by the administration, Takalek, an Itlai-Hadluk gain, related that in those times the sweet potatoes grew much thicker, the pigs were fatter, and there was not as much sickness among the people.

Warfare has existed from the beginning. According to the myth, a quarrel arose soon after the first people came out of a hole in the mountain at Apulama, (the present area of the Itlai-Hadluk) and people were killed. The victims' close relatives said to each other: "Let us live together and build a wim-syle (warriors' house), and let us take revenge on our enemies together". This is how hostility between certain groups began, which continued into succeeding generations. This formed the basis for the traditional hostility between the present patrilineage combinations, which are allied in war confederacies. The ancestors have said: "wim jain hano, wim lak halake wak", i.e. "warfare is good; when there is no war it is bad". Thus warfare is a commission from the ancestors to their offspring.

Continuing along in this line of thought, some older men told me that the crash of a Twin-pioneer in the Grand Valley (1963) was the ancestors' punishment of the administration and police because they had imprisoned people who had made war.

The fact that warfare is inalienable, inherent to the Dani, is linguistically demonstrated by the phenomenon that a patrilineage combination referring to the warfare against its own primary enemy will use the possessive pronoun that is used for inalienable possessions such as relatives, body parts, personal possessions.

The Itlai-Hadluk refer to their warfare against the Itlai-Hisaka by the term minaim i.e. "our war".

The ancestors have wanted the warfare, therefore it is part of the traditional order of life for the Dani. The prosperity of Dani society depends upon the preservation of this order of life. Infraction of this order provokes the anger of the ancestors who take revenge by causing all manner of mischief, such as accidents (see above), famine or sickness (see p. 67).

In my opinion the reason why the Dani so persistently stick to warfare is that it is inherent in their way of life. Furthermore, according to the Dani's conception, warfare is essential to the welfare of their society. The primary purpose of a war is not to extend territory. This is a possible result when the enemy is driven out of his area, leaving behind more land for the victor. Neither is fighting nor killing themselves the purpose of warfare, as Veldkamp assumes.

The Dani engage in warfare because it is part of their way of life as willed by the ancestors, or as Bromley expresses it: "as a part of the

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1 For inalienable possession the possessive is a prefix: min-sim 'our war' (probably from: mi-sama) g-upphae 'my father' b-hakose 'your mother' In other cases the suffix (-mage) is used after the personal pronoun: helep an-mage 'my stone' o li nit-mage 'this wood is ours'

scheme of things. Another way of saying it is that warfare is a religious duty of the Dani. Because the society's well-being depends upon the fulfillment of this duty, warfare is also a social act of the highest priority. Based upon this conception it is not hard to see that war is an excellent opportunity for the warrior to acquire social prestige.

A traditional and ingrained hostility exists between the various war confederacies, whose areas are separated by vast no-man's lands. Hostilities that regularly find expression in war activities are: spying on each other's movements from the high look-outs on both sides of the neutral area; challenging each other by war yells and exchange of insults; open attacks and retreats; sudden raids and ambushes.

I have never seen two complete war confederacies fighting though according to informants this has happened in the past in mass wars. Normally patrilineal combinations on both sides fight each other according to tradition, although other combinations may help. Within the war confederacy each patrilineal combination or group of combinations has its own primary enemy. This group is responsible for the war against this enemy. For example the Itlai-Hadiluk and the Siep-Dosi, though they belong to the same war alliance, each has its own enemy. For the Itlai-Hadiluk the primary enemy is the Itlai-Hisak; the Siep-Dosi enemy is the Siep-Eloksum. If necessary they help one another against each other's enemy.

WAR TERMINOLOGY

To understand the rest of the text it is necessary first to discuss some Dani attitudes and terminology relating to warfare. When speaking about ancestors, the Dani indiscriminately uses ninubu-ninoupha, i.e. 'our ancestors' and mohat, i.e. 'spirits'. Sometimes he combines the terms:

mohat ninubu-ninoupha-sege, i.e. "the spirits of our ancestors". At the feast when he says that a pig is destined for the ancestors, he means "for the spirits" of the ancestors. From many conversations with Danis, this appears to be the case.

When I inquired who is meant by the term "ancestors", it became obvious, from the answers that no clear distinction is made between the earliest ancestors and those of four or five generations ago, whose names are still known. I often got the impression that both categories were identified. Two informants, whose family trees to the fifth and fourth generation I had recorded independently of each other, wondered seriously if these latter ancestors whom they still knew by name had been among the first people who had come out of the ground.

Although the term ninubu-ninoupha refers to both sexes meaning ancestors, in practice the Dani only refer to their male ancestors.

In many men's houses flat oval stones, about the length of thirty or forty centimeters are kept. These are linked to the ancestors. They are kept ninubu-ninoupha basik, i.e. for the ancestors. Presumably these stones should be considered as symbols which represent the ancestors. (We will come back to the meaning of the stones later pp. 114-115.)

The Danis distinguish between stones that are kept for ancestors who were killed in a war and those who died from sickness or old age. The two types are kept in different men's houses. For both kinds, three terms are

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The Dani would refer to the west as the place of origin of these stones and the stones that are used in axes and adzes. Where they are actually found he does not know. He himself has received the stones from traders of western regions. Le Roux mentions finding places like the NgolIdeal, the main water source for the Rouffaer river. In 1952 Harrer, the famous Austrian mountaineer, discovered a source for this kind of stone near Malia, which is about one hundred kilometers west of the Grand Valley in the mountains. Perhaps it is better to speak about a "workshop". Through overheating they blast the huge rocks; then they sort out the rough pieces which almost have the desired shape. These are then polished.


HARRER, H., Ich kam aus der Steinzeit, 1963
used: genega, evgan and hategen, the former two being the most frequently used.

Each patrilineage has its own win-syla, which means literally "war house". This is a man's house of the same structure as the ones that have been described (pp. 44-45) though somewhat bigger. Its diameter is from five to six meters. Against the back wall a little box (khalok) is attached, in which are kept the afore-mentioned stones for the ancestors killed in war. Sometimes they also keep here shell strings, hairs or nails of these ancestors. The planks that close the front side (jatal) of this box, are covered with various sorts of leaves. These leaves are cooked in the earth oven together with win jatal, a pig which is killed for the oldest ancestor. Besides that, the jaws of the belal-atcho, are hanging here, i.e., pigs that only the man and boys of the patrilineage have eaten during the big pig feast. On the occasion of the win genega hakasin ceremony they take the stones out of the box and grease them with pig's fat.

The win-syla is occupied just like any other man's house by the men and boys of the village. But on the occasion of war ceremonies the men and boys of the patrilineage gather in and around the win-syla.

For a description of the long, flat stones, called je I refer to the section, on "Valuables", in Chapter III.

The term gain as it applies to being an undaunted warrior also means being influential and important since warfare is such an important part of the life of the Dani; gebu then also means unimportant.

An ap wesakun is usually a young man whose task is to spy on the enemy from a look-out. He does not have to work, but is supported by society. When people of his patrilineage combination catch rats and birds in no-man's land they take these to the ap wesakun who eats them.

Some holds that the enemy's spirit dwells in the animals (sallage akolakun inakla vetak). According to the thought pattern of the people, if we first take his spirit, we will later kill his age, his body or his person. As long as the ap wesakun is in office, he is normally single. He is only allowed to eat sweet potatoes that are roasted by old women or girls. Potatoes that are cooked in the cooking pit are taboo for him. He is also forbidden to eat meat from pigs that are killed at a cremation or that have died from sickness. Nor is he allowed to eat ripe bananas or crayfish. The people say, "If the ap wesakun abstains from these things, we will kill many enemies".

If the young man wants to marry, he may. The people carry out the akla hemin, a special ceremony for him, which means literally: "pull out the inside". They keep a piglet in front of his breast, and say: "hemeno, hat win uma-uma nega nelken, hemeno"; i.e., "pull out, you have eaten sacred pig, pull out." This seems to refer to the small pig that the ap wesakun eats before the group goes to war, but I do not have more information on this. From then on he no longer has the privilege to be an ap wesakun. This ceremony also relieves him from the responsibility of keeping the above mentioned taboos. Now he is free to marry.

The new ap wesakun, assigned by the gain (though the assigned person is not obliged to accept the function, as I observed in a few cases), is most times the son of one who once fulfilled the function. If no substitute can be found, then the ap wesakun can stay after his marriage. The Ililah Raduk ap wesakun that I know and one of the Nugogo ap wesakun are married men.
A war alliance may have more than one ap wesabun depending upon the number of hostile groups surrounding it. The Itlai-Hadiluk have one for their war against the Itlai-Hisake and the Siep-Gosi have one for their war against the Siep-Kloksak; but the Mugogo have five of them: one against the Hupi-Gisak, one against the Siep-Gosi, one against the Chena; one against the Aso-Logopal and one against the Welesi.

According to vague information from the southern part of the valley, among the Wam-Wamisake, the Itlai-Hisake, the Aso-Logopal and the Chena, the ap wesabun seems to have a more inclusive or, maybe we should say, a different task: he also pulls out the arrow points that are stuck in the bodies of the wounded and speaks "sacred language" (wusa ane). Other than these vague allusions my informants could not tell me anything more definite.

According to the beliefs of the Dani the win-mega mokhat (lit: war spirits), which means the spirits of the members of their own group who died in the war, go to the enemy's area. Here they steal tobacco, sweet potato or bacon from the houses and drop everything near the look-out of their own group. When the men who are on guard duty in the morning find these things, they know that the spirits stole them from the enemy's area. They wrap the things they have found in grass and take it to win-syla, shouting: "wa, wa, wa, hit akunt wamabun", i.e. "thanks, we will kill people". When they find anything like this near the look-out, the people know that there is an ap jukulasik among the enemy, i.e. "someone who has become ripe for death".

On the enemy's side the following happens. While a group of men are sitting, talking and smoking in the men's house, one of them looks behind himself for a piece of sweet potato or tobacco which, according to him, he has just put there. He looks and looks, but does not find it. Then everyone is aware that a spirit from the enemy has taken it. Of such a person it is said that his akolakun (soul, spirit) has gone and he is in a dangerous situation. He is ready for death. As soon as possible they will sacrifice the wam on meg man to him, a ceremony which is aimed at the return of the spirit. (see pp. 90-94)

\[5\] This same term, jukulasik, is also used for ripe bananas, cucumbers etc.

The win medek (lit.: war-standing) is the man who, while standing welcomes the warriors with "nakot-a, nakot-a", before the war starts. Nakot means "younger brother". The whole expression serves as a welcome. When a warrior has killed an enemy in the war, the win medek will thank him with "nakot wa, nakot wa". When the warriors are sitting together the win medek explains, while he himself is standing, how to approach the enemy and to attack him. We could call him commander. In a war in which he is responsible as the leader, he will call proudly: "my war", ("paz") Just as there is an ap wesabun against each hostile group, there is also a special win medek for a war against each of these enemies.

Here is a list of win medek for each described group:

Elakowek: of the Itlai-Hadiluk for the war against the Itlai-Hisake.
Wasin: of the Siep-Gosi against the Siep-Kloksak.
Among the Mugogo who are surrounded by five hostile groups:

Epinialk: for the war against the Siep-Gosi.
Besboloko: for the war against the Chena.
Juwurmage: for the war against the Aso-Logopal.
Abum: for the war against the Hupi-Gisak.
A man, whose name I do not know, for the war against the Welesi.

Each war leader has his own ap dukute (or venumule). These are the men who are capable of bearing arms in the war against their primary enemy. All warlike men of the Itlai-Hadiluk are ap dukute in the war against the Itlai-Hisake. When the Siep-Gosi come to help the Itlai-Hadiluk they are hugo, (guests) not ap dukute. The Siep-Gosi's primary enemy is the Siep-Kloksak. When warring against them, they are called ap dukute, and the Itlai-Hadiluk helping them are hugo in turn.

The war trophies that they seize from a victim are called ap watok which could be: a spear, a bow and arrow; adornments such as little bands with nassa shells (walimogen), strings of cowry shells (jetake) or a cymbal shell (mikhat); and sometimes a tuft of hair. Ap watok means: "killed or dead person". After a victory dance, all these trophies are stored in the
ap watek-ny i.e. "house for trophies", which is a long, rectangular shed, normally found in the village where there is also a win-syla. For the itlab, Hadolu this is at Wajatma. 6

At the win gamge hakaasin ceremony these ap watek are greased with fat of a pig which is killed especially for this purpose. (pp. 91,96)

WEAPONS

The weapons that are used in warfare are spears, bow and arrows. In the Grand Valley they distinguish between two kinds of spears (seke). One type is made of a light coloured type of wood, which is not found in the valley but is imported from the Jali area. Hence these spears are rarer and are more appreciated than those spears that are made of the very hard dark-brown jali wood, which is found in the valley itself. To make spears, one must obviously take the straightest tree trunks. The irregularities in the wood are removed by slightly heating the spear over a fire, and carefully straightening them between a few trees. The lengths of the spears vary from 3 to 5 meters. In the middle they are two to three centimeters thick. Both ends are pointed but the lower half of the shaft of the spear becomes gradually thinner, ending in a rather flattened point. The spearing end is tapered over a length of about a meter making the spearhead extremely sharp. It is flattened with a sharp stone or a pig's tooth and polished with both leno, a type of grass used as sandpaper, and the tooth of a pig.

To prevent them from drying up and splitting, the spears are greased with pig's fat. Just above the flattened spearhead, that is a meter from the point, they often have a ring of woven ratan 10 to 15 centimeters wide which usually is covered with white chalk. At first glance this looks like a handle. But this is definitely not the case, for the spear is always held in the middle. I could not determine what the purpose of the ring is. I think it is simply an ornament. Veldkamp's information may be useful. He says that the spearhead with the ring resembles a bird's beak7. The Dani of the Grand Valley use many allusions and expressions associated with birds when they speak about warfare. We will return to the subject later (see pp. 113-114).

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6 At Wajatma war trophies made by the Mugogo are also stored because they consider them safer there than in their own area surrounded by so many enemies. Informants told me that the big war confederacy led by Gutatu has only one ap watek-ny at Wadлу, in the mountains far away from the hostile area. Trophies are taken to this place for all parts of this confederacy.

7 VELDKAMP, F., op. cit. p. 60.
The spear is primarily a piercing weapon, but if there were a good chance of hitting something from a short distance they would also throw it. By way of play, even little boys practice throwing and piercing with little wooden spears or cane stalks. A number of boys, sometimes even girls, stand in a row with a spear ready. One of them throws a ratan hoop in the air. The object is to throw the spear through the hoop. Sometimes they roll the hoops along the ground in front of the row and the children have to try to stop the hoop by throwing their spear into it. When a group of boys is walking through a cane field they inevitably try to pierce the thick cane stalks along the path with little cane spears or they try to hit each other.

The bow (mikhe) and arrow (dok) are not as widely used in warfare as the spear. Arrow shafts are made of a type of reed heide, which is rather thin and becomes very hard when dry. Most arrow heads are made of the dark brown type of wood joli; whereas others have a bamboo head. The heads are attached to the stems by forcing them through the first joint of the reed stem and into the first node. Then the joint between the shaft and the head is firmly wrapped with ratan. Some arrow heads are barbed and most have figures on them. I cannot say anything about this since I have never studied the motifs. The bows are made of a very flexible, often light coloured, type of wood which is found in the valley itself. But one can also find bows of a very dark colour, almost black. Since these come from the Jali-area and are of a better quality, they are valued more highly. They are called up-e-mikhe - real bow. These are preferably used on ceremonial occasions, e.g. the initiation ceremony of the boys.

**PREPARATION FOR WAR**

The initiation ceremony of the boys (waja hakat-apin) can be considered as a rather remote preparation for initiation into war and other related events. The boys are prepared for war and warfare, and are toughened to protect themselves against the dangers of the enemy. Because this ceremony is conducted as a part of the periodical big pig feast I will discuss it in Chapter V.

A more direct preparation for war is the win ganage hakasin which is discussed here.

**Win ganage hakasin**

I attended this particular ceremony from September 4 through 6, 1963 at Wajatma. In this village we find the win-ayla of the Hadluk patrilineage, which is allied on the basis of cooperation in warfare with the Itlai in the Itlai-Hadluk combination. Both patrilineages take action together against their collective enemy, the Itlai-Hiksak, but the ceremony is conducted separately in the villages where they have their own warriors' house. The following has to do with the Hadluk.

In the win-ayla at Wajatma they keep six flat oval stones, (the ganage), about thirty centimeters long in the box against the back wall. Around the middle of these stones is a small band of tree fibre called dibat. Three of these stones are placed erect against the back of the box, while the other three are pointed in the direction of the enemy. When they speak about the ganage they show much secrecy and reservation. With the utmost difficulty I could gather the following information.

As mentioned before, the stones are kept inubu-inoupa hasik, i.e. for the ancestors. When I asked which ancestors were meant, it appeared that they referred to men from the Hadluk patrilineage who were killed in warfare by the Itlai-Hiksak four or five generations ago. By way of family trees I tried very hard to trace the right kin relations of these men to the present generation of the Hadluk but have not succeeded. The information I received was so contradictory that I concluded that the informants themselves did not know or did not want to tell it for some reason. They divided the stones into two groups of three according to the ancestors they represented.

The stones on the left of the mas, (one lying, two erect) are kept for the ancestors of now living young men. Wajopa (1), Ogage (2) and Wambeatik (3) respectively. According to the numbers 1, 2, 3 -the oldest, middle and
youngest brother-these ancestors were (classificatory) brothers.

The stones on the right (two lying and one erect) are kept for the ancestors of Weimpluk (h), Epas (5) and Gitopa (6) respectively. They were also brothers, the numbers representing their relative ages.

The place of the living in the wim-yla is according to the place of the ancestor stones in the box; i.e. Wajopa, Wanheistik and Ogage with their fathers, brothers and possible sons sit on the left of the fireplace on ceremonial occasions; Weimpluk, Epas and Gitopa with their fathers, brothers sons sit on the right.

These six young men have the (hereditary) right to eat the pieces of pork that are designated to their ancestors, as follows:

Wam jatul, the piglet that is killed for both oldest ancestors (1 and h); one half is eaten by Wajopa, the other by Weimpluk.

Four pieces from a big pig are designated to the other ancestors:
epi balek, a foreleg destined for 2 is eaten by Ogage;
ugul balek, the upper half of the head, destined for 3, is eaten by Wanheistik.
akapo balek, a middle piece, destined for 5 is eaten by Epas,
akagon balek, the ham, destined for 6 is eaten by Gitopa.

Wam jatul, as well as the other four pieces are said to be wusa, i.e. sacred (and taboo for the other people).

For the sake of clarity, I will illustrate the kin relations of the main persons who play a role in this ceremony by a simple family tree, which involves only fathers and sons. It is obvious that there are two groups within the same patrilineage (all are Hadiuk). The relationship between the two groups: Wajopa and his group on one side and Weimpluk and his group on the other side is one of uphase-lak to apubtulak. These terms mean literally "those of the father" and "those of the son" respectively. What is meant by this or how this is to be understood, they could not explain.

The leading characters in this ceremony: Takalek, Elakoweak and Gigiki, older than the six young men are men of one generation.

First Day. In the morning, groups of men and boys gradually come from all directions to Wajatwa village for the feast. The ceremony is strictly taboo for women. The men who bring pigs with them are loudly and enthusiastically greeted by the people of Wajatwa with "nakot wa, naphutu wa, netowk wa". These are all kinship terms (my younger brother, my sons, my sister) which express the relationship between the receivers and givers of the pigs. Others bring net bags full of sweet potatoes, which immediately are put in the wim-yla.
When all groups from the various villages have arrived, the most important men retire to the men's house and start to wail. Soon the wailing develops into a sobbing cry, where the tears roll over their cheeks. Takalek, the leader, starts the wailing, while the others join in. They told me that at this moment the dirge expresses that there are only a few pigs and not many sweet potatoes. It is an apology to the ancestors on whose behalf they will kill the pigs. It is quiet for a while. Then suddenly Unathako cries with a loud voice: "Wam, hybyty veteke-at atnek; wam, hybyty lekwa, wokhesiteke"; "May there be pigs and sweet potatoes! If there are no pigs and sweet potatoes let them be given to me".

At this time all the men come outside and sit down in front of the men's house. Quietly Elakwosek, the vew medek (see pp. 78-84 for an explanation of the term), consults Ilujege about the destination of the two big pigs. Probably because of my lack of understanding, they could not make clear to me which ancestors were meant. Later I saw that from one of the pigs the four wusa -pieces were taken for ancestors 2, 3, 5 and 6 as mentioned on p. 88 after consultation with Takalek and his son Unathako the vew medek appoints a piglet as wam jntel. Another one is appointed for the wam ou mop nan ceremony, which will be held for Ilujege, who is sick, and a third piglet is designated as wam selinege (lit. the enemy's pig), whose fat they later use to grease the war trophies.

Wempliluk and Vajopa now hold the wam jntel and the wam selinege. All ap dukate lay their hands on one of the piglets. Those who are not close enough, lay their hands on the men in front of them. All this happens without saying a word. The meaning is explained in the following words: mep lek atno, selinege-nen ninasukoluk, pit vew ganege hakamikun, i.e. 'Blood stop. The enemy is planning to kill us. We are going to conduct the ceremony around the sacred stones'. Immediately Elakwosek pierces the two piglets.

Next, the sick Ilujege, a gain, sits down on the ground at a distance from the others. His younger brother Takalek, with the living piglet in his hands, sits in front. Then Unathako with a big potato in his hand sits down and behind him Elakwosek, Digiiki and Kep walk around Ilujege, while all others are laying a hand on his head. Meanwhile they chant "su, su, hakolakun jve nothama houphase-lak inopa takon amanoko, eme; hakolakun hakla abotothe gine", i.e. "your spirit, who went to the dwelling place of your ancestors' spirits, come; your spirit, in you, come back". According to informants the long drawn "su, su" is sacred language (wusa-ans) which cannot be translated any more. The circling around the sick person is called akot wakani, the fetching back of the spirit. The piglet is pierced by Elakwekosek.

