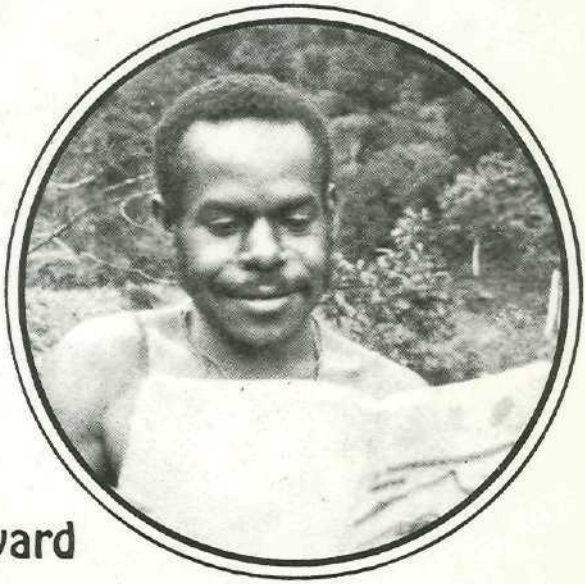
The DANI OF IRIAN JAYA BEFORE and AFTER CONVERSION



Douglas Hayward

THE DANI OF IRIAN JAYA
BEFORE AND AFTER CONVERSION

Douglas J. Hayward

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Preface to First Edition

This study was originally written as a major research project which was presented to the School of World Mission (Fuller Seminary) in 1977 in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree Master of Arts in Missiology. The present format continues to bear the marks of a scholarly research project, and indeed differs from the original study only in that there have been some minor corrections and additions which have surfaced since its original presentation.

The project was initiated with the express intention of enhancing missionary awareness of Dani cultural values, and how these have and continue to influence the spread of the Gospel in Dani areas. There is much that we still do not know about the Dani, and as a result some of our data is incomplete, and some of it is still poorly understood or preceived only from an outsiders frame of reference. Our conclusions therefore, at this stage can only be tentative and are presented here not as definitive statements but as indicators for further in-depth studies. In its present state this project must be considered as a research in progress and one which is still undergoing revision and analysis. If in the meantime it has helped to increase the effectiveness of the missionary team in Irian Jaya, it will have served its purpose well.

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PREFACE

PURPOSE OF THIS STUDY

In the late 1950's and early 1960's a people movement to Christianity swept through the Dani tribe in West New Guinea. At that time people movements were barely understood by missionaries from the Western World. Dr. McGavran and Dr. Tippett who were later to make significant contributions to our understanding of such movements were just beginning to come to the attention of their fellow missionaries. In the meantime, for the missionaries who were serving in West New Guinea, later to be renamed Irian Jaya, the rapid succession of events which characterized the Dani people movement were confusing, contradictory, and for some missionaries definitely a distortion to be stopped if at all possible.

Now, as the controversy regarding those early days has settled down and the movement has weathered its first stormy period, it would appear that we are ready for a more thorough and rational review of the events of those days. The purpose of this study therefore will be to probe into Dani culture with a view to coming to some faint understanding of the values, the tensions, the worldview, the way the Dani saw the total cycle of events that made up their lives.

And from this understanding to see what it was that constituted their readiness to accept the Gospel message when they heard it.

We shall be reviewing again the succession of events that went into those days of transition and which finally resulted in the majority of the Dani tribe accepting Christianity as their new and preferred way of life. And then we shall be reviewing the changes which have accompanied that choice. Changes which have been introduced not just by the missionaries and the message which they brought, but changes which have been brought about by the arrival of the outside world. In short, this paper will be a report of the social and religious change of the Dani people.

METHODOLOGY

In Chapter one we shall be reviewing Dani culture as it was in the early days prior to their conversion to Christianity. Our task will be to try and portray their way of life as it was in the pre-contact days of their existence. Our sources for such a study will be drawn from a number of ethnographies which were done on the Dani culture during the early contact period. These include the works of Karl Heider, Denise O'Brien, H.L. Peters, and Anton Ploeg. Their studies will be supplemented by referring to additional studies from other area of New Guinea, as well as by my own observations which have been the result of some eight years of residence among the Dani in the Mulia region of the Yamo Valley, and the extensive interviews which I conducted during that time regarding their "former" lives.

Our description makes no claims of completeness in describing Dani culture, for even if such a task were possible, it would take us far beyond the limits and purposes of this report. Rather our purpose will be to set the scene and to describe the environment into which the Gospel was brought by the first missionaries.

In Section two we shall be drawing heavily from the missionary records of that period as we reconstruct again the events which went into the conversion of the Dani tribe. We shall take note of its roots in the Ilaga Valley, its spread throughout the Western Dani section, the controversy it engendered, and the final resolution of those differences. We shall conclude this section by attempting to see the movement from an anthropological and historical perspective.

In Section three we will be focusing primarily upon the changes which have been effected in Dani culture as a result of the reformulation of their culture. Here the data will rely primarily upon my own field experiences as I have served with my fellow missionaries and with the Dani pastors who are a part of what is now the Dani church. The changes are ones in which I have participated both in order to correct and to direct. Trustfully, one of the results of this study will have been to make that task a little bit clearer.

NOTE ON FOREIGN WORDS

Whenever I have had to use Dani or Indonesian words I have sought to keep the English reader in mind and to accommodate to him. Inasmuch as the orthography of Indonesian is easily understood in English, I have maintained the Indonesian spelling of all Indonesian terms, and I have spelt all place names in the Indonesian way. The one exception to this rule being the spelling of "Baliem" with the extra "e" which is not Indonesian. The reason for this exception arises in that the term "Baliem" in this form is most familiar to English speaking readers. Dani words, except for place names are spelt in the current orthography of the Dani language.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

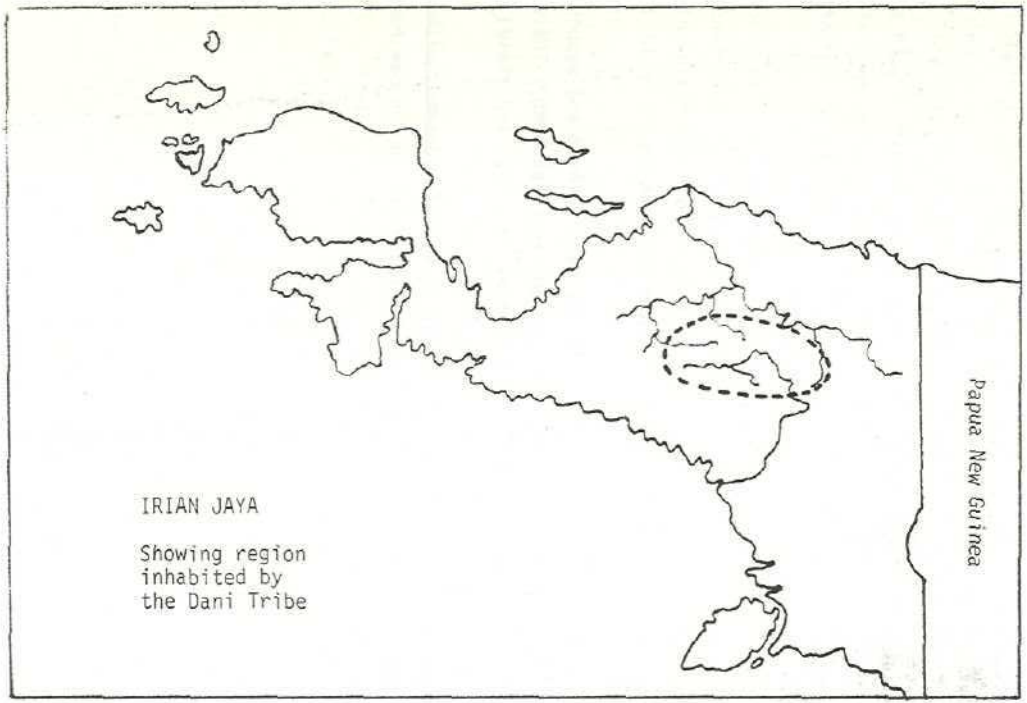
The writer expresses his personal gratitude to the many persons

who have contributed their part in seeing this study brought to its present conclusion. Space does not permit my mentioning by name all of those having had such a part, but special mention must be made of the staff and faculty of the School of World Mission and Institute of Church Growth of Fuller Theological Seminary. Each of them has had a particular contribution to make not only in this study but in the development of my own skills as a missionary and servant of our Lord Jesus Christ.

A special word of appreciation must be given to Dr. Alan Tippett who has graciously shared with me from his own wealth of experience as a missionary, anthropologist, and professor. Without his guiding hand I have no doubt that this paper would not have been brought to its completion.

The author is further indebted to his many friends and supporters who have stood by with their support and encouragement. Their financial gifts have made this time of study possible, and their cheerful encouragement along the way was heartening.

A final word of appreciation is due to my wife, Joanne, without whose support our family could not have carried on. Words can hardly express the praise which should be hers.


IRIAN JAYA
Showing region inhabited by the Dani Tribe
Papua New Guinea

SECTION ONE

THE DANI - THEIR OLD WAY OF LIFE

Chapter One

Dani Identity

One of the major problems which we face in attempting to describe Dani culture as it encompasses the entire Dani tribe is that regional differences in cultural practices are so pervasive, that any but the most generalized descriptions runs the risk of being challenged by those who know the Dani and their way of life. Our study therefore in seeking to go beyond superficial generalities, has sought to take note of these regional differences, and to see them against their wider perspective and as an integral part of the totality of the Dani outlook upon life. In the same way that my insights into Dani culture have been sharpened by the studies of those who preceded me, undoubtedly future studies will be able to correct and sharpen those which are presented here.

THE IRIAN JAYA HIGHLANDS

The Dani live deep in the highlands of the Western portion of the island of New Guinea, which stands as the second largest island in the world (Greenland being the largest). New Guinea is nearly 1,500 miles long and about 500 miles wide, and is shaped like a huge prehistoric bird which has just lifted off from Australia, headed toward the Asian mainland. As a land mass, it constitutes a sizable

portion of that chain of islands which stretches out from Asia toward Australia, and which divides the Pacific Ocean from the Indian Ocean. Ethnically, New Guinea has been identified with the peoples and cultures of the Pacific as a part of the Melanesian Islands. Politically though the island is divided down the middle at the 141st East longitude, with the western half of the Island constituting the 17th province of the nation of Indonesia, while the Eastern half of the island stands as the autonomous nation of Papua New Guinea.

Irian Jaya, as the western portion is know, has been variously named Netherlands New Guinea or Dutch New Guinea; West New Guinea, West Irian, Irian Barat, and now Irian Jaya. The term Irian is reported to be a term used by the Biak people for the nearby mainland, and meant "hot climate". (Souter 1964:212) This term has since been incorporated into the Indonesian language as the designation for the entire island, and has been paired with the word Jaya which is Indonesian for glorious.

The top of the bird's head (which is the popularly designated term for the Western extremity of the island) extends almost to the equator and its tail dips down to just below the 10th parallel. The climate of the island therefore is equatorial, ranging from between 70° to 90° at sea level, but varies from region to region according to the effect of the prevailing winds, the amount of rainfall, and the proximity to the mountains. Average temperatures fall as the altitude increases, with the result that very little population is found above the 8,000 to 9,000 foot altitude because of the cold.

One of the outstanding features of the topography of the island is the stark contrast between the rugged mountains and the sluggish swamps which are found principally along the coasts. The mountains run like a great backbone down through the entire center of the island and jut upwards to over 16,000 feet above sea level where some

peaks remain snowcapped during much of the year.

It is here in the mountains, separated by miles of inhospitable swamplands, and securely sheltered behind the mountain walls that the Dani have for generations made their nome.

In the following brief ethnography of the Dani people I shall try to describe the Dani way of life prior to their contact with the outside world. That contact has brought changes to their traditional culture so that while many of these practices continue as they did in the pre-contact days, many have been altered, perhaps only slightly, while still others have been radically changed or even abandoned. Rather than confuse the reader by constantly shifting tenses in describing Dani culture as it was or is, I have chosen to use the past tense throughout this section of the study. This is Dani culture as it was before the impact of the Gospel and the outside world. In Section three we will return again to Dani culture, as it is found today, with special attention being given to those aspects of the culture which have undergone change and transformation.

THE HOME OF THE DANI

For the most part the Dani reside in the upper regions of three large river systems. Flowing northward is the mighty Mamberamo River, which in the vast Lakes Plains regions is separated into two branches. The eastern branch is known as the Idenburg River, and one of its tributaries, the Hablifoeri River, is the home of some 15,000 Dani who live in the Bokondini - Kelila area. The Western branch of the Mamberamo is the Rouffaer River and among its tributaries is the Toli River, where approximately 40,000 Dani live at Karubaga, Mamit, and Kanggime. A second important tributary to the Rouffaer River is the Ilaga River, which flows out of the homeland of some 4,000 Dani. A third tributary is the Yamo River (or as in some early writings, the

Nogolo River) where an estimated 25,000 more Dani live at three locations in Ilu, Mulia and Sinak.

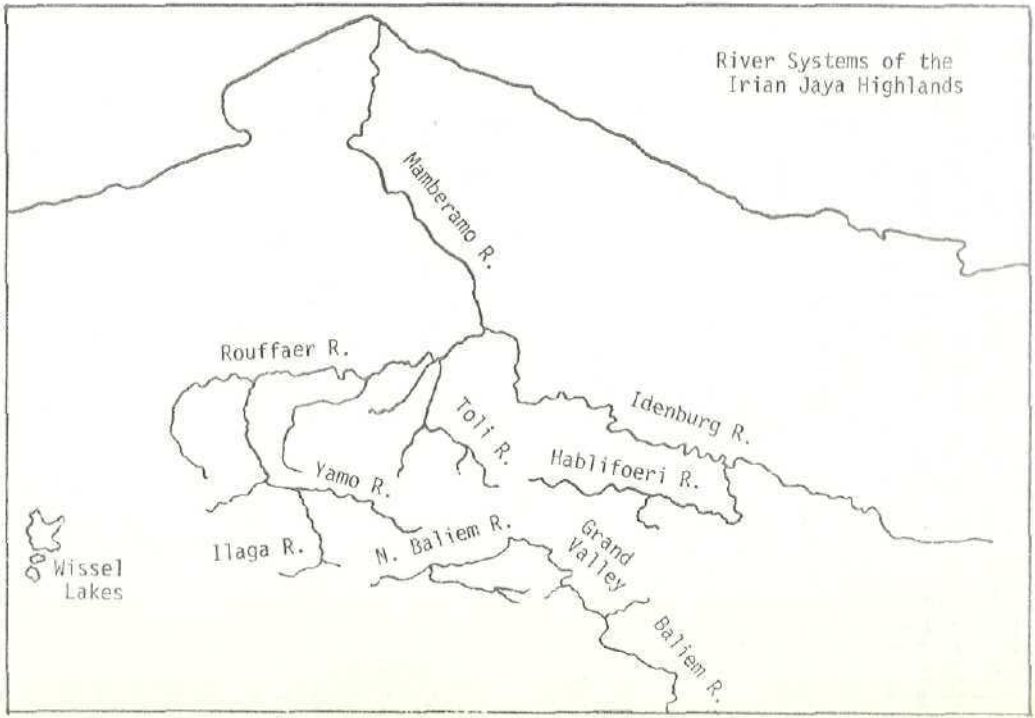
On the southern slopes of the mountains, the Baliem River originating from two separate sources joins together high up on the Kwiyawogwi Plateau to become the North Baliem River, where 50,000 Dani live at Kwiyawogwi, Tiom, Pit, Makki and Pyramid. From there the Baliem flows into the Grand Valley where an additional 50,000 Dani live.

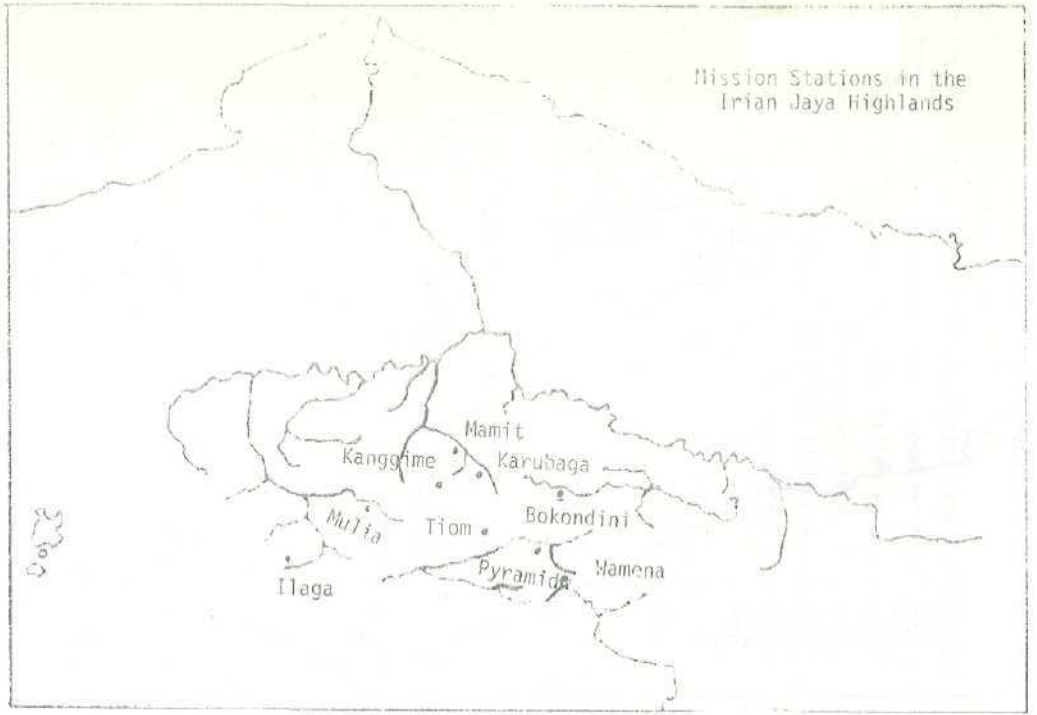
The valley floor at Kwiyawogwi is approximately 9000 feet above sea level, and is the uppermost limits of the Dani populace, while the lowermost limits would possibly be 2,500 which would be the lower level of a number of the valleys as they flow into the lowlands. While the altitude of the population at any given location will vary by as much as 2,000 feet because of the surrounding mountains, the majority of the Dani population live at between 4,000 and 7,000 feet above sea level.

The Baliem or Grand Valley is the largest of the interior valleys in Irian Jaya, measuring some 40 miles long and 10 miles wide. This is in contrast to the Yamo Valley which descends from its surrounding peaks in increasing degrees of steepness until it drops abruptly into the Yamo River. Here the valley floor will vary from a hundred yards in width, to nothing more than the width of the river itself. Villages and garden space here are generally located on the higher slopes.

