

**ANNEXE IV.**

**LANI COSMOLOGY: A SUMMARY OF LANI COSMOLOGICAL BELIEF SYSTEMS**

**BASED ON THE WORK OF**

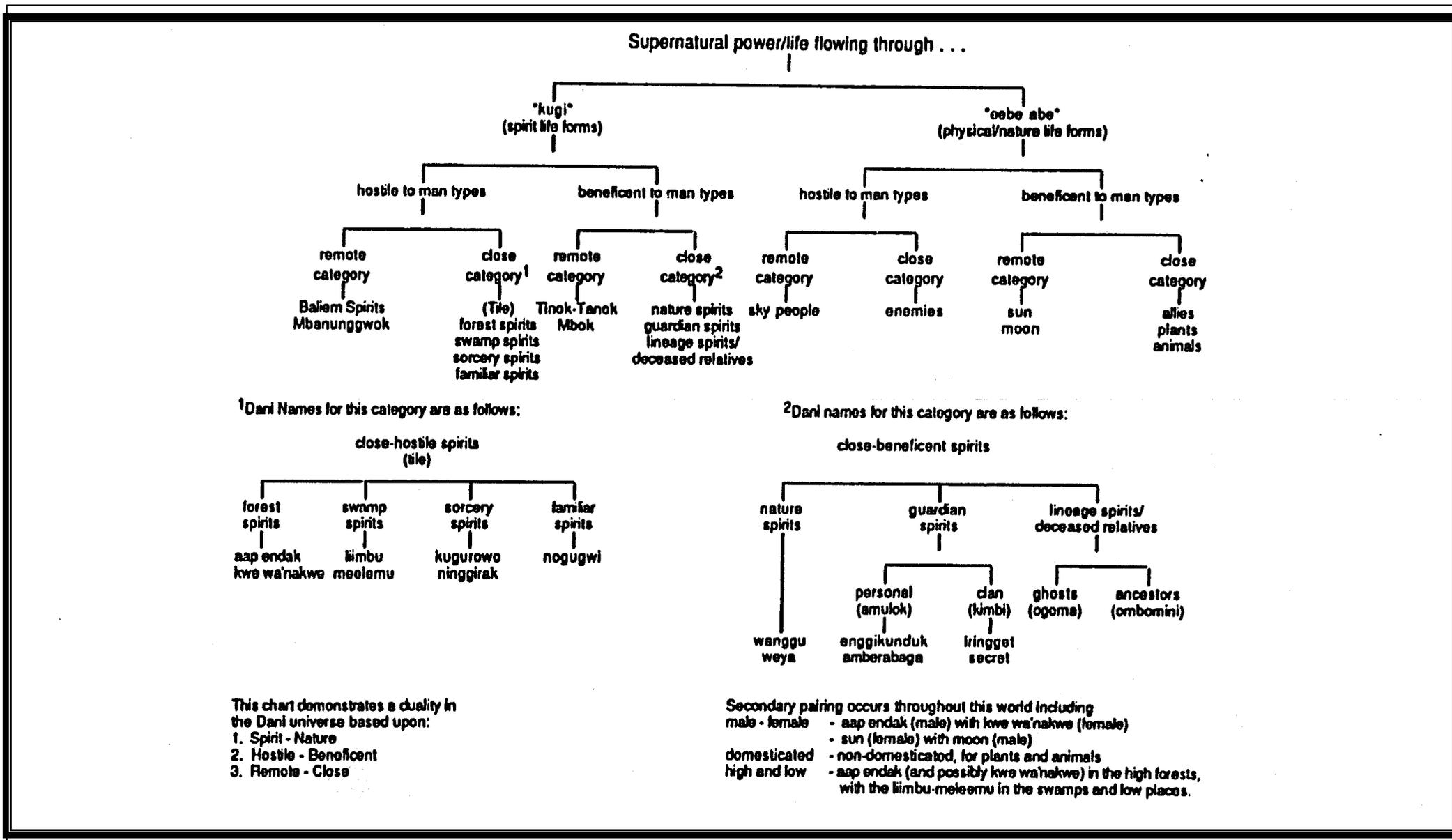
**DOUGLAS J. HAYWARD (1992) AMONGST THE MULIA & YAMO VALLEY LANI**

**GORDON F. LARSON (1987) AMONGST THE ILAGA VALLEY LANI**

**DENISE O'BRIEN, (1969) AMONGST THE TOLI VALLEY LANI**

**ANTON PLOEG (1965 & 1969) AMONGST THE BOKONDINI LANI**

FIGURE 102. THE DUALISTIC NATURE OF LANI COSMOLOGY ACCORDING TO HAYWARD, 1992



**TABLE 85.**  
**PRINCIPAL ELEMENTS OF THE LANI SPRIT WORLD ACCORDING TO LARSON, HAYWARD, O'BRIEN AND PLOEG**

LANI NAME	AUTHORITY	TRANSLATION	DESCRIPTION
<b>1</b> <b>REMOTE</b> <b>MALEVOLENT SPIRIT</b> <b>LIFE FORMS</b>	Hayward (1992)		
1.1    Kugi Palim	Hayward (1992) p.97	Baliem Spirits	Hayward describes these spirits as living in the North Baliem or Grand Valley areas and only troubling his research community at Mulia when they followed visitors from such areas. As such they may not really constitute a separate class of spirits and belief in them may be analogous to the Toli – Konda Lani's belief in the Kugurowo spirits as being a class of spirits from Ilaga which could follow travelers back from this area and cause trouble in the Toli-Konda communities (see reference 2.3.1 in this table).
1.2    Mbanungwok	Hayward (1992) p.97-98		This is a clan of forest spirits which feature in Lani mythology but which Hayward suspects as being considered fictitious "bogey men" by most adult Lani. He states that they are never sacrificed to and seem principally to be used to scare or instruct young children.