Then they lay the wam selinege together with musan (a variety of parsley) on a banana leaf. On top of that is placed another banana leaf. The pig's head is faced towards the area of the enemy. The ap dukate lay their hands on the piglet; others place their hands on the backs of the men in front of them, and all cry loudly: "nenaluk, hanok woklasin, hanok woklasino", i.e. "why, become greasy, become greasy". This is directed to the Itlai-Hiske, i.e. relatives of the killed enemies whose spears, bows and arrows etc. are kept in this village in the ap water-ay and that later will be smeared with the grease of this pig. "Be greased, then we will kill you later," according to informants. This pig is wusa. In contrast to the other pigs this one is prepared outside the village ground in a separate earth oven under the banana trees near the ap water-ay. Everything is eaten by a young man called Wealki, who bears the name of a great hostile 'gain' in early days killed by the Itlai-Hadiluk.

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8 akot: inner being, conscience, spirit. Nakot laka: literally my spirit, my conscience has gone; i.e. I am frightened. The akot wakani is part of the wam ou mop nan (literally, 'drinking of pig's blood') ceremony. See also pp. 93-94.

9 Nenaluk means 'What is the matter? Why?' Time and again this term is used in religious formulae. Often it seems as if the term is not used in this sense in these cases, but rather as an exclamation or interjection.
While a number of men start the preparation of the earth oven, Elakowek calls to the six young men, who eat the wam wusa (that is the wam jatol and the four wusa - parts), together. He then orders them to stand in a row with their faces towards the enemy's area. He swings over their heads a very old arrow which has been used by the ancestors and is kept in the win-syla and says: "wyat nekhek, wam watekma-mege nekhek, hagi jukulik nekhek, helogen, watinali nekhek, uluk uluk, hounk wusa", i.e. You have eaten wyat (sort of vegetable), pigs that were killed at a cremation, ripe bananas, peas and beans from now on: taboo. Uluk uluk is again sacred language which is not translatable. I assume that this taboo only lasts for a few months, analogous to a similar taboo, which is imposed upon the boys at the initiation ceremony and which is released after a certain time by the person who had imposed it. If the boys would not observe this taboo then the sini issain would have a bad result for the Hadiuk. Sini issain is the cooking together of certain kinds of grass in the earth oven. If after having opened the earth oven it appears that all the grass has been completely cooked, then there will be people of the Hadiuk patrilineage killed in the coming war. On the other hand if there are still some blades uncooked on the side of the pit towards the hostile territory (that was the case here as appeared later), then this is a sign to the Hadiuk that they will later kill enemies in a war.

Meanwhile a few men have cleared the old cooking pit. The win medek orders the six young men to lay the first layer of siluk (grass-type) on the bottom of the pit. Only after that do the other ap dukute start to help. The six also lay the first bundle of grass for the sini issain. They fetch the big sweet potatoes out of the men's house. The biggest are sorted out and laid in the cooking pit. These are the nokhat hybyty, potatoes that are destined for the spirits of the relatives killed in a war (the six whose stones are kept in the men's house as well as others). They are given to the wam heneh, pigs, that are destined for these ancestors, marked by a notch in their ear. Besides their sweet potatoes they also put sweet potato leaves and large pieces of pork in the pit, which is then closed in the usual way.

Between these activities a few men have been busy chopping up musan (wild parsley) and other edible leaves and a few banana leaves, and mixing these with the blood from the killed pigs.

The package of folded banana leaves with this stew inside, is put in a hoop which lies on the floor in the men's house in front of the fireplace. The hoop is made of wood and wrapped with leaves from a type of reed called jatol. The hoop has a sort of handle which is faced towards the enemy. By putting the package in the middle of the hoop and then unfolding the leaves over it they get a big soup plate as it were so that the blood cannot run away.

Then the most important men gather in the men's house. They take a bunch of strings (dibat), made of tree fibre (heisan, from the Jali area) in their hands and together they blow on it. Pieces of raw meat are roasted in the flames and cut in little pieces by Elakowek and Wajopa, and then put in the mixture of musan and blood. They sprinkle salt over all this while they are constantly repeating "halelege, halelege" to let, as they said, the salt have a pungent taste. The dibat is put on top of this mixture and banana leaves are folded over it. At that moment all that are present shout loudly: "nakot, selimege-nem basunoko; nakot, haeleli himak himak", i.e. "my younger brother you run the risk of being killed by the enemy, my brother keep your skin hidden!"

The banana leaves are unfolded again and the dibat is hung around Weimpluk and Wajopa's necks. The others blow upon them, while they lay a hand on their head and shout emphatically: "nemalukhe, haeleli hakhe-woko-at, selimege basunoko-at, heluk-at lokoino", i.e. "Hey, you run the risk of the enemy seizing your skin and killing you. Stay alive". When the others have also hung the dibat around their necks, they begin to blow upon each other while saying: "gindgine, Gidgi hadibat gindgine! The translation is uncertain but it probably means 'I fasten Gidgi, I fasten your dibat'. They laugh noisily and jovially.

While all the men present are sitting, other men and boys are called inside. These have already put on their dibat. Those who are sitting inside
and the ones who have just come in receive from Elakoweak a little piece of roasted meat with musan dipped in blood. When the men's house is so crowded that no one else can come in (they sit back to back, others stand bent over those sitting), all eat their meat. The older men make much noise and stir when they blow on those who have just come in, and recite in a high voice:

neagi giginigene 'fastening my string' (??)

ithoko gyky mulo hy-yy 'Having put on' (??)

jej wako gej wako (??)

la lok lok.

Except for a few words, the translation of which is uncertain anyway, this is untranslatable wusa-ang. The men and boys who came in last go outside again. As they are leaving Iluego they say to each of them: "haneb lek" i.e. 'not your blood', or in other words: 'may you not be killed or wounded in the war'. This ceremony is repeated three times with other men and boys.

For the sick Iluego they have prepared a separate stew of musan, blood and roasted meat. He is the very last one whom Gigiki and Takalek blow on so that the spirit will return into him (at akolakun gisauk-en). This brings the dibat isin ('put around') ceremony to an end.

The cooking pits are opened up. Two wam-oat (lit.: pig's skin; in actual fact, the back skin, the spine, upper jaw and the four legs are meant by the term), taken from the wam selimne and from the piglet killed for Iluego are laid out in the men's house, in front of the fireplace. This is also done with the four wusa parts, that are taken from one of the big pigs. The oat from the wam jatej is cut in halves, which are put on the left and right side in front of the little box. The rest of the pig is put on a mat of grass on the village ground.

All men and boys are called together and they sit down. The old arrow, which was used by Elakoweak a while ago, is swung by Gigiki over the heads of the group, and he says: "hake ho, jukunat nan, hake ho", i.e. "your breath, eating is permitted, your breath". This action and these words declare the eating of the sweet potatoes and pork during this ceremony as permitted. If they ate without this formula it would cause their knees to swell.

After Elakoweak has distributed the pork on the village ground, they all eat together. The six young men who eat the pieces that have been laid apart in the men's house, now eat only sweet potatoes.

After this meal all boys up to fifteen years old are called into the men's house where each gets a piece of a pig's jaw. I have forgotten from which pig. Some older boys who did not have a dibat, receive one now. The smaller boys are only blown upon while this is said: "heluk lokinok" i.e. "stay alive". According to informants this is primarily meant as protection against fatal diseases. Pokotak, Umathako's little son, is blown upon separately while they pull his hair and say: "lit, lit, lit", which means something like "grow up". They say that this boy should become a gain and inherit his father's responsibility, such as piercing the pigs that are killed at a cremation of a patrilineage fellow who fell in a war. Then Umathako instructs the boys in a loud voice: "Sleep in your village during the night and don't wander around to steal pigs from the people; the theft of pigs causes quarrel between each other which is bad". Then the boys go outside.

In front of the wam-syla they lay a bundle of the grass that was smothered, together with the rest on the ground, one end pointing to the area of the enemy, the other end towards the entrance of the men's house. All ap dulute lay their hands on it or on the man in front of them. One man shouts with a loud voice: "Hisake-sage, hapolok lek etne", i.e. "our hisake (the enemy), do not move". This warning is to the spirits of the killed enemies who are supposed to enter the houses of the Ikla-Hadluk by night, to seize the people by the throat and strangle them. Then the grass is taken to the ap watek-wy and laid over the booty they have won.

The young men, Wajupa, Ogage, Wamhetik, Wempiluk, Esap and Gitopa are called in from the men's house. There each of them cuts a piece of his wusa-part and lays that on top of one of the six big sweet potatoes that lie in front of the fireplace. These potatoes together with the piece of meat are given to the so called wam henej, which are pigs designated to the six
ancestors whose stones are kept in the win-syla. These are taken care of by these six men in their village and killed in due time. For the win hanek of other relatives who have been killed by the enemy only sweet potatoes are taken home.

After that most of the men return to their villages. Thinking that it was finished for the day, as I indeed was told, I also went home. But later I found out that I missed the very important gange ne hapa horin ceremony, which is the smearing of the sacred stones with pig's grease, which takes place in the evening. Informants told me the following: They take the stones out of the box and smear them with grease from the win jatel. The smearing is only to be done by the men who are allowed to eat this piglet, namely Wajopa and Weimpiluk. Because the latter had accompanied me home, his father Takalek took his place. When they grease the stones, as the informants tell me, they say: "Nakot, heisam higo hago mo", i.e. "Keep your eyes wide open", which means 'watch the enemy'. Then the stones are packed again in strips of tree fibre (from the heisan tree in the Jali district) and put back in the box.

I do not know when Weakdek smear the ap watex with the grease from the win selinge. Because this is prepared and cooked outside the village ground, where the shed containing the spears, arrows, etc. from the enemy is found, I have failed to notice this and later I forgot to inquire about it.

Second Day. They spend all morning hunting rats on a grassy terrain with some shrubs at the foot of the mountain, Apulek near Lejuko village. The rat hunting is done in complete war style. The win medek and the ap duhate are armed with spears, sticks and stones. First they deliberate how to go about it. Then some little groups are seen approaching and enclosing each other. If they catch a rat by seizing it, they make a deafening noise. The win medek expresses his gratitude by shouting "Nakot wa, nakot wa". The rats that are caught, are for the ancestors whose stones are kept in the win-syla end are eaten by aforementioned six young men. Every rat is well checked before it goes in the net (which Weimpiluk carries). If they find blood on the animal then this is a sign that there will be bloodshed for the Hadluk in the next war. If on the other hand the rat's skin is unimpaired then there will be no victims on the side of the Hadluk. This was the case here. The result of the four hours' hunt was two big and nine little rats.

According to the informant this was not very many: "In early days, hit lekame (i.e. before you people had come in the valley) we used to catch a lot more. And if we catch many rats, we will also kill many enemies in the war".

Singing and dancing, the men bring the animals to Wajatma, where they are put in the men's house in front of the fireplace with the heads facing towards the enemy. Now Elakaweak designates the animals. Pointing to a big rat he says to Weimpiluk: "iy hat hubu-houpka hazik wathotnoke", i.e. "We have caught this one on behalf of your ancestor"; also a big one for Wajopa's ancestor. The four others are assigned a small one each. Gigiki brushes with a little stick against the hair of the back skin of each rat, while he says: "Haryny-ak atoa", i.e. "become undaunted". This is meant for the six persons who will eat the rats in a while.

Weakdek, the boy who eats the win selinge, puts a thin stem of sugar cane in the anus of the two big rats, then hits the bottom of the animal with his fist, while Gigiki and the others who sit around them say:

- Hamang-weakdek = 'name of the killed hostile gain'
- hesal woko = 'your membrane, yield!' (?)
- hesal-ak = 'your membrane, bone!' (?)
- hesel woklatno = 'your membrane, yield!' (?)
- hesel miakino = 'your membrane, be torn!'

The translation is a little uncertain. The purpose of what is happening is to break the bones in the pelvis of the animals so that it is easier to get the intestines out.

Hamang-weakdek is the double name of the Itki-Hisake gain, who in the past had been killed by the Itki-Hadluk. It was said of this person: "ninobu-ninougha-nen winim-apa sakhetoko nasuha-nage", i.e. whom our ancestors, after having cut him in pieces with a bamboo knife, have eaten.10

10 More on cannibalism, see pp. 106-107
In order not to forget this fact, they named the young man, who performed this action, Weakdek.

He pulls a few hairs from each animal and gives them to Takalek and Gigiki, who put them in the warm ashes of the fireplace so that the rats may have a warm nest, and that there may be many at the next win ganage hakasim. After having cut off the tail, legs and ears and pulled the little sugar cane out of the anus again, Waimiluk and Wajopa remove the intestines. The hairs are burnt off and the rats are wrapped in a banana leaf and this is cooked together with the sweet potato leaves.

While a few men are busy preparing the earth oven for the meat that is left over from the day before, a few boys, led by an older man, reorganize the wadlo-leket. This is a little square fence at the right of the men’s house, surrounding a few sugar canes and an old digging stick which is put in the ground.

On the side of the fence and around it all the weeds are pulled out and the ground is plastered with grey mud. One of the boys fetches a sweet potato slip of the phutok from a garden, and plants this inside the fence, while Umathako says: "Nomagen jak jak, hasili jak jak", i.e. "plant your roots, plant your roots." This happens so that there will always be enough sweet potatoes. This wadlo-leket has been instituted by the ancestors and is therefore wusa. On each occasion that wun wusa is eaten, this little fence is fixed up again. The last time this happened was at the initiation ceremony in January 1963 (see pp. 153). When this work is finished they ask a boy to swing a feather over the hands of the workers. They have been in contact with wusa, so if they eat sweet potatoes without this ceremony their knees would swell.\(^{12}\)

\(^{11}\) I have only seen this wadlo-leket at the side of or behind the men’s houses in which the win ganage are kept.

\(^{12}\) Very often it is said that as a consequence of breaking a taboo the knees swell. In fact, I have not noticed that swollen knees are very common.

In the meantime Elakowek has cleared two paths on the village ground which are covered with stones, grass and wood. The first path leads from the entrance of the village ground to the men’s house. This is the path along which the relatives will carry pigs and \(\text{je}^{s}\) in the future. The second one is from the earth oven to the area of the enemy, which is indicated by the uncooked grass at the \(\text{sim}^{s}\) izasin (see map IV).

The cooking pit is opened up, pork and sweet potatoes are distributed and all eat together. The six men also eat the rats. When the meal is finished they produce a so-called mokhat nathokolek, the esokai and the esokai and the ineshiliok from the men’s house.

The mokhat nathokolek, literally 'collected spirits', are old, sooty arrows, which are kept in the men's house as a remembrance of relatives killed by the enemy. The arrows which are connected in the middle to each other are erected in a row in front of the men's house. Takalek, Elakowek,
Unathako and Wajopa smear them from top to bottom with pig's grease, as they constantly repeat: "Hapa mdli atno, hapa mun atno," i.e. "Become black, become dark!" The arrows represent the ancestors killed by the enemy, both the first six, whose stones are kept in the men's house, as well as other relatives, such as father, brother or son. Just as the living people smear themselves with pig's grease and blacken their faces with sik (a kind of black) and thuyagup (charcoal), so they smear these arrows.

The esokai is a piece of wood (from the thakai tree) more than a meter long. It is wrapped with various kinds of tree leaves and grass. At the top of this piece of wood is a bundle of grass attached with a knot in it, a taboo-sign to scare off the spirits of killed enemies who wander around to take the akolakum (spirit) of the Hadluk away to their own area. The esokai is erected, wrapped with new leaves and then smeared with pig's grease. This is done in order that the men will not hurt their feet on stones or wood during the fighting, which would make them easy victims of the enemy.13

The inegihick is a flat stone approximately a foot long. This is kept in the vim-xyle in order that people who are asked for pigs, shell-strings, and je and marriageable girls, do not lay their hands against each other with fingers bent inside as indicating that they want to hold on to the things asked for, but in order that they might hold their hands (inegi) open forward (hlick) indicating that they are willing to give.

Gigiki makes two little holes in the ground and puts a few sweet potato leaves and some pig's grease in them for the spirits of the ancestors, who allegedly dwell in the ground (akatla). According to what I have been told, he whispers: "Neyak, naphut." walakalwa; neak, naphut on hunethn; hat wawswok

13 Perhaps we may distinguish the word esok, 'foot', from the term esokai, which I cannot translate as a whole. The -ai may be a reference to Thakai. I have seen the esokai only in men's houses where the vim genege are kept.
11. Neak (my child, fem. sing.), naphut (my child, masc. sing.). When a man uses these terms one after the other he is referring to his wife and his children (his family), according to informants.

usakhesiako ythi yano, i.e. "the members of my family, don't take them away; the members of my family, don't strike them with sickness; you, eat the pig's meat which is put here."

Next he covers it with grass and puts the esokai on top of it. The bundle of arrows is wrapped with a dry banana leaf at the lower end, and held erect next to the esokai. All ap wakata take hold of the esokai; those in the back hold them in front of them. While they are standing so close to each other, Alihuno, the ap wesakun takes a bundle of grass, holds it above his head and shouts: "Thont helea - mon helea - ap hele - vazyk ao - heé - milo - bihi jela - ojaka - nalo". To me, but apparently also to the informants, these are untranslatable exclamations, wusa-ane, sacred language.

Alihuno loses his text, but Unathako continues. There is much laughter and joking. An old man, Qama, takes the inegihick and walks around the noisy group and touches each man on the outside edge of the group with the stone. When he has been around he puts the stone on the ground, takes the hand of another man and both of them lift up their arms so that they form a sort of arch. All the men go one after the other under the arch, while they step with one foot on the stone. Qama says to each man who goes through the arch of arms: "Nanep lek", i.e. "not your blood". The meaning of this noisy ceremony is that the men may not be killed in the war.

Then the esokai is erected in the ground; the bundle of arrows is put against it and the inegihick is laid beside it. A group of men goes dancing and singing back and forth over the village ground.

Takalek makes two little holes next to the esokai with a sharpened stick. Gigiki puts some small fruit (unepge) in them. The sick Ilhue and Wajopa, who is also sickly, stand behind each other, with their legs spread over the small fruit. While both of them shuffle forward, Takalek pours some water, between their feet, by which the fruit is washed away. They are put back in the holes, while someone says: "Wanakute, heluk- at atno, hoe Hegenakai- opa wina alona i aput alona laco, ap lek atno", i.e. "become alive, go to your brother, Hegenakai, far away over there at the mouth of the river; sickness stop!" Hegenakai is a spirit who dwells at the mouth of the Beliem
The spirit who caused the sickness of these two men (they do not know which spirit it was) is sent away. Gikgi binds a taro leaf in front of Iliug's eyes. Then he shifts it away from one eye, breathes loudly "hhh" toward the eye and says: "heilgen bialatno", i.e. "your eye, open". This is repeated with the other eye.

Then it is Citopa's turn. He has a nasty wound in his thigh, where a piece of an arrowhead is stuck. A few men lay hands on his head and say: "Nenalukka, noyphae nakom, lukhitno, meda lokon lokon, nenalu, lukitno", i.e. "Why, my father, I have pity, come out, arrow that stays; why, come out".

Then most of the men go back to their house. According to what they told me, everything is finished then.

Third Day. Later I learned that on this day only a few of the important men had come together to smear with pig's grease the pig's jaws and the leaves, that hang against the front side of the little box. I have not seen this done.

During this third day the ground all over the area of the Hadiyuk patrilineage is wusa, (sacred and taboo). This day nobody is allowed to work in the ground. This applies also to the members of other patrilineages who have their gardens in this area. Not even the pigs are allowed to root in the ground. They keep them in the sties or take them far away to another area. Only late in the afternoon this taboo is cancelled, presumably by the wim medek, Ekakwak. Then the women go to fetch food from the gardens and to gather firewood.

The ceremony described here I have only attended once. I do not know how often they celebrate the wim ganege hakasin. Although this ceremony is directly aimed at the coming war and success in that war, as well as security against the enemy, it was not immediately followed by warfare, probably because they were afraid of the police. The Itlai-Hadiyuk did not perform any warfare against their enemies the Itlai-Misake, from September 1963 until my departure in April 1964.

**ACTUAL WARFARE**

I can only say what the informants told me concerning the events on the battlefield. Personally I have never wanted to see a fight or an attack, as my presence could have been taken by the Dani as an approval of their actions. I wanted to avoid such an impression at all costs.

When they decide to go on the war-path they take with them from the warriors' house a tightly pressed bundle of grass which burns on one side, the so-called hedv jilij (lit.: packed fire). They also carry a small netbag with pieces of sweet potato, tobacco, and pig's grease, which the spirits of the killed ancestors have taken from the enemy's area. From all sides one can hear the war yells, which sometimes sound like bird's calls.

Warriors appear from all directions, armed with spears, and bow and arrows. Some have a plume of cassowary feathers in their head. Many are beautifully attired: adorned with feathers on their heads a broad band of massa shells on the breasts, their hair combed out wide, shining with pig's grease.

On a spot close to the enemy's area but invisible to them they lay the burning grass bundle down with the burning end directed toward the enemy. The wim medek welcomes the warriors and the old men who have come with them, with "nakot a, nakot a". He shows the men their places around the burning grass torch. Behind the torch is the place for the six young men who ate the wusa-pig at the wim ganege hakasin: close to it on both sides the old men sit, and further away the warriors. The little netbag lies in front of the burning end; the wim medek himself stands right at the front. The old men light their cigarettes on the burning grass torch and pass the fire on to all who want to smoke.