The content of the soil will vary from very rocky as at Mulia, to sandy or even clay as in the Baliem. The soil is not particularly rich, due in part to constant erosion and the extreme leaching of the humus and useful chemicals as the result of the heavy rains. The average annual rainfall for this region will vary from between 78 inches per year, as in the Grand Valley, to 100 inches per year as in the Toli Valley. (Heider 1970:212; O'Brien 1969:19)

Given these varieties of living conditions, it is not unusual


River Systems of the
Irian Jaya Highlands
Mamberamo R.
Rouffaer R.
Idenburg R.
Toli R.
Hablifoeri R.
Yamo R.
Ilaga R.
N. Baliem R.
Grand
Valley
Baliem R.
Wissel
Lakes


Mission Stations in the
Irian Jaya Highlands
Mamit
Kanggime
Karubaga
Mulia
Tiom
Bokondini
Pyramid
Mamena
Ilaga

therefore to discover that each valley had its own variations of gardening styles, diet, social relations, and patterns of behavior. Indeed these variations are going to be a problem to us, as we have already noted in the preface inasmuch as a description of one area or group of Dani will not always apply to other areas. Dani culture is skewed in a myriad of ways, and has prompted careful observers and ethnographers to qualify their observations by limiting them exclusively to the local group with whom they have worked. This skewing of Dani culture has been even more dramatic under the impact of contact with the outside world. Change has come to the Dani, and the nature of that change has been in large part due to the various emphasis, kinds of contact and even personalities of those missionaries and government officers who have come to take up residence in their midst.

THE ORIGIN OF THE DANI

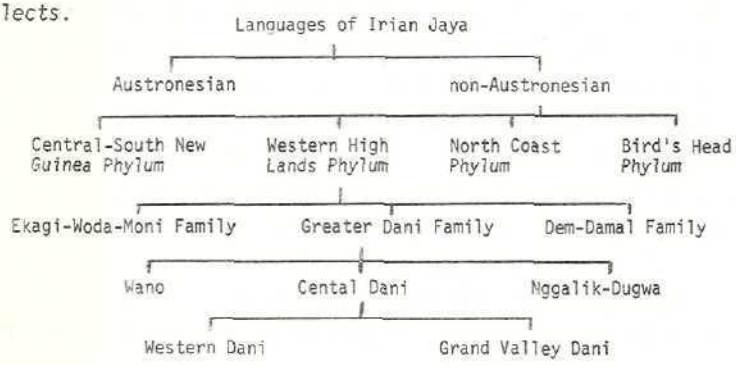
Where did the Dani come from? Indeed, where did any of the inhabitants of the island of New Guinea come from? This is one of those elusive questions which have fascinated anthropologists for years, and for which there are still no conclusive answers. While we continue to lack the details for the origins of the Melanesian people, it seems abundantly clear that the early forefathers of the Dani came to New Guinea as the result of a "long lasting flow of people from the Asiatic mainland into the islands of the South-west Pacific". (Shutler & Shutler 1967:99). Eventually making their way into the highlands, these early pioneers, arriving possibly as a pre-agricultural people, began to plant limited quantities of food and with continuing innovation and cultural borrowings developed the extensive sweet potato cultivation which we know today. Such is the tentative conclusion anyway of the Bulmers in their own analysis of the archaeological,

linguistic, and cultural data of New Guinea. (1964:52)

Whoever those early progenitors of the Dani tribe might have been, today their descendants continue as a people whose skin color "varies from deep brown to light bronze". (O'Brien 1969:23) In the Toli area the average height of the men is between 4'11" and 5'2", the women averaging around 4'9" in height, (O'Brien 1969:23) while the average height of men in the Baliem would be slightly higher. Their hair is kinky and in children is often reddish in color as a result of protein deficiency. The Dani are not typically fat, but they do have protruding stomachs, due partly to their starchy diets, and partly to their posture in which typically the "lumbar region is arched forward and the pelvis is rocked down and back". (Heider 1970:220)

THE LANGUAGE OF THE DANI

The languages of Irian Jaya fall into two major classifications "either as basically Austronesian or basically non-Austronesian". (Bromley 1973:12) As the following chart, (which has been drawn from Bromley's analysis of the languages of Irian Jaya) indicates, these categories are further sub-divided into phylum, families, sub-families and dialects.

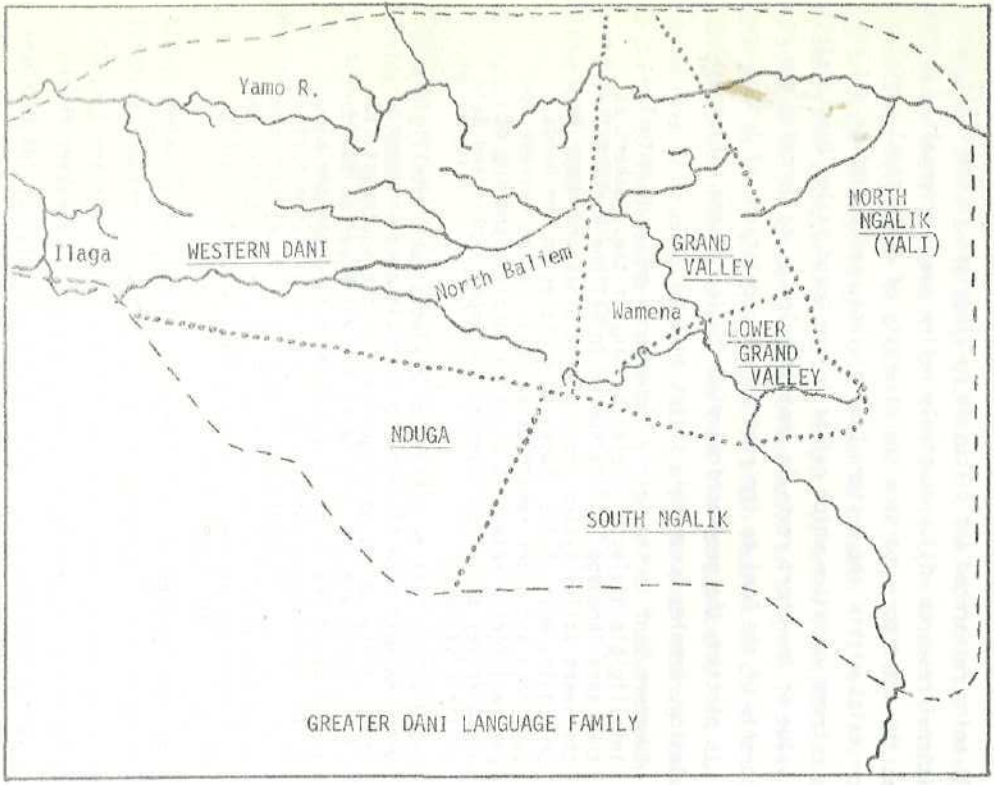


It needs to be noted here that the above listed categories are still being researched and discussed by linguists in the field, and additional research will undoubtedly refine these proposals. Furthermore, the chart does not show the diversity of dialectical variations which exist within the Western Dani dialect, and a similar and even more extreme variation which exists in the Grand Valley Dani dialect. The value of the chart rests in that it helps us to perceive the relationship of the Dani to the rest of the populations of Irian Jaya.

In plotting the geographical distribution of the Dani speaking population, Bromley accurately states that:

> "Western Dani is the fairly homogeneous group of mutually intelligible dialects labeled by many of the speakers as the Laany language. It is spoken in all the North Balim, the Swart valley system, most of the Sinak and upper Yamo or Nogolo, most of the Ilaga, in enclaves in the Beoga, Dugindoga and upper Kemandoga valleys, in the extreme upper Hablifoerie watershed around Bokondini, the top of Grand Valley and in enclaves in the upper Kimbin and Bele or Ibele valleys.
>
> Grand Valley Dani is a chain of dialects each intelligible with the next from the Pyramid mountain area in upper Grand Valley to the Samenage River on the southwest side of the gorge and a little below the Wet River on the northeast side of the gorge; dialects of this chain are also spoken in enclaves between Grand Valley and some North Ngalik or Jali populations. There is no local term used by people in this area for this whole dialect chain; the opposite ends of the chain are mutually unintelligible dialects." (Bromley 1973:6)

The total number of Dani speakers can only be estimated due to incomplete statistical records at this time, but a reasonable total based on missionary records would indicate that there are 134,000 speakers in the Western Dani dialect, and 50,000 speakers in the Grand Valley Dani dialect, giving us a grand total of 184,000 Dani speakers.


Yamo R.
NORTH NGALIK (YALI)
Ilaga
WESTERN DANI
North Baliem
GRAND VALLEY
Wamena
LOWER GRAND VALLEY
NDUGA
SOUTH NGALIK
GREATER DANI LANGUAGE FAMILY

DANI SELF IMAGE

Our task up to this point has been that of identifying the Dani from our point of view. That is, we have sought to isolate their geographic distribution, their classification among other languages, their ethnic heritage and their size in terms of population. But now, we must ask the question, how do the Dani see themselves. What are the categories which they apply to differentiate themselves from their neighbors?

We answer first of all by noting that the Dani saw themselves first of all as men in contrast to ghosts. While they did look upon other tribal people as men rather than as ghosts, this distinction in their thinking becomes important to us when we come to the time when the first white men entered their valleys. These new men created some real classificatory problems for the Dani as Bromley noted.

> "Coastal people and Europeans, both unknown until recent years, were sometimes excluded, sometimes included as marginal 'people' in contrast to the 'real people', or sometimes, usually after some period of acquaintance, fully included in the class 'people'." (1973:5)

This ambivalence of attitude toward the white man is reflected in the rumor that spread among the Mulia Dani that the missionaries' wives were mythological creatures. When the first white woman did arrive on one of the first flights into the area, the Dani genuinely anticipated that a snake would emerge from the plane, not a woman. The snake in this case being one of their mythological creatures.

When it actually came to identifying himself to another person a Dani sought to use terms which would be meaningful to the other party with whom he was unknown. Therefore, if he was far from home he was a "Baliem" man, indicating his place of origin. Or he was a "Lani" man indicating his language group.[1] Among his own kind though, he would identify himself either by his political alliance, or

[1] In recent years increasing numbers of Western Dani speakers have chosen or prefer to be referred to as Lani men

by his clan name, whichever seemed the most relevant. (Bromley 1973:5)

The term Dani, while gaining acceptance in recent years was not the term by which Dani would have identified themselves. The term seems to have originated among the Moni or Damal from the term "Ndani" which they used to designate their neighbors to the east of them. (Heider 1970:10) In actual practice though the Dani did not have a term by which they could identify themselves as an ethnic identity. It has only been since their contact with the outside world that the Dani have had to face this crisis of identifying themselves as a people rather than as individuals. This does not mean to imply that they had no sense of group identity, but rather that the focus of their identity was upon their relationships, not on their being. Their group consciousness becomes most evident when one examines the fair degree of ethno-centricism which they expressed both in their arrogant mannerisms, and in their public oratory.

In terms of personal identities the Dani gave names to their children sometime during the first six months of their lives. (O'Brien 1969:95) The name could be some combination of animal or plant name; a verb form, or other descriptive term. Names were apparently given at the whim of the parents, and were frequently changed by the children themselves as they got older. It was not uncommon for a Dani to have had two or three names during the course of his lifetime. (Peters 1975:33)

Men further differentiated themselves from their fellows by a variety of body decorations. These included greasing the body with pig grease which was blackened with ashes. This was then applied to the back and shoulders, and if he did his face, it was done artistically by blackening just the forehead or by painting a stripe across the nose and cheek bones, and possibly touched up with some red clay under each eye. (Heider 1970:235) Another form of decoration was that

of painting designs on the body or possibly even just coating portions of the body with a light colored mud. (Heider 1970:235-6)

In addition to this artistry on their bodies, the Dani enjoyed fixing up their hair, and this especially so among the men. The women generally wore their hair short, while the men's hair would hang down to their shoulders. Men were proud of their hair and it was not uncommon for them to spend hours working on one another's hair, treating it with pig grease and tying it up into curls. (Heider 1970:236)

A final touch of vanity was the beautification of the body through the puncturing of their earlobes and nasal septums. Into these holes, small objects could be carried either as decoration or as storage (as in the case of tobacco) for some future use. (Heider 1970:240)

Chapter Two

Dani Technology

In the not so distant past terms such as "primitive" and "simple" have been used to describe the artifacts and the technology of stone age cultures, such as the Dani practiced. Such terms, as we shall see, are most inaccurate if they imply that such a culture is retarded, or inferior, or static and resistent to change. Such connotations as these have become associated with these words, and since none of these characteristics are evident in Dani culture, they would be inappropriate in describing the achievements of the Dani. Rather our approach will be to see that technology exists wherever men seek to use their knowledge and power in order to develop and utilize their natural resources for their own purposes. The seven areas of Dani technology which we will discuss include tools, weapons, clothing, housing, fencing, musical instruments, and agricultural skills.

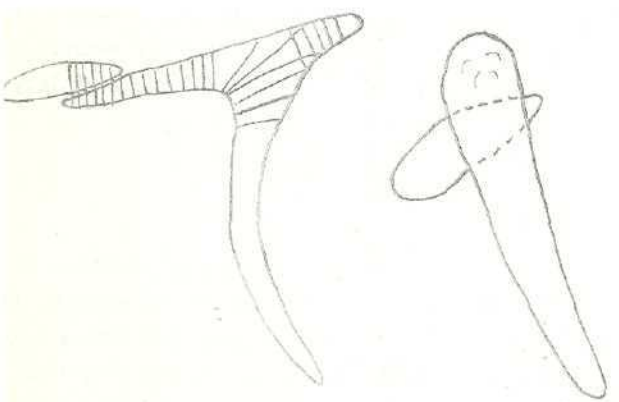
TOOLS

Dani tools are made from either wood, stone, bone, bamboo, or plant fibers. The Dani stone axe was one of the most conspicuous tools consisting of a highly polished stone, oval in shape but with a cutting edge. The best stones for these axes were quarried in a site north and slightly west of Mulia at a place known as Yalime. A second

stone quarry was located in the Langda area which lies to the east of the Dani speaking areas. Other less important sites producing inferior stones probably existed in other areas as well but these have not been well documented.

Dani from the Yamo River area acted as the quarries for the Yalime site, and in travelling some 5-7 days down to the quarry site, would spend sometimes up to a month away from their homes firing the huge boulders from which they would collect the best shaped pieces to be further formed and polished. Back in their homes many days (and months) more would be spent in polishing the stones by rubbing them against selected large sandstone rocks in or near their villages. The finished product or near finished product would then be traded (usually for pigs) from there to successive stops along the various trade routes to the rest of the highland areas.

A second stone implement was the adze which differed slightly from the axe in both its shape and mounting. The following diagrams illustrate their basic differences:



Adze Axe

Stone chisels were used to bore the hole in the axe handle and constituted still another stone implement. Frequently the stone chisels were made from a softer blacker stone as were some of the less valuable stone axes. Stone pestles were not uncommon among the Dani although the only place where I have noticed that they were popularly used was at the higher altitudes where they were used by older people or those with bad teeth in order to crack open the cooked pandanus nut shell.

Tools made out of bone included awls, needles and crude knives. The awls and needles were used in knitting shell bands and for simple surgical procedures such as digging out splinters, arrow tips or other foreign objects in a wound. Pig tusks were also used as scrapers to shave and shape their axe handles, and bone implements. Bone knives were often used in splitting open pandanus fruit and for cleaning out the insides.

Another form of knife was the bamboo knife which consisted of a quartered section of young bamboo approximately 6 to 8 inches long which was sufficiently sharp along its raw edge for butchering meat, cutting hair or other cutting requirements.

From the surrounding forests the Dani fashioned their primary garden tools, which consisted of two kinds of digging sticks. The men's digging stick was 1½ to 2 yards long and pointed at both ends. It was used for the heavy tasks of turning over the soil and forming the garden beds. The women's stick was 2 to 3 feet long and was used for weeding, planting and harvesting purposes.

In the Baliem the Dani also fashioned paddles which were apparently used as simple shovels in coping with the mud of the valley floor. (Heider 1970:279) Elsewhere, and especially among the Western Dani such paddle shaped instruments *(eleebe)* were used primarily for digging a shallow pit in the hot ashes of the fire pits in order to

roast potatoes.

Large wooden mallets and sharpened stakes for wedges were used in splitting large timbers. Serving platters were another wood product which were common in areas where the red pandanus grows and were used for mixing the paste and separating the seeds from the cooked fruit. These platters were typically three feet or more in length and often stained red from previous usage. Occasionally a Dani would fashion a bowl for the personal use of some elder relative, but otherwise bowls or pottery were not used.

A final implement which came from the forest was the hot rock tong which was made by splitting a stick part way down the center. Such tongs were then used for picking up hot rocks and bringing them to the site of the cooking pit. A smaller variation of these tongs was used in the homes for taking hot potatoes out of the ashes.

Another implement which was often carried in a net bag by the Dani men was a fire starting kit consisting of a small stick of wood split down the middle and held open with a rock, along with a coil of vine which was pulled back and forth across the fire stick creating the heat of friction which could start a smouldering fire. String fibres were also carried by both men and women who in idle moments engaged in raveling the fibres together in order to make string and from the string a braided rope which they could use to tether or tie their pigs.

WEAPONS

The primary weapons of the Dani were the spear and the bow and arrow. In the Grand Valley there were two kinds of spears. The long jabbing spear (which varied in length from 6 feet to 16 feet) was used to kill an enemy who had been disabled by a throwing spear or by archers. A throwing spear was shorter and more expendable. These

spears were made from either laurel wood or myrtle wood. (Heider 1970:280)

Bows and arrows were made from a variety of woods and shaped so as to cause the rattan "string" to be slightly off center. This to better accommodate the arrow which was neither notched or tipped with feathers. Their flight was rather imperfect therefore, and tended to wobble, which as a result required the careful art of stalking by the hunters who sought to ensure their accuracy by firing from close range.

Dani arrows were made by attaching to a reed shaft a tip which was fashioned according to its intents or purposes. This tip was formed either out of hardwood or out of bamboo. If it was to be used for hunting or warfare it was pointed, or if it was to be used for small birds it was blunted. Some arrows were barbed (and notched if it was for warfare), and some were multi-tipped. Each arrow had its advantages, and men frequently sat about their fires swapping hunting tales and promoting the values and personal preferences of each kind of arrow.

CLOTHING

Clothing for the Dani was not elaborate, consisting primarily of a penis sheath for the men, and the grass skirt for the women. The penis sheath of the men was made from a gourd, and was grown in or near the village compound. In order to produce the desired shape the Dani built a trellis affair for the gourd vine to follow, and which allowed the fruit to hang down. The growing gourd could be elongated by tying a rock to the end of it or it could be curled by changing the direction of the maturing fruit. When the gourd had reached its desired shape and size, its owner would roast it over the fire, hollow it out and then let it dry. There were three basic styles of gourds. The short working gourd, the curled "fancy" gourd, and the long "formal" ceremonial gourd.

The gourds were worn as a covering for the penis which was slipped inside and held erect. The gourd was fastened in place by a small string which was attached to the base of it and looped around one of the testicles or a section of the scrotum. A second string was fastened at some point further up along the length of the gourd in order to hold it at its proper direction to the body. For the shorter gourds this second string went around the waist, but for the longer ones the string would encircle the chest.

Not uncommonly the Dani would decorate the tip of their gourds with a fur tassel, or if they wore the shorter work gourd which was not naturally sealed off, with a plug made from either banana bark or other suitable material. The gourds tended to be brittle and often broke requiring owners to have extra ones available.