<b>2</b> <b>TILE – CLOSE</b> <b>MALEVOLENT SPIRIT</b> <b>LIFE FORMS</b>	Hayward (1992) p. 88 Larson (1987) p.53-65		According to Hayward the Mulia Dani refer to all of the malevolent spirit beings which inhabit their immediate environment as Tile. According to Larson, the Tile originally belonged to the cosmology of the Damal in the Ilaga Valley but have been subsequently adopted by the Lani as they migrated into the Ilaga and on to the Jamo, Kemandoga and Dugindoga Valleys. As such the term Tile, as well as some of the specific names recorded by Hayward and Larson, may have little significance to the Toli Valley Lani, most of whom seem to be descended from recent immigrants from the North and Grand Baliem Valley Areas and who live in an environment that was not previously populated by Damal communities.
2.1    Forest Spirits			
2.1.1    Ap Endak	Hayward (1992) p.88-90 Larson (1987) p.54-58	Male Forest Spirits	Both Hayward and Larson describe the Ap Endak as being male spirits of the high mountain forests. They help to empower men to perform acts of bravery in battle but are also known to excite men to sexual passion, seduce women on the mountain trails and to kill men who stray into their domains in the evening. In Ilaga they are also considered to be responsible for the epidemics of influenza which occur in December and afflict sufferers with severe headaches.