Then the wim medek, while standing, gives instructions about the war tactics, that is, on how to encircle the enemy. The ap busa (i.e. the guests who come to help) are the ones who will try to encircle the enemy from the left side and the right; the ap dukute commanded by the wim medek goes straight into the enemy. The grass bundle stays with the old men. A young
man carries the netbag after it has been put on his head by the old men. When one of the groups has reached the enemy, it does not wait for the others but attacks immediately. Things seem to be quite cruel. In a fit of rage they swoop down on the enemy and stab where they can. Nobody is saved. Elderly people, women and children are all mercilessly stabbed and slaughtered. They leave the victims' corpses where they are so that their own people can pick them up. If they get a chance, they will take the spears and bows and arrows from the enemies, rip off their adornments and cut a handful of hair from them. Singing and dancing, they return with their booty to the place where the old men are waiting.  

The warriors are welcomed with a thankful "wa wa wa". The war trophies are tied together and laid on the ground, the spear facing towards the enemy's area. The six young men and the other ap dukutu lay a hand on the spear; the wak medek holds the spearhead, and they all shout: "Hapolok lek atno, helput maluk atno", i.e. "Don't move, your belly become big". This is addressed to the enemy, whose revenge is feared. In triumphal procession they take the war trophies to the village containing the warriors' houses. The next day these are shown to the women and girls in an enthusiastic and very impressive victory dance. Then they are put away in the ap watek-ak.

Most deaths occur in ambushes and unexpected attacks on villages and on people who are working in the gardens. In fights where both parties face each other openly, there seem to be fewer people killed, but perhaps more wounded. In these open skirmishes, when they attack one time, retreat another time while challenging each other, daring, dexterity, and swank are the great thing. The element of a game, the need to show manly potency are certainly important factors here.

Those wounded are immediately carried off the battleground. Woe to the wounded person, who falls into the hands of the enemy. He is slaughtered mercilessly. The wounded are treated by experts as soon as possible. A broken spear or arrow heads that are stuck in the body are pulled out, the wound filled up with pig's grease and covered with a bandage of leaves. Very often men with countless and serious wounds recover after some time. War wounds are said to be liable to so called imak, a sort of witchcraft. Imak is a weird, fatal influence, originating from certain people. Men as well as women may be imakate i.e. bearers of imak. Not one of my informants was able to explain to me exactly what it is. According to some it is something like a small rat, that goes out of a certain person and that eats the intestines of the victim. Others say that it is something invisible; the will of certain people is believed to be able to kill somebody. All agree that imak is effective regardless of distance. Close contact with a bearer of imak is not necessary. The moment imak touches you, some informants told me, it is as if somebody is tapping you on the shoulder. Then you know that you have been affected by imak. You will feel sick inside and die soon.

A warrior who is killed in the war, particularly a great gain will receive a very solemn cremation. During the day the body is put in a sitting position on a seat (besa) that is made of planks and rattan especially for this occasion. The head is kept up by a string under the chin which is fastened to the back of the seat. Around the head they wrap a band of cowry shells; over his body they hang other shell strings and nets; on the breast a broad band of little nassa shells and on top of that a fine white cymbium shell (mihak), which hangs from a string around the neck. All day long several women (his own wife, his mother and sisters) sit around the chair.
wailing, and waving some little twigs to keep the flies from the wounds. From all directions men and women come to show sympathy by grieving deeply and walking around the dead person. In the meantime, numerous men are busy killing pigs and preparing the cooking pits. One or more of the pigs, that are given by the dead man’s relatives, are destined for his amy. By five o’clock, after the pork is divided up, the corpse, stripped of its adornments and smeared with pig’s grease, is put on the pile, while all the people present cry loudly. One of the men takes a sugar cane, wrapped in grass, swings it through the smoke from the pile and says: “Hansokhat selimga etekma lane”, i.e. “Your spirit, go to the area of the enemy”. Veldkamp mentions the custom that a dead person who has fallen into the hands of the enemy is taken to their village, where the women drag the corpse back and forth over the ground and hit it with sticks and stones, “because this is an enemy who tried to kill our husband and sons”. The next day they would give the corpse back by dropping it at a safe distance from the enemy, while they start the victory dance within hearing distance. I have never heard of this custom in the northern part of the valley. However, in June 1963 an Itlai-Hadiluk woman who in anger had run away from her husband to hostile territory, was killed by the Itlai-Hisako together with her child and the corpses were thrown into a deep pit. In October 1963 a Hapi-Hiak woman was killed by the Asa-Logopal and her body thrown into the Balem river. In cases like these, when the body cannot be burned the relatives nevertheless come together in the village of the dead person to hold a collective mourning ceremony. Just as in a cremation ceremony they wail. They kill some pigs and have a meal together.

There are indications that suggest that in the past they have practiced cannibalism in the valley, i.e. the eating of killed enemies. We have mentioned a case above (p. 97). In 1954 one of the CAMA missionaries

witnessed a case of cannibalism. Since 1956, when the Dutch administration settled in the Grand Valley, there has been not one case of cannibalism, as far as I know. When one asks people from the western half of the Valley whether they have ever eaten humans, they often deny it strongly, and refer to the southern part of the valley and the Jali area.

The dances after a victory are a beautiful and impressive spectacle. People of all ages participate. The men are dressed up as for a fight. They carry spears and bow and arrows with them. Many of them wear a high fur hat, made of a parasus leaves and set with cuscus fur, and colourful feathers from all sorts of birds, sometimes even from the bird of paradise. There are two types of dancing. In the first type the people run in rows back and forth over a distance of about fifty meters, constantly singing. If they become tired they rest for a while, and start again. The second type is as follows: a number of men line up facing each other and stand closely with spears and bows and arrows erect in their hands. This rather small group of men jump up repeatedly with slightly bent knees and stamp on the ground. The rest of the men, women, boys and girls run around them. At the same time they sing enthusiastically. Old men and women who cannot join in anymore, stand at the side rocking at the same time.

17. VELDKAMP, op cit. p. 57
This eday wasein, as this dancing and singing is called, may last for
days. They dance not only for the enemies they themselves have killed, but
for every enemy who is killed in fights with other groups. That is why the
Hugogo perform a victory dance when an Ohena-man falls in a battle with the
Aso-Lloggal.

The informants connect the victory in a war with the custom of piercing
the septum and the earlobes of the boys at the age of approximately six
years. This seems to happen after killing an enemy; I have never seen this
myself. The piercing is done by the older brothers of the boys with a sharp
wooden awl. The septum is pierced just under the cartilage. According to
informants, this is done so that they can put a pig’s tooth through it as
adornment for a victory dance. The earlobes are pierced in order that they
can put the little mouth harp (bygon) through it.

PEACE

Naturally there are also periods of rest, times when they do not have
time to fight or when they are not interested; for example, during the laying
out of new gardens. That there is peace when one of the hostile parties
celebrates a big pig feast is an accepted custom by all parties. It even
happens that the gain of the celebrating group offers the gain of the
traditional enemy a pig on the edge of the battleground.

I have never seen a real peace agreement made between two hostile
groups on the initiative of both. Considering the conception of war the
Dani have, this seems almost unthinkable. Nevertheless some Itlai-Hadluck
informants told me that in the past their group lived in enmity with one or
more patrilineage combinations of the Ohema, who live in the Buki valley,
where also most of the Itlai-Hadluck villages lie.

The war frontier used to be located through the middle of the valley.
Not very long ago, but probably before the establishing of the administration
in the valley in 1956, both parties made peace on their own initiative.

Concerning the course of the peace feast the only thing they could tell
me was that both parties had eaten pigs together. I do not know how often
they have fought each other after that; but I know that in early 1963 a fight
erupted for an unknown reason, which cost the lives of at least twenty people.
On the initiative of the Dutch administration the Siel-Gosi and Siel-Eloksak
made peace in 1958 or 1959. As far as I know there have not been any
hostilities between the two groups, or in any case no serious fights.

THE JE WAKANIN-CEREMONY

The je wakanin-ceremony (lit.: fetching, taking of je) must be seen in
close connection with the war. The closest relatives of the war victims are
"paid" with long flat stones (je), nets (mu) and shell strings (jetak). For
a description of these valuables the reader can refer to the section on
"VALUABLES" in Chapter III.

The ceremony I will describe here took place at Wajatma, the same
village where I observed the above described win ganeje hakasin ceremony.
The village contains warriors' house of the Hadluck-patrilineage, which fights
its wars together with the Itlai-patrilineage against their common enemy:
the Itlai-Hiakes. This je wakanin is concerned with the victims who fell in
the war against the Itlai-Hiakes, in the period between the last and the
coming big pig feast.

This war is a private war of the Itlai-Hadluck. Hence this ceremony is
held in the village where they have their own warriors' house. It so
happened that the Itlai-Hadluck, as will become apparent later on, did not
suffer losses themselves during this period. The groups who had helped them
the Hadluk-Walilo and the Walaloa, had lost men. The day before the actual
ceremony these three groups have already gathered in Anelakak village with
their stones, nets and shell strings. The next morning these are transferred
to Wajatma by a singing crowd of men, women and boys. When the group enters
the village ground, Unshako, who stood waiting with the gain in front of the
win-nyila, grabs his spear, jumps lithely over the fence which divides the
warriors' house from the village ground, and runs to meet the group with his spear laid in rest, shouting: "wa, wa, wa, netauk wa, neak wa, nemy wa", which is a welcome as well as an expression of gratitude to the relatives who bring stones, netbags and shell strings. Suddenly he turns and goes in front of the group to the warriors' house. Near this house they sing and dance loudly and fervently. All the articles that are brought are put away in the men's house. The women, who helped carrying, go home.

The more important men enter the men's house; the rest remain sitting outside. After a while one hears the men inside the win-syle crying. Outside everyone is silent. According to what they told me they cry because two important men who should have participated in this ceremony are at the moment in prison in Hollandia (now Jayapura - Editor's note) for some crime. When the crying is silenced, one can hear loud shouts of surprise about the many valuables which they have in the meantime displayed in the men's house. Now the consultation about how to distribute the stones, nets and shell strings begins and lasts for three hours. Finally the netbags, in which the stones, long nets, and shell strings are packed, and handed out from the men's house and taken to the nearest cooking house. Here everything is unpacked. They make piles of the contents of each netbag as follows: The long su-aka are spread on top of each other; the number of nets in a pile varies from fifteen to twenty. On top of these nets they put three or four je and finally on top of that they lay two jetak the length of the nets. In this way they put out twenty two of these piles.

After a short inspection by a few older men, who change a shell string here and there, Eklakweak, the win mdeak is called. He walks along the row and points with his foot to a few piles and each time calls the name of a war victim, adding de, which means, 'here, take', e.g. "Wajana de". Through this he assigns the piles to the relatives of the person mentioned. They take the goods with them to their villages to use them later on in exchange actions. The goods are divided as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the war victim</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Relative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>for Asuken (Wallilo clan)</td>
<td>3 piles to his</td>
<td>oe (older brother)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for Wajama (Wallilo clan)</td>
<td>4 piles to his</td>
<td>oophone (father)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for Buluke, Wajama's wife</td>
<td>1 pile to her</td>
<td>oe (older brother)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for Wateke, Wallaloa</td>
<td>4 piles to his</td>
<td>oophone (father)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for Atehoko (Wallaloa)</td>
<td>5 piles to his</td>
<td>oophone (father)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for a woman (Gudikabe's wife)</td>
<td>3 piles to her</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Then there were two men who died because of sickness, whose relatives received one pile each. This is strange, as this ceremony had to do with war victims, as I was explicitly told. When I expressed my surprise, the answer was: "Rinamu-nen", i.e. "we do this" out of sympathy".

When I asked about the meaning of this ceremony, the answer was short: "It venebalunikiko 1lik", i.e. "that they (the closest relatives of the dead) may not be angry". According to what I have been told the purpose is to quieten down the feelings of revenge in the victims' close relatives, in consideration of the coming pig feast. There ought to be peace at the time when they celebrate this feast. The ceremony was held the first of December 1962, which is one and a half months before the feast and in the middle of its preparations.

On the occasion of the big pig feast the wam cet bali also takes place. This is the ceremony when the feasts of the war are honoured with pieces of pork. The warrior who was first to stab the enemy is particularly rewarded. Next the warriors who were wounded, and the men who carried the casualties from the battleground, and finally the men who have cut wood for the stake and put the corpse on it, etc. This ceremony will be described in detail in Chapter V.
WAR MEMORIES

Reminiscent of past wars are the nicknames by which the various defeated groups are called. Some of them are:

Cheng (clouds): collective name for a group of people who live to the south east of Wamena, on the other side of the Baliem river opposite to the Aso-Logapel area. The feared gain of the Aso-Logapel, Umuheutilik, had allegedly said to his group during a war: "You people are like clouds who are chased away time and again.

Amukhaled (ears that are cut off): The group of people with this name, who for the most part belong to the Thotput clan, used to live in the area of the Loko-Mapel combination. The great gain of the Loko-Mapel, Otelu, has driven this group from this area, because they didn't want to obey him. He had the ears of the killed enemies cut off. Hence this group is still called Amukhaled.

Mucogo, one of the groups, described in this book, who were called mucogo (herons) by the Hapi-Glaat jain Dukelik, because they were always chased.

Besides the nicknames there are certain stones, single trees, groves and certain lands which are connected with previous wars and are called wusa. At the foot of the Supula Mountain, near Aikima, one can find a stone that is called Sinilugi. Passers by lay bundles of grass with a knot in them on this stone which hardly emerges above the ground. The story goes that in one of the wars of the past somebody was killed on this place and they have eaten pigs to commemorate this. When the enemies came to take revenge those who were feasting took to flight. According to one version of this story the dead person changed into a stone; another version tells that it was the pieces of pork, they had to leave, that changed into the stone. There is a stone in the Hupin area, the Nandy, about which a similar story is told.

Throughout the valley one occasionally sees a single tree on a plain or in a garden will not be cut. That is the place where an old man was killed in the past; others put his stick in the ground to mark the place. The stick put forth buds and grew into a large tree. For the same reason various sin-groves (araucaria) are wusa. According to some a man was killed at such a place and was also eaten. His stick developed into wood. According to others they placed a victim's corpse on a seat and burned it then the legs of the seat grew into wood.

Finally there are various pieces of land that are wusa because it was there that the ancestors celebrated the wus hat balin ceremony. Of other places it is told that somebody was stabbed to death and that his blood soaked the ground there. Places where men are killed during a war are marked by the fact that they regularly remove the grass and weeds; or hang an old threadbare net in a tree or shrub.

SOME REMARKS IN CONNECTION WITH THIS CHAPTER

A). Noteworthy is the striking role of the "bird" theme in Dani warfare.

Sometimes the expression sunjatek (lit.: killed or dead birds) is used referring to enemies killed in the war. The same phrase is used for the spears, arrows, adornments, etc. that are taken from the enemy. However one usually uses the expression sunjatek (killed or dead people) in both cases.

The warrior who was the first to stab the enemy is rewarded with a piece of pork, called sunjatek, which literally means "pig-bird-killed".

According to some informants they initiate the call of a certain bird (among others of the jokolik (wood-pigeon) in the war yells they raise when they go into the fight. Others deny this and say that the war yells are welekat, i.e. "for no reason, just that". Whatever may be true, the similarity between the yells and the call of some birds is unmistakable.

Another striking thing is that many warriors go to war, dressed up with birds' feathers in their hair and between their bracelets. At the victory dances the men attire themselves with very fine and big feathers which are

19 The Dani language has the plural only with kinship terms.
carefully kept in folders of pandanus leaves in the men's house for these occasions. Often one sees a few men in these dances who have an adornment on their backs which looks very much like a pair of spread-out wings.

On p. 85 we already mentioned that some informants see the likeness of a bird's beak in the flat spearhead with the ratan ring. Also it is the plume of casuarina feathers which some warriors hold in their hand in a war as well as during the dancing. Finally the people see in the act of catching birds (and rats) in no-man's land a sign of killing enemies in the war.

Perhaps all this becomes a little more clear in the background of the story of the snake and the little bird.

In the beginning the snake, balu, and the little bird, awividlo, started a race with the fate of men at stake. If the snake could reach the finishing line first, man would be like the snakes: constantly throwing off old skin and adopting a new one; in other words, always remain young. But the bird won and kept repeating "hesi ju", i.e. 'smear yourself with mud'. To smear oneself with mud is a mourning sign among the Dani: man would die.

In this story it is the little bird that announces the death of man. In Dani society the ever-present enemy is the one who is constantly threatening death. Is that the reason why they refer to the enemy by 'bird'? Or is it that the reason the adornments of feathers are an expression of their awareness that the enemy is near, and therefore death, which is a constant stimulus for vigilance.

B). What do the sacred stones mean?

Bromley, who has worked in the Grand Valley since 1951, who speaks the Dani language very well and is at home with the Dani culture, calls the sacred stones "lineage fetishes", or "battle fetishes". He talks about "supernatural power, represented in lineage fetishes". The stones and shells that are kept in the little box in the warriors' house he calls: "the foci of power for battle and killing of enemies".

To my great surprise he makes no reference at all to the relationship between these stones and the ancestors. He apparently considers these stones as objects with an impersonal power attached to them, as a resource of power and might. The information that I received connect these stones in a close relationship with the ancestors or their spirits.

The people tell that these stones are kept ninobu-ninopha hasik, i.e. 'on behalf of our ancestors'. Hasik means 'on behalf of; for'. How this is to be interpreted in this phrase is not clear.

At the ganage balasen ceremony (see Chapter VI) which I attended at Analakak, they took the stones out, and while they smeared them with pig grease they said all sorts of formulae, addressed to the spirits of the ancestors. When I asked where those spirits were they pointed at the stones.

On another occasion, when I had drawn the little box with the stones on a piece of paper according to informants' directions, they indicated each stone and called the name of an ancestor; adding: sene ju, e.g. 'Elabpo sene ju', i.e. 'This is Elabpo'.

Finally a statement by an informant, pointing at the stones in the box: "Ahuni alepat wati-lu-hunaka-mege inepe ju", i.e. literally: 'people who died in the past, their person this'.

On the basis of this information I believe it is safe to conclude that there is a close relationship between the sacred stones and the ancestors. They also represent the particular ancestors for whom they lie there and are symbols for them.

C). Finally I would summarize the place and the role of warfare in the life of the Dani and their thinking. I have mentioned above that in the Dani conception warfare is a religious duty. The ancestors have said: "War is good, not to make war is bad". That means that war is part of the order of life as the ancestors have wanted it for the Dani. Keeping this order is essential for the prosperity of Dani society. To make war is one way in which the Dani satisfies the will of his ancestors and their spirits. The prosperity of the society is thus guaranteed. If he does not make war he...
incurs his ancestors’ punishment, which may be expressed in famine and sickness among the people and pigs.

The conclusion then can be that the Dani make war ultimately for their society’s prosperity. Following this thinking it is only natural that courage in warfare is the prime criterion for social prestige. It should also be clear that a concrete reason is not always necessary for war activities. The question why a certain group made war is often answered by: "wia hana", i.e. 'war is good'. But often many of the war activities would in fact be a revenge for previous war victims among their own people.

Theoretically the following statement might be made: If the balance between two hostile groups in the number of dead and wounded were achieved, even then the traditional hostility between both groups and the expressions of it would go on, as they are an inherent part of the way of life among the Dani. This would also explain the dogged persistence with which the Dani hold to their warfere; and in spite of the laborious efforts by administration and police towards pacification would explain the regular outbursts of aggression.

CHAPTER V

THE BIG PIG FEAST

THE TIMING OF THE PIG FEAST

Approximately every three years the Dani of the Grand Valley have a big pig feast, called spe-ago. This periodic pig feast is not held by all groups in the valley at the same time. Each war confederacy observes the feast separately. My impression is that when one war confederacy has started the spe-ago, then the other confederacies will soon follow, so that within one or one and a half years each group has had its feast. The spe-ago is a culmination of ceremonies that take place during the same period in the various villages of a confederacy.

The gain of the dominating patrilineage - combination is the one who sets the time for the feast. This seems to be the sole right of the gain. Violating this right may cause tension within the war confederacy.

Interesting in connection with this was the rising power struggle in the war confederacy of the Loko-Mapel. Up to that time Oteilu was the unchallenged gain in this confederacy. As early as June 1963 there were rumors that Oteilu would start the celebration of the spe-ago. However, two months passed without any decision being made by him. The other gain in the area became impatient and according to reports, seemed to have put pressure on Oteilu to commence the pig feast as soon as possible. Oteilu kept postponing it. Then in August, two gain, Abegodlo and Sula, on their own initiative forced the hand through conducting the je wakanin (see pp. 109-111), the preparatory ceremony for the spe-ago. Oteilu appeared so upset about this,

1This feast is called muepe in other parts of the valley, e.g. the areas of the Aso-Logopal, the Ohena and the Walee. I do not know the literal meaning of either term.
that he did not appear for days. Some say he retired to the mountains, others that he was hiding in the men’s house all those days. The groups of the two rains feared reprisals from Gutelu for this coup, but nothing happened. He held himself completely aloof from the je wakanin. According to some, it was because he had sworn off war; according to others, the reason was that his group did not have any victims since the previous pig feast, so that it was not necessary for him to participate in the ceremony, as only war victims are ‘paid back’ to their relatives. According to my informants it is absolutely false that Gutelu’s group did not have war victims since the last pig feast. That Gutelu would have sworn off the war is almost unthinkable, as this would have caused the deterioration of his position as gain. Probably the reason for his aloofness must be seen in the fact that he felt greatly overlooked because they had celebrated the je wakanin without his permission. The finalization of the date for the pig feast still had to wait.

In October and November there were rumors that the feast was about to start. But it was not until the 11th of February 1964 that Gutelu finally held the opening ceremony. Did he want to take revenge on the other gain?