Heider in his analysis of the Dani use of the gourd concludes that the Dani gourd "is not, in any explicit way a focus of Dani sexuality or eroticism." (1969:388) He further states that "sexual modesty is the only reason given by themselves for the function of the gourd". (1969:387) This conclusion would concur with our own experience in which Christian Dani wanted to send gourds to the South Coast tribes when they discovered that the men there went naked.

The grass skirt of the women was of two different kinds and could be made from a variety of locally available materials. The two varieties were the girls' hanging skirt, and the women's wound skirt. The hanging skirt was made from either hand wound string (which on occasion was stained purple by berry juices), a variety of marsh grass (which was cultivated near the compound), or pounded tree bark of the pandanus variety. The length of these skirts was a matter of personal taste and could be worn either by single or married women.

The women's wound skirt consisted of an inner layer of string net which was covered by a cording which was "tied together at each hip

and descended in semi-lunar loops over the pelvis and buttocks." (O'Brien 1969:28)

Woven net bags were another ubiquitous feature of Dani attire. The women's net bag was a large affair woven from string with a large opening at the top and a head strap for carrying. Women would wear one or more of these on most occasions and used them to carry infants and garden vegetables. They also constituted a measure of protection against the sun and indeed were associated with modesty. In respect to the use of the net for the sake of modesty, they served to cover a woman's back (not her breasts), but, inasmuch as there seemed to be no erotic excitation associated with bare backs (Heider 1969:386) it was not uncommon to see women with them off their backs, and this especially so among the Western Dani.

The men had a smaller variation of the net bag which typically had a finer weave than the women's bag, and was worn slung from the shoulder and under the arm. In this bag, the men carried their tobacco, needles, and miscellaneous other small items.

Among the Western Dani, warriors sometimes went to war wearing a "jacket" or vest made out of finely woven rattan and tied over their shoulders by a woven harness of string. This vest afforded only a limited measure of protection from enemy arrows in flight.

When it rained the Dani had rain capes made from pandanus leaves which were dried, sewn together and then folded envelope fashion into three sections for easier carrying. Among the Dugum Dani Heider notes that only the women used the capes to protect themselves (1969:382), whereas at the higher altitudes where it is colder, both men and women used the capes as did the Dani in the Toli Valley. (O'Brien 1969:30)

Other features of traditional Dani attire fall more into the category of ornaments than clothing and include such items as arm bands, which were worn by both men and women,(O'Brien 1969:29) hair nets by

he men, a necklace of seeds or shells, or a large bailer shell hung at the throat. Indeed it would seem that the Dani preferred to have some form of decoration or covering hanging from their necks as a form of "protection" for the base of the throat. Heider feels this originated in the Dani attitude regarding the vulnerability of this part of the body to "ghostly attack". (1969:384)

By way of final observation regarding their attire, the Dani do not show rank or importance through their use of clothing or ornamentation. (Heider 1969:384) While it was common to associate the bailer shell with wealth, men of lesser importance could wear one. In conclusion then we note that the several variations in clothing and ornamentation seemed to be primarily a matter of personal taste and preference.

HOUSING

Dani residences fell into two categories. The men's house where the men, and older boys spent the night, and the family houses where the women, their daughters and younger sons spent the night. Both are similar in construction, being circular in nature with a diameter which varied from 12-15 feet, and covered with a conical roof of thatched grass. The walls were made of hand hewn boards which were driven vertically into the ground and lashed together. The inside commonly had two levels. The bottom level being the ground itself which was generally dug out about six to eight inches below the outside level, and then covered with grass as needed. Family houses frequently had a ground level floor made out of lashed bamboo over poles. The upper storey was a sleeping loft made by lashing bamboo reeds together over a network of supporting poles.

In the center of the dwelling there was a hearth which was marked off by four upright poles (about 1½" to 2" in diameter) which extended

up to the roof giving support to both the second storey and the roof. There were no chimneys and the smoke found its way out through the open doors or through the thatch and whatever other cracks there might have been.

The men's houses were usually slightly larger than the family houses and in some areas were constructed with two doors. These doors were low requiring one to stoop or crouch low in order to enter. At night or during the day when no one was around the doors were boarded up.

Firewood was placed in the "rafters" to dry, and pegs on the wall were used to hang net bags or other possessions. In the men's house the men would often construct a small closet or cabinet in which to store their sacred objects. (Heider 1970:254)

In order to protect the house from ghosts a number of safeguards went into the construction of the house. According to Heider these included in addition to some magical procedures that accompanied the building process, several ghost restraining locations in the house, namely: the ante-chamber which was referred to as the "ghost house", the center upright poles which were hung with assorted magical paraphernalia,and thirdly, on the upstairs level there was the hearth where any ghost who successfully penetrated beyond the other restrainers, would be drawn to as a place of his own. (Heider 1970:260)

In the Grand Valley and in the North Baliem another kind of construction was common in the villages and this was the long house. Rather than being a residence it was a common cook house which was shared by everyone. The walls of the cook house were not as close or as carefully sealed off as were the residences. A second building, similar to the cook house in its construction was the pig sty which on the inside was divided into individual stalls where the pigs were enclosed for the night.

FENCING

Fences were built primarily with the intent of fencing out rather than fencing in their livestock and were primarily aimed at protecting homes and gardens from wandering pigs. Fences were made of a variety of wood which was lashed to others which had been stuck vertically into the ground creating an almost solid wall of lumber, which was then capped with thatch in order to forestall weathering. Passage over a fence was done by means of an angled pole or gnarled root placed on each side of the fence as a kind of step.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

The only musical instrument the Dani had was a small bamboo mouth harp. It was basically a three pronged instrument which was held in the left hand in such a way that the middle prong was free to vibrate. Vibrations were produced by jerking on a string attached to the base of the harp, and the sound was varied by the player by his own humming, blowing and mouth positions. It was essentially a solo instrument, and was played by men or boys, never by girls.

AGRICULTURAL TECHNOLOGY

In respect to their agricultural techniques the Dani practiced what is commonly known as shifting agriculture. That is, a garden site would be chosen, the virgin timber would be felled and turned into fence material, firewood or burned on the spot. Then the ashy soil which was thereby exposed would be transformed into well drained garden beds ready for the women to begin to plant their crops. In a few years more or less the soil's fertility would be exhausted and the garden abandoned to the pigs and to nature which would begin again another cycle of secondary growth. The Dani in the meantime moving on to some new site for gardening or returning to an old site, by now grown over with heavy brush and young trees.

This system of farming was relatively efficient as long as there was the availability of new land open for additional gardens, and as long as the population density was relatively low. It was furthermore a system of farming which reached back into time for some considerable period. While we do not know when the first Dani entered the Baliem and its surrounding areas, nor whether other peoples or tribes preceded them, archaeological research in the Wahgi Valley in Papua New Guinea has uncovered a complex of ancient water control ditches which were built sometime before the birth of Christ. (Brookfield 1968:47)

This discovery of a horticultural people in the highlands at that early date helps us to realize that men have been developing their agricultural skills and techniques here in the highlands for hundreds of years. Furthermore, their agricultural efforts were undoubtedly greatly influenced by the arrival of the sweet potato as a new tuber crop. Recent research tends to favor the conclusion that the sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*) originated in South America, and made its way across the Pacific ocean arriving in New Guinea possibly as recently as some 350 years ago. (Watson 1965:299-300) Watson feels that the introduction of the sweet potato into the cultures of the highlands was nothing other than an "agricultural revolution". (Watson 1965:295 ff.) Other more cautious writers have suggested that rather than introducing a revolution the sweet potato contributed to a steady stream of innovations which led to more productive gardening at higher altitudes with a resulting shift of population into the more healthful highlands. (Brookfield and White 1968:43 ff.) We take note of these observations inasmuch as they indicate to us that these "stone age" cultures were not static time forgotten pockets of humanity, but rather as changing innovating peoples.

Chapter Three

Dani Economy

FOOD PRODUCTION

The primary food sources of the Dani were the sweet potatoes which they grew in their gardens and the pigs which they raised in their villages. O'Brien elicited names for 43 varieties of sweet potatoes (1969:43) while Heider totals over 70 separate varieties (1970:32) The variatiors in these sweet potatoes is reflected in their different tastes, consistencies (creamy vs. fibery), their color, and their size.

The Dani also ate the vines and leaves of the sweet potato plants which were bundled up and steamed along with the potatoes in the cooking pits. Other garden produce included taro, yams, ginger, cucumber, gourds, sugar cane, a variety of winged beans, and tobacco. By way of fruit the Dani planted and tended banana trees and two varieties of pandanus; the red pandanus and the nut pandanus. Other recent crops which predated the missionaries were peanuts and corn which undoubtedly came into the Dani area from the Wissel lakes region.

There are several salt wells or brine pools from which the Dani were able to obtain their salt. For the Grand Valley Dani there were two such pools, one in the southwestern portion of the valley, and another in the central region. (Heider 1970:44) For the Western Dani

the primary salt well was in the region west of the Ilaga in the Moni area.

Pigs provided the principle source of protein for the Dani diet, and this especially so since hunting in the surrounding jungle yielded only the occasional marsupial or small bird. Wild pigs and cassowary birds were hunted by the Dani in areas which were still close to virgin territories, but these were often quite distant from the populated areas. There were no other game animals in the jungles.

Pigs were rarely killed and eaten except for ceremonial reasons, and Heider correctly notes that "to consider pigs only in terms of their contribution to the Dani food supply is to miss the total impact of pigs on Dani life". (1970:48) Pig feasts were a major part of (1) life cycle events such as birth, marriage, and death; (2) many curing ceremonies; (3) pre-battle magical ceremonies; and (4) peace and indemnity payments. (O'Brien 1970:48) Live pigs conferred prestige, economic leverage and a sense of wellbeing to their owners. Live male pigs were also set aside for certain "spirits" and through this pig the living could establish a special relationship of favours with them.

LAND OWNERSHIP AND USE

Virgin tracts of land were apparently secured by whichever group was able to take up residence in the area. A new village or men's house would set its tentative claim upon a geographically defined section of land in proximity to their residences. Then the actual ownership of the land would fall to the man who could be first to bring it under cultivation. In actual practice of course, the big men who had access to wealth were able to call work parties to their side from among their circles of influence, and this meant that a few men were capable of coming into possession of large tracts of land. This

land could be sold (Scovill 1975:4) but more often would simply be "loaned" out by dividing potential garden space to fellow villagers, clansmen and friends to whom he had economic or social obligations. Garden tracts were assigned to these various persons on the basis of their need, ability to adequately care for, and that person's total contribution to the life of the community. Therefore a man with two wives and more mouths to feed would have a larger section of land, while another man may be assigned lesser or poorer land due to his own lack of initiative or failure to contribute to the work and well being of the community.

Disputes over land use appear to have been minimal (Heider 1970: 36; Ploeg 1969:20) and most families would have access to two or three or more different gardens where their crops would be at different stages in order to ensure a continuing food supply. As is befitting of a horticultural people there is an abundance of technical terms used in Dani to describe the kinds of land, types of gardens, methods of garden preparation, and stages of productivity and harvest. (Scovill 1975)

LABOR

The Dani enjoy working in groups and as Peters has stated "A Dani does not like to work in the garden on his own; it is boring and he does not make much progress." (1975:57) One of the significant features of Dani life therefore was the co-operative work party. When a new garden was to be opened up the owner of the land would send out a call for workers to come to his aid. The timing and the extent of this call would have to be very carefully planned in order to ensure that there would be a positive response from those who had been invited and in order to ensure that enough food would be on hand to feed everyone. Groups of men would work all morning while the host

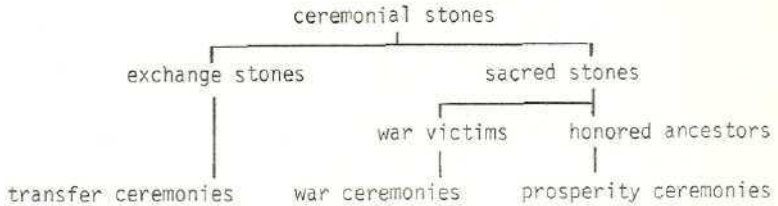
village prepared the food, which was served around mid-afternoon. This was the only payment these workers would receive apart from the fact that they had now obligated the host village to support them in a work project of their own in the near future.

The work party system though was more than an intricate network of shared labor. It was an attitude toward working which was expressed. A work party was, among other functions, a social occasion. It was a time for singing, dancing, playful teasing of one another and flirting by young people. It was a time when group solidarity was expressed, then the joys of social inter-action were realized. There was what Scovill describes as a "happiness high" which was realized in these group activities which were of far more importance to the culture than their actual accomplishments, i.e. gardening. (Scovill 1975:9) Caution needs to be inserted at this point on the above observations inasmuch as these same attitudes may not have prevailed in all Dani areas, and further cultural changes which have taken place since the advent of Christianity may have infused significant new emphasis into these events by the time these activities were recorded.

WEALTH

Stones

Dani wealth falls into what I would consider to be four distinct categories: Stones, shells, pigs, and manufactured goods. Valuable stones were of two types. Those which were suitable for stone axes or chisels, and those which were ceremonial stones. The stone axes we have already discussed, but the ceremonial stones constituted a class of their own. The following chart indicates the two distinct kinds of ceremonial stones that have been recorded by anthropologists and the ceremonies to which they bore a relationship:



Heider in describing the sacred stones states that they were charged with *wusa* (supernatural power) and were kept wrapped up in the men's house away from the view of women and handled only by the most important men at certain ceremonies. Peters noted that there were two kinds of such stones, those that were dedicated to those ancestors who had been killed in battle, and those which were dedicated to important and honored ancestors who had died from natural causes. (1975:115)

The exchange stones on the other hand were brought out for public display and exchange at funerals, marriage payments, and on the occasion of an indemnity payment. (Heider 1970:288; O'Brien 1969:337) The exchange stones were of two kinds, "the narrow, rounded 'male' type and the broad flat 'female' type." (O'Brien 1969:337) These exchange stones became ceremonially important in that they constituted a part of any transfer of wealth which involved a human life.

Shells

There were three types of shells which the Dani valued and included among their inventory of valuables. The bailer shell was worn as a body ornament which was hung at the throat by men or women, but primarily by the men. Nassa shells were typically sewn to a woven string backing and then hung in parallel columns so as to form a sort of bib which could be worn from the neck. The last and most important shell was the cowrie which constituted a form of currency among the Dani. In any given financial transaction these cowrie shells could distributed either individually or in strands, in which case they

were sewn on to long braided string bands.

Pigs

Pigs constituted a valuable commodity to the Dani economy, for in addition to their being an important food source, they also constituted a significant portion of the wealth which was necessary whenever there was a ceremonial occasion. Indeed unless a pig was sick it was "rarely eaten except in ceremonial contexts." (Heider 1970:49) The pig therefore was a means whereby a Dani could fulfill his social obligations, (i.e. payments to his kin); his spiritual obligations, (i.e. sacrifices to the "spirits"); and it was an important index for determining his social status and prestige. (Peters 1975:63)

Manufactured goods

Other lesser important but common items of value for the Dani were their net bags, bird feathers (used in personal adornments), fibre string etc. The role of these items in Dani economy depended on their availability locally, and differed from area to area depending on the established trade relationships.

FLOW OF WEALTH

Financial transactions and the flow of wealth among the Dani constituted a very complicated and intricate system of interwoven relationships. Transactions between individuals could take place within six possible frameworks, each of which had its own principles for regulation. These six networks for financial transactions were: gifts, loans, trade, payment for services, restitution, and ceremonial exchange.

Gifts and loans

Gifts and loans flowed between relatives and close friends and occurred without ceremony or social formality. Often they were hard to differentiate, for in either instance the transaction established a

relationship of mutuality which implied joint assistance. Often the gift would be given with no thought of a payback, but more often, and depending on the value of the item, the transaction was a gift in the form of a loan against the time in the future when the giver would have a need of his own. In this sense generosity was a form of insurance whereby former recipients of his generosity felt an obligation to step forward to help him when he needed it.

Trade

Trade relationships existed between the various valleys and gave the Dani access to products not available locally. Trade was done between friends and relatives or with established trading partners from other areas. Inasmuch as there were no special market days or places, negotiations between trading partners were conducted at the discretion of the individuals involved. The most common items which flowed from area to area over the trade routes were shells from the coast, salt from the salt wells, stones for axes and ceremonial uses from the Yalime, and to a limited extent forest products for use in making weapons, net bags, decorations, etc. Ilaga was the western terminus for the trade route before it crossed into other tribal areas. Ekagi, Moni, and Damal traders therefore negotiated with their Dani trading partners from this area for those items which were moving along the route. Principally there were the shells which were traded here and which had probably come up through the Wissel Lakes area or up through the Damal populations from the South Coast region near Timika. A second trade item to enter the Dani area here was salt in the form of salt blocks which were manufactured at the salt wells in the Moni area. From the Ilaga these two items were traded eastward into the Baliem, Yamo, and Toli valleys, in return for pigs and possibly cowrie shells which seemed to flow in all directions. Stones were traded out of the Yamo valley in return for salt, pigs and shells.

The Toli Dani and the Bokondini Dani had no distinctive products to offer to the trade route and seemed to function primarily as links in the chain. In the Baliem there were two additional salt wells, therefore salt flowed out of the valley in return for pigs and forest products, namely laurel wood for spears, bird feathers for decorations, and various kinds of fibers for net making. (Heider 1970:27)

Trading relationships and the direction or flow of each commodity was such that a measure of balance and reciprocity was maintained between areas. In the Yamo valley therefore pigs were traded in a westerly direction while axes, salt and shells moved eastward. In the Grand Valley salt moved north and east into the Yalemo in return for forest goods. The inbetween areas of the Toli and Bokondini region seemed to show a multi-directional flow of goods with distinct preferences being influenced by their neighbors. As a result, salt flowed into the Toli from the Ilaga but not from the Baliem.

The flow of trade goods, and the relationship between partners seems to indicate that there was more to these activities than just procuring goods from another area which were in short supply in one's own area. There was an implied sense of reciprocity in the relationship which indicated a sense of responsibility for the other partner's needs as well. This sense of social responsibility in one's economic dealings has been noted by Heider (1970:28) among the Dani and by Rappaport (1968:106) among the Maring people.

Payments for services

The Dani did not normally sell their labor or their special abilities. As we have noted, in the work parties, workers were provided with a meal at the end of their day's labor, but their work was not paid for. Having contributed their time and labor to such an activity though, placed the recipients under obligation to reciprocate by joining a work party of their behalf at a later date. The only occasion

which I have been able to record of actual payments for services was in the instance of a healer who in addition to receiving portions of the sacrificed pig, also took a payment of cowrie shells if the performance was a success. (O'Brien 1969:74)

Restitution

The Dani acknowledged a sense of personal responsibility for activities which resulted in loss or damage to another man's possessions. While they did not readily admit their involvement in such incidences, if there was clear cut evidence against them, men, with the support of their relatives would make restitution payments to the offended or victimized party. There were apparently two or three such payments which were known. One for damages to goods and livestock; one for sexual offenses, and one for personal injuries. The first class of payments was called *owe* by the Bokondini Dani. (Ploeg 1969: 143) The second class of payments was known as *ka*, and was required whenever there was an instance of adultery, rape, divorce or a broken betrothal agreement. (O'Brien 1969:433, Ploeg 1969:143) The third payment was known as the *amee'nggo* payment which was required whenever someone struck another causing an injury or a flow of blood. (Larson 1972)

Ceremonial Exchanges

Ceremonial exchanges of wealth between Dani was the pattern by which most wealth was circulated. The prescribed ceremonies at which such transactions took place were: births, indemnities, marriages, and deaths. That is, ceremonial exchanges of wealth were performed whenever there was a human life involved in the event.