2.1.2	Kwe Wa'nakwe	Hayward (1992) p.88-90 Larson (1987) p.58-60	Female Forest Spirits (literally: women-who-kill-us)	The Kwe Wa'nakwe are a class of female forest spirits which Larson claims were originally spirits of the Damal Tribe in Ilaga but which have been widely adopted by Lani communities. They are thought to seduce men by appearing in the form of their wives in remote locations. The results of such encounters can include the illness or even death of the husband and also the birth to the Kwe Wa'nakwe of a malformed "amulok" or guardian spirit which is an exact replica of the next child born to the husband. These malformed "amulok" spirits can subsequently be substituted by the Kwe Wa'nakwe, sometimes with the help of "liimbu" spirits (see 2.2.1 below), for the real baby. This is believed to be the main cause of cretinism. The Kwe Wa'nakwe are also believed to drag people off and kill them in the forest and also to cause adults to go "amok." Whilst the Kwe Wa'nakwe are principally viewed as dangerous and hostile spirits, they are also associated with taro cultivation and men, who are the principal growers of taro, are known to invoke the assistance of certain Kwe Wa'nakwe when planting taro gardens.
2.2	Swamp Spirits	Hayward (1992) p.88-91		Hayward recognises this class of swamp dwelling spirits. They appear to have a function in the prevention of diarrhoea, dysentery and malaria as well as protecting swampy areas from degradation by restricting human and pig activity around swamps, lakes, sink holes and aquifers.
2.2.1	Liimbu	Hayward (1992) p.88-91 Larson (1987) p.47-48		Hayward describes two types of swamp spirits, the Liimbu and their older siblings the meelemu who live in swamps, watery depressions and/or sink holes. They are said to be particularly hostile to people or pigs who leave food scraps or bodily excretions in their territory or people who stray into their territory in the late afternoon. This can be related to a taboo on washing sweet potatoes or other foods in stagnant water as it is feared that scraps from the food would be collected and consumed by the swamp spirits and thus cause lingering illness for the human owner. The illnesses generally associated with the Liimbu include back pains, runny noses, delirium and even coma. Limbu are also believed to catch the semen when couple copulate in its territory and use it to cause miscarriage for the woman involved. In cases of attack by a Liimbu Kugi pigs are normally sacrificed.
2.2.2	Meelemu / Laambu	Hayward (1992) p.88-91		The Meelemu or Laambu is the older sibling of the Liimbu. It seems to be similar in most respects to the Liimbu except that its attacks are said to be so violent and swift that there is usually no time to make a pig sacrifice.

2.3	Sorcery Spirits & Witchcraft Spirits			
2.3.1	Kugurowo  Kukkutowo	Hayward (1992) p.92-94 Larson (1987) p.54-56 O'Brien (1969) p.89	Witchcraft Spirits	<p>The concepts surrounding the Kugurowo spirits seem to vary considerably between the main Lani regions yet clear links can be seen between the accounts of Larson, Hayward and O'Brien.</p> <p>In Ilaga Larson describes them as being female spirits of the lower altitude forests who are the counterparts of the Ap Endak spirits. As such they are said to be the cause of the June outbreaks influenza, which cause sufferers severe back pain. More feared than their ability to cause influenza outbreaks was their ability to possess women by entering their bodies via the vagina or anus and either cause them to go mad or enable them to become witches capable of traveling in spirit form and devouring souls. In the Jamo Valley Hayward also describes the Kugurowo as spirits that enter the body and cause people to become what he describes as crypto-canablistic witches or sorcerers. However, he associates the Kugurowo and their manipulation by humans as being more closely associated with men. O'Brien's description of the Toli Valley Lani beliefs of witches and witch spirits suggests that they believe in the Kukkutowo as being a spirit which resides in Ilaga and occasionally visits the Toli causing earthquakes, landslides and stealing ripe bananas. In the Toli the concept of the witch spirit seems to go under a separate name, Jongolak (see reference 2.3.3 in this table), which linguistically probably originates in the Kelila, Bokondini or Grand Valley areas rather than the Ilaga or Jamo valleys. However, the term for witch in the Toli is Kugidowo, which seemingly has links to the Ilaga – Jamo term Kugurowo.</p>
2.3.2	Ninggirak Magagirak Magidak Mum	Larson (1987) p.60-62 Hayward (1992) p.92-93 O'Brien (1969) p.75, 80-88 Ploeg (1969) p.52-54	Sorcery Spirits Poison Spirits	<p>These spirits are amongst the most feared in the Lani cosmology. They are associated with sorcery which O'Brien and Ploeg claim is the can only be performed by women. Hayward and Larson on the other hand claim that both men and women can perform Ninggirak Sorcery, though they admit that it was almost unheard of amongst men. Ninggirak is said to work through the use of a symbolic poison, variously described as a type of limestone powder, a quartz crystal or the ashes from certain plants, which is either sprinkled in the victim's ear or placed under the floor where they normally sleep. People thus poisoned could either die of disease or through misadventure such as drowning or a fall. All four of the accounts state that witch trials and executions were very common and O'Brien states that the attribution of a death to witchcraft has more to do with the availability of a suitable woman to accuse than it does to any clear symptomology associated with witch attacks.</p>