OPENING CEREMONY

The opening ceremony which begins the epe-ago for the whole war confederacy is called wa'm adlo balin. Literally this phrase means: stem-pigs cut in pieces. This is a figure of speech. Informants explain it as follows: adlo is actually the lower part of a tree trunk from which the tree originates and on which it rests. Figuratively adlo can mean "beginning" or "first". Here it is used in this sense. The translation can be: to cut the first pigs, the pigs of the beginning, in pieces. The central wa'm adlo balin, which involves the whole war confederacy, is celebrated in one of its most important villages. For the Step-Gosi and Itlai-Hadluk this was Wubahmatek. The reason why this particular village was chosen has not become clear to me. Presumably, it was because of certain sacred stones which were there. At this central wa’m adlo balin pigs are killed and prepared in the cooking pit. Then a long procession of warriors take big pieces of pork and run to the most important gain of the patrilineages that participate in the feast. This is the sign that the epe-ago is officially opened. Then they have the ceremony in the various villages of the separate lineages where sacred stones are kept. It is not held in villages where no stones are kept, which indicates that the lineage is of more importance than the local group or the village. For the war confederacy of the Step-Gosi and Itlai-Hadluk the central wa’m adlo balin was held on the 25th November 1962; and in the separate villages between the 22nd December 1962 and the 7th of January 1963. For this group the dates are further apart than for the Loko-Napel, who had their central ceremony on 11th February 1964; and the separate celebrations in the various villages immediately after that from 15th to 19th February.

Immediately after the opening ceremony, men and older boys are seen going out to cut firewood. Day after day they fell big trees and cut them into firewood. When they have a sizable pile, it is the women and girls'
turn to collect the wood and carry it to the village. Long processions of women and girls carrying big loads of wood on their heads are common scenes during this time.

The last days before the actual (agne) feast, the villages are humming with activities. Men as well as women go from village to village for deliberations. Fire tongs are made. These are long sticks split on one end and with which one can pick up hot stones. They erect wooden racks in the villages to hang pork on. Old, ruined cooking pits are cleaned out and deepened again. At various places houses and fences are repaired or replaced. On the village grounds all grass and weeds are pulled out. Throughout the area one meets men from the Jali area wearing their striking attire of rattan rings around their abdomen. The presence of the Jali is a sign that the pig feast is at hand. Some come as guests to the feast, invited by their relatives; others come for trading. (See pp. 72-73.) Another sign that the great ceremonies of the pig feast are at hand is the erecting (menasen) of the firewood. Up to then, they had piled up the large pieces of split wood outside the village. In one day, all this gathered wood near the villages of the group is erected against sturdy racks, which are mostly built near the entrance of the village.

CASTRATION AND PROHIBITION OF KILLING

Long before the pig feast is officially started with the am adlo balin ceremony, two events take place that can be considered as an early preparation for the feast. These are the prohibition of the killing of the

killing of the pigs (am adlo his) and a mass castration (napalyen wakanin).

In the case observed, among the Siap-Klokoak, about a year before the pig feast the killing of any pig in the whole area was prohibited. According to the people only the gain can announce this prohibition. Among the Siap-Klokoak it was Bagatem, a gain from the remote northern corner of the valley who belonged to the Klokoak-clan, who issued the prohibition. When I asked why they had asked Bagatem to issue this taboo, they answered that everybody would be more obedient to him because they knew that he managed through his sly and dauntless behaviour to keep all strangers out of his area.

Some people say that the taboo is issued by we ne, by which a certain formula is presumably meant. The taboo forbids the killing of any pig in that area until the ag ece even at a cremation at which many pigs would normally be killed. According to the informant this prohibition is so strictly enforced that in the past, anybody who killed a pig in violation of the taboo, was killed by the people because this was considered to be stealing a pig from society. During the period of this taboo the people of the group are also forbidden to eat crayfish, rats or birds, at the risk that the pigs would die. The reason for the am adlo his is apparently to save pigs for the big feast. A few months after that a lot of pigs are castrated in order that they, according to the informant, may grow more rapidly.

2 According to some informants, agne must be considered in connection with adlo. Edlo is the beginning of the feast, the stem, trunk, ahe (see p. 3647) is the actual, the real thing, the corpus, standing on the trunk.

3 In the Jali area live fellow clan members of the Dani of the Grand Valley, like the Siap, Hadaku and Itlai.

1 Indeed, in past years this gain has chased away the representatives of administration and police as well as missionaries, who ventured into his area. In 1961 when a colleague and I tried to establish a mission post in that area, we were forced to leave after ten days of intrigues, boycott and threats. It was too risky to stay longer. In March 1962 people from his area killed a Papuan teacher who was building a school in the area of the Loko-Napel, by stabbing him with a spear.
INSPECTION OF THE PIGS

About ten days before the great ceremonies begin the wam aei lytham takes place in various villages of the group. This phrase literally means "seeing pig's hair". This happened, at least in the three cases I attended, for each patrilineage separately. The members of the group bring a number of pigs together in the leading village where the sacred stones are kept, to be killed at the great feast. The pigs are brought before the assembled gain who sit in front of the men's house. Sometimes the pigs are brought one by one, sometimes in pairs or in threes.

The man who gives the pigs hits each one with a stick on its back and announces its destination. Before this, there has been a lot of deliberation about this destination among the men and some older women on the village ground.

At Gelekapma village all 19 pigs were destined for the initiation ceremony that would take place later in that village. At Anigupa 16 pigs were designated for the ceremony by which all expressions of sympathy for the death of gain hlubuk are rewarded. I could not detect the destination of the pigs at Wuluabe. It is rather accidental that in the mentioned villages where I attended the inspection of the pigs, all the pigs were destined for just one ceremony. Sometimes some of the pigs are destined for the jogal isin, others for the initiation ceremony and others for the wam aei bulin ceremony. Each of a pig is welcomed with a grateful "wak wasa" by the men.

When all the pigs have been inspected and officially have received their destination, they are returned to the villages of their owners. This ceremony should be thought of as a sort of "pig show". They now know how many pigs will be available for each ceremony (marriage, initiation, etc.).

A peculiarity of the wam aei lytham at Wuluabe village was that the ceremony was an instruction at the same time. A few older men taught a young man of about 20 years of age how to bring the pigs before the men and what to say. First he was a little shy and did it wrong. He was corrected by the men and had to repeat until it was right. Among the Hugogo the show seems to take place during the day and during the evening the men sit in the men's house deliberating about the destination.

PIGS FOR THE MEN'S HOUSE

The day before the actual feast, i.e. before the jogal isin ceremony (dressing of the girls with the woman's skirt), the waji hakat-apin (boy's initiation) and the wam aei bulin (rewarding of sympathy shown) start, the pigs for the men's house are killed (the belai-akho). This is done in all villages where sacred stones are kept. One (sometimes two) of these are destined as wam jatel and put down in front of the box. From another pig the four wusa parts - half of the head, a leg, a middle piece and the ham - are taken and laid out between the entrance and the fireplace. The wam jatel as well as the four pieces may only be eaten by certain persons, namely the direct descendants of the ancestors whose stones are kept in the men's house (see p. 88).

The pigs' neck is hung on sticks in the men's house. For this occasion the sacred stones are taken from the box and put in front of the box where they will remain during the feast. Sometimes an old shell string or band, set with little mussel shells belonging to the ancestors, lies next the stones. Near the box also lies a few huge sweet potatoes with some pig's grease on them. After the feast these greased potatoes are given to the so called wam hanek, the pigs that are destined for the ancestors represented by the stones. At the end of the feast the stones are smeared with grease from the wam jatel and put back in the box. The belai-akho may only be eaten by men and boys.

Now the three great ceremonies that make up the ege (the real, substantial) of the pig feast can start. Sometimes one of these ceremonies must be postponed or perhaps moved up to the next feast. Among the Loko-Napel for example the initiation of the boys could not take place. So many pigs were needed for the jogal isin for the many marriageable girls, that there were not enough left for the initiation.
The following table shows how the three great events of the feast coincide and overlap.

For the Step-Gozi and Itlai-Hadjuk:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>January</th>
<th>jogal isin</th>
<th>was hati-adal</th>
<th>was oat balin</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
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<td>23</td>
<td>&quot; waja hakat-spin</td>
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**JOGAL ISIN** (giving of girls in marriage)

The jogal isin ceremony I will describe here took place at Anelakak, where five girls were given in marriage. As far as I could conclude, twenty-two other girls were married at the same time in thirteen other villages of the Itlai-Hadjuk and Step-Gozi.

The girls marry rather young in general. A rough estimation of their ages ranges between twelve and eighteen years. At this ceremony I saw girls whose physical maturing (the development of the breasts) had hardly started.

Usually the ceremony is held in the section of the village where the girl's home is. There are exceptions to this rule, however. The last weeks before the jogal isin the marriageable girls often stay in the village because they fear being kidnapped. Sometimes they spend these last weeks in the village of their mother's brother or in the village of their husband-to-be, usually in a section other than his, sometimes in the same. I know of a few cases when the girl (in the middle of the night) was brought over to the village of her husband-to-be by his brothers and was strictly guarded. Often this is accompanied by heavy fighting. In these cases the ceremony took place in the villages where the girls lived during the last few weeks.

Four days before the girls are dressed with the jogal the was jeleligen is killed. One pig for each girl is given by her atok. This term in this context can be best translated as "male fellow clan member of approximately the same age". In two cases it was a half-brother.

In Anelakak as follows:

For Mge (Jokop clan) the pig was given by Wele;
for Dapihe (Hadjuk clan) by Jegoke (half-brother);
for Heta (Hadjuk clan) it was given by Umathok;
for Aguite (Hadjuk clan) by Wenuhuky;
for Lakhalok (Bepiga clan) the pig was given by Wealisok (half-brother).

Before the pigs are speared, Takalek takes a leaf and waves it above the animals that they may die immediately when they are pierced (was bukun varin waswasi). After they are killed the pigs are lined up, with their heads pointing in one direction, in front of the entrance of the men's house. Now the was bukun (lit.: breaking of the backlegs) is done. One man (any gain is allowed to do it) takes a small je with a bunch of leaves and a little piece o bele (wood which is said to be wasa) with which he hits each pig on the backlegs, while he whispers the names of various kinds of pigs, adding hae bukus, i.e. "your legs, break". When he has finished, he or another man shouts loudly: hae bukus, which is answered by all men present.

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5. Jeleligen is a wild raspberry. Nobody could explain the meaning of the word in this context.
6. The Dani divide the pigs into groups according to qualities and characteristics.
   - was bukula: pigs whose piglets grow fast;
   - was bukula: pigs that do not take potatoes from the gardens and that do not bite their piglets;
   - was wenas: pigs with many young in one litter;
   - was wenas: pigs that are very aggressive;
   - was wenas: pigs that are very fat.
   - was wenas: these three groups become very fat.
in chorus with a long-drawn "hooooo". Some people say that they do this to prevent the pigs running out (wam lek aminoko iluk) or, as others formulate it; 'in order that the pigs' legs will become short (wam as hotok-at aminoko iluk) so that they cannot run away. This ceremony is held only on behalf of the pigs that are killed by the ope-agó. After this the tails and ears are cut off, which Takalek will eat after the jomal isin. Then the pigs are prepared and smothered as usual. In the meantime one of the girls, Haga, is called out from the kitchen. In front of the men's house stand seven men, her étoyé, one of them holding a small pig, wrapped in an old, worn-out net bag. He also holds a plant with some moss (o jen) in his hand. He holds the pig's snout and the plant near Haga's breast, while all the men lay their hand on the pig and say emphatically a few times: "heneno, wam wusseg nekhen amaroke, haneno", i.e. "pull out, you have eaten sacred pig, pull out". Haga spits on the pig. A long time ago this girl was allowed to eat a wusa part of a pig (the ham) at the geggé bakaén ceremony (see Chapter VI) of her own Jokipi clan, where there was no male relative who could do this. This action prohibits her from doing this in the future but now she is about to get married. Other girls do not go through this ceremony.

A few men roast pieces of raw meat in the kitchen, and sprinkle them with local salt afterwards. Umañako takes a small piece of roasted meat between thumb and index finger and draws a line of grease downwards between each girl's breasts while saying:

"heneno, sobaik nekhen, haneno"  
"pull out, you have eaten sobaik, pull out";

"heneno, hoñcai nekhen, haneno"  
"pull out, you have eaten hoñcai, pull out";

"heneno, mukan nekhen, haneno"  
"pull out, you have eaten mukan, pull out";

The three named animals are different kinds of crayfish. The girls have been allowed to eat these but now they are temporarily taboo until some time after the pig feast. If they were to eat these animals during the pig feast, they would get diarrhea and vomiting.

Takalek, the most important man in this village and father of three of the girls, takes a hot stone between fire tongs and presses this on the pieces of roasted meat that are set aside for the girls, while saying:

"hinakla waklé akótno"  
"your insides, become stiff, inflexible";

"halu heko dek dek"  
"snake, your tail (??)";

"hullinu heko dek dek"  
"lizard, your tail (??)"

The meaning of this is that the girls will not get diarrhea from eating the huge portions of pork and fat. Now each girl is offered a piece of roasted pork. Immediately she starts eating.

In the meantime the earth oven on the village ground is opened up and the pork is divided. The five pigs are eaten by the women, the girls and the little boys of the village. The girls' parents and the donors of the pigs are not allowed to eat of it. A day or two before the actual jomal isin they kill eight large pigs at Atelak to lighten the work of the next day. The pork is kept in the kitchen. The next day, very early, another ten pigs are killed. There is much hustle going on the village ground: some men are busy killing pigs and preparing them for the cooking pit; women are bringing vegetables, in particular sweet potato leaves; other men are cutting firewood and heating stones.

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7. "Étoyé" is plural for étoyé. It means here 'male clan member of about the same age.'
In the meantime the girls' female relatives are busy hanging out the nets in the kitchen. A number of these are su-aka, long rectangular nets open on both sides which are used as clothes by the women (hanging from the head over the back to knee height). The others are su-sge, the actual net bags, which the women use to carry sweet potatoes, vegetables and often the baby that is in a separate net bag.

The women who hang the bags out, put stones in them to stretch them. These nets and the new jogal strings are given to the girls by their half brothers, their (classificatory) mothers and their mother's brother. Some of these gifts the girls will use themselves, but later they will give many to women whom they are in debt to, for example their sisters, and their husband's sisters.

Some women have finished the preparation of the new jogal with which the girls will be dressed in a while. When the earth ovens on the village ground are finished and everything calms down a little, the nets and jogal are put down. The girls who could walk around freely, now have to stand near the nets. After endless talking and deliberation the nets and jogal are piled up. When everything is apparently arranged to everybody's satisfaction, the piles of nets and jogal are handed to the men and women who gave them and these officially hang them over the heads of the girls. While they are standing there, loaded with nets, Takalek starts yelling and soon everybody joins in. The context of the lamentation I was told is a farewell: "Nakwe, lano, nybyty-a yasi lanin", i.e. "I love you, but now go, go plant sweet potato slips (for your own husbands)."

Now the girls are no longer free. They have to sit down in the kitchen in a row against the back wall where others take their load of nets except for a few. Umathako is roasting pieces of meat over the fire. Pieces from this are offered to the girls by their etchuko. They themselves eat from it and they share with those present.

In the meantime the earth oven on the village ground is opened up. Some of the smothered wam out are partly laid down around the girls in the kitchen. They are completely surrounded by big pieces of pork dripping with grease. Umathako cuts pieces from it which are offered to the girls by the relatives who are sitting around. The nets that were hanging in the kitchen are spread out on the village ground and the rest of the wam out is put on them so that all the dripping grease can soak into the nets, thus making them stronger. Umathako cuts the wam out into pieces and hands them out. First the bridegroom's fathers receive a piece. Then after consultation with other men and women, he calls the names of those who just gave a net or a jogal. They are rewarded with pieces of pork. The rest is divided among those present as a free gift.

The actual dressing of the girls with the jogal, the clothing of a married woman, takes place in the kitchen towards evening. The girls are standing, sometimes holding on to a stick, which is fixed above their head for this purpose. A few women (sisters-in-law, or wives of her husband-to-be) tie the strings of the jogal under the grass skirt around the thighs. When the genitals are sufficiently covered, the grass skirt is removed. Sometimes they leave it on for an evening. At the sides the jogal strings are bound up, so that in front and at the back it hangs in half circles. Besides the new nets and the new jogal they also receive a brand new digging stick about two meters long. From this moment on the girls are addressed with he i.e. 'woman'. The days and nights after this until the day they are transferred to the bridegroom's village are he get ukunaga, i.e. 'the women just dressed with jogal are never left alone'.

The day after the jogal usin, early in the morning, one can hear loud laughing and shouting from all parts of the valley first at one village then at another. That is when the young women are brought outside. They walk with small steps, still feeling strange in their new clothes, and they are

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This jogal is a rather strange sort of dress. In contrast with the grass skirt, which the girls wear, the jogal, which is tied around the thighs leaves the woman's seat uncovered. To cover it in public the woman always wears the previously mentioned su-aka.
laughed at by the other women and girls.

Early in the morning of the second day is the time for the *segan balin*, i.e. “the making of fire with a firesaw”. This is a short stick about 30 centimeters long, which is split at one end. The split is kept open by squeezing a stone in it. The split end is put on a very fine, dry, inflammable tree fibre, while the other end is pressed against the ground with the right foot. Then with both hands, a piece of thin halved rattan is pulled along the end of the split which lies on the tree fibre. It is pulled back and forth like a saw, until the rattan breaks. The friction produces heat which causes the thin tree fibre to smoulder. By blowing the smouldering fibre carefully, it soon catches fire. This “sawing fire” is done in front of the kitchen entrance, where the young women are sitting. It ought to be done by the fathers of the bridegrooms-to-be, who, however, may appoint any other relative, even women, to do it. If one does not succeed in making fire or the fire dies quickly, then this is a sign that the woman will not stay long with her husband, but will soon run to another. If the fire keeps burning, then she will stay with her husband. The latter was the case here. The persons who have done this are rewarded with a piece of pork.

During the first night the young women, who have been sitting at the same place against the back wall in the kitchen, and loaded with at least six nets, get hardly any rest. The women and girls who are sitting around them, sing incessantly. The young women are not allowed to sleep; they would dream that their husband already died and start to long for another man say the older women. If they are overcome by sleep, they are wakened by the older women and severely reproved. During the day, too, especially the second day, the watching is very intent. Continuously I heard some women say, "Sit up; sit decently; do not sleep". From day to day the strictness decreases considerably. If the women fall asleep, they let them and cover them up with a load of nets. Sometimes they are allowed to have a walk on the village ground, or even outside the village, but always escorted by women or older girls. This, according to informants, is to prevent abduction.

During these days the young women eat enormous quantities of pork and grease. They smear their whole body with grease, or have other women do it. It is striking that the respective bridegrooms do not show themselves in their bride’s village during these days or, if they are there, they hide themselves carefully. Somewhere else in the Loko-Mapel area where I attended the *jogal isin* at a later date, they were not as strict concerning the young women, and the young men walked around openly in the village of their bride.

The fourth day after the *jogal isin* five pigs are killed by the relatives of the young woman. Later that day, pieces of meat are taken by the women, who accompany the bride to her bridegroom’s village, and given to his relatives. According to some informants these pieces are given in exchange for the pork that the bridegroom’s father and brothers have taken to the bride’s relatives earlier that day. If the latter really happened I missed it completely.

Now the women and girls are busy dressing up for the festive procession by which the young women are transferred to the village (or section) of their bridegroom. They hang large cymbium shells, and strings of little cowry or nassa shells, which they borrowed from the men, around their necks and bind pieces of red imported cloth around their heads. Some smear themselves with red clay. A few women run to and fro on the village ground with long spears in their hands. Other women are ready with net bags full of pork or they carry sticks on their head with pork hanging from them. The women are quite excited. They dance and sing. The men watch from a distance, interested and laughing.

Suddenly, Takalek orders silence. He takes a pair of fire tongs and with the help of another man, he digs a small hole in the ground near the village fence. He puts a few little leaves (*weteweg*) in it. Then each young woman puts a sweet potato shoot in it, which is handed to her by Wetekdalako, one of Takalek’s wives. Takalek covers the hole and puts the fire tongs in the ground next to it, with the split end up. Nothing is said. As the sweet potato cuttings are placed close to the little leaves, so the young women ought to stay with their husband, and from now on plant sweet
potatoes for him. This was the explanation I was given.

The old woman Watekala, smeared a piece of old saly (girl's skirt) and a bunch of mean (parsley) with pig grease. Then she draws both to knee height between the young woman's legs, and sticks them into the split of the fire tongs. The women who are standing around accompany this action with a long-drawn ho-o-pi. The period of being a girl, symbolised by the saly is closed; from now on they will live a josal uku, i.e. clothed in josal, or as a married woman. Two of the five young women are then escorted in a festive procession by singing and dancing women and girls to the village of their bridegroom. They carry pieces of pork with them (from the pigs that were killed this day as well as from those that were killed five days ago). Two others are transferred to another section of the same village while the fifth girl only changes family house.

The bridegroom is embarrassed to show himself when the bride is welcomed into his village. The bride then stays in the house of her mother-in-law for a few days. One evening the bridegroom is called and brought into the family house where his bride is sitting with a few relatives. Bride and bridegroom sit next to each other and together they take a piece of pork (according to informants, the josal lein, which means it is eight to ten days old!) which the bridegroom cuts into small pieces (wan balik balin) and shares with the relatives who are present. The last pieces are eaten by his bride and himself. Then the relatives go home and bride and bridegroom sleep together that night. It sometimes happens (I observed a case such as this) that the young man stays away for a long time if he is very shy or thinks himself too young. It seems that the action of the wan balik balin is done anyway though I do not know who does it.

If the woman who have just been dressed with josal are still young, the aey aey mato mese, 'men with a good heart', will not have intercourse with them before they are mature, informants told me. From my informants, it does not become clear when the actual moment of marriage occurs. Some say that as soon as a girl josal uku, i.e. is dressed with a woman's skirt, she must be considered as married. Others hold that she is not married before the just mentioned ceremony of the wan balik balin. Still others say, when they have had intercourse.

To give an idea how many girls are married at the same time at the josal lein and to whom, I will give a list, probably incomplete, of the women of the Step-Gosi and Itali-Hedluk village who were just married together with the names of their spouses. 'Man' means that this person is already married to one or more wives the number of which is in parenthesis. 'Young man' means that this person is married for the first time.