Payments made at birth were the smallest and least formal of this type of exchange. In the Grand Valley Heider observed that at a birth ceremony the mother's brother gave the baby some shells. (1970:151) In the Toli on the day after the birth of a baby, the father usually

hosted a small pig feast in which pork was shared with the parents of the new mother. (O'Brien 1969:95)

On the occasion of indemnity payments relatives of men killed in conflict were compensated for their loss by the other members of the confederacy. These indemnification ceremonies were known in the Western Dani areas as *yewam* payments (Larson 1972; O'Brien 1969:324) and in the Bokondini area as *yowam*. (Ploeg 1969:144) In the Grand Valley they were called *ye wakanin*. (Peters 1975:109; Heider 1970:80)

Following a time of war and during the peace making phase, the men who were responsible for calling the war were the ones who set about arranging the payments for compensations. These payments were made to one's own allies, and included pigs, cowrie shells, and exchange stones. The size of these payments apparently varied from area to area. According to Larson, in the Ilaga, the ideal payment for each slain warrior was 60 pigs. (1972) O'Brien on the other hand states that on the Konda Dani "the payments varied in size, but in general contained six to ten major wealth items and so were smaller than either death payments or marriage payments." (1969:324-5) Data from the other areas only further substantiates that there was considerable variability in the size of these payments. (Peters 1975:110; Ploeg 1969:144-5)

Marriage payments consisted of three or four separate transactions. Once again the size of these transactions varied considerably from area to area, and even from person to person. The first of these was the *uwak* payment or the bride's father's payment. This was a payment from the bride's father (and his clan) to the bride's mother and her clan. The second payment was the betrothal payment which in reality was two distinct transactions known as the *yindi* and the kwe *awu*. (O'Brien 1969:412) These were payments made by the groom and his relatives to the bride's parents and her brothers and sisters. The third

payment was the groom's payment or *kwe onggo*. This was still another payment made by the groom and his kin to those members of his wife's kin who had contributed to her *uwak* payment. The purpose of these payments will be noted later, but for the present we note that there is a great deal of reciprocity which is consciously expressed in these payments and which is expected by both donors and receivers. (O'Brien 1969:431 ff.)

The last ceremonial exchange which we need to note is the death payment or cremation payment as Ploeg prefers to call it. (Ploeg 1969:34) The Western Dani term for this payment is *inggo* and consists primarily of cowrie shell bands and a few pigs. The payment is collected by the deceased's paternal kin and was made to the deceased's uncles on his mother's side (i.e. his mother's brothers). Heider noted that in the Grand Valley the exchange of wealth at a funeral was more informal and based on a "complex networks of personal ties and previous gifts". For them the funeral payment was an occasion to at last settle "old enmities or remove old sources of friction" which may have existed. (Heider 1970:151)

In drawing together all of these observations on the ceremonial exchanges of wealth which the Dani practiced we need to consider the degree to which there was balance and reciprocity between the payments. Ploeg agrees that each of these payments constitutes a link in a series of prestations and counter-prestations. (1969:35) O'Brien attempted to ascertain if there was a balance, but the rapid changes in the culture as a result of the conversion of the Dani prohibited any certain conclusions. (1969:472 ff.) She does note though that there was the possibility of a balance of payments over several years and under specific conditions. (1969:536) Larson, in his studies of the Ilaga, noted that whenever an indemnification ceremony *yewam* was planned, that the men responsible for its planning (the *ndugore*) sought

to maintain a degree of reciprocity between donors and recipients. He also notes that in the Ilaga the entire cycle of payments incorporates kin relationships for a span of time which extends to three generations. (1972)

We conclude then that this system of payments was set in motion by one's personal and marital and social responsibilities, which were, in addition, compounded by a complex of obligatory kinship ties that extended over three generations. The system attempted to be circular in nature and reciprocal and balanced in its flow, but such an ideal was not always possible. The result therefore was a sense of imbalance which ultimately combined with other factors and led to war which will be discussed in greater detail in another section.

Chapter Four

Dani Social Organization

Social relationships for the Dani are determined by two different but simultaneous systems of social organization. The first is that of kinship and descent relationships, and the second is that of residence and political affiliation. Kinship ties fall into four categories: moieties, clans, patrilineages and families. A similar division of territorial and political affiliations included: the alliance, the confederation, the parish, the hamlet, and in the Baliem the watchtower group.

MOIETY

According to one informant (from the Mulia area) there was an old Dani legend that stated that in the creation when men and animals emerged from a hole in the ground the first people were two men and two women. Each of the men chose a woman as his wife, but on the first night neither woman would consent to sexual relations with the man. So on the following day the men agreed to swap wives, and their relationships were happily consummated. As a result of this episode these progenitors of the Dani race concluded that each of them must have originally chosen his own sister, and so they ruled that henceforth all marriages had to be to members of the opposite group. While

this story seems to be limited to certain areas, and even runs counter to other creation legends from other areas, it does indicate the very fundamental and even sacred nature of the Dani concept, that their tribe is divided into two great branches. These two great branches we refer to as moieties since their primary function is that of regulating marriage partners.

Due to linguistic variations in the Dani language these two moieties carry different designations in the various areas as the following chart indicates.

Area	Moiety Names	Source
Grand Valley (mid)	Wida and Waiya	Heider 1970:62
Grand Valley (south)	Wyda and Waya	Peters 1975:11
Bokondini	Wodo and Weya	Ploeg in Heider 1970:63
Ilaga	Wonda and Weya	Larson 1972
Mulia	Wonda and Weya	Personal notes

A qualifying note needs to be inserted at this point, namely that the Dani do not really have a distinct classificatory name for these moieties, with the possible exception of the Dugum Dani who seem to have anthropomorphic terms relating to clan and moiety designations. (Heider 1970:69) Among the Western Dani, the names of the moities are also the names of a clan and are therefore sometimes used by an informant to refer only to a particular clan. Furthermore, in my own research informants elevated the names of other clan groups in order to designate the moiety, so that Weya became Tabuni, and Wonda became Enumbi. A second observation that needs to be made is that moiety regulations are only lightly held in some areas and indeed in the Toli Valley, intra-moiety marriages were so common as to cause O'Brien to question whether they existed in that regions. (1969:177 ff.)

CLANS

The next subdivision of the Dani tribe is the clan or as Heider

prefers to designate them, the sib. (1970:66) These clans are patrilineal in nature so that one's clan name is that of his or her father. Women do not change their clan name when they marry, but their children bear the clan name of their father. Clan names will vary from district to district, with some areas being dominated by a particularly large number of representatives from one clan. Heider surmises that there must be well over 50 clans in the Grand Valley, (1970:66) and O'Brien states that "there are over 75 different clan names in the Western Dani dialect, a few of which are also found among Dani living in the Grand Valley." (O'Brien 1969:182) The following chart is an example of the clans *(anibenu)* and their moiety classifications as found at Mulia:

Weya	Wonda
1. Telenggen	1. Enumbi
2. Tabuni	2. Wanena
3. Kogoya	3. Morip
4. Wani'mbo	4. Nggena
5. Nggoma	5. Yikwa
6. Weya	6. Wonda
7. Nggire	7. Nggumbo
8. Towolam	8. Wonerengga
9. Yoman	9. Kiwo
10. Wogobera	10. Yanuno
	11. Murip
	12. Wakereka

The total clan composed of its local segments in the various geographical area never acted together as a functional unit in political, economic or ritual activities. (O'Brien 1969:183) The only notable feature of commonality of the clan at this level was the exogamous regulation regarding marriage. At the local level on the other hand, membership in a clan became very significant inasmuch as political allies were constituted on the basis of federations between local segments of each clan living in proximity to one another.

PATRILINEAGES

The Dani showed a relatively low interest in their distant genealogies, and few could name their ancestors beyond the grandparent level and even at this level hardly more than their male lineage.

In respect to inheritance membership in a lineage was important in that it conferred rights to land which was claimed by the lineage, and for the men it involved the corporate ownership of sacred objects related to the ancestors. (O'Brien 1969:209) In respect to their social relationships, the patrilineage was important inasmuch as agnatic relatives constituted a major support group for an individual. They provided the labor necessary for clearing a new garden or building a new house. They helped to meet his financial obligations and they supported him in moral or judicial complications. And in the event of homicide they avenged his death.

FAMILY

Among the Dani a nuclear family is not distinguished by its separate residence nor by its participation as a distinct unit in social activities. In its residence patterns, even a monogamous family is divided between two or more dwellings. The wife and her daughters, and younger children resided in the family dwelling, while father and their older male children spent much of their time in the men's house. Often a husband's female relatives such as mother or sister would move into the family and stay for varying lengths of time. If the man decided to take additional wives, it was expected that he would provide them with a separate family dwelling as well, and for practical reasons of harmony, often these would be in other hamlets. (O'Brien 1969:162)

In terms of their gardening practices, the family worked in complementary roles but never together, and at meal times they ate together but separately. That is the men ate in the men's house or

together with other men, while the women ate with their children or with other women. When a meal had been cooked, then the food which had been supplied by the women was distributed to all the males present in an informal food distribution which also "provided for orphans, widowers, bachelors, and any guests who might be present." (O'Brien 1969:231)

When it came to the socialization of children, there was little or no formal instruction and children learned what they did through watching and imitating. The great influences in the lives of the boys therefore were their age mates, the members of their particular men's house, and their uncles with whom they bore a special relationship. For the girls it was their mothers, older sisters, and playmates who influenced their learning processes. Such widespread intimate contact with other personalities and individuals, it might be assumed, tended to minimize the possibility of a disadvantaged upbringing by fostering a greater sense of responsibility by the community at large.

This commonality of residence and pattern of family living was adequate for subsistence level society. But with the introduction of new forms of wealth, an increase in the mobility of individuals, and their conversion to Christianity these traditional patterns have been undergoing change as we shall see in the following section.

THE ALLIANCE

We turn now to a consideration of Dani social organization patterns which are the result of territorial and political affiliation. The largest such unit was the alliance which was "a temporary wartime coalition of two or more confederacies. The composition and size of alliances varied from war to war...(and) depended partly on the cause of the war and partly on the kin ties among its confederacies and

their geographical contiguity". (O'Brien 1969:238) By their very nature therefore alliances were "inherently unstable" and constantly shifting. (Heider 1970:77)

THE CONFEDERACY

In terms of the social and political organization of the Dani, the confederacy was the most important segment of society. Confederacies typically consisted of two dominant clans who live in a geographically contiguous territory and who were bound together by economic and marital ties. As a functioning unit of Dani culture, members of a confederacy further banded together for their common defense and jointly participated in ritual activities. These bonds were further strengthened by the fact that the majority of marriages were contracted within a confederacy and therefore meant an intergenerational flow of wealth between the families.

THE PARISH

As we continue to subdivide Dani society, we come to this next lower level of organization which has been variously defined by ethnographers. Heider refers to it as "the neighborhood" (1970:81); O'Brien as the "sub-confederacy" (1969:190); and Larson as the "parish". (1972)

In his study of Ilaga Dani communities, Larson describes the parish as being two paired communities composed of two complementary moieties and occupying contiguous territories. (A community in this instance consisting of two or three hamlets.) For Larson, then a confederacy consisted of several such paired parishes within that geographical sector. (Larson: 1972)

The sub-confederacy which O'Brien describes corresponds very closely to Larson's description with the difference that rather than

pairing opposing moieties, she groups the communities on the basis of their same moiety. She therefore writes: "a sub-confederacy is... formed of two to four lineages from the same clan...(and)... itself forms one half of a confederacy." (O'Brien 1969:191)

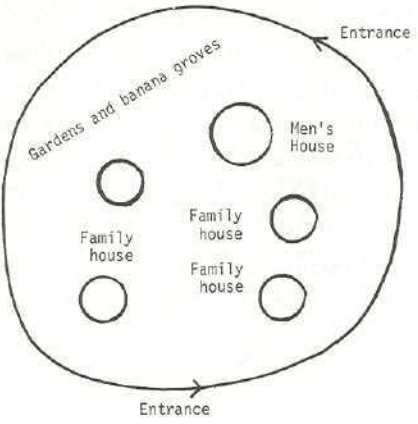
Inasmuch as Larson's data seems to resolve some of the ambiguities of residence patterns which continued to crop up in the other descriptions of Dani culture, I have chosen to follow his model by using the term parish to describe this level of Dani organization.

However one designates the term though the point that needs to be stressed is that it is at this level that close friendship were made and where informal relationships for work and for play were established.

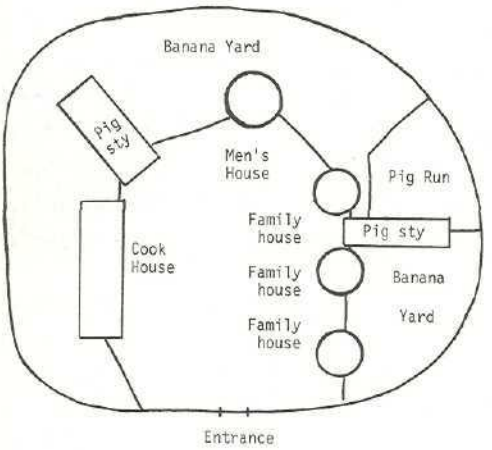
THE HAMLET

For the casual observer the hamlet was the most obvious organizational segment of Dani life. It consisted of one men's house and one or more family dwellings. Hamlets were named by the Western Dani, and most often were surrounded by fences. Among the Western Dani, hamlets were built in a roughly circular fashion depending much on the surrounding terrain. Among the Grand Valley Dani, the hamlet was slightly different in composition and appearance, and Heider chooses to refer to them not as hamlets, but rather as compounds. (1970:83-4)

The residents of a hamlet or men's house consisted of a core group of men who were related to a common ancestor, plus an attached group of men who were linked to the core group in some way through a family tie or marriage link. Larson notes that the average population of a hamlet in the Ilaga was 20.4 persons (1972), while O'Brien placed it at 11.2 persons in the Toli (1969:226). The figures which Heider gives for a compound would be comparable to Larson's figures for the Ilaga. (1970:83)



A WESTERN DANI HAMLET



A GRAND VALLEY HAMLET

Residence in a given hamlet was highly mobile with residents frequently coming and going, and hamlets themselves frequently being abandoned and moved. The principal feature of a hamlet seems to have been that of drawing people together on the basis of a shared relationship with a currently central or prestigious clan or patrilineal figure.

A final political grouping which we need to note was the watchtower group which was limited solely to the Grand Valley where such towers were useful in looking out over the flat valley floor. Watchtowers were built "in the garden areas on or close to the edge of no-man's land... (and) from which the man can watch for an enemy raid *while the women are working in the gardens*". (*Heider 1970:84*) Men who owned the gardens and whose wives worked in the gardens took it as their responsibility to man the watchtowers against the prospect of a potential sneak attack by the enemy.

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY

The Dani looked upon marriage as being the normal condition of life for an adult. In the same way, they looked upon childhood as a time when one's playmates would normally be from members of the same sex. There was not a great deal of contact between the sexes except for those of family and clan ties. A Dani young person's close friends therefore were with other young people of the same sex and these friendships were openly expressed in casual physical contacts quite free from sexual connotations. It was not unusual to see two boys walking together and holding hands, or for girls to stand together holding on to one another in an embrace while they talked. Homosexuality or incidences of homosexuality were very rare.

When adolescents reached a marriageable age, they moved into their marriage relationships quite matter of factly. Celibacy as a condition of life was usually conditioned only by a severe physical

or mental abnormality. If an individual displayed any capacity for self care and productive ability they were considered marriageable. Widows and widowers rarely remained so for long and sought to "remedy" their condition by remarrying shortly after a suitable mourning period which O'Brien notes was from three to six months. (1969:364)

CHOICE OF PARTNERS

The choice of marriage partners was determined first of all by the fact that marriages had to be contracted across moieties. Incest prohibitions existed in all Dani areas, and further directed the choice of a marriage partner. Defining the exact nature of incest is difficult in that there seems to have been some degree of flexibility in determining what was incest. As we have already noted, moiety was not as clearly defined in the Toli region, whereas in other areas marriages within one's own moiety was considered to be incest. A very strict concept of incest was held in regard to sex or marriage with one's parents or children, or with one's cousins and cross cousins. Persons violating these incest regulations were generally killed, but apparently in some situations could be ritually purified (at least in the Ilaga) by tying the guilty parties to a pole and singeing their pubic hair with fire. (Larson 1972)

A second factor affecting the choice of one's marriage partner was the cumulative affect of the political and economic consequences of the marriage. Larson notes that in the Ilaga the majority of the marriages (55.3%) took place within the confederacy. (1972) The rest of the marriages were contracted with other confederacies or from outside the area. The reason for this is made clear as we consider O'Brien's observation that marriages were a means for reducing hostilities between communities, or for integrating existing communities. (1969:383) In a very real sense therefore marriages became a means

for securing the peace of the community, and for extending one's allies.

A third factor in the selection of a mate was the element of personal preference. The Dani claimed that boys as well as girls were free to choose their spouses, and among Western Dani, at least the girls led the way in choosing the making known to the man that they were interested in him. (O'Brien 1969:383) This ideal of behavior was not always practiced though, and in a number of instances girls were forced by their relatives to marry a man whom they had not chosen themselves. (Peters 1975:29) Sometimes a girl was abducted by a suitor in the hope that sexual relations with her would overcome her resistance. (Ploeg 1969:92-3)

Contact with a potential suitor could be done through third party intermediaries who were usually one's own brothers or sisters or close relatives. (Peters 1975:21) Actual personal contact was restricted to clandestine meetings in secret or possibly during a courting party known as a *ndem ndenggwi*. Courting parties were traditionally held after a funeral and on occasion following some other community activity. (O'Brien 1969:383) O'Brien's description of such a party seems typical of those which were common among the Western Dani and I therefore quote her at length here. (1969:384-5)

> "A *dym* is held at night on the ground floor of a house with girls and men answering each other. Male participants keep up a rhythmic clapping with their hands or by clapping their hands on their thighs. One or two men usually play a mouthharp and other men often keep time to the singing by clicking their nails against their penis gourds. Individuals may also 'dance' with their arms and upper torsos. Girls attach large single cowrie shells to the end of small sticks and wave these like wands as they sway back and forth. A man and a girl who are attracted to each other exchange woven armbands during the singing and girls give favored males their cowrie shell wands. Gradually the fire dies down and couples move closer together. Little overt sexual activity takes place within the house but couples gradually wander off into the night."