2.3.3	Jongolak	O'Brien (1969) p.79	Witch Spirit	O'Brien describes an entity known as a <i>Jongolak</i> which is believed to be the source of a <i>Kugidowo's</i> (male witch – refer to reference 5.1 in this table) power. The <i>Jongolak</i> are said to originate in the Ilaga and Jamo Valleys and attach themselves inside a witch's body near his heart. This is said to give him the power to change into a bird at night and kill his victims by canibalising their soul. The <i>Jongolak</i> may be analogous to the <i>Kugurowo</i> , which is associated with witches in the Jamo and Ilaga Valleys, however, O'Brien also refers to another spirit, the <i>Kukutowo</i> , which also seems to relate to the Ilaga / Jamo concept of <i>Kugurowo</i> spirits.
2.4	Inogogwi Nogugwi	Larson (1987) p. 60-65 Hayward (1992) p.94-97	Blood Spirits or Familiar Spirits	The Blood or Familiar spirits appear to be the spirits most closely associated with the men whom O'Brien describes as " <i>Ap Endage Bor</i> " or Men Named Sky / Shamans.
2.4.1	Wilu Kugi	Larson (1987) p.61 & 63 Hayward (1992) p.95	Frog Sprit	The attacks of this spirit are associated with abdominal swelling and numbness in the hands and feet.
2.4.2	Tiyu Kugi	Larson (1987) p.61 & 63 Hayward (1992) p.95	Owl Spirit	The attacks of this spirit are associated with sore or raspy throats and severe abdominal cramping or irritated skin on the abdomen (likened to the clawing of an owls talons on the victims stomache). Hayward claims that this spirit is often invoked against someone who has struck and injured another person or for causing continuing ill will within the community.
2.4.3	Woret Kugi	Larson (1987) p.61 Hayward (1992) p.95	Lizard Spirit	The attacks of this spirit are associated with bloating and swelling of the limbs, joints or body.
2.4.4	Pingen Kugi	Larson (1987) p.61 Hayward (1992) p.95-96	Louse Spirit	This spirit is associated with lice ( <i>pi</i> or <i>abi</i> ) and causes severe scratching and infection of the skin and scalp. Hayward claims that this spirit is often invoked against people who are suspected of having raided someone else's pandanus groves.
2.4.5	Karayum Kugi	Larson (1987) p.61 Hayward (1992) p.96	Marsupial Spirit	This spirit is associated with a small, unspecified marsupial and is said to cause rashes on the buttocks and around the waist. Larson also associates it with some birth abnormalities in cases where it attacks pregnant women.
2.4.6	Woromo Kugi	Larson (1987) p.61	Pandanus Spirit	The attacks of this spirit are associated with rashes in the mouth and throat and very bad breath.
2.4.7	Wandinowak Kugi	Larson (1987) p.61	Bones of the Wandik Clan Spirit	The attacks of this spirit are associated with loss of weight and vitality, mental confusion, convulsions and insanity.