From 11 Step-Gosi villages:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wife's name</th>
<th>(clan)</th>
<th>married to: Husband's name</th>
<th>(clan)</th>
<th>Young man(YM) or man (M)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nettay</td>
<td>(Gosi)</td>
<td>Wasin</td>
<td>(Stepp)</td>
<td>M (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koloke</td>
<td>(Gosi)</td>
<td>Wasin</td>
<td>(Stepp)</td>
<td>M (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Audoleke</td>
<td>(?)</td>
<td>Buluk</td>
<td>(Stepp)</td>
<td>YM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ Javaky</td>
<td>(Gosi)</td>
<td>Wulak</td>
<td>(Stepp)</td>
<td>M (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ Gusaake</td>
<td>(Stepp)</td>
<td>Inaten</td>
<td>(Jokopi)</td>
<td>YM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jalani</td>
<td>(Jokopi)</td>
<td>Hillimo</td>
<td>(Stepp)</td>
<td>YM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jitny</td>
<td>(Sekim)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>(Stepp)</td>
<td>YM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inapota</td>
<td>(Gosi)</td>
<td>Wulusem</td>
<td>(Stepp)</td>
<td>M (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waloaka</td>
<td>(Stepp)</td>
<td>Jahan</td>
<td>(Wail)</td>
<td>M (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jegatsa</td>
<td>(Wail)</td>
<td>Poni</td>
<td>(Stepp)</td>
<td>YM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dibekake</td>
<td>(Stepp)</td>
<td>Sunatle</td>
<td>(Jokopi)</td>
<td>YM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depon</td>
<td>(Wail)</td>
<td>Musa</td>
<td>(Stepp)</td>
<td>YM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giloke</td>
<td>(Inawa)</td>
<td>Jogolan</td>
<td>(Stepp)</td>
<td>YM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deleke</td>
<td>(Stepp)</td>
<td>Wigaila</td>
<td>(Wail)</td>
<td>YM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leoatuke</td>
<td>(Wail)</td>
<td>Wapakole</td>
<td>(Stepp)</td>
<td>YM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Galuk</td>
<td>(Wail)</td>
<td>Slo</td>
<td>(Stepp)</td>
<td>YM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ushe</td>
<td>(Jokopi)</td>
<td>Nuna</td>
<td>(Stepp)</td>
<td>M (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gegen</td>
<td>(?)</td>
<td>Lepakak</td>
<td>(Wail)</td>
<td>YM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halugi</td>
<td>(Wail)</td>
<td>Jalinak</td>
<td>(Stepp)</td>
<td>YM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hisulika</td>
<td>(Wail)</td>
<td>Gokkak</td>
<td>(Stepp)</td>
<td>M (3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From 2 of the Itali-Hedluk villages:

| Bata        | (Itali)| Ophaselek                   | (Itali) | YM                       |
| Dapoche     | (Hedluk)| Jomal                      | (Rapiga)| YM                       |
| Agucha      | (Hedluk)| Malok                      | (Jokopi)| YM                       |
| Makonauk    | (Itali)| Mahili                     | (Okal)  | YM                       |
| Nege        | (Jokopi)| Wetupluk                   | (Hedluk) | YM                       |
| Leidahak    | (Bapiga)| Zgupli                     | (Hedluk) | M (1)                    |
From this list it appears that 9 of the 27 women were married to a man with other wives. The two pairs marked with + are a case of aik humesin that is the form of marriage in which two young men of opposite moiety marry each other's sister (see p. 26).

**WAM OAT BALIN**

Another ceremony of the pig feast, which is held a day after the actual jofal isin is the wam oat balin. Literally this phrase means "the cutting in pieces of the pig skin". With these pieces they reward all expressions of sympathy in the case of a death. The ceremony which I will describe, which took place in a section of Amigopa village in the Slop-Gosi area, where the sacred stones of the local Walilo patrilineage are kept, dealt with the death of Halubuk, a Wallio gain who had died of sickness the year before.

From villages of this patrilineage, like Etidima and Gelekapa, a number of wam oat, which were earlier stored in these villages, and which are dripping with grease, are carried to Amigopa. Except for one, all wam oat are carried by women, that is, by the wives of the dead man and his brother. One wam oat is carried by Halubuk's son, who has smeared his whole body with grey clay. While singing they go up to the entrance of Amigopa village, where they stop. The gain who are gathered on the village ground and some older men start a song to which the crowd which is waiting outside responds. After singing, they carry wam oat into the village, while the gain shout, "Neak wu, nkot wu". Everyone stands still. Anokheistik, a younger brother of the dead man, starts a lamentation and all that are present join in. They wail about Halubuk's death. After this the pigs are spread out on banana leaves which are spread on the village ground. A small net (jail-su) which contains the tails and ears of the pigs, is carried by a boy and is put in the men's house near the little box. Later, Labisok, a younger brother of the dead person, will eat them.

Now, the important men sit down in front of the men's house; the rest of the men next to them and the women and children round about on the village ground. A few men are busy arranging the wam oat according to the time they were killed. Those that were just killed in front, i.e. closest to the men's house, then behind these that were killed earlier.

Next, they put six on top of each other and then these are piled on the heads of a group of women, Halubuk's wives and his brother's wives. If the load becomes too heavy for the women a few men help by putting some long sticks under the pigs thus helping to hold them up. The other wam oat are piled on the heads of Halubuk's female relatives, and one on his son's head. When all wam oat are placed on their heads, Anokheistik shouts: "Neak wu, nakot wu, nakot wu", after which all are laid on the ground again. While all are sitting silently, Anokheistik walks along the line of pigs, inspecting them. He is proud of them, my informants tell me.

A few of the important men start to cut the wam oat in pieces; others, led by Anokheistik, deliberate about the distribution of the pieces. They also consult some older women. After the consultation some pieces of pork are put down near the guests who are present: near a few men in front of the men's house, near myself, and near a few other little groups of men and women further away and a few pieces are taken to other sections of the village. These pieces are called ja mami, 'eat here'(?), and are given out without calling any names. Then the official distribution is started by Logopese, one of the dead person's sons. He is the only one who remains standing, while the others sit. Anokheistik and a few older men and women, the consultants, are sitting near him. In their hands they hold little pieces of reed, the so-called o segelek. The dead man's relatives have saved these little sticks in the men's house to remember the persons who in one way or another showed sympathy at Halubuk's death. They are tied in little bundles and may be sorted according to the villages where those people live or according to the way in which they showed sympathy. Each time a

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11 wam oat (literally pigs skin) is the back skin and everything that they first leave with it: the upper jaw, the spine, the layer of fat and the muscles which are attached to the skin (see p. 65).
little stick is taken the advisors whisper the name of the person for whom it was kept. Logoppeke holds a piece of pork high, calls out the name that has been whispered to him and adds: "de", i.e. "here, take it". The person for whom it is intended, or his relative takes the piece of pork. The little stick is then thrown away. The pieces of meat given as rewards are called wam malandar. The following expressions of sympathy are rewarded (go balin) in this way:

- cutting of firewood for the stake;
- taking the corpse and putting it on the stake;
- giving sweet potatoes to the dead person's closest relatives who could not go to the gardens because of the death;
- wounding oneself to bleeding by hitting one's head with a sharp stone;
- having the top of the ear lobe cut off out of sympathy for the dead person; this is done primarily to boys;
- having some of one's knuckles cut off in sympathy for the dead person.

The cases of mutilation of ears or fingers that I observed were done at the death of a father (also of father's brothers or sisters), of a mother (also of mother's brothers and sisters), of one's own brothers or sisters, or of a grandfather and grandmother. The only occasion that people can be observed wounding themselves with a stone is at the moment the corpse is laid on the funeral pyre. This is done mostly by women, especially mother, sisters and wives of the dead; sometimes it is also done by men. The other expressions of sympathy, that is, help in one way or another can also be expected from other villagers and acquaintances.

This ceremony can be considered as a commemoration (namely in the lamentation) of the dead who died of sickness or age, and at the same time as a rewarding of all expressions of sympathy. In other villages of the war confederacy where people have died in the period since the last pig feast, the wam oat balin is also celebrated. Whether it is held for all the dead or for the gain, I am not sure.

A similar ceremony is held in connection with the victims the war confederacy has lost during the period between the two pig feasts. Due to the fact that this wam oat balin took place the same day at the same time (but in another village) as the ceremony just described here, I was not able to attend it. Later during the big pig feast among the Loko-Napel on the 30th and 31st of March 1941, I had the opportunity to see it twice. For the sake of completeness I will describe it here since this ceremony is also part of the go-agu.

It is immediately clear that this ceremony is celebrated on a much larger scale than the one described above. Here sixteen wam oat were divided and about 200 people were present at the feast, comprising the members of the local Wali-Lo patrilineage. At the celebrations of the wam oat balin concerning the war victims in the Loko-Napel area the situation was as follows: at the ceremony at Gitaima 22 wam oat were divided. The number of people at the feast was about 800, from the following patrilineage combinations: Haduk-Natian; Ati-Banka; Willi-Heima; Walaia. According to what informants told me, this involved victims from the war against the Gosi-Aloa (war leader Hisako) and the Hlaebok-Betaloks (war leader Petigama), whose patrilineage-combinations belong to the war confederacy of the Widiko-Aloa.

At Sakatmokona approximately 70 wam oat were divided and the number of people was estimated at 2000; the nine patrilineage combinations that took part were: Loko-Napel; Widiko-Aloa; Dlany-Napel; Wndik-Waleia; Gosi-Aloa; Wndik-Hokalo; Heiman-Napel; Munuklu-Napel; Loko-Baludan. This ceremony was held for the victims of the war against the Widaia.\(^{13}\)

\(^{12}\) Generally the cutting of knuckles is only done by girls. The maximum number of fingers that are mutilated like this is six. Both thumbs, and the index and middle finger of one hand remain untouched. The cutting is done by an expert with a stone ax, and more recently also with a steel ax. There are only a few married women who still have all their fingers complete. During four and half years I saw only one woman, who after her marriage had knuckles of two fingers cut off, because her sister had died. Sometimes, in case of deep grief, men also have knuckle bones cut off. Talalak, who lost two sons on one day because of dysentery, had two knuckles of an index finger cut off.

\(^{13}\) The number of victims is unknown to me.
I will describe the ceremony at Dipaima. From the four villages of the patrilineage-combinations who take part in the ceremony the *wam oat* are transferred to Dipaima village, where the dominating combination, Hadluk-Matian, has its warriors' house. There is an unusual amount of activity. One by one the *wam oat* are carried through the narrow entrance into the village ground, where they are laid down in rows. At the same time groups of men and women are dancing and singing on the village ground. Some young men are dancing on top of the fence and on the roofs of the houses. Everybody is really dressed up: men in high fur-hats, feathers and cymbium shells; women and girls in red scarves and necklaces of shells.

In front of the village entrance a framework has been erected. Two sticks are stuck into the ground at an angle, leaning toward each other with a long erect stick clamped between their top ends. The stick is fastened to the two posts with a strong binding of rattan. A bundle of leaves smeared with pig grease is tied to the top of the stick. Horizontal sugar cane stalks are fastened against the slanting posts. Unfortunately nobody could explain the meaning of this. All my informants answered: "We do not know why this has to be done but our ancestors have taught us this". While all present are dancing and singing an old man comes out of the men's house carrying a packed bundle of grass which is burning at one end. This he lays down between the entrance and the framework, the burning end toward the area of the enemies: the Gosi-Aloa and the Hilabok-Betakale. Then he and a few other men sit down and light their cigarettes from that fire (see also p.103).

On the village ground the men now start to heap the *wam oat* onto the women's heads. These women are the victims' relatives, their *etuky* (classificatory sisters) and their own wives. One pile consists of seven *wam oat*, another of four, still others of two or one. Probably each pile represents a war victim, the size being an indication of the person's status. When all the *wam oat* are piled up on the women's heads, one is lifted up on outstretched arms. At that time they shouted something which I could not hear, and which I could not trace later on through interviews. Probably it was an expression of gratitude, like "Nekk  wa, hakot wa". Next the *wam oat* are carried out in procession one by one, and are laid down on leaves. The people are told to sit down. After the *wam oat* has been out in places the distribution begins. First a few pieces are distributed at random among the people. At the official distribution, when the names of the persons concerned are called, the *wam oat tewak*, (lit.: pig, bird killed) are first given out. These are the long strips of fat (from head to tail) which are the first pieces cut from the *wam oat*. With these pieces they reward the warriors who were the first to stab the enemy. Smaller pieces are given to: warriors who were wounded in the war by spear or arrow; those who have carried the dead or wounded from the battle field; those who have cut firewood for the funeral pyre; and those who have laid the corpse on the pyre. At the ceremony no pieces of reed were used. Informants told me that the pigs which are divided here were given by the ap dukute of the combinations concerned, in particular by men who married war-widows.

**INITIATION CEREMONY**

While the jokal isin is continued and the *wam oat balin* is finished, the third great ceremony of the pig feast is started, the *waja hakat-spin*, the initiation ceremony for the boys.

The ceremony I describe here took place in Wajatma village where the Hadluk patrilineage has its warriors' house. Fourteen boys from the local patrilineages, from the Hadluk, Wallilo and Itial clans were involved. Although both the Wallilo as well as the Itial have their own *wam*-*yila* in one of their villages, they still have the ceremony around the Hadluk house, because the important persons in this area belong to the Hadluk patrilineage.

31 The term *Wa* as name of one of the moiety as and part of the name of the initiation ceremony do not have the same meaning. As far as the moiety is concerned, one is *Wa* by birth, i.e. if one's father belongs to the Wa moiety. In the second sense one 'becomes' Wa though initiation. Instead of *wa* in the sense of 'initiated', one can also use *wit balak*: *Hakat-spin* means 'to arrange for somebody; to take care of somebody'.

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The text appears to be discussing the ceremonial practices of a particular culture, focusing on the role of *wam oat* in a ritual context. The description includes details about the physical setting and the actions performed during the ceremony, along with explanations of the significance of certain objects and actions. It also mentions the term *wa* and its implications in a cultural context. The text is rich in cultural specifics, likely from a community with a rich tradition of such practices.
and also most of those that are initiated are Haduluk (see table next page).

The ages of the initiates varied from three to thirteen years. Only the boys who belong to the Waja moiety and those whose lower half of the body is Wyda and their upper half is Waja, are allowed to take part in the ceremony. Those who are completely Wyda do not take part in it; for them anything that has to do with the initiation is taboo.

Behind the warriors' house an area for the initiates is separated from the rest of the village by a fence. In this area an old kitchen is prepared as a sleeping place for the boys. Outside the village there is a grassy field surrounded by shrubs. This field and the fenced area in the village are the boys' domain during the ceremony. It is strictly taboo for the women.

I have seen the initiation ceremony twice; the first time was in January 1963 at Wajtma; the second time in November 1963 at Netogolek in the Huj-Lakapan area. Significant variations between both celebrations are mentioned in foot notes 15.

**FIRST DAY.** Early in the morning there are crowds of men walking to and fro, deliberating and making the last preparations. The boys who came from their villages this morning together with their fathers and brothers are called together. Behind theウィン ina他們 they are lined up on the grass strip which is spread out for this purpose. They line up in a particular order which has to be observed during the next days when the boys have to take up position again. The criterion for the order is not clear, in any case, they do not stand according to age or height.

The order is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BOY'S NAME</th>
<th>ESTIMATED AGE</th>
<th>CLAN (MOIETY)</th>
<th>VILLAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mutuluk</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Haduluk (Waja)</td>
<td>Anelakak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mutuloko</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Haduluk (Waja)</td>
<td>Anelakak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hokatalik</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Haduluk (Waja)</td>
<td>Anelakak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nebelukha</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Haduluk (Waja)</td>
<td>Anelakak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pokotak</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Haduluk (Waja)</td>
<td>Anelakak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wealoko</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Haduluk (Waja)</td>
<td>Anelakak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malokhano</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Haduluk (Waja)</td>
<td>Anelakak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alakhe</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Haduluk (Waja)</td>
<td>Anelakak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wele</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Itlai (Wyda)</td>
<td>Lejukmo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weleluk</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Walilo (Wyda)</td>
<td>Wajatma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masa</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Walilo (Wyda)</td>
<td>Wajatma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weleluk</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Walilo (Wyda)</td>
<td>Wajatma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nancy</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Walilo (Wyda)</td>
<td>Lejukmo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nancykun</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Walilo (Wyda)</td>
<td>Lejukmo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Now they apply the アキヘミン to the boys. The gain Digitol holds a little pig close to each boy's belly and shouts with the other gain who are present: "heneno, wydat nekhen, heneno", i.e. "pull out you have eaten wydat, pull out".

In this way they list many names of plants and animals, and each time the heneno in between. The various names are in order: wydat (vegetable), dyem (banana), holina (lobster), pakai bugale (kind of rat), hagi wamod (kind of banana), sukan (lobster), dobai (?), jepula (?), jalebago (grasshopper), jalegenak (?), bain (yam), el (sugar cane), se dyem (vegetable), siny (spinach), sue (birds), syk (mushrooms).

Now the boys are about to eat the pigs, which are killed at the Waja balat-sin, a temporary taboo is issued on things that they could freely

15 First I had planned to stay overnights in Wajtma, to be able to attend ceremonies that might be held at night. However after reliable informants had assured me that no ceremonies were held during the nights, and that there is only dancing and singing I did not stay. I took care though to be there as soon as it was light, i.e. by six o'clock and to stay till dark. I am convinced therefore I have not missed much of the ceremonies.

16 A few months after the initiation these taboos are gradually abolished because the very men who had issued them, like Takalek, offered the forbidden things to the boys.
eat before. If they eat them anyway, they will vomit. Gigiki also adds to the formula mentioned above: "Hemen, akose agat mep, haneno", i.e. "pull out blood from mother's vagina, pull out".

This addition suggests that this is not only a matter of taboo, but also of purification.17

When Gigiki has finished this row, he holds the pig's snout shut with his left hand, takes jenu (moss) and yutage (a certain leaf) in his right hand, and while the other men help hold the little pig, he pushes its snout against each boy's belly, while all shout loudly: "Hemen". They laugh and joke about it. From then on the little pig is very well taken care of and is not killed until it has large tusks. Then 16 pigs, presumably given by the initiates' fathers and brothers, are killed and prepared for the cooking pot in the way already described under the jegal isein (p).

It is noteworthy that the tusks of three big pigs are wrapped in banana fibres before the hair is singed above the fire. This is done to prevent the tusks from becoming brittle. They want to use them as nose adornments later. Another striking thing is that the cleaning of intestines and other insides, which is normally done by women and girls, is now done by men and boys.

Informants explained that women are not allowed to touch anything that is related to initiation.18

When the earth ovens are ready the boys must go inside the wie-syla where all the important men are gathered. The initiates receive a new holim (penis sheath), a sany (a little band around the body which keeps the sheath up), and a sany-sapua (a narrow band that hangs from the sany on the back over the anus). Normally the sany and the sany-sapua are just strings, but now they are narrow bands, woven especially for this occasion. The boys diligently start to try them on while the men help them. The sany is tied around the body around the navel, then a loop is made in the front, through which the top of the sheath is strung. On the back the sapua is fastened to the sany. When all are finished that far, the boys are ordered to stand up. Gigiki goes on his knees along the row and removes all the old stuff which the boys may already wear, like the penis sheaths and bracelets of the older boys. At the same time, he fits them with the new holim. A young man who is constantly accompanying the boys gives each of them a piece of fat from a pig that appeared to be killed yesterday. They eat this. The same young man now smeared the new sheath and little bands with pig grease while all those present shout as loud as they can, "Muluk akatno, muluk akatno", i.e. "grow up, grow up". After that the other men also help smear the boys' bodies with pig grease. With a lot of fuss, the old sheaths and bands are packed away in the men's house in an old net that is wrapped in leaves. They are kept in the men's house and burnt outside when the pig that was used for the akua henin is killed.

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17 The presumption is confirmed by what I saw among the Hupi-Lakopan. The first day of the initiation ceremony the boys were led to the Beline river, where they had to wash themselves from top to bottom. The little ones are washed with a bundle of grass by men, their mother's brothers. Informants called this akose agat mep hosen, i.e. "to wash off mother's vagina blood (from the birth)". At Gelekopa a few schoolboys who were already dressed were stripped of their clothes briefly for the initiation. To them, according to informants, a special akua henin was applied to cleanse them of all that is strange, and foreign, like wearing of clothes, eating of tinned fish, meat and butter, and eating of foreign vegetables.

18 The following simple example may illustrate how strictly this is observed. When I was talking with some women I lit a cigarette and they asked me for some tobacco. They lit theirs and inquired with interest where I came from. When they learned that I came from the place of initiation, they were frightened, took the cigarettes from their mouth and gave them back. "Huaa", they said. On the other hand they are not too strict or rigid about it. This may be illustrated by the fact that when the youngest initiates, boys maybe less than 3 years old, cried, they were lifted over the fence by one of the men and given to their mothers who then gave them the comforting breast. Among the Hupi-Lakopan a mother was even allowed to come inside the fence for this purpose.
Suddenly there is much noise and shouting outside. Hundreds of warriors, splendidly dressed and armed with spears encircle the men's house. A few warriors are standing menacingly in front of the opening, with couched spears. Others climb on the houses and the sties, shouting loudly: "Nakot wokom, nakot wokom", i.e. "give me my younger brother", frightened, the little boys, still sitting in the men's house, try to hide behind the men, but they are stopped. Then the men dash out of the wina-yula and shout: "Ap wasin, ap wasin", i.e. "kill the men, kill the men". The initiates are called outside and placed among the warriors. The shouting and screaming changes to a mighty victory song. After a little while large groups of warriors who took part in the feigned attack return to their villages. When all the dancing and singing has ceased the initiates line up again on the grass strip. Gigiti and other men hold a long sugar-cane stalk above the boys' heads and above each boy this is pierced with a dagger of pig's bone. Nothing is said. From then on, until adulthood, the boys are forbidden to eat this kind of sugar-cane (al dali). While the boys remain standing in a row, the cooking pits are opened up and the large pieces of pork are chopped into smaller pieces. With greedy eyes, the boys look at the pieces of pork that is laid down at their feet. In front of each boy a man lines up with a piece of fat in his hand. All of these men offer their fat at the same time. The boys stretch their hands to receive it but the men withdraw loudly shouting, "Heee". Later these pieces are given to the brothers of the boys' mothers. Now the initiates are allowed to sit with the men in order to eat meat, sweet potatoes and vegetables. When the pork is divided certain pieces are reserved for the gain of other groups who celebrate the ege-agi: for Wasin of the Slep-Gosi and Gudik-Sabe of the Hadlux-Walilo among others. Young warriors take these pieces by two to the various villages. Large pieces of the cooked meat are put in the kitchen where the boys sleep.