The actual qualities that women looked for in a husband included certain desirable physical features such as tallness, lightness of skin, and long straight noses. The men looked for women with "firm breasts, and slightly bony limbs". (O'Brien 1969:356) They also looked for spouses who showed a marked potential for being economically responsible partners. As Ploeg notes, "a husband and wife perform complementary economic tasks, so that they form a close economic unit". (1969:37 A wife therefore looked for a man who was going to be able to ensure that she had a garden to care for and pigs to raise. A husband on the other hand was looking for a wife who would be faithful and diligent in the care and feeding of his livestock and in the planting and harvesting of his food. In this respect Peters notes that some girls volunteered to become the wife of an important man even though he had other wives. (1975:27)

POLYGAMY

While polygamy was practiced among the Dani, monogamy was the predominate marriage pattern, and this more so among the Western Dani. Only "big men" who excelled in battle were allowed the option of multiple wives, and for most of these the average was two. Very few men took a third or fourth wife, but such was not uncommon for a really "big man". O'Brien noted that polygamous marriages in the Toli area did not exceed 21% of the total number of marriages, (O'Brien 1969:371) while Heider noted that almost one half of the marriages in the Dugum area were polygamous. (1970:72)

Relationships between co-wives was frequently hostile and often led to divorce. (O'Brien 1969:371) In spite of this disadvantage there were advantages which were perceived in such marriages. Chief among these was the prestige that was associated with having more than one wife. Only a rich man could afford them, and only a powerful

man could keep them and presumably only a potent man could satisfy them. So prestige encouraged the institution and not just for the men, but for the wives as well. (Peters 1975:27) There was in addition an economic benefit from such a situation in that an additional wife and possibly her children were an increased labor potential to a nuclear family, and especially as this affected pig raising. O'Brien 1969:370)

MARRIAGE NEGOTIATIONS

Girls were considered marriageable at around the age of twelve, while for men the average age was around twenty. When a marriageable couple had been tentatively determined the parents of the pair negotiated the payments which were to follow. While there are area differences in these payments there seems to have been three basic payments which took place. The first of these, and the smallest, was the bethrothal payment. This payment secured the agreement of the parents and served notice to the community of the relationship. According to O'Brien this payment was the "prime legal marker of a marriage". (1969:513) In the Grand Valley where marriages only took place every four to six years during the activities of the great pig feast marriages were contracted and the payments made but sexual relations were often not begun for another year or two due to the girl's age.

The second payment, the bride's father's payment, could occur either prior to the betrothal, at the time of it, or even after her marriage. (O'Brien 1969:420-1) In the Grand Valley such variation was less common due to the cycle of marriages which was associated with the great pig feast. At the time of this payment the girl was publicly dressed in a bride's skirt which was an "exaggerated version of a married woman's skirt". (O'Brien 1969:389) The implications of the skirting ceremony was on the future fertility of the girl as a

woman, although this aspect of the ceremony has not yet been fully explored. Inasmuch as this ceremony most often accompanied the transfer of the bride to her husband's hamlet this payment (known as the *wak* payment) was as close to a marriage ceremony as the Dani came. (O'Brien 1969:388; Peters 1975:23-4; Ploeg 1969:30)

The third payment (the *kwe onggo*) was paid by the groom and often consisted of staggered payments made over a period of time. (O'Brien 1969:391; Peters 1975:23-4) The purpose of this payment was twofold. It secured the right to sexual access, and it validated a husband's claim to the children of that marriage. (O'Brien 1969:518; Ploeg 1969:35)

In summarizing the total impact of the marriage payment system, several features stand out as significant. The were politically significant in that they bound confederacies together as allies in times of war, and they unified members of a confederacy. Furthermore these ties were such as to expand over two to three generations. (O'Brien 1969:518 ff.) Secondly, these marriage payments carried economic significance in that they tended to flow in a circular pattern of delayed reciprocity. They were to be accounted in any compilation of one's assets and debits. This system also tended to have a leveling effect upon the rich. Big men who had the wealth acquired additional prestige for themselves by paying more than other men whenever they acted as donors. (O'Brien 1969:508)

Thirdly, the bridepayment was socially significant in that it represented a stable marital relationship. As we shall see shortly Dani marriages in their beginning were highly unstable relationships that often broke up during the first couple of years. If the relationship weathered this period, by the time of the groom's payment the marriage was already stabilized and the payment only further added its influence (O'Brien 1969:452,508)

The occasion on which marriages could take place differed significantly between the Grand Valley Dani and the Western Dani. The Dani enjoyed doing things on a big scale and one of the notable features of Dani life was the large pig feasts which took place on a cyclical scale of every four to six years. In the Grand Valley all marriages took place at this time. (Heider 1970:71; Peters 1975:25) Among the Western Dani marriages could take place at any time, but O'Brien noted that there were distinct groupings of wedding ceremonies and postulates that this may be the result of a system of wealth accumulation whereby members of a community would "maximize the removal of debts associated with marriage." (1969:486) That is, in the multiple giving and receiving of several marriage transactions individual participants could meet their own obligations.

In recent years this system of bride payments has been undergoing significant changes especially among the Western Dani as polygamy has fallen into disfavor because of Christianity, and as the community has undergone further radical economic shifts. These developments we will explore in more detail in a later section.

DIVORCE AND REMARRIAGE

Divorce among the Dani came about whenever a wife left her husband (or was sent away by him) and began to live with another man. Divorce among the Dani was fairly common at least in the Konda where O'Brien notes that 70% of the married men had been divorced at least once. While that figure is staggeringly high, most divorces (88%) took place in marriages with no children and especially during the early months of marriage before the groom's payment had been made. (O'Brien 1969:398)

Divorce was accomplished without any formal ceremonies and generally the woman would remarry within a few months. Marriage to a

divorced woman did carry with it some financial complications in that the divorced husband expected to be compensated for his investment, and yet on the whole the bride price for such a woman tended to be lower than usual. (O'Brien 1969:402)

Women who had been married and who were subsequently divorced or widowed generally were remarried after a short period. Widows were encouraged to marry their dead husbands' brothers or other close relative of her husband. (Heider 1970:72; O'Brien 1969:368) The preference for a levirate marriage pattern was the result both of the Dani patrilineal ideology, and of the economic considerations in which her bride price had already been negotiated by her husband's clan.

ATTITUDES TOWARD SEX

There was nothing prudish about Dani sexual attitudes. It was a familiar fact of life to children at an early age. (O'Brien 1969:331; Peters 1975:20) In matters of sex, apart from incest prohibitions, only adultery was an occasion for conflict between groups. This liberty in matters of sex by the Dani has been characterized as being "unrepressed and uninhibited" (O'Brien 1969:333) and if young people were caught in relationships with one another it might involve a beating, but not generally a payment. (O'Brien 1969:344) Pre-marital intercourse quite obviously then was permitted, but such incidences were not as frequent as one would imagine, primarily because girls married at such a young age, and because widows and divorced women did not remain single for long periods of time.

On the whole, the Dani enjoyed sex, and to use the words of O'Brien they displayed a "frank interest and obvious enjoyment" in it. (1969:330) The single exception to this statement is the observation by Heider that the Dani of the Dugum area "put little energy into sex-

ual activities, and into thinking about sexual activities". (1976: 197) Heider has been challenged on this point by Fr. Camps (cf. Camps 1972:90) and other missionaries in the field who have noted that Heider's conclusions are based first of all on inaccurate data, and secondly without reference to all of the facts on the subjects. In spite of these objections Heider has persisted in postulating major observations based on his conclusions which seem certainly to rest on a very unsound base of verifiable data.

One final feature of Dani sexual activities is the matter of the period of sexual abstinence which followed the birth of a child. This is a practice which runs throughout the entire Dani tribe. Basically it is a taboo or prohibition which was placed on sexual activities for all women who had a nursing child. In actual practice that meant a period of sexual abstinence which extended from sometime prior to birth (possibly the sixth month of pregnancy) up until after the child was weaned which could be from three to five years of age.

FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

Relationships between husbands and wives in public were restrained, and couples never publicly expressed endearment to one another in the open. Women commanded certain rights in their marriage relationships and could depend upon their kinsmen for support in the event of grave injustices. Women were free to initiate a divorce, or worse they could publicly humiliate their husbands by quarreling in public, sulking or even taking their own lives. Men, in addition to these factors, further feared the women because of their ability to perform sorcery, and this tangible fear caused all men (at least among the Western Dani) to show additional respect for the women with whom they had daily contact. The respect which was given to women did not rest solely upon the fear which they generated in the hearts of men The Dani had a respect for life, women included, and no life ever trans-

ferred from one clan to another, or from this life to the next without some form of payment being made. Even the mentally retarded and physically deformed, while often teased, were respected and cared for, and included in the life of the community to the extent that they were capable of functioning.

All of this did not preclude the possibilities for family quarrels and indeed such did take place. Co-wife hostility was not uncommon, especially during the early months of the new marriage. Indeed a second wife could either be the cause of the first wife leaving or the object of the first wife's wrath which caused the second to leave. (O'Brien 1969:161 ff.)

The attitude of fathers toward their children was "typically warm and loving". (O'Brien 1969:132) Fathers claimed to show no preference for males versus females although as they got older the girls would spend more and more time with their mothers in the gardens. The Dani did not spank their children, although it was not uncommon for parents to rap older children with their knuckles if they were disobedient. (Peters 1975:31) Children in the course of growing up were expected to contribute to the well being of the family by participating in family activities. These included bringing in firewood, tending the pigs, rocking a younger sibling, etc. In the course of their helping, they also learned, in the only school they would have, those skills which would be needed for participation in the adult activities of life.

Chapter Five

Dani Politics and War

Studies in leadership styles in Melanesia have demonstrated a wide dispersal of what has come to be known as the "big man" pattern of leadership. This is the leadership style of the Dani and indeed the Western Dani term for a leader is *ap nggwok* or "big man". We begin this section therefore with a generalized discussion of big man politics, followed by an examination of its expression in Dani culture.

In the big man pattern of leadership the leader does not rule by decrees or by physical force, but rather by exercising varying degrees of influence among his fellow tribesmen who feel a sense of loyalty to him This loyalty is a combination of clan ties, and financial obligations. The underlying principle by which finances enter politics is expressed by Gouldner and quoted by Sahlins (1968:88) and states that:

> "the norm of reciprocity makes two interrelated minimal demands: (1) people should help those who have helped them, and (2) people should not injure those who have helped them."

An ambitious young man therefore who aspires to a position of leadership concentrates on the task of "amassing goods, most often pigs, shell monies and vegetable foods, and distributing them in ways

which build a name for cavalier generosity, if not for compassion." (Sahlins 1963:290-1) Sahlins continues to note that:

> "A leader's career sustains its upward climb when he is able to link other men and their families to his faction harnessing their production to his ambition. This is done by calculated generosities, by placing others in gratitude and obligation through helping them in some big way." (1963:292)

All of the above mentioned characteristics are, I believe, fully applicable to the Dani situation which means therefore that a big man in Dani culture acted very much as a community financier. Ploeg denies this aspect of leadership to the Dani big men (1969:78) primarily because he over emphasizes the voluntary nature of Dani reciprocity which functioned in a matrix of extreme complexity. Indeed a big man could not coerce his followers into action, but he did harangue, and he did manipulate the above mentioned principal of reciprocity around which everyone's reputation and the trust of others depended.

Leadership in such societies, however, does not rest solely upon financial leverage though, and Sahlins notes that a would be leader:

> "Must be prepared to demonstrate that he possesses the kinds of skills that command respect -- magical powers, gardening prowess, mastery of oratorical style, perhaps bravery in war and feud." (1963:291)

Leadership therefore accrued to a person as other people in search of their own personal goals believed them to be possible through a relationship with the man they chose to follow.

With this basic understanding of Melanesian leadership patterns we turn now to the Dani and confront once again the fact that leadership patterns between the various areas continue to display some marked differences. In the Grand Valley, population density was greater than in any of the Western Dani regions, which meant that big men from

the Grand Valley had a greater numerical sphere of influence. And secondly, the Grand Valley Dani gave greater importance in their culture to the celebration of the great pig feast which occasioned periodic opportunities for intense leadership. There may be indeed other examples of leadership differences between these two groups, but additional comparative studies on the field would be necessary to clarify them.

LEVELS OF LEADERSHIP

Among the Western Dani O'Brien (1969:249 ff.) noted three levels of leaders. On the first level was the "hamlet headman" *nagawan*; on the second level was the "big man" *ap nggwok*;[1] and on the third was the "man named sky" *ap endage mbogot*.

The hamlet headman was the lowest level of leader and "the least important in functional terms..." (O'Brien 1969:242) The men's house where he resided was known as his men's house, and any ambitious married man could move into this status. The relative smallness of most hamlets, the high mobility of the people, and short expectancy of any given hamlet meant that a considerable proportion of the male population could rise to at least this level of leadership sometime during their lifetime. (O'Brien 1969:244)

The big man was the leader at the sub-confederacy level or parish. At this level of leadership there would be a number of big men. There would be the rising big men, the current big men, and there would be the elderly big men. If the big man was a lineage leader he was responsible for the "allocation of garden land and guardianship of the lineage's sacred objects". (O'Brien 1969:248) Otherwise the duties

[1] My spelling for this term and for the "man named sky" will differ from that of O'Brien's spelling, inasmuch as I will be using the currently standarized orthography of the Dani language.

of a big man were to negotiate marriages, arbitrate disputes, marshal men for war and to avenge injury or death. (O'Brien 1969:248)

The "man named sky" was the confederacy leader and according to O'Brien only one existed in each confederacy. (1969:248) His responsibilities were cumulative so that "any confederacy leader is also a sub-confederacy leader, and a hamlet headman". (O'Brien 1969: 249) His uniqueness in being a confederacy leader centered primarily around the spiritual power which he held as a result of his ceremonial knowledge. (O'Brien 1969:249)

Leadership patterns in the Grand Valley differed somewhat from this description. According to Heider (1970:88 ff.) from whom we draw this description there are two kinds of men in general. *Ab gogtak* who are the normal men, and *gebu* who are "the rare permanent bachelors and are noticeably subnormal both physically and mentally". (1970:90) Among those of the *ab gogtek* classification there were those who were especially important who were known as *namene* or *najege* which was an apparent reference to "a kind of reckless bravery". (1970:89) Out of this class of men arose still another category which Heider calls the "directors" and which designated either of two men in the area of the Dugum Dani. (1970:90)

If we exclude the *gebu* men from our consideration the other three classifications of men correspond, with some variations, with the three categories which O'Brien mentions for the Western Dani.

Ploeg in describing the Wanggulam Dani describes a similar pattern but gives a great deal of emphasis to the fact that big men became so on the basis of their kill rate in wartime. He further minimizes their leadership roles in other Dani activities giving their whole culture an air of anarchy. His conclusions may have been greatly influenced by the fact that he observed Dani culture during a particularly uncertain time in which traditional values and leadership patterns

were undergoing rapid change. I do not believe therefore that his conclusions represent the entirety of Dani culture as expressed at other times and places.

QUALIFICATIONS FOR LEADERSHIP

Ralph Linton has noted that leadership status could be one of two kinds: ascribed or achieved. (1936:115) That is, a leader could be born into or appointed to his status without any reference to his personal abilities, which is in Linton's terms "an ascribed status." Or, he could, by personal effort and success attain to the level of a desired status in which case it is a case of an "achieved status."

Among the Dani, leadership was an achieved status which men earned primarily by virtue of their own personal accomplishments. Heider (1970:92 ff.) lists four factors which led to the development of one's influence. Using these four factors as an outline, we will discuss leadership qualifications throughout the Dani tribe, and I will add one more factor which seems to be a necessary addition.

Skill in Warfare

Ploeg states that "the more people a man kills, the bigger he grows." (1969:75) Heider on the other hand states, and probably more accurately, that prestige in warfare came more as a result of bravery and fearlessness and skill in assuring the successful outcome of the battle. (1970:92-3) The desirable nature of this leadership trait quite obviously resided in the leader's ability to provide some measure of security to those around him.

Economic Competition and Household Size

As we noted earlier, the primary function of the family in Dani culture, in addition to procreation was that it functioned as an economic unit. Therefore, the number of wives, women and children that a man had in his household resulted in a direct effect upon his eco-

nomic power. Through this increased labor force his economic potential in raising food and pigs was increased. (Heider 1970:93) All big men therefore had polygamous marriages consisting usually of two wives and occasionally three and for the few, extending upwards to as many as five wives. (O'Brien 1969:269 ff.)

Increased productivity and the accumulation of wealth did not automatically result in power and prestige. It was only as one's wealth was skillfully distributed to others through the complex exchange system that influence and power was rewarded to an aspiring big man.

Heredity and Influence

In Dani culture no man is born with a "golden spoon in his mouth". All men have to rise to a position of leadership and influence on the basis of their own merits. On the other hand though, the sons of big men did have an easier chance of rising to the top. They shared in what their fathers had acquired, namely, living in the aura of his prestige, and easy access to his wealth. This was especially important in meeting their own marriage and ceremonial obligations. (Heider 1970:93-4) Fathers also tended to pass on their sacred knowledge to their sons, and especially their eldest sons, if they recognized in them future leadership potential. O'Brien's data revealed that while leadership was a matter of achievement there was this additional blend of ascription which was apparent especially at the highest levels of leadership. (1969:275)

Charisma

In order to be a leader in a situation such as this a person had to be the kind of person that people enjoyed being with. He needed to have a certain degree of personal magnetism which was I believe a combination of the following qualities. First of all that he be generous. He needed to be the kind of person to whom people could

come freely in order to discuss their own needs. Secondly he needed to be a good host, so that guests felt welcome in his home while they planned, gossiped, and carried on their negotiations. Thirdly he needed to be able to express himself well so that reciprocal transactions were understood and accepted. Among the Western Dani at least this involved as well an empathetic capacity which was demonstrated in emotional displays of tears and joy. A fourth quality was the ability to express one's self in public through oratorical skills. Heider feels that oratory was not a demonstration of charisma among the Dugum Dani. (1970:94) But, this ought not to imply that oratory was not important, nor that all sections of the Dani felt that way. The following description of oratorical style among the Gahuku-Gama seems to me to be very characteristic of Western Dani oratory which I have heard.

> "Standing alone, the orator harangues the seated gathering. He tosses his head...; he indulges in sweeping gestures, draws attention to his accomplishments, belittles others and adopts aggressive attitudes... He may stress such group values as restraint, co-operation, and friendship. The speech is delivered with the swagger which is the mark of the 'strong' man, for modesty is not regarded as a virtue." (Read 1959:431-2)

A fifth quality which added to a leader's charisma was his intelligence and memory. That is, he needed to be able to recall relationships, obligations, and debts, and to manipulate these in such a way that individuals and groups of individuals stood in balance to each other, with no sense of unjust favoritism, or oppressive indebtedness. A sixth personality characteristic was expressed by a big man's openness to negotiation and reason. Read (1959:428) uses the term "equivalence" to describe this quality. In brief, it is a quality of forbearance, moderation, and amenability to persuasion. That is, a big man normally acts within the confines of the expressed desires of the group and does not persist against their expressed opinions.

Demonstrated mastery of a desired skill

Among the Dani certain men displayed exceptional skills in various kinds of activities, or became proficient in a designated task. As a result, others would call upon them to perform their specialty on their behalf. These men, therefore, on account of their skills entered into the category of big men where there was apparently an unofficial ranking in importance which ultimately led to the highest levels of leadership. In seeking to ascertain some of the specialties which characterized some of the big men in the Ilu area Hively noted the following which are presented in part here. (Hively 1975:15 ff.)