2.5	Ogot Spirits	Hayward (1992) p.96		Hayward describes four <i>ogot</i> spirits which he classifies as a family within the class he calls familiar spirits.
2.5.1	Maalugot Kugi	Hayward (1992) p.96		This spirit is associated with large painful sores, possibly tropical ulcers, yaws and other large infections.
2.5.2	Abila Ogot Kugi	Hayward (1992) p.96		This spirit takes its name from the word <i>abila</i> – to be pregnant – and is associated with swelling of the abdomen.
2.5.3	Yaligot Kugi	Hayward (1992) p.96		This spirit is said to affect the hands and feet, causing loss of feeling, clamminess and distress.
2.5.4	Wogot Kugi	Hayward (1992) p.96		Hayward lists this spirit with the other illness causing <i>ogot kugi</i> but says that it was not explicitly associated with any specific illness.
2.6	Other Individually Powerful Spirits	Hayward (1992) p.96-97		Hayward also describes a further two spirits, the <i>Kugi Alo</i> and the <i>Kugi Yimugi</i> , as related to but distinct from the Familiar Spirits.
2.6.1	Kugi Alo	Hayward (1992) p.96		Hayward describes the Mulia Lani as referring to <i>Kugi Alo</i> with particular awe because the illness it causes leads to certain death unless prompt action is taken. No specific details of the nature of the illness caused by <i>Kugi Alo</i> are provided by Hayward.
2.6.2	Kugi Yimogi	Hayward (1992) p.97		This spirit is said to cause earaches, and quite possibly can be sent to afflict someone who insists upon closing his ear to the advice and directions of the members of his community.
2.7	Other Unclassified Spirits described by O'Brien			The following three spirits were mentioned by O'Brien. It is unclear how they fit into Hayward's cosmological system but they are presumably local variants of the Nogugwi and/or Ogot Spirits.
2.7.1	Namulok	O'Brien (1969) p.89		Associated with headaches
2.7.2	Buruk	O'Brien (1969) p.89		Associated with dysentery
2.7.3	Enemulok	O'Brien (1969) p.89		Associated with blindness

<b>3</b>	<b>REMOTE BENEFICIENT SPIRIT LIFE FORMS</b>			
3.1	Tinok and Tanok	Hayward (1992) p.87 Larson (1987) p.51-53	The Lani Tribal Guardians	According to Lani Mythology the siblings <i>Tinok</i> and <i>Tanok</i> along with their wives were either the first immortal beings to emerge on the surface of the earth or the sons of Mu, the first man. Today <i>Tinok</i> and <i>Tanok</i> are said to stand guard over the eastern and western borders of the Lani Territory. They are associated with a taboo that restricts people from the eastern end of the Lani Territory in the Grand Valley from traveling as far as the extreme western end of their territory and vice versa. Hayward also describes <i>Tinok</i> as being an expression of Lani conservatism, as he stands near the point of Lani origin and looks west towards the Lani people, whilst <i>Tanok</i> , the younger sibling, expresses the progressive face of the Lani, standing in the west with his back to the tribe and occupying himself with overseeing the <i>Ap Endak</i> spirits of the western mountains.
3.2	Mbok	Hayward (1992) p.88		According to Lani mythology the <i>Mbok</i> are the beings who created the mountains, rivers and forests. Their giant footprints are said to be clearly visible in the North Baliem area. After shaping the lands to their present form the <i>Mbok</i> are said to have left the mountains for the flat lands to the north. During the early days of contact there seems to have been speculation that the Europeans were in fact the descendants of the <i>Mbok</i> but this belief seems to have been quickly discarded. The <i>Mbok</i> are not known to cause any particular illnesses and appear to have little effect upon the lives of most Lani people.
<b>4.</b>	<b>CLOSE BENEFICIENT SPIRIT LIFE FORMS</b>			
4.1	Nature Spirits			
4.1.1	Wanggu	Hayward (1992) p.85-86	High Mountain Spirits	Hayward describes the <i>Wanggu</i> as a large class of spirits who populate distinct geographical regions and protect their territory by attacking people who enter their territory to hunt without bringing offerings. Whilst these spirits are dangerous they are considered beneficent because the Lani know their names, which are passed on through the male cult, and how to make offerings to them. As such they serve Lani communities by protecting their hunting territory from incursions by other groups.