Very early on the SECONDB DAY, the boys are led outside under pretence of going to drink water, which was forbidden since the ceremony started. They have bows and arrows in their hands, and little reddish-brown nets, (hiliwakuy) around their necks. It is bitterly cold. The boys run enthusiastically over the plain towards the river. Suddenly, with fierce war-cries numerous warriors emerge from the bushes with couched spears and chase the frightened fleeing boys. Purposely they miss the target, the spears stick vibrating in the ground near the boys. The initiates are led to the dancing ground which is an open spot in the bushes. There they place the bows and arrows against a rack made of a few sticks and hang the nets away.

The boys are not given any rest. The previous night they did not sleep but sang continuously. They are not allowed to rest now either. Again and again they are prodded on by those who are leading them in dance. They are only allowed to sit squatted not on the ground, because eali sis-on Balh- pinoko, i.e. "you run the risk that worms bite you". They are also not allowed to stand with their arms crossed over their chest and their hands on their shoulders, the normal position when one is cold. They eat only sweet potatoes which are roasted by the men.

About noon the boys are allowed to go in a group to drink. Singing and dancing they go to the drinking place and back. They continue to dance and

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19 According to informants these bows and arrows and the little net are given to the initiates by their mother's brothers before the initiation starts. I have not seen this. The bows are made of black wood from the Jali area. The little reddish-brown nets, which do not hang from the head, but around the back of the neck (on their backs), are made of little pieces of fat into. They are worn only during the initiation. Each time the initiates leave the village or come back, they wear this little net and carry the bows and arrows. They do not wear shell strings around their heads. Among the Hapi-Lakopan I saw the passing of bow and arrows, net and shell strings which is done during the initiation ceremony. While the initiates are standing in a row on planks their mother's brothers hang the net "on" their head and wrap one or two shell strings (jilak) around their head. At the distance of a meter from the boys they then pull the string of a stretched bow and let it go, causing a cracking sound. The bows and arrows are then handed to the boys. When the boys go outside the village in a group they wear the shell strings around their heads.
sing for the rest of the day. Now and then an armed warrior would dash from the bushes to frighten the boys. If they see a passerby at a distance, the boys' companions will shout all sorts of mocking remarks to him, mostly with a sexual content, followed by laughter and shouting of "nsaa!" from the boys. Remarks like: "What are you doing here? Go and have intercourse with your wife". During the late afternoon, the initiates return to the village where two older men have prepared the meal.

When in the morning of the THIRD DAY the initiates are led outside, they are suddenly attacked by their companions. After some skirmishes, peace is soon restored. The companions draw the boys' attention to a group of men and boys who are coming their way from a distance. They all spread out quietly and hide behind some shrubs. There is tension. When the group has come near, they all come out and start a short but intense mock battle, after which they all go to the dancing ground together. The initiates are told to line up on a grass strip, laid out especially for this purpose. The men wipe the boys' faces clean with leaves according to informants, to clean them from nkwa eatega (vagina blood from the mother) with which they are contaminated since birth. Two men walk along the row and whisper something to them, which is completely drowned out by the loud shouting of the others. They say this whispering is nsaa ane (sacred language), which they do not know the meaning of. The men then make a fire and sit down around it. It is early morning and still cold. The boys who are still standing about ten metres from the fire, are beckoned to come nearer. But when they follow the instruction, they are mockingly told: "Stay where you are". It is striking to see how calmly the boys accept these little trials. The older boys comfort the little ones. One can tell from their behavior towards each other that they feel they are companions in distress.

All day they dance and sing. Passers-by are hooted at. Two women who are watching the boys' dancing from a distance are boooed by the whole group. A warrior goes to them with his spear couched, which greatly amuses the boys.

In the morning of the FOURTH DAY the men adorn themselves with feathers and paint their faces with black and red earth. The boys smear their bodies with pig grease, but do not wear any adornment. Some men from other villages, armed with spears and bow and arrow, enter the village with singing and are welcomed by those present with an excited "Na wa wa". Six young men, probably the six who may eat wam wusa in the warriors' house (see wim ganego bakasip. p. 89) stand up in a row behind each other. The fourth in the row has a net draped around him. Umathako takes a shell string and puts it on the right shoulder of the six young men. The string is shifted further via the neck of the first man to the left shoulder of the second young man, who finally holds it around his neck both ends hanging down his back. The only thing they could tell me about the significance of these actions is that the ancestors taught it this way. The initiates take bow and arrow again, and the little net around their neck and while singing and dancing, the whole procession of men and boys leaves the village for the wam sabuin, the begging of pork. The women and girls join in. The procession goes through the various villages in the area where the epe-epe is celebrated. At each village the group stops at a distance of about 100 meters, to sing and dance. In the song they mention the name of the gain of that particular village and ask for a piece of pork by repeating "wam apo" (hunger for pork). Women and girls join in the dancing in the background. Two or three warriors, with spears in their hands, run to and fro along the dancing group. In front of the group one or two warriors run back and forth between the group and village with a large piece of pork in their hands. For a few minutes nobody from the village shows up; finally the gain comes out of the village either alone or with somebody else, with a piece of meat, presumably from a pig that was killed for the men and the boys (see p. 125). He stops at a distance. The singing of the group ceases. The gain holds a piece of meat up and shouts "De", i.e. "here, take it". A number of warriors with spears run towards him. One man receives the meat. The others shout disappointedly "Hee" and go quickly back. The meat is stored in a netbag which is carried by the women. The group shouts in chorus "wa wa wa" and then recites in a high singing tone, "Hee, haloak, hubuknak, nekamok, wam gon gon, w Address o hate, o gikup saguhue". The meaning of this text is not clear; not even my
informants could explain it. Continuously dancing and singing, the group goes on to the next village where they repeat the begging of pork in the same way. This continues for hours until late afternoon; first passing three villages in the Buki Valley, then across the mountain and further to the Step-Gosi and Walaloa villages. Having returned to their own village, the men and boys have their meal together, which was prepared by some older men who stayed home.  

The collected pork is divided among the men; it is taboo for the boys.  

The NEXT DAY, too, is spent by war subsin to the other villages in the Buki Valley.  

The SIXTH DAY, after a morning of dancing and singing, they stage a mock war in the afternoon. A group of armed warriors enters the dancing ground. The warriors who have just arrived and the men who were there are whispering. Suddenly a man dashes in breathlessly and wildly gesticulates that enemies have been sighted, and they already have killed a woman in the garden and are heading this way. The boys become restless; the atmosphere is tense. The men are deliberating. Small groups of warriors, each taking a few boys with them, spread quietly over the plain. When they have come near the shrubs that surround the plain, numerous armed warriors suddenly emerge, shouting loudly as they attack. There is an intense mock-fight; the little boys start crying and try to escape, but are stopped by the men. After a short battle, the enemies take flight, pursued by the men and boys. Very soon the pursuing is stopped, and all perform a victory dance; singing and dancing they return to the village. The initiates have to line up on the grass strip again. After a few men have wiped the boys' faces clean with some wet leaves, Gigiki with bemut (red earth) draws a red stripe from the forehead over the nose of each initiate while he whispers: "Jo-ale hotok, depole hotok!" This is mana nea again, with unclear meaning.  

In the meantime the men standing around them are singing. Older men, among whom was Takalek, shout in a loud voice: "Ap akatno, muluk akatno", i.e. "become a man, grow up!" During this action the women and girls from the adjacent section are dancing and singing too. While they are singing loudly the men go with the initiates to the women's section. The shouting and yelling is deafening. A few warriors with couched spears run in front of the group. They all stop at the first family house but continue singing. Together Gigiki and an old man, Qilik, one on the left, the other on the right of the entrance, hold a boiled lamia-fruit (from which the penis sheaths are made), and a piece of dried pig's intestine above the entrance to the house. Then Najopa, who is one of the boys' constant companions, leads two initiates at a time into the house. Two old women are sitting behind the fire places, their legs tucked underneath their bodies. The boys walk on the right around the fireplace, over the women's thighs and out of the house again on the left side. When they leave the house Gigiki cuts a piece of the fruit and the pig's intestine with a bamboo knife, so that the fruit juice drips onto the backs of the boys. The pieces that are cut off are thrown to

21. Among the Hapi-Jakipan a man drew a line on each boy above the eyes with pig grease mixed with soot, running to the ear on both sides; another man drew a stripe on the nose with red earth. After that a number of men took bow and arrow and with the arrow on the stretched string each of them lined up in front of a boy. While they were standing like that, they collectively recited something which I could not hear and I was not able to trace later. Suddenly the men loosened the string which held the arrow, with a click. According to some the boys are not allowed to blink.

22. It is rather frequent in Dani that a command or prohibition is said in a clear singular form, even when it is meant to refer to more than one person. This phenomenon, by the way, also occurs in Dutch.
the women who then eat them. By this time the men standing around are singing loudly and dancing. In the background the women are also dancing. This ceremony is called at wajja wana gula- inap, i.e. 'leading the initiates into the family house'\(^2^3\). The ceremony illustrates that the strict taboo on contact with women, which was in force during the days of the initiation ceremony, has been abolished. The boys may again come into the family houses with their mothers, and they are again allowed to eat sweet potatoes that are prepared by women\(^2^3\).

Gigiki now puts a sugar-cane stalk of the bitinem sort on the ground, and a one stem of the mukunet sort (vegetable) on top of it. With a sharp bone dagger he pierces the lower ends of both stems at the same time. After that the stems are laid on the roof of the house, where they are left till they are dried out. Then they are burnt. People say this means that the boys are not allowed to eat these kinds of sugarcane and vegetable as long as they wear the sany and asapum they received at the initiation. When these things are worn out and replaced by new ones, then this taboo is no longer in force.

On the SEVENTH DAY in the morning the boys are led out to the dancing ground where some men are already busy collecting branches from the casuarina. Under a large tree with many, thick branches they light eight fires. Wet grass is thrown on top of the fires to produce more smoke. The boys are then ordered to climb the tree where they disappear in the smoke. One can hear them coughing and sneezing. Some who cannot stand the smoke try to come down but are driven back by the men with sticks. However, the little ones are given clemency. They are picked up by the men and for just a moment taken through the smoke. While the boys in the tree almost suffocate in the smoke, the men underneath are shouting loudly. A strong wind suddenly blows the smoke away and the boys come down triumphantly. According to the people, the meaning of this happening is: eleke inwediyen uklik akasanuk iluk, i.e. 'that the boys may be toughened up'.

They then receive instruction in shooting. The men teach the boys how they have to position the arrow on the bow and how to aim. The older boys have to shoot a few arrows from a short distance toward a thick tree. If the arrows stick in the tree, the men approximately su-u-u-u. The little ones just watch; they do not need to shoot. The arrows that are shot are left in the tree or on the ground.

According to instructions from the men, the older boys now go to collect a pile of firewood. The men pick up some little twigs for the little ones and put those in their hands. For the time being the firewood is piled up near a tree; later on they will take it to their mothers\(^2^4\). Probably this action may be seen as a concrete emphasis on the duty the boys have from now on to help in supplying sufficient firewood. In the afternoon the boys have another mock war. They pelt each other with stems of a fern-like plant, and very often hit their target. The men stand at the side encouraging them. The rest of the day is spent dancing and singing.

The EIGHTH DAY the boys have a day off. The men are occupied all day with the dibat isin of the women. They kill a pig in front of the win-syla, and it is prepared as usual. The female relatives of the boys, their mothers and sisters, meet in the long kitchen in an adjacent section of the village. Takalek, Gwusel, Iluege and Umathako, who perform the dibat isin are sitting between the women. The mixture of muusen and pig blood with the

\(^2^3\) Among the Hupi-Lakopan a similar ceremony took place. However, here the men who cut the pieces of fruit and the pig's intestine were standing on the roof of the family house. It was also striking that after the ceremony one of the men shouted to the boys: "Witini" (‘come all of you’), after which they all ran off to the pile of cooked sweet potatoes, which were just taken from the earth oven by the women. Each boy grabbed a few sweet potatoes and disappeared into his own section of the village to eat them.

\(^2^4\) Among the Hupi-Lakopan the firewood was collected and immediately taken by the boys in a procession to their mothers who were sitting in the kitchen.
roasted pieces of pork is prepared in the same way as described earlier (see p. 93). The dibat are distributed and the women and girls put them on. When all have eaten something of the mixture, Takealek and Usathako go along the line of the women and girls, laying hands on their heads and blowing on them. With some, who are presumably sickly, Takealek stays a little longer, lays both hands on them and says: "Memaluk, heluk-at lokoing", i.e. "Why, stay alive!" A little girl is taken to Takealek separately. When he lays hands on her, he blows upon her and says: "Lit lit, go to stuc", i.e. 'pull, pull, grow up'. Then the three older men recite the text that is mentioned on p. 94. The oldest man lays a stone aside in front of the kitchen exit. Some women and girls are ordered to step over the adae on leaving. Then it is removed and all women and girls are allowed to leave the kitchen. By this action they say, permission is given to go outside. The earth oven is opened up and the women and girls eat together.

On the NINTH DAY the dibat isin for the boys and men takes place. This is different from the ceremony just described in that no new pig is killed for it. For this, a stew is made of sweet potato leaves and meat that was cooked on the first day of the initiation", (both items are cooked first now) instead of the mixture of 'musaun', blood and roasted meat.

When the boys and men are gathered in the win-aile, Gigik puts the dibat on the boys, lays hands on them and says, "Ap akatno, ap akatno", i.e. 'become a man, become a man'. The boys eat a little piece of meat. Then it is the men's turn to eat. These are men from the local patrilineages Hadluk, Walllo and Ilai. A few older men hold dibat above the meat and vegetables and blow upon the boys, while they say, "Galinoko hitasunoko lulu", i.e. 'you run the risk of being killed by the enemy'. The dibat which have been blown on are put on the meat and vegetables, the banana leaves are folded over them, while one says: "Nekte, hialtoh himak himak, ap-en hitasunoko lulu", i.e. 'my younger brother, your skin is hidden, all of you run the risk that the enemy will kill you'. The dibat are taken out and distributed. Most people put them on themselves. The older people help each other, while they say, "Walasunoko, heluk lokoing" i.e. 'you run the risk to die, stay alive'.

When all have put on the dibat, they eat a little piece of pork with sweet potato leaves. All are blown upon. Then the older people recite the text from p. 94. The whole ceremony is done in a rather disorderly manner. Some young men who sit quietly outside smoking are called inside to receive the dibat, but they just do not listen. The older people become angry and start to scold. In the men's house there is hardly room for those present. They are sitting very close to each other. Others are standing and bending over those who are sitting. Yet those who come late are squeezed in.

According to informants only Takealek, Usathako, Gigik and Iluage have the right to perform the dibat isin, and to blow upon the people. They are the wusa inelu-mege, the men who are knowledgeable in the sacred things.

After the ceremony all have a meal together outside. After only a few hours an older man is busy repairing a small fence, the so-called wadlo-leket in the way described (p. 96).

In the boys' fenced ground behind the win-aile a few men, among whom is Usathako, put reed stems (heida) in the ground forming a circle, so that a round fence is created with a diameter of one meter and a height of one meter. Reeds are tied together with ratan on the lower end, just above the ground and on the top. The fence has an opening. A new digging stick is put in the ground next to it. The reason for the erection of this fence is explained by informants with the words: aleke inelu lokoa-en, watlasunoko lulu, i.e. 'that the boys may stay alive and not die'. They told me this was the end of
the initiation ceremony. The boys stay another three days to finish all the leftover pork. Then they return to their homes.

During the same time as this initiation ceremony at Wajatma there were other ceremonies at other places like Gelekupma for five Step boys and in the Biki Valley for ten Itlai boys.

In passing I have pointed out the striking phenomenon that only boys belonging to the Waja moiety or to the middle group (lower half Wyda, upper half Waja) are allowed to take part in the initiation. Among others, the Walilo and Itlai clans belong to the latter group. Clan members who are Wyda modoket, i.e. completely Wyda, are not allowed to take part. Belonging to this group are the Gosi, Jokopi, Isawa, Mapel, and Wilil clans. These Wyda boys are said to remain guwal i.e. 'not initiated'. Members of these clans are not allowed to attend the initiation; they are even forbidden to hear the initiation songs or to see the dances. Malek, my houseboy, who belongs to the Jokopi clan took this prohibition very seriously. He used to accompany me on all hikes and to help me whenever he could. When I went to the place of the initiation however, he became obstinate, and refused to go with me. When Takalek and Umathako explained the initiation to me they asked Malek, who was always present, to stay away. "Esp Wyda hakamate", i.e. "he is Wyda, is not he", they said.

In this connection it is interesting to ask the question whether or not a Wyda man can ever be a great war gain. It is striking that three of the five mightiest gain, who are known throughout the valley belong to the Waja moiety, namely Silo (Loka clan), Idogo (Aloa), and Dukulik (Hapli). The great Qutelu (Mapel) is said to belong to the middle group (lower half Wyda, upper half Waja). Unfortunately I do not know to which moiety Ugumbeaktik belongs.

These are only the most famous gain. Of the gain who are not as well-known, some are Waja, others Wyda, as is shown by this list:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wyda</th>
<th>Waja</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gotoke (Gosi)</td>
<td>Loni (Aloa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hela (Gosi)</td>
<td>Balu (Loka)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hiaiko (Gosi)</td>
<td>Isawa (Aloa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wamsale (Gosi)</td>
<td>Wain (Step)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anilek (Gosi)</td>
<td>Heakol (Walala)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wenengolik (Gutesi)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

About these Wyda gain, people stated explicitly that they were 'completely' Wyda, and therefore not initiated. These men are considered as great gain in their own area, and it is not impossible that some of them, through changes of the power structure within their war confederacy could work their way up to the ranks of the greatest.

Nevertheless it remains a strange mystery that only boys from the Waja moiety are initiated. This matter, although described, needs more clarification. I have tried everything to get more insight into this but have not succeeded.

THE INITIATION IN RETROSPECT

Considering the initiation ceremony as a whole, it is unmistakably clear that it is very much focused on warfare. Everything happens in and near the warriors' house. The boys officially receive bow and arrow. The accompanying men always have spears with them when they go outside with the boys. Moreover the repeated mock wars and war dances leave no doubt. The formulas, spoken at parts of the ceremony, allude clearly to war. Finally informants state that during this ceremony the boys are initiated into warfare.

At certain places of the ceremony they speak about growing up, for example in the formulas, ap akatno, muluk akatno, i.e. 'become a man, grow up'. From the first day on the boys are officially given the clothing of a man. Throughout the ceremony there are prohibitions and actions that aim at trying and toughening the boy. One has to admit however, that these also can be seen in connection with the initiation into war. The fact that even
toddlers of three years old take part in the initiation suggests that the aspect of growing up is only secondary.

A third aspect of the initiation we could mention is the well-being, in particular the physical well-being of the boys and of the whole group, which is expressed in the dibab ilin. This however must be considered against the background of the continual threatening by the enemy.

In summary the three aspects, war, growing up and physical well-being can be seen in connection with each other as follows: becoming a man or growing up is for the boys primarily a matter of becoming skilled in war, where the question of life and death is constantly acute.

GENERAL IMPRESSION OF THE BIG PIG FEAST

During the period of investigation I had three opportunities to attend the big pig feast: among the Siep-Goei and the Ittal-Hedluk; among the Rupi-Lakopen (Magogo) and among the Loko-Mapel.

On the basis of my experiences and also on statements from informants it seems to me that the spe-ago is the culminating point in the socio-religious life of the Dani. The spe-ago is the big feast which everybody is looking forward to and which they live for. Everything is festive, everybody is cheerful and excited. All over the area there is dancing and singing for days and nights. They really dress up. Everyone, young or old, has smeared his body with pig grease. The women who have just been dressed with jonal are being smeared with grease; also the initiates. All who are fasting

smear themselves with grease. One does somebody a favor, when one wipes his greasy fingers on his hair or back. When the large pieces of pork are cut into smaller pieces and divided up, the men call a few little children and wipe their hands, dripping with grease on the hair or backs of these little ones. I cannot avoid the impression that the smearing with grease during the pig feast has a religious significance for the Dani, as a sign or symbol of prosperity, health and strength for the community which is expected from celebrating this feast. Informants stated explicitly, "spe-ago atal halokhe, rit wen abik yapukun, modok wis yapukun", i.e. 'when the pig feast is over we will lay out many gardens and make war often'. The intonation of statements like this, the emphasis with which they are expressed, the gestures that accompany them, the ardour with which they speak about the pig feast, these convinced me that the Dani, in particular the older people firmly believe in a renewal of strength and prosperity for the community, brought about by celebrating the spe-ago. The spe-ago is established by the ancestors and by celebrating it at the fixed times and in the traditional manner, they act according to the will of the ancestors and the people are certain that they please them and may expect prosperity from them.