1. A generous person (*inanoniya lakka*)
2. A "green thumb" (*yabu eeka*) That is, a person who had the skills and the strength for ensuring a good harvest. Because his success was also associated with his knowledge of ceremonial magic he was invited to the opening of gardens other than his own.
3. A "spirit specialist" (*Kugi ekka*) This man knew the names of all the spirits and was capable of driving them out of a person, or for invoking their assistance on behalf of the community.
4. A "debater" (*wone ngga*) This was someone who could make a point clearly and emphatically on behalf of the group.
5. A "healer" That is one who knew what sicknesses were associated with what spirits, and whose ceremonies were effective.
6. A "fortune teller" (*Abi kaga*) This one had abilities to warn about an impending misfortune or illness as a result of his own dreams.
7. A "peacemaker" (*mage muli mbangga*) Here was a person who was noted for his ability to determine the most propitious course for settling a dispute.
8. A "fight leader" (*ndugore*) While anyone in the community could be responsible for starting a fight, the fight leader, as a tech-

nical term referred to that man in particular who called for a retaliation by fighting.

9. An "initiation specialist" That is one who led in the *wit* or initiation ceremonies.

RESPONSIBILITIES IN LEADERSHIP

The personal focus of big man leadership styles means that very rarely could a leader extend his influences over large numbers of people. The Melanesian big man has been characterized as a "big man in a little pond". (Sahlins 1968:22) and such is indeed the case for the Dani. The leadership of the big men was in addition to being limited to a relatively small number of people, was further restricted to specific occasions having to do with work parties, ceremonial events and war. Then, as if to confuse the situation more, while the big man's name was attached to that particular event, in actual performance the multiplicity of activities, the advice and counter advice given, the confusion, and the cacophony of sounds were such as to make one hardly believe that any order existed.

One of the results of contact with the outside world has been the need for new kinds of leaders among the Dani. Leaders who could function in Indonesian governmental circles, leaders who could function in the church, and leaders who could function in the business and economic realm. These new roles of leadership will be discussed in a later section.

CONFLICT AND WAR

Causes for conflict

There were three primary causes for conflict among the Dani, and these were: women, wealth, and land. (Heider 1970:100; Larson 1972) When conflicts caused a death or escalated fights which resulted in deaths then the motivation of revenge came into play and this further

intensified the situation becoming its own cause for conflict.

Conflicts which arose over women had to do with either cases of disputed sexual access, or accusations of sorcery. Instances of sexual indiscretion included rape, abduction, or adultery and could become occasions for conflict. (O'Brien 1969:287) In many instances the conflict in such cases resulted in little more than a brawl and were resolved through a compensation payment to the husband's family.

The sorcery cases were more serious inasmuch as they involved the loss of a life as a result of the sorcery. An accused sorceress had few options to fall back on. She could flee, undergo a trial by ordeal, or rest her case with her kin. They in turn could protect her, if that were possible, or if her guilt seemed sure, to surrender her to her adversaries. Accusations of sorcery were volatile situations as O'Brien explains:

> The kinsmen of the sorcerer's victim are under great pressure to kill the sorcerer in order to mollify their victim's ghost and keep it from harming them. At the same time, guilt for sorcery is usually arguable and there is corresponding pressure on the suspected sorcerer's kin not to let her be killed. No one wanted to have failed to protect an innocent woman and have to withstand the attacks of her angry ghost. (1969:307)

Conflicts over wealth included evidences of theft, (especially pigs); and failure to make adequate compensation and indemnification payments. Larson's study of conflict patterns in the Ilaga indicates that some 62% of the Ilaga conflicts were caused by disputes over wealth.

The third cause for conflict was dispute over land but both Heider (1970:100) and Larson (1972) indicate that these were not frequently the cause for warfare. Interestingly enough though Larson notes that brawls began most frequently in areas where the population was the most dense and where there was limited opportunity for expansion into new territory. (1972)

Kinds of Conflict

Almost all of the ethnographers have recognized several levels of conflict among the Dani. Listing them here in order of least severe to most, they include:

1. Arguments (*wone wakwi*) or (*wone ndugwi*)
2. Brawls (*yawi wakwi*) involving the use of a club or stick
3. Feuding (that which takes place within a confederacy and could lead to its break-up.)
4. War (*wim*)

In the latter category there seems to have been at least three different kinds of engagements. Ploeg and Heider both mention raids as being a kind of surprise attack on an enemy's territory in which isolated individuals or groups of individuals were killed. (Heider 1970:111-112; Ploeg 1969:159-60) A second stage of fighting was the stage of formalized warfare which Heider categorizes as the "ritual phase of war". (1970:107 In this kind of battle the combatants were in reality engaged in a kind of restrained warfare not unlike a "medieval tourney". (Heider 1970:118) Larson notes that in such a conflict the area for the battle was determined and fenced off with a special fence (*pak*), and that a record was kept of the dead. When the source of the grievance had been compensated by an appropriate number of deaths, or when each side felt the score was even, then a peace was called. On the other hand such a battle could lead to an exaggeration of the imbalances and this in turn initiated a third kind of conflict, and that being unrestrained warfare. One informant described such an encounter as "blind man's war" inasmuch as it involved the unrestrained slaughter of any man, woman or child, caught by the army as they swept down upon their enemy. In such a battle the vanquished had little option but to flee the area for sanctuary in some other confederacy. This phase of war Heider calls "the non-ritual phase of war". (1970:118)

Cessation of War

A cessation of hostilites came about when the enemy was either driven out of the area, or when both sides agreed that the scores were settled. O'Brien describes a peace ceremony (*Palungga wakwe*) which involved an exchange of one pig by each side to the other which was cooked and eaten as a peace feast. (1969:322) The cessation of hostilities also required additional ceremonies within each confederation in order to "celebrate victory, pacify the ghosts of war victims, and make compensation payments for allies killed in battle". (O'Brien 1969:323) In all of this though the cessation of war did not mean the coming of peace. Indeed the cessation of hostilities was more like a "lull in the storm" than a time of peace, and this especially so in the Baliem. Enemy barriers continued or changed only slightly and travel to and from such areas was still restricted.

Chapter Six

Dani Religion and Worldview

The Dani looked out on the world about them and saw it as being filled with all kinds of supernatural beings and activities. They also saw life as a succession of uncertainties, anxieties and potential misfortunes and dangers. While the intensity of these anxieties differed from area to area the Dani as a whole sought to establish a relationship or a means of manipulation whereby they could call upon these supernatural powers for assistance. Their religious and ceremonial activities therefore revolved around two separate foci. There were the life cycle ceremonies that related to birth, initiation, marriage and death. And there were the life issue ceremonies which had to do with productivity, sex, sickness, and war. In our study therefore we shall be giving consideration to these various ceremonies and their functions.

In this section we will also need to take note of the religious practitioners in Dani culture.

We begin our discussion then with an analysis of the supernatural world to which the Dani appealed. Our organization of the data will be from an anthropological or "etic" model (Hiebert 1976:50 ff) inasmuch as the arrangement of the data has been done from a non-Dani perspective. Our reasons for making this approach arise primarily because the Dani did not have a well developed perception of the

supernatural world. In his chapter on the supernatural Heider states that:

> "Much of Dani ritual activity shows considerable indeterminateness and variability. The nature of the ghosts and even their whereabouts, the vagueness of spirit categories, the variations in ceremonial details, the extemporaneous rather than precisely formulated nature of prayers, the undramatic and almost unclimactic performance of ritual events, the convenient manner in which ghosts moderate their threats, all point to the Dani's casual, almost impious approach to their dealings with the supernatural." (1970:167)

Peters come to a similar conlusion and asserts that "the Dani do not have a rigid logical system, but rather an asystematical whole, not really thought out." (1975:185) And Peters in another place declares that the Dani attitude toward religion was such that he was neither pious, nor humble, but self assertive and self-sufficient. While these observations may relect some cultural biases from a Western perspective inquiries into the religious life of the Dani have been confusing. Even when men who seemed to know the most were questioned, their answers revealed a lack of harmony. And when compared from area to area it becomes obvious that there was tremendous diversity. In respect to this ambiguity of religious practices, Ploeg notes that the Dani themselves:

> "know that in other parts of Mbogoga and outside the valley ceremonies are performed which they themselves do not know about. These ceremonies may be consecrated to other spirits. Some of the ceremonies performed by the Wanggulam themselves have been recently introduced from neighboring areas." (Ploeg 1969:51-2)

This fluidity of conceptualization of the supernatural world, plus the influence of Christianity has made this aspect of Dani life one of the most difficult to understand. No two anthropologists have agreed in detail, nor have the missionaries in their studies agreed on this subject.

The topical approach which follows therefore is my attempt to draw a number of observations and insights together without at the same time forcing the Dani perceptions into some systematic but false organizational structure. In the final analysis perhaps the key to understanding this aspect of Dani life is found not in understanding it as a belief system, but in feeling it as an existential reaching out to life.

SUPERNATURAL BEINGS

The mythological stories of the Dani are filled with tales of people not quite human, but very nearly so. There is the creature *Mbanunggok* who loves to steal pigs and eat children. He appears to have been not seriously believed in by adults who nevertheless enjoyed telling their children about him. Then there were the sky people who lived in the clouds and according to some people caused it to rain when they urinated. And there were in addition a host of forest creatures which bore a special relationship to humans either because they had been humans placed under a spell, or because as creatures they had done a very special favor for people. This latter class of creatures have come close to approaching a totemic status in Dani culture. (Peters 1975:17) For the most part though these mythological creatures had little relationship to the lives of the Dani, and were given only minimal considerations in their daily lives

The spirit beings which were of immediate concern to the Dani were those which could affect them for good or for ill. The Dani had several terms by which they designated these spiritual forces or beings and inasmuch as they designated concepts which are inter-related with one another we ought not to think of them as distinct and clearly defined categories. Rather we need to see them as being a progression of a continuum. I would visualize these in the following

way:

soul stuff —— souls of living persons —— close spirits —— ghosts of recent dead —— ancestral spirits —— true spirits

While each of the above categories is indicated in Dani terminology, frequently the term *Kugi* was used to refer to both ghosts and spirits, and in this respect acted as a kind of generic term for the supernatural. Throughout the rest of our study therefore, whenever the distinction between ghosts and spirits become blurred or merged, as for instance in referring to a sacrifice offered to a malevolent spirit or an angry ghost, I shall use the word "spirit" with quotation marks to indicate this broader use of the term.

Soul Stuff

The Dani conceived of the heart as the seat of the personality, and as the center for most of their emotions. Emotionally speaking therefore a person with a "big heart" is generous; a person with a "small heart" is stingy; and a person with "no heart" is foolish or cruel. But, in a separate context, if we are speaking of some one's health, if a person's heart "has become small" he is very sick, and if it "becomes nothing" he is dead, even though physically he may still be breathing. For Heider this smallness and largeness idea suggests the concept of a living person actually possessing a sort of non-physical physical heart which he has designated as soul stuff. In support of this concept, he notes that the Dugum Dani think of this "heart" as being about the size of a fist in a normal person. They do not believe that children have one at birth, but that it grows as they do, and in the event of an illness one's soul stuff shrinks. (170:226 ff.) One's soul stuff therefore needs to be strengthened in the event of a sadness or an illness. (Heider 1970:159)

Souls of Living Persons

There are several different terms which refer to this part of a

person's being, but I suspect they are all pretty much the same. Among the Dugum Dani there is the *akotakun* (Heider 1970:227); and among the Konda Dani there is the *inengga* O'Brien 1969:88); and among the Western Dani there is the *anggena*. These various designations refer to that part of the person, which at death, departs from the body and becomes a ghost.

Close Spirits

According to Scovill these spirits were known among the Mulia Dani as the *amulok* spirits. Variant designations include *awiire'nggam* or "yard spirits", and *korok-korok* or "close spirits". The recognized symbol of these spirits was one's reflection on the water. Young boys were introduced to these spirits when they came of age. Some particular experience (success in hunting, a sickness, etc.) indicated which of the spirits had taken an interest in the boy, and at a special ceremony (not named by Scovill) was revealed to him. If these spirits were honoured, then they would reciprocate by ensuring personal protection, help, guidance, and reproductive strength. (1971:19

Ghost of the recent dead

Our separation of the ghosts of the recent dead from those of the ancestral spirits is somewhat artificial and therefore all the more necessary to be remembered as a continuum rather than distinct classifications. The primary difference between the two seems to have to do with the necessity of placating the former, and honoring the latter.

Inasmuch as none of the ethnographers makes the distinction exactly as I am doing it is possible to misquote them in this category of beings Nevertheless the following observations of O'Brien seem appropriate here:

> "At death the soul leaves the body and wanders around in the open grasslands and woods It neither eats nor sleeps and occasionally may be seen at night. All such ghosts

> are feared and are believed capable of harming the living, principally by causing illness. Ghosts are placated by the activities at a funeral, particularly by the wailing of mourners, the killing of pigs, and the death payment. Ghosts are most feared immediately after death, but cause no trouble if given a proper funeral by their kin. The ghosts of men slain in battle or murdered are most dangerous. It is not enough to merely avenge such a man and give him a proper funeral; the ghost must be ceremoniously informed that his death has been avenged. He will then settle down peacefully in uninhabited bush and will not disturb the living, though such a ghost may be called on for assistance before a battle or when a kinsman falls ill. (1969:88-89)

Ancestral Spirits

These are the ghosts of clansmen who for reasons no one has yet recorded, had been memorialized in the sacred stones which were dedicated to them and which were kept in the men's house. Peters designates two kinds of such sacred stones. One for ancestors who were killed in war (*wim ganege*) and one for ancestors who died of sickness or old age (*ganege hakasin*).

The *wim ganege* were brought out during ceremonies related to war and had a direct connection with warfare. The *ganege hakasin* were used in ceremonies that had to do "with the general prosperity of the community, which is concretely expressed in the claims that the pigs became numerous and fat". (Peters 197:173) This division of the sacred stones into two classifications is not mentioned by any of the Western Dani writers and it may be that the Dani concepts of close spirits and ancestral spirits as recorded by Scovill was a skewing of this concept by the Western Dani. However that may be, the immediate concern of the Dani in respect to these spirits was in securing the assistance of the spirits around them, who were potentially powerful allies.

The True Spirits

These were known among the Western Dani as the *abe kugi*, and were a class of spirits that have nothing to do with human life. They existed totally independent of the ghosts or ancestral spirits. There were apparently a great number of these spirits who existed in different classes according to the nature of their specialty. Their names differed from area to area and indeed from spirit specialist to spirit specialist. Among the Western Dani these spirits seemed to have been taken more seriously than among the Grand Valley Dani. In the main, these spirits were regarded as being evil and needing propitiation. Some were believed to bring sickness (such as *Weenggun*); some influenced productivity (such as *Wogonikkwe*); some killed men (such as *Kuguruwo*); and some brought temptation (such as *tile* and *monggat*). (Scovill 1971; O'Brien 1969:88 ff.) In concluding we note that spirits were to be feared and propitiated, while ghosts were to be honored and placated.

SACRED OBJECTS AND RITUALS

Sacred Power and Taboo

Power and influence could be secured from the supernatural world provided one was careful and followed the proper ritual. Every ceremonial event therefore was a harnessing of spiritual power and because there was a degree of danger associated with such activities, prohibitions abounded at every such event. These prohibitions or taboos were directed both toward the "spirits" themselves, and towards the Dani community.

In Western Dani the term *mage*, and in the Grand Valley the term *wusa* appear to be corresponding designations which related to this theme. In a purely secular sense these words meant "it's prohibited" or "it's not permissible". But in its sacred context these words in-

dicated prohibitions which carried supernatural sanctions and which were enforced by supernatural punishments. Therefore a child who came too close to a fire was told that such closeness was *mage*, and shortly thereafter that certain foods or items stored in the house were *mage* to touch. In the latter instance because of the sacred nature of the items involved, there was a supernatural consequence for violating such a prohibition.

Taboo applied to matters of sexual relationship especially in respect to incest regulations, moiety boundaries, and the post partum period following the birth of a child. In each one of these instances violations of the taboo was liable to punishment by the "spirits". And villagers in an effort to avoid being included in that punishment sought to enforce such prohibitions by punishing the offenders themselves. Similar taboos applied to eating certain foods, naming the names of one's in-laws or disturbing a sacred grove or area. (Heider 1970:137)

Many taboos were related to specific sacred objects or ceremonies. Some of these such as prohibiting women from seeing or hearing the rites which accompanied the sacred stones were of a permanent nature. Other taboos were temporary such as the food prohibitions placed on initiates during their initiation, (Peters 1975:141 ff.) or the restrictions against working in a garden which had just been opened and was being ceremonially prepared. (UFM 1972:14) Further the prohibition could be applied to a specific sacred object such as a pig which had been dedicated to a certain "spirit" and which now could not be used for a bridewealth payment or a contribution at a feast.

A third kind of taboo was directed toward the "spirits" themselves. Men having performed the proper ceremonies, and made the required sacrifice indicated to the "spirits" those areas which were "off limits" by placing boundary markers called *kuli pige*. Such markers were placed on paths, at the entrance to a village or garden

or worn by an individual. Such markers indicated that the "spirits" could proceed no further. They differed in their form but a few examples of such markers were: a necklace of crayfish claws or cowrie shells; a hoop or decorated reed; and the ghost bridge of the Grand Valley. (Heider 1970:138)

Contact with sacred power on ceremonial occasions was contained and safeguarded by the proper use of these taboos. But one more activity was required at such events. Sacred power clung to the hands of those who had handled ritual objects, sacred things, or even a dead body, and these must be cleansed lest the sacred power be drawn into secular activities causing sickness and death. Ritual cleansing therefore took place at the close of the ceremonies and these were of two natures. One was to wave a feather over the hands of the participants, and the other was to wash down with a banana stalk. (Peters 1975:181; Heider 1970:152

Magic

Requests to the "spirits" were generally accompanied by some manipulative procedure in the form of magic. In healing ceremonies the healer would frequently try to draw the spirit of sickness out of the person by chanting and rubbing the patient down with a special kind of leaf or a banana shoot. When the healer perceived that the spirit had come out then the leaves would be burned or thrown away, or in the case of the banana stalk would be planted.

The opening of a garden was always an occasion in which magic was used to insure a bountiful harvest. Heider describes a garden arch which was constructed in the Grand Valley on such occasions. The arch formed a kind of symbolic cradle in which the life essence of the sweet potatoes could grow. (1970:43) Other magic associated with new gardens was done by the men who conducted a mock battle in the garden area. Apparently their noise had something to do with

stimulating growth. (Heider 1970:163; UFM 1972:20)

In times of war the ghosts of the deceased were called upon to assist in the victory. They were directed toward the enemy by pointing special arrows in that direction and saying a special chant over them. (Ploeg 1969:47) The task of the ghosts was to attack the souls of the men of the enemy so that as they came to battle they would already be vulnerable to dying. (Heider 1970:113)

Black magic was common among the Dani and while it could be practiced by either men or women, it was most common among the women. It was variously designated as *mun*, *magagirak* and *imak*. Ploeg reports that among the Bokondini Dani "men see *mum* as the counterpart of their weapons like spears and bows and arrows. They say that men kill with the latter type weapons, and that women kill with *mun*." (1969:54)

Women practicing black magic could do so by following a number of recognized methods. Generally this involved giving the intended victim a potato that had been sprinkled with a magic substance. This substance could either be ground up limestone (O'Brien 1969:80), or a ceremonially treated piece of grass (UFM 1970:26), or possibly still other items. A variation of this method was to sprinkle the potion into the victim's ear while he slept.