4.1.2	Weya	Hayward (1992) p.85-86	Tree Kangaroo Spirits	These spirits are said to control the rains but when they become violent they can also send dangerous lightning storms.
4.1.3	Ambelabakwe	Hayward (1992) p.85-87	The drinking woman spirit	This female spirit is said to control the flooding of the north Baliem and is associated with the large river sink and cave system on the Baliem River near Kwiyawagi. In times of flooding pigs may be sacrificed to <i>ambelakwe</i> to encourage her to drink faster and thus reduce the flooding.
4.2	Gaurdian Spirits or Birth Spirits			
4.2.1	Amulok		Personal Guardian Spirits	The <i>amulok kugi</i> (literally umbilical cord spirits) are personal guardian spirits which all people possess from birth. Hayward states that the Lani seem to have no clear conception as to the origin of the <i>amulok</i> but associate them with the persons placenta at birth, their shadow or reflection as well as their forearm, as the <i>amulok</i> are said to provide strength and dexterity. Much of the male initiation rituals, as well as healing rituals for non-initiated boys are centred around sacrificing to and introducing boys to their <i>amulok</i> spirits. According to Hayward girls and women are never introduced to their <i>amulok</i> . The term <i>amulok</i> is also used to refer to the aberrant changelings, which can result from the sexual union of men with <i>kwe wa'nakwe</i> spirits.
4.2.2	Kimbi and Iringet		Clan Guardian Spirits	The <i>kimbi</i> spirits are closely related to the <i>amulok</i> . They are said to provide protection for members of the lineage whilst traveling, hunting or during times of sickness and to promote social harmony within the lineage. The <i>iringet</i> are a specific and important type of <i>kimbi</i> associated with promoting generosity in social exchanges and thus the generation of social capital amongst lineage members and their affines. The names of most of the <i>kimbi</i> and <i>iringet</i> are closely guarded secrets of the adult males of each lineage, but Hayward describes at least three paired (male-female) sets of guardian spirits as being commonly held and appealed to by most lineages.

4.3	Soul & Ghost			
4.3.1	Anenga  Ynenga	Hayward (1992) p. 80 - 81 Larson (1987) p. 68 - 72 O'Brien (1969) p. 88	Soul	The Lani concept of <i>anenga</i> roughly corresponds to the concept of a soul. During life it is associated with the <i>iniki</i> , whereas upon death it is released from the body and takes on the form of the <i>ogoma</i> or ghost. <i>Kugidowo</i> (male witches) can leave their bodies in the <i>ogoma</i> form of their <i>anenga</i> in order to cannibalise the <i>anenga</i> of others but otherwise the departure of the <i>anenga</i> from the body will cause death.
4.3.2	Ogoma	Hayward (1992) p. 80 - 81 Larson (1987) p. 68 - 72	Ghost of the recently deceased	Whilst they are classified by Hayward as beneficent spirits, along with the <i>Ninggirak</i> spirits (or <i>Magidak</i> Sorcerers), the <i>Ogoma</i> or ghosts of the recently dead are the spirits which cause greatest concern for the Lani and a considerable amount of their rituals are carried out in order to mollify them. The <i>ogoma</i> is considered to exist in the living but remains dormant until that person dies at which time it is released from the body and will continue to live in the area and assist or interfere with the living. The power of most <i>ogoma</i> will fade over time, as the memories of the person from whom that particular <i>ogoma</i> was derived also fade.
4.3.3	Iniki	Hayward (1992) p. 80 - 81 Larson (1987) p. 68 - 72	Heart (Physical & emotional)	The term <i>iniki</i> roughly equates with our own usage of the word heart as both a physical organ and as the seat of emotions. It is similar to the Grand Valley Dani concept of an <i>edai-agen</i> (see Heider, 1970:226-7; & Butt, 1998) except that the latter is described by Heider as being considered to grow and shrink in relation to the persons immediate physical and spiritual well being, Hayward describes the Lani <i>iniki</i> as being more constant in growth and physical in conception. Furthermore, whereas the <i>edai-agen</i> appears to be present from birth, the Lani appear to associate the acquisition of an <i>iniki</i> with a child's development of reason.
4.3.4	Mongat	O'Brien (1969) p.91-92		The <i>mongat</i> is described by O'Brien as being a spirit which lives on the forehead of adult men and possibly also adult women and which is acquired only after they have had sexual intercourse. The <i>mongat</i> seems to incite its host to commit deeds such as theft of pigs, abduction of women and the killing of men. In cases where an individual's <i>mongat</i> was causing too many social problems the older men might conduct a ceremony to either drive it off or reduce its influence. Linguistically the term is related to the Grand Valley term <i>Mogat</i> or <i>Mokhat</i> . However, in the Grand Valley the term <i>mogat</i> is conceptually closer to the Lani concept of <i>Ogoma</i> or ghost of the recently dead.