COMPARISON WITH THE PIG FEAST OF THE KAPAUKU

The pig feast of the Kapauku, as described by Kospiusl, goes as follows: A rich man, usually a headman, decides to organise a pig feast. His motivations are personal profit, and increasing his personal prestige. He asks cooperation from a number of rich, younger relatives. When the materials for a dancing house are gathered, the man who took the initiative for the feast starts the building of the house by a magical ceremony, in order that the feast may be successful and bring in a lot of money (cowry

27 This was a real stroke of luck. The American anthropologist Mr. H. Heider, who did fieldwork in the Grand Valley among the Witiel-Haiman group for two and a half years, did not get the opportunity, at least not among the group he worked with. When he settled there, the spe-ago was probably celebrated not long before and the next feast took place four months after he left for America.

28 Even the investigator cannot escape. Every man, woman and child is smeared with grease. Everything you touch is greasy; everywhere you sit down it is greasy.
shells). Besides the big dancing house other feast houses are built, which serve as guest houses, and as places where the pigs will be killed, sold, steamed and eaten. When these houses are finished a period of three months is set aside, during which people come from far and wide to dance and sing in the dancing house. The period is started with the killing of a number of pigs by the rich men who give pieces of pork as free gifts to friends and relatives. After the meat distribution the men and their advisors set the time for the actual pig feast. From this time on until the pig feast there is dancing and singing in the dancing house every night. This time is pre-eminently for flirtation and love-affairs. Sometimes these develop into marriage. Very early on the day of the actual feast, the pigs are killed by the rich men.

Others also bring pigs and kill them there. Then the big market starts, where along with enormous quantities of pork, salt, tree fibre, nets, bamboo containers, birds' feathers and adornments of any sort are traded for shells. This market is a meeting place in many respects: loans are negotiated; debts paid back; problems of war and peace are deliberated.

Pospisil summarizes the significance of the pig feast for the Kapauku as follows:

"Because of its social and political consequences a Kapauku pig feast, although a trading ceremony in nature, surpasses in its significance the scope of economy, and becomes one of the central events around which Kapauku public affairs are patterned.29

The most characteristic aspect of the Kapauku pig feast is the economics: it is a real market. The organizers' motives are individualistic to gain more wealth and prestige. The Dani pig feast lacks this trading aspect completely (except for trade on a very small scale with the Jali).


Among the Dani themselves nothing is traded at the feast. There is no question of personal enrichment. One gives pork as free gifts to visitors and guests. A gesture of generosity which gives them the name of being akhuni edaygen hano-mege i.e. 'people with a good heart' The Dani is very sensitive about this. Yet he expects that others be as generous in their time.

In contrast with the Kapauku feast the pig feast of the Dani is an accumulation of ceremonies that are far-reaching in social as well as religious effects for the whole community, like marriage, initiation, commemoration of the dead, warding off of hunger, sickness, and enemies' threats, on which occasion numerous pigs are killed. The killing is indissolubly connected with the ceremonies. The celebration of this big pig feast is the culminating point in the socio-religious life of the Dani, on which the community's prosperity depends.

In contrast to the pig feast of the Kapauku, which is tied to the economy and individualistic in nature, the epe-mege of the Dani is a socio-religious "cérémonie totale", which encompasses everything and everybody and which gives rhythm to life.
CHAPTER VI
THE RELIGIOUS ASPECT

DEFINITION OF RELIGION

Religion is defined here as: "all ideas about a reality that is not empirically testable and all behaviour that implies the presence of such ideas". Applying Van Baal's definition, that which is usually called magic, is considered here, as a religious phenomenon and is defined as: "All actions and formulae, seeking to promote a certain goal by using a reality other than the one that is empirically testable, in which case the reality is not acting independently, but as an instrument used by the agent".

THE GANGE HAKASIN CEREMONY

In the last chapters we have already mentioned various religious phenomena, conceptions, actions as well as formulae (see p. 59). The chapter on warfare is full of them, as is the chapter on the big pig feast. It is noteworthy that these religious expressions are concentrated on the essential life issues of the Dani: food, sickness, threatening enemies. These life issues of the Dani are expressed clearly, concretely and in detail in the very important ceremony of the gange hakasin, all of which I attended at Anaijak on the first of January 1964. Because of the significance this ceremony has for a deeper insight into the Dani religion, I will describe it in detail. As far as I know there was no particular reason why the feast should be held this particular day.

On the day itself a huge fat male pig is killed. During the preparation of the earth oven, a few men make a stew of mugan and pig's blood for the dibat isin. All this happens as described earlier (p. 151). The ceremony is celebrated in the men's house of Takalek. The boys and men who take part in the ceremony are from the local Hadluk-patrilineage. The Hadluk belong to the Waja moiety; but according to informants, this ceremony is also celebrated by the Wyda. In particular, Takalek and his son Wathako are the performers. While they are putting on the dibat, and during the blowing, several men shout at the same time, so that an outsider cannot distinguish the formulae that each of them uses. Following informant interviews the inference can be made that almost all formulae deal with a threat from the enemy and protection against it. When all of them have recited together the almost untranslatable text described earlier (see the dibat isin during the initiation ceremony), several men shout out: "Utik, utik akato, ninene apply", which means literally 'become brave, we are barren'. Informants commented on these words as follows: when the enemy kills somebody from the Itlai-Hadluk the latter say: "Win eak daklaka", i.e. literally 'a war child is born', which indicates that things are bad in the war (win weak ake). The meaning of the exclamation is 'may not many victims fall on our side, for we do not have many people'.

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1. BAAL, J. VAN, De magie als godsdienstig verschijnsel. Amsterdam, 1960, pp. 4-5.
2. BAAL, J. VAN, op cit. p. 3
3. I will come back to the difference between this ceremony and the win gange hakasin which I described on pp. 87-102. See p. 173.

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This figure of speech is striking. More expressions that have to do with marriage and procreation are used in connection with the enemy and the war.

imakdin: spouse (male), referring to enemies
imakdimo: the area of the enemy
eak dakla: bearing of children, when somebody from one's own group is killed in the war.
apply: barren, said of men as well as women.

Is the relationship 'enemies - own group' seen as a husband-wife relationship? I have never heard the terms corresponding with imakdin, namely imake (spouse, female) being used when referring to one's own group.
In the evening of the same day the men gather in the men's house. Takalek takes the sacred stones from the little box against the back wall. The stones are packed in fibre strips from the helan tree. They are carefully unwrapped. Then two flat, oval stones appear, one is about forty centimeters long, the other approximately fifty centimeters. A dibat which is tied around the middle is now removed. First the stones are cleaned with a few leaves and then smeared with grease from the pig that was killed that day and a new dibat is tied on them. All this is done by Takalek, while he, alternating with his son Umathako, says the following formule. (First the exact text is given in Dani, then the translation). The explanatory commentary (in brackets) with the text is by Takalek and Umathako and other informants.) When they wipe the stones, they say:

"Halus-ke muluk-at atno; hesis luipuk-at atno; hesis miak inc;"

Your belly, grow fat; your hair, grow long; your amniotic membrane, wide (?)

(This refers to the pigs. It is expected that by the mediation of the spirits of the ancestors the pigs will become fat and then give big healthy piglets.

5. Because I had previously expressed that I would like to see the ganage halasim ceremony at close range, two men came to fetch me the night preceding the ceremony. At my request I was allowed to take my torch and tape-recorder with me. This enabled me to see everything from nearby and to record the formule. Afterwards I worked the texts out, with Takalek and Umathako as informants, and then checked them with two other informants. At several places the text is not clear, because the speaker spoke very fast or because there was too much noise in the house. The verb formes in particular were often hard to hear. Hence there may be some errors in the written text. But with help from the informants I could record the meaning of the text rather accurately.

6. There are a number of 'grammatical irregularities' in the text, e.g. the addressed person in plural, and then an imperative in singular; or, something like: "your belly, grow fat!" When one would have expected an optative in third person: "may your belly grow fat!"

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 NMOK LOKK - NMOK LOKK Ledok athoma nenelukhe?
 Will they not give us pigs, will they not give us pigs, why?
 heh gilliken; athoma halagoe aty athoma-rhe
 Will you ask (?) your bottom (?)

(The spirit of the ancestor, represented by the stone, has to see if that the relatives bring pigs. Halagoe refers to the lower end of the stone. When they order the spirit, they address him this way, "Go and ask for pigs").

an watoke-at tin; en he watoke-at ino; jetak watoke-at;
I want pigs; I want women; I want shell strings;
jo akosat watoke-at; nakupaka athoma enak-atlatno; jidal ik-atlatno;
I want large je; my wife there, become beautiful; dress yourself with jidal;

(On behalf of his relatives Takalek expresses his desire for pigs, women, shell strings and je).

ilukun athoma ap wathy-at lokono; dube akopaka nin dvn
Your head there, keep killing people; from a fork in the pandanus
usapno-at; halos-en akos-at hoak theun-loan-at;
tree, cause to fall down; may a stone smash your bone into pieces;
pekal boleyk gisi-nem nin dvn usano-at.
chasing rat (?) cause to fall down.

(All this refers to the enemy. Ilukun is the same as huguloa (your head), which refers to the upper end, the point of the stone. In this way they address the spirit, when they order him to kill people. When an enemy wants to pick a pandanus fruit; when he works on a mountain slope in the garden; when he chases a rat out of a hole in a tree: let an accident happen to him).

Now the wiping of the stones is finished. Takalek then takes grease from the pig that was killed today and smears the stones, while he says:
"Hlopo enakatalo, nako, helaput pulun-at; helaput uwan-at;
'through you become fine; my pig, your belly, fat; your belly, long;
menelukhe? hamun edlo holisy-at lokoni";
why do you become like that? Your navel stem(?) remain;
(All this is again said of the pigs. In the last wish the navel
represents the whole body. The meaning is: Why do you become long, but not
big?)

hase-rhe huk-at ino; helaput, enak-atlatno; helaput lek alyn;
your back legs, become short; your belly become fine; your belly,
become not-not (become big);
an pen neny mapen-at atonko, helaput enak-ataltno
for work in the garden my hand is weak, your belly become fine.
(The pigs' legs have to remain short, so that they cannot run away.
One needs to eat fat pigs in order to be able to work hard in the gardens).

neak naphut7 asema wan hakholik lanjo; jeteak hakholik lanjo;
your family, let them possess pigs; and shell strings.

le akora Sok hakho:
bis 'je', possess, hold on!.

Another man (Apinayla) suddenly interrupts:

"Simakot akum-nen nakashik irma wakolhe halou
our younger brother, having come here out of love, after having
halboko wok:-nysoak";
cut a sow in pieces, may he give me'.

Takalek and thathako answer emphatically:

"Je! inakum lek?
'Yes of course! Don't they feel pity?
(The spirit of a younger brother who died a long time ago is believed
to have come together with the people. They ask him for pork. He will give
it as the spirits have pity, haven't they?)

neu egapu-paka lokolyk asekihe lekatnesetjo;
my older brother, dwelling in the crown of a tree bring a pig
akene lek?''
Doesn't he have one?'

(This refers to the spirit of an 'older brother', a dead gain of Itlaweluk
combination who was wam madek; his spirit is alleged to dwell in the
top of a tree or on the edge of the war area (this latter translation of
egapu-paka is also possible).)

Thathako says:

"He asekihe asema Itlaw-lak wok-athesok";
'the women over there of the Itlaw, they have to give them to you'.

Takalek answers:

"He ethoem an nako modok-at akasokak".
'the women over there, may they become my wives.'
(Thathako wants the girls from the Itlaw clan, with which clan the
Hedluk have frequent marriage relationships, to become the wives of Takalek
and his group).

Now they have finished smearing the stones with pig grease. Takalek
ties a new dibat around both stones, while he says:

"Gu-sake hat-ake usasikin ethoem, habwa mylyapan an usasikin ethoamarhe".
'pain, sickness (?), wasps, flies (?), there'.
(The dibat is a ceremony which averts sickness and other mishaps.

7 According to informants, the phrase neak naphut said by a married man refers
to his wife and children.
The repeated use (the same as wusa) probably refers to a prohibition. Is there a prohibition forced on sickness and pain, flies and wasps? I was told that the meaning of it was that the children may not become sick. Takalek speaks very self-assertively and with a loud voice. Umathako answers: the fact is I do not have so many children. See the following:

Umathako says:
"Hope anyly hakamate!"
'I am barren, you know!'

Takalek says again:
"An usamyly abryk!"
'I have forbidden (?) (that sickness)

Umathako repeats:
"An nope anyly abryk!"
'I am barren, you know!'

Takalek again:
'Seek naphut ethoma ou-ake hat-ake ethoma usa, usa.
'I for my family sickness and pain taboo, taboo'.

an usa, hesi najuk sikhemc jwma, nenaluk.
I taboo. I am afraid of (grey) mud, why?

('Md! refers to the custom of smearing oneself with mud in case of a death. The meaning is: We don't want to die yet).

an usa hakamate! hakwu leka ou-ake hat-ake
I am taboo, you know! Don't you have pity? Pain and sickness

ethoma seek naphut ethoma thylyman ethoma biokhoko laka-lokoino;
for my family, outside (?) chase them always away.

(Takalek speaks to the spirit of his ancestor and asks him to keep sickness and pain away from his family).

wam watalykyk men ethoma hegyn-nen lapetno hatathy-nen hegyn-nen
because the pigs keep dying, you close (the way) with your hand.

lapetno; apo uko-nen-at watluk nasi lokukun.
(for the spirits); being hungry, having speared, we will eat.

(The spirit of the ancestor has to close the way to the evil spirits who make the pigs sick and cause them to die. We would rather eat pig we have speared, than those that died of sickness).

o haly panunoko, nenaluk, hatathy nelal balanpnom;

village, that almost is aflame, why, you, close (?)

ly thy ethoma hope lakete-apa lokollyk hegyn-nen bulelho (?)

all this, there, you staying on the fence, with you hand keep

lokoino.

chasing away.

(The spirit of the ancestor has to stay close to the village (on the fence) to chase away the evil spirits that cause sickness (and fire).)

deilhylykyk hatathy nenat golak-nesiaka lokoino;

holding on, cutting, you there, make continually enter by me.

(An obscure utterance, which according to informants means:
when people decide to take woman and pigs to Takalek, but later change their minds, you, ancestor spirit make them return to their first decision).

hepe medek-at lokolly-be!

you, remain standing erect.

seek naphut jwma siakama eka, hat-ana puts ut ino;

you know, my family is not big, you too, forbid, say usa

egat medek athy-go!

the point (of the stone) pointing in that direction.

(As a leader in the war the ancestor spirit has to stand up and watch that enemy's spirits don't come. The point of the stone has to point up, not
Now the new dibat are tied around the stones. While Takalek keeps the stones in his hands he says:

"Myylesi yelesisi welenken athama nenalukhe, lupa lapek ino; restless turning you are why? (become) fat;" 

(This sentence is not clear. The meaning is probably: why are there so few and such lean pigs, that we become restless from craving for pig meat; let them grow fat.

helaput miak-at ino, helaput miak-at ino; hamun ello hollino; your belly, become big and wide; your navel stem (?);

hamu enak-atlatno; jyapgo byapgo walu walu-at athama your amu become fine; in the night bowing going along.

hakho akayvelo walu walu hakatno; hamu enak-atlatno; bowing along the chest of your pig; your amu become fine;

gidlu walyluk hudloky walyluk athama hat-hokho (?) hetok-hethymege sweet potatoes I have harvested, for you (?) I have looked for them there

edjo poupha athrhorokh athr horok athuhu athuma helaput (?) my grandfather (?) (?) your belly,

muluket-at atno become big.

(The amu of a pig is the area between the shoulder blades. They believe that when the ancestor spirit crouches along the chest of the pigs during the night, these will grow fast. The last sentence was said very quickly, and was hard to understand. The kinds of sweet potato mentioned, gidlu and hudlok, are given to the pig that is destined for the ancestor).

Athama Eeap hakathano-at; Sidopa hakathano-at; Gelelakai There Eeap, hold fast; Sidopa hold fast; Gelelakai

hakathano-at, athoma nenalukhe; Jegoko, hakathano-at; Umathako hold fast, there why? Jegoko hold fast Umathako

Weimpluluk hakathano-at, Esoidek wok-thesuak; hold fast, Weimpluluk hold fast, Esoidek, they have to give to you; hat athy nenat wokosyluk lane". your there, giving continually, go'.

(The last sentence is said with a loud voice: "you, ancestor spirit, see to it that the gain who are named, are brought pigs by their relatives. It is as if they are already there)."

Umathako speaks very emphatically:

"An he watok-at, wan watok-at, watok-at". 'I want women, I want pigs'.

Takalek again:

"Itlai-he athoma jiluku huluku-at wokhesuak; 'they have to give you many Itlai women; sayt inoko".

there is a risk that they say: "I don't want to'.

Umathako again:

jya he athoma at ake? the women over there (of the Itlai) are they his wives?

nakoin at uak". Let them say 'my husband'.

(Because the Hadlu have marriage relationships with the Itlai, Umathako says about the Itlai 'women that they are "his" wives, not belonging to another man (of another clan). Let the Itlai women say of Umathako: "Umathako is my husband".)
Takalek speaks:

"An el balikiluk wesikin-at athy nenaluk?
'I will come for the el balin. Why?'

(The was el balin is a ceremony at the marriage feast, namely the killing of the pigs on the day that the bride is transferred to the bridegroom's village.)

Another man says:

"He lek wan lek watok-en wahytik".
'Because I want wives and pigs, I have come'.

(This sentence is probably an answer to the preceding question).

Takalek and Umathako shout at the same time:

"Je!
'Yes of course!'

The stones are put on banana leaves in front of the little bone. Umathako says:

"Nulue, wok-atheasuak; Apinay, wam akaike wok-atheasuak;" 
'Nulue, may they give you pigs; Apinay, may they give you pigs'.

Takalek speaks again:

"othene wokhesokoin; Healek, wok-atheasuak.
They will give you pigs; Healek, may they give you pigs.

he athone at-mege?
The women over there, are they his? (belong to another man?)

Solimo nayt-he inoko;
May the women from the Solimo area not say; I don't want.

othone jukun-at wokhesuak; Solimo anok welek-at;
there, that they may give you women. In the Solimo area there is

fat

Hupulama anok welek-at.
In the Hupulama area there is fat.

(Solimo is the area where the Itlai-Hadluk and Siep-Gosi live. Hupulama is the area of the Hupi-Giak as far as the Hupin. These are the areas where there is much fat, i.e. many pigs and also many women).

hakagyp enak-atlatlo; ethona egymo delnetno,
your chest, become fine; with the hand, take for me.

an wam isu lek asa athy, egymo delnetno.
I don't have a sow (with piglets) any more, with the hand take for me.

(The meaning is not quite clear. According to informants the gist of it is: when somebody wants to take pigs to another village, then (you, ancestor spirit) take him by the hand and lead him to my village).

hadlogop-oak peto-at atno;
your throat bone, become short.

akamman digiluk bok-luk hakathy-laken, hadlogop peto-at atno.
When you are doing your (?) (?), your throat-bone, become short.

halaput hollino".
your belly, become big (?)

(The last few sentences are obscure).

Then a man swings a little feather over the hands of Takalek and Umathako, who have touched the stones. Because of this they can eat hlybyty again without the risk of becoming sick.

Then Takalek says:

"othone Buki them, Wela them, Jua them, Jokoni them, Wela them,
'Bed of the Buki, of the Wela, of the Jua, of the Jokoni, of the Wale,
The difference between win ganege and other ganege

In the chapter on warfare I have dealt in detail with win ganege, which are kept in the warriors' house. In this chapter I discuss other ganege which are kept in the normal men's houses. The first question is of course, "What is the difference?"

The win ganege are stones, that are kept in the warriors' house on behalf of the ancestors who are killed in warfare. All ceremonies that have to do with warfare, are celebrated around these stones, like the win ganege hakasin itself, the initiation ceremony and the wan eet belin for war victims. At this place they also keep their war trophies. The win ganege have a direct connection with warfare.

The other ganege, which are kept in many men's houses (not in all), are there on behalf of ancestors who died of sickness or old age. Most of the formulae, that are said at ganege hakasin, show that these stones are brought in direct relationship with the general prosperity of the community, which is concretely expressed in the claims that the pigs become numerous and fat; that they will receive women from the "proper" clans; that they will get shell-strings and je, which are necessary for the mutual exchanges; that they will not become sick. Only a few texts allude to the enemy, and the preceding dibat isin is aimed at protection from the enemy, so that we are compelled to say that these stones too have an indirect connection with warfare.

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8 The men's houses where these stones are kept have still another name, lopan which is not frequently used.
The Dani see a connection between the sacred stones in the normal men's houses and the phenomenon atou 9. What is understood by atou is best illustrated by a few examples.

A man from the Bapiga clan from Anelakak village had torn off a leaf in a banana garden, not knowing that Takalek had put a taboo sign (silo) in that garden. The following day he got a boil (ou hsiik) on his foot. When he heard that he had broken a taboo, he went immediately to Takalek and told him everything. He blew upon (nuhan) the affected part, while saying some short formulae, in which time and again the word ake is used, which according to informants, means 'breath' in connection with names of plant types: "Raih ake, betokem ake, duli ake, bokola ake, i.e. 'yam breath, yam breath, banana breath, vegetable breath'. Then he added to it: "egalat, neluk, lek akatno, lek akatno", i.e. 'nonsense, why, stop it, stop it'. After a few days the boil broke, and soon the man recovered. Then Takalek said: "U hsiik jy an atou-nges", i.e. 'this boil was from my atou'.

Here we see that somebody who has unknowingly broken a taboo, is affected by the atou from the one who planted the taboo sign. Malek, my house boy, from the Jokopi clan, wounded his foot on a stone that fell from the mountain slope. His crying attracted attention and soon scores of people came running to him. It happened in the territory of Alelemuluk, a Siup-Gosi gain. When I had finished dressing the wound, the people pushed forward a girl of about twelve years old, who began to blow upon the foot with a self assertiveness as if it was her daily activity, and without a trace of fear. With the young banana stem which they put in her hand she hit the spots with blood. This girl was Alelemuluk's daughter who apparently had to take over her father's task in his absence. The next day when Malek was nursed by the sisters at Namena, Alelemuluk himself came and again blew upon the foot, as he said it had been his atou which had caused the accident. Near the spot where it had happened there is the wagumoo of the Siup-Gosi, the place where the spirits of the dead are believed to dwell (see also p. 69).