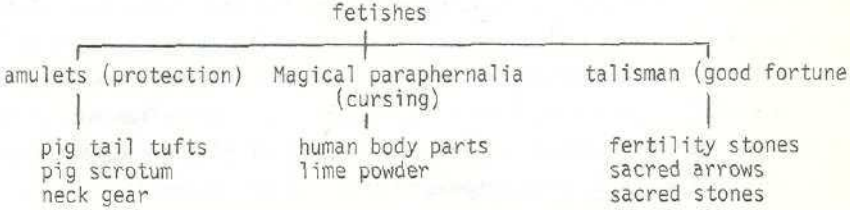
Black magic practices among the men was discussed by Ploeg who mentions two in particular. *Pulinggwe* was the practice of cursing a female relative with barrenness because of an insufficient fertility payment. The second practice was that of *aga polenggwe* in which a spell was sent out to a relative who had or was seeking to defraud the sender by claiming a payment which did not belong to him. The result of this spell was the death of the victim. (1969:57)

Several other examples and types of magic were practiced by the Dani including love potions (O'Brien 1969:357); protective measures (Peters 1975:100); weather control (Heider 1970:214), etc. With the

exception of these black magic spells, magical procedures were usually done in conjunction with other ceremonial or ritual activities and objects, to which we now turn.

Fetishes and Sacred Stones

Among the Western Dani the word *kugiwak* or "spirit containers" designated those items which the Dani treasured and cared for because they believed them to be vehicles for supernatural power. I have chosen to designate these *kugiwak* as fetishes or charms. They had at least three functions for the Dani. To act as protective devices for the owner, in which case they were amulets; to bring good luck in which case they were talisman, or to direct their power for malevolent intentions in which case they were paraphernalia for magic. Some examples of these fetishes are seen below.



Amulets were frequently, but not always, worn by individuals. A common form of such an amulet was an arm band made from the penis and scrotum of a boar. Such a band had power to protect the wearer from malicious ghosts. (Heider 1970:247) Pig tail tufts and crayfish claws were two other popular varieties of such amulets. (Heider 1970:55, 138) The neck gear which was worn was made at ceremonies specifically as ghost protectors and was often replaced with new ones during a sickness. (Heider 1970:247) Another distinct form of amulet was a pole which was erected in or upon men's houses with a *kuli pige* or "spirit restrainer" attached to it in order to scare off malevolent "spirits". (Peters 1975:100)

Some examples of talisman are the fertility stones which were

used to increase garden and pig fertility. (O'Brien 1969:90) These stones were usually of an unusual shape, generally being round like a ball, and sometimes with a hole through the center. The sacred stones of the ancestors also fell into this category inasmuch as these stones were honored, and cared for as representatives of their ancestors who were expected to return the attention with special favors. (O'Brien 1969:252; Peters 1975:173) Arrows as symbols of their ancestors were still one more way in which objects were ritually elevated to the status of a talisman. Peters observation of a ceremony which included the arrows note that they were treated very similarly to the stones. (1975:100)

Offerings and Sacrifices

As we have been noting, whenever the Dani turned to the supernatural with a request for assistance or relief there came into play a number of inter-related ceremonial activities. Gifts to the supernatural in the form of offerings and sacrifices constituted still one more aspect of this circle of activities. I consider offerings to be those gifts which do not require the shedding of blood, and sacrifices as those in which an animal (generally a pig) was killed.

Offerings were generally made in the form of food gifts to the supernatural. The commonest example of such an offering was the offering of the first fruits. Peters describes it as follows:

> "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'". (1975:59)

Sweet potatoes it appears were left in the ground because of the mystic relationship between the earth, the potatoes, and the sun. Potatoes which were destined for the ancestors were taken and instead of being eaten were fed to those pigs which had been especially dedi-

cated to the "spirits". O'Brien mentions one other form of such offering in which cooked sweet potatoes were bound together with the ancestral stones on the occasion of a recent vengeance killing. She writes:

> "two exchange stones are used to represent the dead men, who invariably have been members of different confederacies. The stones are bound together, along with an arrow point representing the avenger and two pieces of cooked sweet potato so that each spirit has his own food." (1969:252)

A distinctly different kind of offering was the live pig dedicated to the "spirits". Among the Western Dani this custom was known as *inanggwaruk nggaganggwi*. It involved setting aside a male boar which was castrated and marked by cutting its ear. Its owner took special care that it was fed well, and in the feeding process would mumble messages to the "spirit" to whom it was dedicated reminding him that he was expected to reciprocate with favors. (UFM 1972:5) In a time of special need, such a pig could become a sacrifice to the "spirits" as we shall discuss next.

Sacrifices were required whenever there were human lives at stake. That is, sacrifices were required whenever men were preparing for war and the potential loss of life was in view. Or whenever there was a serious illness and death was envisaged. Sacrifices were especially required whenever there was a death or a settlement over a death. Sacrifices often accompanied ceremonies in which brides were transferred to their husbands. Also in the event of an impending disaster or famine, and the lives of the community were threatened, a sacrifice would be made to the "spirits". The philosophy behind such sacrifices seems to be that of giving a life (that of a pig) in return for a life (that of a person). Whether this is how the Dani saw such sacrifices is less clear. That the Dani conceived of these gifts, at least as food to the spirits is made explicit in the

following Dani prayer recorded by Peters:

> "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 there." (1975:101)

Divination, Ordeals and Dreams

We come now to a consideration of those events through which the Dani sought to discover the unknown. Such uncertainties included locating something that was lost, ascertaining the guilt of a witch, or predicting a future event. The methods utilized in such situations were: a variety of divination techniques, trial by ordeal, and the interpretation of dreams and omens.

A popular form of divination was that of steaming grass in a cooking pit. When the pit was opened, the grass was examined for clues to the answer which was sought. If it was a ceremony preceding a war and there was a portion of uncooked grass on the side of the pit towards the enemy territory then it meant a successful battle. (Peters 1975:92) Heider on the other hand notes that among the Dugum Dani that a similar ceremony which involved sweet potatoes was interpreted so that, "If, on opening the steam bundle, the sweet potatoes are found to be not well cooked, it is considered a bad omen for the coming battle." (1970:107)

Among the Wanggulam Dani this technique was used to discover whether a death had been the result of black magic. Once again the steaming took place and the grasses were examined and if they were crumpled and of a darkish color, *mum* (black magic) had been at work. If they were straight and light, *mum* had not been used. (Ploeg 1969: 54) Subsequent steamings were then used to locate the woman suspected of this act of sorcery.

Locating something which was lost, such as a pig or a missing person could be done by a variety of methods. Once again the steaming method and the searching of the uncooked portions was taken as a

clue as to what direction to go on a search. Or, they could use a special divining branch which was manipulated along the ground so as to provide a clue as to where to search. The decision as to whether it was even worthwhile to look was often decided by divination. This could be done by examining the entrails of a rat, (Heider 1970:146) or by ritually stripping a piece of bark from a *ny* tree. (UFM 1970:7)

Ascertaining the guilt of a suspected witch was always difficult since women never admitted to knowing anything about black magic practices. Trial by ordeal therefore was the method by which witches could be exposed. The most common method used in such instances was to split the ear of the suspect, and if it bled she was guilty, and if not she was innocent. (Ploeg 1969:54: O'Brien 1969: 81) The evidence of such a trial was not always accepted though and in some instances torture was used to elicit a confession (i.e. hanging the suspect by her hands from a pole, or singeing her with fire). Sometimes a woman's defenders looked upon the evidence of the split ear ordeal as being inconsequential and continued to stand up for her defense. O'Brien concludes that the trial was a convenient rationalization which was politically and socially conditioned. (1969: 310) In such cases the accusation had to rely more heavily on other evidences. This involved proving that the woman had both a motive for her action (i.e. a grievance with the deceased, etc.) and recent access to her victim. Another form of concrete evidence was that of killing a suspected witch's pig (secretly of course) and then examining its intestines for evidence of the victim's body such as his hair, a toenail, etc. which might have been used as paraphernalia in the black magic process. (UFM 1970:27)

Predictions of the future were likewise a mixture of activities. Heider records two instances of such divination. In the first instance there was a ritual reading of the intestines of rodents which indicated the future prognosis of an illness, and in the second incident sticks were thrown into the air above young men to see who would

take a bride or not. (1970:146) Some communities were fortunate in having in their midst a dreamer. That is a man whose dreams habitually came true. Such accurate predictions were rewarded with small payments of shells by the community. (UFM 1970:9) And finally shooting stars were considered to be omens which were believed to presage a battle and often alerted a village to be on its guard.

RELIGIOUS SPECIALISTS

In Dani culture there were four kinds of spiritual specialists. There were first of all the shaman who were those men who possessed the knowledge and the right to "perform the rites associated with gardening, warfare, the recovery of lost or stolen property, and illness." (O'Brien 1969:73) Secondly there were the healers, who were women (and possibly men) who shared with the shaman in the task of healing the sick. Both of these above mentioned specialists functioned with the wellbeing of the community and its members. The following two were not so, but were rather feared as in the case of the women, or guardedly respected as in the case of the men. Certain men, and not many at that, became sorcerers who had the power to take human life by means of their magic. Sorceresses were the female counterpart to the man and they too had the power to take human lives. In contrast to the sorcerers, the sorceresses were thought to be many and indeed the Dani believed that such power was available to any woman choosing to utilize it.

The above mentioned classes of spiritual specialist appear to be nice and neat and balanced; two for men and two for women, two for good and two for evil. Unfortunately very little of the data that I have before me indicates whether there is actual evidence that such specialists only practiced in their prescribed area or whether in fact good and evil did flow from the same person. Also the data from Mulia (UFM 1971:3) indicates that the practice of *kugurowo* was not

limited only to men as was indicated by O'Brien for the Konda Dani. (1969:75) Furthermore, we do not yet have sufficient clarification as to whether some men, who on their way to becoming shamans, did not practice as simple healers in the early stages of their progress. O'Brien states that only women functioned as healers. (1969:87) My own classifications therefore are classifications of functions rather than classifications of persons as was so designated by O'Brien (1969:75)

Shamans

Shamans were those men in the community who possessed both the knowledge and the right to call upon the spirits by name either on behalf of the lineage or the clan, or any of its members. Among the shamans themselves there was a certain degree of ranking which functioned in close association with their political status. (O'Brien 1969:73) The necessary knowledge for becoming such a specialist could be acquired from one's father or it could be bought from another recognized specialist. (O'Brien 1969:59; Ploeg 1969:50-1) The work of the shaman was most evidenced when there were ceremonies involving: initiation, garden rites, war related events, and incidents of sickness. While their energies were generally directed toward benevolent activities, their enemies did not feel the same when it was directed toward them prior to battle.

Healers

Healers are those persons, mostly women who performed healing ceremonies for the sick. Such ceremonies often required the sacrifice of a pig, the calling out of the "spirit" of sickness, and the application of a herbal mixture or special "ointment". Some healers were specialists to a particular spirit and were called upon whenever the symptoms of that spirit appeared. These healers, like all of the specialists were paid for their services with some cowrie shells and

a share of the sacrificed pig. I have no data at this time to indicate whether curing ceremonies were predominantly conducted by men or by women, by the shamans or the healers.

Sorcerers

These were men who possessed the power to kill by means of magic. In contrast to women practicioners these men were known for their ability and generally respected. (O'Brien 1969:87) Because their numbers were small and their activities limited to justifiable causes they were considered useful to the community. Their method of operation was similar to that of the sorceresses and will therefore be discussed jointly with the activities of the sorceresses.

Sorceresses

All women were believed to be capable of performing black magic upon others, and especially upon men. Western Dani attitudes toward this practice was recorded by Ploeg in the following passage:

> "*Mur*, the injurious activities of women, preoccupies people far more than the magic practiced by men: ...and all people, men more than women are afraid that they may succumb to the activities of women. . . .(They) believe that women are inclined to work *mur* on the slightest provocation...(and they) dislike the insecurity with which *mur* surrounds their lives. (1969:52-3)

Among the Grand Valley Dani on the other hand there appears to have been less anxiety about this practice. Heider writes as follows:

> "although people often told me of specific women who were sorcerers, and even accused them of causing specific deaths, there was no concern, the women were not harassed, and the whole matter was treated lightly." (1975:62)

The differences between these two attitudes constitutes one of the significant differences between these two branches of the Dani tribe Among the Western Dani hardly any death was free from a possible accusation of black magic and a subsequent witch hunt.

The *modus operandi* of these last two categories of spirit specialists were the practice of *magagirak* and the practice of *kugurowo*. In *magagirak* as we noted earlier the sorcerer relied on magical paraphernalia in which a piece of the person's hair, or a fingernail from the victim were given to the pigs to eat, or his food was spinkled with a powder or other substance which would be ingested causing death. The alternative method as we have noted was to sprinkle this potion in his ear. In the *kugurowo* the sorcerer was able to disembody himself and then in the form of a forest creature, typically a bat, could proceed to his victim's house and there symbolically begin to eat away on his victim. A further aberration of these *kugurowo* practioners was that they could sit down to a meal of roasted pork, and while others were seeing and eating pig, he or she could see and eat their victim even though he had already died and been creamated. (O'Brien 1969:75; UFM 170:28 ff.)

Understandable then, this kind of uncontrolled activity was not tolerated by the Dani, and the discovery and death of practicioners (especially females) was considered a moral obligation.

CEREMONIAL ACTIVITIES

Dani ceremonial activities flowed in two great streams which at times such as the great pig feasts which were held every four to six years or so, merged together only to separate once more. The first of these great streams constituted those ceremonies which related to life cycle issues, namely: birth, initiation, marriage, and death. The second great stream was constituted of those ceremonies which related to life issues, namely: productivity, sex, sickness and war.

Life Cycle Ceremonies

Birth ceremonies

The least significant of the ceremonies in this group were those

that had to do with birth. Peters notes that among the Grand Valley Dani there may not even be a ceremony associated with birth. (1975:33) Heider simply notes that at birth the mother's brother gave the baby some shells. (1970:151) O'Brien on the other hand records that among the Konda Dani a small ceremony accompanied births in which a pig was killed and a small feast held for the whole hamlet. (1969:95)

Initiation Ceremonies

The transition from childhood to adulthood for both boys and girls was observed in varying degrees of intensity and form by the several sectors of the Dani tribe. For girls there were two ceremonies associated with adolescence: her first menstruation, and her skirting ceremony. The first of these was not really a transitional ceremony and among the Western Dani a girl's first menstruation was note even marked. (O'Brien 1969:347) Even in the Grand Valley only certain areas observed it. (Peters 1975:37) Where it was celebrated, it was known as a *hodalimo* (Heider 1970:71) or a *hodaly*. (Peters 1975:37) When it was celebrated the women conducted an all night sing which included dancing and was attended only by women. On the following morning all the participants joined in a mud fight in which they tried to smear each other with mud. The purpose of the ceremony according to Peters was apparently an effort to scare off evil spirits. (1975:37)

The girls' skirting ceremony was much more significant as a transitional ceremony in that it definitely marked a girl as being mature and ready for marriage. (O'Brien 1969:460) In the Grand Valley the skirting ceremony was done only at the great pig feast and immediately preceded her marriage. Heider notes that the entire ceremony incorporates significant features of a ritual passage as we read:

> "in the Dani weddings we can also recognize the three stages of passage ritual. The brides are first sepa-

> rated from girlhood through passive acceptance of woman's attire; carrying nets are draped on their backs, the girls' skirts are removed and married women's skirts are wound on their hips. During the next four days they are in a period of transition (the same length of time as the transition period in the boys' initiation). Although they are not subject to complete ritual and physical removal as are the initiants, they sleep in the cookhouse and are greased and fed in huge quantities. During this period they are also in a technologically interstitial period, since they must learn new body habits in order to walk in their new kind of skirt.
>
> The escorting of the brides to their husbands' compounds is of course the third phase, an incorporation into their new state." (Heider 1972:196)

For boys, the transition period often went unmarked, with boys becoming men without having to pass through a rite of passage. There were apparently no initiation ceremonies in the Bokondini area, none in the Ilu area, and only the beginnings of one in the Toli area. (O'Brien 1969:65 ff.) Among the Western Dani it was known as *wit* and its function is still not fully understood and has never been fully described by missionaries or anthropologists, if indeed such a task is possible anymore at this late date.

In the Baliem on the other hand initiation ceremonies were much more elaborate and specific and have persisted even into the present. They were known as *waiya hakasin* (Heider 1971:184) or *waya hakat apin.* (Peters 1975:139) Only half of the boys went through this ceremony, those being boys who had been born into families with Waiya moiety fathers The purpose of the ceremony was to make the boys Waiya boys like their fathers. Why only these boys had to go through an initiation ceremony in order to confirm their moiety is still not fully understood. The age of the participants varied from three to eighteen and did not seem to be a significant factor in their participation. Heider proposes that the purpose of the whole affair was not to make boys into warriors, but rather to dramatize the basic "two-section

system of Dani society" which revolved around the moieties. The fact that only half of the boys went through the initiation (i.e. the Waiya boys) was an expression of this difference. The initiation was a boundary-creating ritual in which half of the boys were transformed into Waiya moiety members (1971:195) This conclusion seems justified in that in areas where the initiation did not exist there was also a corresponding breakdown of the moiety system. (i.e. Toli and Bokondini)

The events of the initiation ceremony were planned around the Great Pig Feast and its four year cycle. The ceremony itself progressed in three separate states. The first one involved the ritual purification and separation of the initiates. Then in the second stage the boys underwent a series of rigors. And then in the third stage they were brought back into the life of the community through a series of rituals. (1972:194-5) The activities during this entire period seemed to be symbolic representations of Dani adult behavior into which the boys were being introduced.

Marriage Ceremonies

The third ceremonial event to affect a Dani's life were the marriage ceremonies which were a complex of events revolving around three distinct payments. The first of these payments was the betrothal payment and was known among the Western Dani as *kwe awu* or *yindi*. Inasmuch as there were no marriage rites, the acceptance of the betrothal payment became the legal marker for the marriage. (O'Brien 1969:513) The second payment was the bride's father's payment known as the *uwak* payment. This payment was made at the time of the girl's skirting ceremony in which she was dressed in an exaggerated style of the married woman's skirt. According to O'Brien one of the primary purposes of the girl's skirting ceremony was to mark her "maturity and readiness for marriage". (1970:420) Larson indicates that in the Ilaga,

the matter of the girl's future fertility was associated with the ceremony. (1972) Among the Grand Valley Dani this ceremony was known as the *yagal isin* and constituted a part of the great pig feast. The timing of this skirting ceremony among the Western Dani seemed to vary considerably, but in the Grand Valley it was always done during the great pig feast, and as a part of the girl's impending marriage. At this time many girls would go through this ceremonial event which was more formalized than among the Western Dani, and lasted for upwards to four days or more. (Peters 1975:124) The third payment in this series of marriage payments was the groom's payment (*kwe onggo*) which among the Western Dani was made sometime after the marriage, possibly even after the birth of children. (O'Brien 1969:431)

Death Ceremonies

The final ceremonies in the life cycle of a Dani were the ceremonies that accompanied death. Among the Western Dani these were three or four day affairs which focused primarily upon the cremation of the corpse, the placating of the ghost, and the distribution of the funeral payment. Among the Grand Valley Dani, while the focus was similar, the events of the funeral were much more elaborate and spread out over a greater length of time, and added a greater dimension of giving honor to the deceased than was expressed in the Western Dani ceremonies. According to Heider, funerals in the Grand Valley progressed through four distinct stages, climaxing in the great pig feast. (1970:146 ff.) In comparing the two different funeral practices, it would appear that the first stage of this funeral corresponded to the Western Dani ceremony. The third stage, which incorporated the *ye wakanin* ceremony or indemnification payments, had a corresponding ceremony among the Western Dani, but which did not seem to be linked with the funeral ceremonies but rather with the war ceremonies. The other two stages of the ceremony seemed to be unique

to the Grand Valley.