4.3.5	Ombomini & Kugi Waali	Hayward (1992) p.81-82	Ghosts of revered ancestors	Whilst most ghosts or <i>ogoma</i> will fade from memory and cease to be of concern for the living, the ghosts of especially revered ancestors can survive well beyond the death of their contemporaries. In such cases they are said to become a type of <i>kugi</i> known as <i>ninombomini</i> (our grandfathers) or <i>niniowogelomini</i> (our grandmothers) whilst ancestors of the very remote past are called <i>kugi waali</i> . The ancestral spirits are the most important in the Lani world and the appeasement and conciliation of these spirits is the central feature of Lani ritual. Their support can bring victory in war, fertility in pigs and gardens, protection from the attacks of other spirits, and consequently from illness, as well as harmony and well-being in the community.
5.	Remote Malevolent Non-Spirit Life Forms			
5.1	Kumbuloma-abeloma	Hayward (1992) p. 101	Sky People	The sky people are closely related to the swamp spirits, both of whom are said to have been forced from the surface of the earth by the Lani because they kept stealing produce from Lani Gardens. However, the sky people are not considered to be spirits but rather men and women who live and make gardens in the sky and whose urination falls as rain. They have little impact upon Lani life, other than as a reason not to go out in the rain. When they first encountered Europeans some Lani people appear to have believed that they were the sky people returning to the earth, but this idea seems to have been abandoned fairly quickly.
6.	Close Malevolent Non-Spirit Life Forms (Human Spirit Practitioners)			
6.1	Kugidowo	O'Brien (1969) p. 75 - 80	Male Witch	These are the practitioners of <i>Kugurowo</i> magic – see the sections on kugurowo magic and jongolak spirits described above.
6.2	Magidak	O'Brien (1969) p. 80 - 88	Female Sorcerer	These are the practitioners of <i>magidak</i> or <i>ninggirak</i> magic described above.

7. Close Beneficient Human Spirit Practitioners			
7.1 Ap endage bor	O'Brien (1969) p. 61 - 75	Men namend sky / shamans	The <i>Ap Endage Bor</i> or "Men Named Sky" were identified as shamans by O'Brien but were not clearly differentiated from witches or sorcerers by either Larson or Hayward. According to O'Brien they were always important community leaders who were responsible for conducting the "Wyr" ceremonies which initiated boys into the mens cult and also for cutting pigs in other feast ceremonies. They could also perform acts of divination and invoke different spirits to cause illness to others. From Hayward and Larson's description it seems that the shamans were principally involved with the familiar or blood spirits. Shamanic knowledge and power can seemingly be achieved both through inherited knowledge and also through actively developing relationships with different <i>Nungugwi</i> or <i>Ogot</i> spirits. The standing and power of shamans also seems to decrease with old age.
7.2 -	O'Brien (1969) p. 74 - 75	Female curers	Certain women are known to have specialised knowledge of curing which can either be inherited from their mothers or bought from others. These specialists are known to conduct specialised healing ceremonies for men, women and children for which they are normally paid in pork or other goods. They also assist with childbirth and particularly the disposal of the placenta. O'Brien does not provide a local name for such curers and

8.	Remote Beneficent Non-Spirit Life-Forms			
8.1	Onegen Mo	Hayward (1992) p. 98	Eye of the universe sun	The Lani consider the sun to be a physical being which is described as being a woman who climbs up a tree each morning and travels across the underside of the sky each day before climbing down another tree and returning to her home in the east by an underground path each night. Whilst the sun does not appear to figure prominently in Lani ritual, a pan-New Guinea Highlands cult which focuses on the sun woman has been observed to be practiced in a number of areas in the PNG Highlands, with sun spirit houses also occurring in the Watdanggu Valley near the Grand Valley and several other locations in Irian Jaya. The significance of this cult for Lani people is not clear.
8.2	Tut	Hayward (1992) p. 98	Moon	The moon is personified as the husband of the sun. He is said to cause women's menstruation by having sex with them. The Lani mark the various cycles of the moon but do not appear to attach any particular significance to them.