One of Takalek's daughters, about two years of age, fell most unfortunately and knocked her head upon the hard ground. Blood came out of her nose and mouth. Takalek dashed into my house, grabbed two feathers from his head adornment which hung in my house and ran outside. Immediately he started to blow upon the child, saying the following formulae:

"Nenaluk, heluk atno, heluk atno
'why, become alive, become alive

nouphe helogola gino
come into the girl (?)

nubu-nouphe witno golapitno
my ouo-uphe come, bring inside

nop wakalakan neluk, lek atno
blood that has come, why, stop

an usa, an usa hakamate".
I am sacred (?), taboo (?), Don't you know?"

As explanation of these words Takalek and Unathako related that the spirit of Takalek's daughter had to come into the child to heal her and to protect her against the spirits of the ground (akatla), which caused her to fall. The ancestor's spirit was supposed to chase away the evil spirits. "Hepe medek lokon, neliep wakarion, seke hako lokon", i.e. 'you, keep standing, close (?), hold your spear'. In this way we called out to the spirit of our ancestor, said Unathako. Again and again Takalek blew upon the child. Then he went outside and came back with two tobacco leaves, which he swung over the child, saying: "Heluk atno", i.e. 'come alive'. Next he broke off a young banana stem outside and hit the ground at the place where the child had fallen.

9 Atu or su are also used for atou. The literal meaning of these words is unknown to me.
saying: "Hegi min atou, heluk atou", i.e. 'you hand (of the spirits) become cold, become alive'. While he said this formula, he stroked some resin on the ground. Then he put two little pieces of wood into the ground, on which he attached the bird's feathers, while saying: "Hit jegetek neraluk wathep? neraluk? hinseyven hanu atou", i.e. 'you keep this, my child her spirit bring back to me, that is what I want'.

Because the accident had happened in the territory of the Sip-Gosi, just as in the preceding example, they called Alelemuluk in. He blew upon the child, addressing the spirits as follows: "Hit jegetek neraluk wathep? neraluk? hinseyven hanu atou", i.e. 'Why did you cause the child to fall? Why? your hearts, become good!'. He, too, hit the ground with a banana stem. That evening the child was well again. It was Alelemuluk's atou that had caused the accident.

From these example and statements by informants we will try to come to a better understanding of atou. In the first example the atou automatically punishes the infringement of the taboo. The breaker does it unknowingly and the possessor of atou, in this case Takalek, hears only later about the punishment. In the second the atou affects somebody who, to our thinking, has not broken any taboo. This is also the case in the third example. In the latter two cases atou is connected with the spirits of the dead. What is the relationship? Informants answered this question with: "Atou inobu-inophanage", i.e. 'atou is (something) of the ancestors'. That is, something that does not exist by itself, for atou epe leko, i.e. 'atou is nothing independent, it does not have body or substance'.

On the other hand the Dani connect atou with the sacred stones by saying: "Atou epe oagane, oagane weakage", i.e. 'atou is something from the stones which is from the bad ones'. They differentiate between oagane aput hame and oagane aput weakame, i.e. 'stones with good character' and 'stones with a bad character'. Here is an example of the fact that the Dani see a connection between the stones and the ancestors, and ascribe human qualities to the stones. In my opinion one cannot deny that the stones are symbols for the ancestors.

Finally atou is said to belong to a living person, as we discovered Takalek and Alelemuluk talked about 'my atou'. Nevertheless we noticed atou is effective, without these people being aware of it themselves.

From all these data we may consider atou as an activity of the ancestors whose stones are kept in the man's house, the activity being effective through a linear descendant of these ancestors, who is at the same a guard of the stones. The activity is punishing, or bringing evil. Presumably this activity is best characterized by such terms as anger, wrath, or the punishing hand of the ancestors.

The atou is passed from father to son. Takalek told that his son already has atou, and that it will pass to Umathako's son later. Only persons, who are atou wetekame, i.e. 'who have atou', are allowed to blow upon sick and wounded (huthan). Apparently Alelemuluk's daughter (see second example) too is considered to share in her father's atou. When somebody is sick or wounded, most of the times he will first have himself blown upon by someone of his own group. If the wound or sickness is healed soon, the pain or sickness is said to be returned to the atou that caused it. If the wound does not heal or the sick person does not recover, then someone from another group is called who can blow upon him to determine whether the pain or sickness is perhaps caused by his atou. There are probably several people in each patrilineage or patrilineage combination who are atou wetekame, i.e. through whom their ancestors' atou works. With respect to the Itil-Meduluk group, Takalek and Umathako were named; some also named Klakwek, a younger brother of Takalek. Among the Sip-Gosi there is at least Wasi and, as already mentioned, Alelemuluk.

One late evening when we were sitting together with his son, Umathako, Takalek told me a story, answering my questions about atou. I make it public for the sake of completeness and for later checking, though with much reservation and many question marks.

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10 Group refers to patrilineage or patrilineage or patrilineage combination.
Atou is the spirit (mokhat) of the very first ancestor, the father of all men and things. His name is ninobu-inoupha, i.e. 'our ancestor' (mostly in the very remote past). He came out of a hole in the mountain at the place Apulakma, near Anelakak village. This father has produced many children, who have spread in all directions over the earth. He is also the father of the akundu polamege, which refers to the Americans and the Dutch who work in the Valley. He also made the sun, the moon and the stars, which stood in the sky from then on. The first father cut his body-hair off, from which animals and plants originated. He also cut a piece from his long penis, from which the balu and belal snakes originated. He was the one who arranged everything well; that there would be big sweet potatoes and pigs; that there would be war, dances and songs. He was the one who established the dichotomy in the Dani society in Wyda and Waja; he himself was Waja. The strangers have entered the valley and have disturbed the right order established by the first father by prohibiting warfare, with the result that the sweet potatoes and pigs remained small. The strangers have put in jail the Dani, who fulfilled the task given by the first father. Hence the first father became angry and caused the twin-pioneer of the administration to crash (see also p. 76). The spirit of his first father or atou is present everywhere, in the houses of the Dani as well as in the ones of the strangers.

Later, when I talked alone with Umathako about this story, he shrugged his shoulders and called it just agalat, i.e. 'nonsense', which he probably had not dared to say in his father's presence. My impression is that the story is a typical mixture of indigenous beliefs and the Christian influence. Or is there more than meets the eye?

MITHS

Besides this complex of religious beliefs and expressions, which concentrates on the ancestor spirits, is another complex focusing on the primeval age and in particular on the sun. Various stories exist about the origin of man, animals, and plants and about the role the sun played in this. I will follow the version I heard most frequently and will mention the different readings in footnotes.

In the beginning the sun (mo) had called the first people out of a hole in the earth. Most cases indicate Apulakma, near Anelakak village as the place where this happened. I was shown a hole in the mountain of about 50 x 50 centimeters, from which man allegedly originated. But other places are also named: like Halusema in the Buki valley, the place where the Halu creek rises, or Isai in the Huqgo area near Huwiga village, which is reserved for the origin of the Maduan clan. The sun had looked for the way (holak hetathikha), whereby man had to come outside. First the sun had been

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12 Presumably Takalek has mixed his own Dani beliefs with the Bible, which he has heard from others. There is an American mission station near Wajetma in the Buki valley. But he could also have heard it elsewhere. To be able to do field work as objectively as possible, I myself have never purposely spoken about Christianity to this group.

13 As yet it is not clear whether these complexes are connected and/or influence each other.

11 An expanded version adds that the ninobu-inoupha, i.e. the first fathers of all clans, came out of there.
very near the earth, but when the people started to have quarrels, it withdrew and stood high in the sky, without caring about the people any more. It only looks on. The sun is considered to be a woman. She is the 'head' of the moon, which is seen as male. Both belong to the Waja society and the Heiman clan. People call the sun ninakona, 'our grandmother'. Their attitude towards the sun is expressed by the term ninjuk, i.e. 'we are afraid of her', or 'we stand in awe, shudder at it'. The great gain of the valley, like Gutelo, Silo and Ugumheistik, are said to have met the sun, at which meeting the sun must have given them a cowry shell. What the gain themselves think about this, I do not know.

No ganege (sun stones) are generally considered to be found at Wadlagu, a village in the mountains behind the Loko-Napel area and at Nakopaka in the area of the Slep-Gosi. To my knowledge nobody has ever been able to clarify what these sun ganege are all about. The people are very mysterious about it. According to information from Takeleku and Umathoko these no ganege used to be in the hands of the Itlai-Haduluk in the past. They are the people who live near the place where the sun had originally called out the first people from the earth. Later they were allegedly stolen by men from the Heiman clan. The story goes that at the places where the no ganege are kept, at certain times a little white piglet is held up to the sun and offered to her with the words: hatmege wam jiva, i.e. 'here, your pig'. When it is fully grown, it is killed and the people celebrate the no ganege hakasin. Some people would say that the great gain of the valley, like Gutelo, Silo and Ugumheistik, have a big male pig (wam gulek) taken to the place of the no ganege on the occasion of the big pig feast, where the animals are killed for the sun and eaten by certain people. Others deny this. Some people also maintain that they leave a few strikingly big sweet potatoes to rot in the ground when they harvest a new garden for the first time, because the sun had made them (no-nen hakat-hikwemo). In the whole Slep-Gosi area and the area of the Slep-Elokak and the area north of it as far as the Elgova river, it is forbidden to eat sweet potato leaves from the plain. (The taboo does not hold for sweet potatoes from the mountain slopes). Some connect this taboo with the presence of no ganege at Nakopaka.

This is all that various informants told me about the sun in the course of time. Whenever the sun is under discussion they behave very mysteriously, and it is very hard to get any information. Sometimes my impression was that they just told me anything to get rid of me. At one time I was sitting and talking about the sun with an old man in the men's house when two men came in and told him to hold his tongue about it. My impression, though, is that in some areas people are more preoccupied with the sun than in other parts of the valley, e.g. in the Loko-Napel area more than among the Itlai-Haduluk, Slep-Gosi and Mugogo.

In connection with the origin story of the Dani, which states the origin, or rather the coming-out of the first people in the valley itself, I would refer to records by Le Roux about the Kapauki and Moni who hold that the origin of their tribe lies in the east, in the Dani area.

The story about the snake and the little bird, which has already been told in abridged form on p. 114, must have occurred at the beginning of time. The snake halu and the little bird ovirupulo entered into a race, with the fate of man at stake. If the snake arrived first at a fixed point, then man would not need to produce children, nor to work, nor die, but be as the

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15 Another version relates that the sun lay on the earth at the time when there weren't any people yet. To explain this the informants put palms of their hands on each other. When the people came out of the earth and started to make war, the sun withdrew from the earth.

16 The Mugogo say that they belong to the Madaut clan.

17 According to some this is done when the harvest is about to fail because of a long drought or too much rain.

snake napatal napatal. This expression means literally: 'my skin, your skin'. Just as the snake regularly sheds his old skin and appears with a new one, in the same way man would always remain young. But the little bird arrived first, because it had flown through the sky. While it flew it kept repeating: "Hesi ju, hesi ju" which means: 'smear yourself with mud'. To smear oneself with mud is a custom of mourning among the Dani. From them on man had to die. He would also have to produce children and to work.

Animals and plants came from the hair which the ancestors had to cut off. As previously discussed (see p. 17) the animals and plants belong to the ancestor's clan from whose hair they originated.

CONCLUSIONS ABOUT THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE DANI

This complex of mythical beliefs about the sun and the origin of man, animals and plants has hardly any significance for the practical daily life of the Dani. As far as we can see it remains on a merely theoretical and explanatory level. The mythical story repertoire of the Dani is seemingly small. I tried everything to trace as much data and as many stories about the part as possible but the result was very meagre.

Except for the vague, unchecked religious expressions with reference to the sun, the available data which is recorded in this book brings us to the conclusion that the religious system of the Dani is concentrated mainly on the spirits of the ancestors. In many cases the ancestors are explicitly called. In other cases the allusion to the ancestors is not immediately obvious, e.g. in the sini leusin ceremony, where the fact that some grass blades in the earth oven remain cooked indicates that they will kill enemies in the next war (see p. 92). When the reason for this and other activities are asked for the answer is time and again: because the ancestors knew it this way and they have taught us to do it in the same way. At first this repeated referral to the tradition seems a mere clincher and is very unsatisfactory. But after long-lasting, close contact with the Dani, I gradually saw that this reference to the ancestors is very meaningful to them. Neither do they know why it is done, or rather why it is done that way, but the ancestors are the ones that have connected the significance, interpretation and the expected effectiveness to these activities and formulae. It is obvious that this state of being bound to tradition does not leave the Dani much room for individual improvisation. People have to obey that which has been relayed to them through their tradition. Several times I saw older men correct others at ceremonies. People who venture to improvise are those who live close to government or mission centres. Through frequent contacts with the foreigners and by seeing and hearing all sorts of new things, they loosen ties with their own community and tradition and come under the spell of the new ideas.

The new things meet with resistance particularly among the older people, who are rooted in their own community and tradition. Often the resistance is religious in nature. The new is seen as a threat to their own tradition, their ties with the ancestors, who determine the prosperity of the Dani society.

In spite of the fact that the Dani is oriented, by his religion, to the ancestors' spirits, he does not seem to be 'possessed' by their presence and activity at all. He is down-to-earth and to the point. Although he can speak respectfully about the ancestors in conversations about the Dani heritage, it is striking how indifferently and formally he sometimes behaves himself when celebrating a ceremony and how he ridicules everything. This at least is the impression on an outsider.
The Dani is not pious, not humble, but self-assertive, and self-sufficient to a large extent. The almost laconic acceptance and lack of emotions with which he copes with sickness, death and adversity such as continuing drought or flood, is striking.

**COMPARISON WITH RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE KAPAUKU**

The Kapauku have a creator, Ugatame, who dwells outside the firmament. He is both male and female. He is omniscient, omnipotent, and omnipresent. Because he created everything that exists, he himself is non-existing, he is beyond existence. He has also created and determined everything that happens. He is the creator of good and evil; he himself is neither good, nor evil, but indifferent. Sun and moon are manifestations of Ugatame. The creator does not punish man for what he does wrong, for then he would be against his own work. He himself has determined man's deeds. The people do not fear him. Their relationship with Ugatame is that of a child with his father. The people do not make sacrifices, but they do pray that events might be fortunate for them.

Ugatame also created the spirits, the good as well as the evil ones. The spirits are as natural as man. Though they are non-material they have a certain sex. They live, move and behave like people. They manifest themselves in prosperity and adversity, in sickness and death. They are heard during the night and seen in visions and dreams. The spirits are not weird. They play a role in white and black magic. All magic can be practised by every Kapauku man or woman, but most of the time it is done by people who have proven to be experts in magical practices. The white magic aims primarily at preventing and healing sickness, but also at stopping or making rain, obtaining economical profits, and protecting against the arrows of the enemy or opposing sorcery. In all cases the shaman has to have a number of spirits at his disposal who can help him against the evil spirits. The black magic is done by a sorcerer who is also helped by spirits. In contrast with the shaman who does not have supernatural powers of his own, the sorcerer has his own supernatural power. The sorcerer is feared and hated by the people and always works in secret.

Besides these spirits there are the souls of the dead. At death the soul separates from the body and incorporates the good qualities of the dead person. The relationship the soul has to the living people depends on the character the person had during his life and the way others take care of the body after his death. If the body is put in a little hut with a window in it through which the soul can look at the house of his relatives, he is pleased and is favorable toward them and becomes a help to his relatives. At death a shadow of the dead person originates by a creating act of Ugatame. This shadow called tene, is associated with the bad qualities of the dead person. The tene is always on the look-out for his own advantage or to cause harm to others.

These are in short the religious beliefs and practices of the Kapauku, as described by Pospisil. The religious beliefs of the Kapauku form a rational-logical system, a philosophy. Pospisil states explicitly that this report was given by a few intelligent people, inclined to speculation, and that this knowledge by no means is common knowledge for the average Kapauku.

Their religious complex, with respect to the ancestor spirits, differs from the Dani religion. The Dani do not have a rigid logical system, but rather an asystematical whole, not really thought out. The fundamental features of it are known to each Dani adult, even to the older boys. It is not clear yet to what extent the women are familiar with the beliefs.

According to Pospisil 'secularism' is one of the main features of the Kapauku culture. The average Kapauku is not very interested in speculations about a reality different from the one which can be perceived by the senses. He is an empiricist, who is exclusively interested in the economic aspects. The first thing that interests him is the acquisition of personal wealth and

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22 Pospisil, L., Kapauku Papuans and their law, New Haven 1958, pp. 16-34.  
Pospisil, L., The Kapauku Papuans of West New Guinea, New York 1963, pp. 64-95
economic profits. The most elaborate and important ceremonies of the Kapauku are concerned with their economy, while the religious magical expressions are simple and less important. The magical elements that are part of events like the pig feast, the pig market, marriage or birth, are simple, unobtrusive, not essential. Fospisil says: "Whereas the ceremonial events among many primitives are concerned mainly with the spheres of religion and the supernatural, among the Kapauku almost all the most important ceremonies are connected with their economy." Some of the important people do not believe that these magical activities are necessary. In many cases they feel they could even do without them.

Among the Dani we see in the important ceremonies many actions and formulae that refer to the ancestors, with whom they feel closely tied and with whom they live together. These religious expressions are a very important aspect of the ceremonies. Without exaggerating the religious nature of the Dani we could say that religion gets more attention and emphasis among them than it does among the Kapauku.

Another difference is that the religious aspect of the Kapauku is more connected with the individual than it is among the Dani. The practices of both the white and black magic is aimed mainly at individuals, e.g. to heal somebody, to get more personal profit or to harm a certain person. Fospisil says: "The practices and beliefs of religion are related principally to the individual." There are also religious practices among the Dani which are related to the individual, such as are mentioned in relation to aton in this chapter. But as far as the big ceremonies are concerned the religious aspect is obviously related to society. In the religious ceremony of the ganege hakasin, described in this chapter, the needs of the community are clearly at stake. At the dibat isin the group is protected against sickness

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24FOSPISIL, L., Kapauku Papuans and their Law, p. 63.
SOME DETAILS ABOUT THE SPELLING OF DANI

On the 25th and 27th of February, 1961, in a meeting of linguists from the Dutch administration, and the various missions, a uniform spelling was established for the Dani language and all its dialects. Because the spelling differs from the phonetic representation in various respects, I will give a list of the symbols that are used to represent the Dani-phonemes, together with an example and the pronunciation in parentheses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SYMBOL</th>
<th>PHONETICALLY</th>
<th>EXAMPLE</th>
<th>PRONUNCIATION</th>
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A map of Irian Jaya is shown for geographical context.
This list may be of help in pronouncing the Dani terms that are used in this book. For an account of the spelling and a more exact elaboration of it, see STAP, P.A.M. VAN DER, "Sprakleer en grammatika van het Dani" Wamena 1962.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WORD LIST</th>
<th>DANISH</th>
<th>MEANING</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'abae</td>
<td>mouth, opening</td>
<td>diabukhoko</td>
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<tr>
<td>'tuk</td>
<td>leg, backleg</td>
<td>dok</td>
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<tr>
<td>'aistek</td>
<td>indigenous</td>
<td>dukorte (ap)</td>
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<tr>
<td>'aik</td>
<td>tooth, sharp</td>
<td>warrior (against own enemy)</td>
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<td>'aik</td>
<td>fear, ave</td>
<td>'sak</td>
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<td>'ak</td>
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<td>'aksin</td>
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<td>'akat</td>
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Dani Warriors

Bab pertama menguraikan keadaan geografis Lembeh tersebut, yaitu letak, topografi dan iklim. Ditambah peluasan teks dari daerah terbatas penyelidikan ini.


Dalam bab kelima dengan segala seluk-beluknya dicerciterakan pesta babi yang berkala, artinya yang setiap tiaga tahun sekali suka dirayakan oleh tiap-tiap persekutuan perang. Pesta ini tersusun atas banyak upacara dengan tiga upacara yang terpenting, yaitu: sekali mengawinkan secara besar-besaran semua anak perempuan yang akil-balig dari salah satu golongan; inisiasia anak-anak laki-laki, yang sebenarnya lebih baik diartikan peresmian calon pejang dari pada per躲在nya musuh kaum dewasa; akhirnya suatu upacara peringatan orang yang telah meninggal, yang disertai pebagian banyak potong daging babi bagi mereka semua yang menyatakan balasannya. Boleh dikatakan bahwa semua upacara dan terutama pesta besar ini, dirayakan dengan penyembahan banyak babi.

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report, in which the page references may have been somewhat
different from the original.
Curriculum vitae

The author of this book was born on April 29th 1923 at Venlo (The Netherlands). Having completed his philosophical and theological studies in the Order of the Franciscans Minor between 1943 and 1950 he went on for study in cultural anthropology at the Universities of Utrecht and Nijmegen. After graduation in Utrecht at the end of 1955 he left for Irian Jaya in 1956 as a missionary and researcher. He worked amongst two tribal groups of the Central mountains: the Amungmè from March 1957 till July 1959; the Dini of the Grand Valley between July 1959 till April 1961. The present study is about this second period of field-research. It was written during a furlough in 1961/1965 and presented as a thesis for the Doctors-degree in Social Sciences at the University of Utrecht on April 7th, 1965.

After obtaining the doctor's degree Father H. Peters returned to Irian Jaya to become Rector of the Catholic Academy of Theology at Abepura (Jayapura), the central institute for the training of pastoral workers of the Catholic Church in Irian Jaya, to which he has been attached up till now.

Riwayat hidup


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