Life Issue Ceremonies

In considering those ceremonies which related to success in life, we turn first of all to those dealing with productivity. There appears to have been three such ceremonial events: those held at planting time, those which accompanied the first harvest, and the *ganege hakasin* ceremony of the Grand Valley. (Peters 1975:160 ff.) In each instance the focus of the ceremony was upon ensuring good crops, big pigs, and healthy people by appealing to the "spirits".

A second category of life issue ceremonies in reality functions more as a festive celebration than a ceremony. This event was the *ndem ndenggwi* as it was known among the Western Dani, and as the *ter* among the Lower Grand Valley Dani. It was a type of courting party, and was often held at the conclusion of a funeral. Among the Western Dani it was not uncommon for couples to end the evening by leaving the *ndem ndenggwi* in order to spend the rest of the night together in a time of intimacy.

A third category of life issue ceremonies had to do with healing ceremonies in a time of illness. Such ceremonies had a threefold focus. The first was to identify the "spirit" related cause of the sickness and to placate or draw that "spirit" out. Secondly the symptoms of the illness may have had to be treated by the application of a recognized technique (i.e. bleeding the sick person, applying poultices, etc.) And thirdly they strengthened the sick person by feeding him a portion of the sacrificed pig.

War Related Ceremonies

This category of ceremonies are those which had to do with preparing for war, and terminating a war. They began with the preparatory ceremonies which in the Baliem were known as *wim ganege hakasin*. (Peters 1975:87) In this ceremony the sacred stones were honored, a

pig was sacrificed, and the ancestral spirits were sent ahead of the warriors to weaken their enemy. At the conclusion of the fighting a victory celebration was held principally to announce to the ghosts of the dead that vengeance had been made. On occasion a peace feast between the combatants would be held, in which case the fight leaders would exchange pigs and dine together. (O'Brien 1969:160) A final ceremony related to war was the indemnity payments which were necessary to compensate for the death of allies. This ceremony was included in the funeral ceremonies as a part of stage three by Heider. (1970:160)

THE GREAT PIG FEAST

We come at last to a discussion of the great pig feast which has been described as the climax of the Dani ceremonial cycle. (Heider 1972:169) In the Grand Valley where this feast was more formalized it consisted of three separate but concurrent sets of ceremonial events: the boys' initiation ceremonies, the girls' marriage ceremonies and the memorials to the deceased. (Heider 1972:171; Peters 1975:117 ff.) This great pig feast was held according to Heider every four to six years but according to Bromley every three years, and included all the members of a given confederacy. Only the leader of the confederacy had the right to call the feast and he did so by proclaiming a taboo upon any pig killing for a period of from 8 months up to a year before the feast. The great pig feast actually began with an opening feast known as the *wam edlo holin* ceremony after which the main events progressed for more than two weeks through the other ceremonies. In analyzing the nature of the Grand Valley pig feast Heider concludes that its primary focus was upon promoting the social solidarity and integration of the group. (1972:196)

Among the Western Dani, the great pig feast likewise ran in

four to six year cycles but functioned with an entirely different emphasis than the Grand Valley feasts. Our data on these feasts is not as complete as for the Grand Valley inasmuch as they were abandoned shortly after the arrival of the missionaries, but they apparently did not include the feature of boys' initiations and marriage ceremonies. The seemingly most outstanding feature of the great pig feasts was that it was primarily religious in nature, and included ceremonies in honor of the ancestral spirits. (O'Brien 1969:65; Ploeg 1969:119) The data here is not at all clear, but there seems to be an indication that the ancestors which were honored here were not the ghosts of the recent dead, and raises the question of whether the memorial features of the Grand Valley and Western Dani great pig feasts were identical or not.

There were of course political, economic and social implications to these feasts among the Western Dani. (Ploeg 1969:121; O'Brien 1969:56) How each of these elements combined together in the feasts and contributed to its fulfilling an integral function in the culture of the Western Dani is not clear. Ploeg's description of the great pig feasts in the Bokondini area as compared to the Grand Valley feasts indicates that the Western Dani feasts were of much less significance than the Grand Valley feasts. (Ploeg 1966:267) While all of this may be true, it seems reasonable to see in the Western Dani feasts a ritualized expression of the concerns of the society for peace with their ancestors, peace with their neighbors, and harmony in their villages.

WORLDVIEW

As we come to a discussion of Dani worldview we enter a realm of inquiry which is less precise and more subject to interpretation than anything we have discussed so far. Anthropologists themselves are still seeking to formulate a precise definition of what it is that constitutes a worldview or whether indeed some other more appropriate designation is required. The point of inquiry here is the concept that culture is "more than its functionally organized parts" and that behind observable patterns of behavior there are underlying values and goals which permeate and dominate the various aspects of the culture. (Luzbetak 1963:157)

The fact that these are underlying values and goals which for the most part are seldom if ever verbalized, makes them all the more difficult to isolate and to recognize. It is difficult enough for us to recognize them in our own culture let alone in that of another culture. In full recognition of these difficulties then, our description of Dani worldview will be at best only the simple beginning of an attempt on our part to look out upon the world as a Dani might have seen it. Our discussion will revolve around four primary components which go into formulating a worldview, namely: (1) the manner in which the Dani organized the universe, (2) the values and ethics to which they subscribed, (3) their conceptualization of the nature of reality, and (4) the meaning to human existence.

To begin with, we note again that the Dani were not philosophers and apparently did not sit around for long hours contemplating the nature of life. Pospisil's observation regarding the Ekagi people seems fully applicable to the Dani situation.

> "They (the Ekagi) are empiricists who are not inclined to speculate and philosophize. The topics that interest them do not concern the supernatural or metaphysics; indeed they usually talk about such unphilosophical subjects as contemporary power relations, concrete monetary trans-

actions, love affairs, or news concerning pig feasts and dancing." (1963:83)

As "asystematic" as their worldview may appear to be to us as Westerners with our Graeco-Roman heritage, there was an orderliness to the Dani universe. An orderliness which in keeping with the linguistic patterns of the Dani language saw the universe in terms of pairing. The following examples from Western Dani reflects this linguistic pattern of pairing.

1. *Yi awi* (this place) and *ndi awi* (that place) = *yi awi ndi awi* (everywhere)
2. *Yi mendek* (this thing) and *ndi mendek* (that thing) = *yi mendek ndi mendek* (everything)
3. *Ap* (men) and *kumi* (women) = *akkumi* (people) (Note: the "p" assimilates to a "k" in the union of the two words)
4. *Nambokan* (behind me) and *kambokan* (behind you) = *nambokan kambokan* (everyone gathered in confusion).
5. *Nage* (going) and *wage* (coming) = *nage wage* (wandering around)

This linguistic pairing is carried over into their social relationships in as much as there are: two moieties which live in an exogomous relationship to each other, federations which are a pairing of two clans, parishes which are a pairing of hamlets, and marriages or friendships which are conceiving as a pairing of persons. *Ore*, half of a pair becomes (*n*)*ore*, (my) wife or (my) friend. The universe was likewise paired with the sky being dominated by the sun (a female) and the moon (a male), and the world of the living consisting of men (*aap*) and "spirits" (*kugi*). And even their perceptions were seen in terms of pairing. Colors were either *muli* (dark) or *laambu* (light), quantities were either many or few, distances were either close or far, and so on and on our illustrations could go.

Inasmuch as this pairing was done in terms of contrastive qualities, in order to specify an exact conception the Dani had

to resort to comparisons with concrete or visible examples or experiences. The Dani therefore did not reason in the abstract but always in terms of known situations or demonstrable illustrations.

As we continue to explore Dani conceptualizations of the universe we note that there was a great deal of anthropomorphising of the inanimate and supernatural elements. The moon and the sun were seen as man and woman, the rainbow was referred to as menstrual blood, rain as urine, and earthquakes as the stirring of the pig upon which the whole earth as a sort of covered bowl rested. And when flooding hit the high plateau regions of Kwiyawogi, the Dani spoke of the earth closing up her womb so as to not receive the water.

The forests, their natural environment and the results of their gardening were such that the Dani could look out upon nature as being basically a beneficient aspect of reality. Given the application of some good "common sense" gardening knowledge and lots of hard work, and their gardens would produce enough food to keep from being hungry. In the forests there was wood for their fires and small game for their hunting pleasures. Only certain locations and the occasional pool were places where one had to be on guard because of their sacred nature.

They were furthermore a fairly healthy people when compared to other cultures which have lacked modern medicines. They were it is true subject to numerous skin diseases, yaws, tropical ulcers, malnutrition, and other body abnormalities and malfunctions. But, when compared to areas that were plagued by smallpox, venereal diseases, bubonic plague etc. they were healthy. The closest the Dani came to such widespread debilitations was in the Swart Valley and along the Yamo River where women contracted goiter and gave birth to cretin children.

In spite of this relatively hospitable environment life was not totally free from anxieties. Nature was indeed beneficient and

responsive to the activities of men, but one's fellowman were not so beneficient and agreeable. Nor was there anything in their environment to explain the unexpected incidences of life, such as a severe sickness, a sudden death, or a recent tragedy. Somewhere these activities had to have explanations and such explanations the Dani reasoned must be found in the relationships between men and the spirits, between the living and the dead. And so the great tension of Dani culture was that of trying to establish proper relationships. Relationships with one's friends and neighbors in order to reduce inter-personal tensions, and relationship with the unseen "spirits" in order to avert their wrath.

The world therefore was bound together by a set of interwoven moral obligations. It was not an unpredictable or whimsical universe, nor was it a pre-determined and fatalistic world. It was a world in which appropriate behavior had its reward. Some of the more obvious guiding principles or ethics which arose out of this conceptualization included:

1. The principle that human life had value. This was more than a value on life in return for the services that that individual could provide, for this value applied to all persons irrespective of their age or ability to produce. It was a value which was expressed in the transactions which accompanied those events in which human lives were in a state of transition or jeopardy.
2. The principle that individual well being was best accomplished when the well being of the group was being sought. Individualism within the Dani community was allowed but only within the parameters of the well being of the community in which he was associated. Individuality could be and was suppressed for the sake of the group. Therefore a girl could be forced to marry someone she didn't want, or a relative could be pressured into making a payment for a liti-

gation to which he was only remotely involved, because both transactions strengthened the group.

3. The principle that justice was determined by the amity, or over-all peace and well-being of the community. The severity of an offense was judged by how it affected the amity of the community, and the settlement of such a matter was tailored so as to restore that amity. The inevitable result of such an ethic was a double standard, not unlike that of the Old Testament Hebrews in which in-group ethics were stricter than out-group ethics. Morality was not seen as adherance to a set of abstracts, but in terms of consequences.
4. The principle that the group would stand in support of one or its members whenever there was a need for arbitration, protection, or a compensation payment.
5. The principle that punishment for wrong-doing should be with the intent of averting a reprisal (ie. punishing a sorceress or a case of incest in order to avoid a ghostly attack), or with the intent of satisfying the outrage of the victim and his kin.
6. The principle that deaths required vindication, usually that of another life, and that injuries or losses required compensation.
7. The principle that the living and the dead had a relationship in which the dead bore a responsibility to assist the living in their attempts for justice, prosperity, and protection.
8. The principle that the purpose of wealth was the total well being of the community. Therefore the truly rich man was not the possessor of a lot of wealth but rather the man who had shared his goods generously and prudently. Such a man was rewarded with prestige and of course the reciprocal obligations of the group.
9. The principle that friendships were made through reciprocating relationships which carried economic, political and social implications. These reciprocating relationships therefore became a

form of peace pact, an investment for the family in the future, an insurance policy against the unexpected and a program of community assistance.

10. The principle that the pig was the chief means by which social obligations and affluence could be achieved.
11. The principle that war was a moral obligation upon which the prosperity of the society depended. Regarding this last principle I quote the following from Peters who feels that at least for the Baliem Dani war was more than a settling of old debts, it was a way of life.

> "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." (1975:115-116)

We come at last then to the Dani concept of the meaning of life, and especially as this related to immortality. For the Dani, death was the end of life and there was no after life to which he could look. There was of course the continuation of his ghost as a disembodied entity, but while this was a form of existence it was not living. These ghosts simply were, they didn't experience a continuation of life with its joys and privileges.

Death therefore brought with it a sharp reminder of the temporal nature of life and to make this reminder all the more poignant, the Dani believed that death itself was an unfortunate intrusion into the affairs of men. According to an old legend which is told with only minor variation throughout the Dani tribe, immortality was lost in the early days of creation. According to this legend, all living

creatures climbed up onto the surface of the earth from a hole in the ground located in the Baliem Valley. When the snake emerged from that hole he brought with him the secret of immortality which was associated with the snake's ability to shed his skin every year. Unfortunately, in those early days the snake and the bird got into an argument or dispute of some sort which was related to the matter of death. The bird's advice was to "smear yourselves with mud" which advice the Dani took and as a result lost the true secret to immortality. The result has been, that ever since, men have died as mortal beings.

The impact of this story upon the Dani is seen all the more vividly when we realize that this bird theme continues to weave its way into the fabric of Dani culture. Warriors who went out to battle went decorated with bird feathers in their hair and arm bands, and men who were killed in battle were called "dead birds". During a victory dance, bird calls were heard as part of the singing and their body decorations and movements were bird like. And at a funeral mourners would smear themselves with mud in symbolic imitation of the birds who cheated them out of their immortality. (cf. Heider 1970: 146 ff.; Peters 1975:113-114; Sunda 1963:33) For the Dani death was not signified by a grim reaper, but by a tiny black bird with two white splotches on its wings. Among the Western Dani, children would delight to catch this little bird and slowly torture it to death for being so mean as to do what it had done to men.

On the occasion of a funeral, this sense of loss was brought to full expression by the dirges, the wailing, and the mutilations of their bodies which took place. Typically this involved the amputation of one of the fingers of a girl, or the slice out of a man's ear. In death the Dani had no answers to give, only grief to express and anger to direct toward whoever might be suspected of having caused the death.

As a way of life the Dani worldview was found to be inadequate in resolving all of their tensions and anxieties, and as we shall see in our following sections, among the Western Dani these anxieties were such as to push them to the very threshold of change which was tipped by the coming of the missionaries.

Chapter Seven

A Conclusion and Comparison

All through our study we have been pointing out the differences between the Grand Valley Dani and the Western Dani. To the casual observer these differences may seem to be so insignificant as to be hardly worth noting and yet the events of recent years have forced us to reconsider these differences. In response to their contact with the outside world the Western Dani have proved to be open and responsive to change. The Grand Valley Dani on the other hand have proved to be unresponsive or even resistant to change. And so we take care now to note these differences again from this perspective of response to change.

I would like to begin our considerations of these differences by stating what I believe to be the underlying cause of these differences. And then as we proceed in our consideration of some of the specific differences between these areas to demonstrate how they relate to my original proposal. My conclusions regarding the differences between these two areas arise out of the observation that the Western Dani, without exception trace their early origins back to the Baliem Valley. If we can believe their own stories regarding their origins, and we have no reason not to believe them, there has been a general migration of the Dani out of the Baliem in a generally westwards direction into the surrounding valleys west and northwest from the Grand

Valley. In a very real sense therefore the Western Dani were the "pioneers' of their tribe and herein is the clue to their differences. I believe the Western Dani reflects a "pioneering spirit" which was demonstrated by an attitude of restlessness, of openness to change, and a concern for survival. I believe that as we consider the evidence we shall see that the Western Dani saw themselves as innovators, whereas the Baliem Dani saw themselves as conservers of traditional Dani culture.

In respect to their openness to change we turn again to an inventory of Dani material culture and note that the Western Dani used a war vest which was typically used by the Moni and possibly other tribal peoples to the West of them. As an apparent innovation which resulted from a contact with another culture the war vest showed great utility in battle, but it did not gain acceptance in the Baliem Corn and peanuts were likewise introduced into the Western Dani areas from the West, and were already an aspect of Dani agriculture when the missionaries arrived. And again, the Western Dani, especially, those closest to the Dem, Damal and Moni areas, would greet one another with a finger snapping greeting which was practiced by the other western tribal groups. Apparently the Western Dani had also adapted to using a pipe for their tobacco which was still another innovation from the west which did not find acceptance among the Grand Valley Dani. (Heider 1975:55) Each one of these examples are instances of borrowings from other tribes which found general acceptance among the Western Dani and yet were rejected by the Grand Valley Dani.

A second observation which I would make is that the Western Dani displayed a marked tendancy for extrovert, even flamboyant displays of emotion whereas the Baliem Dani while engaging in similar displays did so with much less intensity and even conservatism.

Peters in commenting on the reserved nature of the Baliem Dani in contrast to the Western Dani notes that:

> "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." (1975:67)

Another significant difference in their display of emotions is evidenced in the handlings of feelings of aggression. On the basis of his comparative studies of the two groups utilizing experiments with various facial expressions, Heider concludes that the "Western Dani expresses aggression much more easily" than the Grand Valley Dani. (1975:64)

Further, in respect to their expressions of joy, the Western Dani seemed to be much more inclined to singing than were the Baliem Dani. On this point my data is somewhat scant and additional comparative studies need to be made, but the following statement by Heider stands in stark contrast to the Western Dani as I know them. In commenting on the work habits of the Baliem Dani he says: "rarely, even when in groups, do the Dani sing at work." (1970:163) The Western Dani on the other hand loved to sing on the way to work, and during their working hours. This was a characteristic they brought with them when they converted to Christianity and continue to practice even today.

A third observation which I would make is that the focus of ceremonial life between the two groups was different. We have already noted that the ceremonial cycle of the Dani ran in two streams. Those which related to life cycle ceremonies and those which related to life issue ceremonies. For the Grand Valley Dani the life cycle ceremonies were much more intense, and organized and prominent as the focus of the ceremonial cycle of life. For the Western Dani on the other hand these ceremonies were less developed even neglected but

the life issue ceremonies were much more developed. This was especially true with respect to the curing ceremonies and the divination and witch hunting rituals of the Western Dani. The significance of these different foci becomes evident when we realize that the intent of the life cycle ceremonies was directed more toward the society whereas the latter was directed more towards the individual. In the life cycle ceremonies the focus was upon the individual as a member of the group and the point of the ceremony was directed toward strengthening the social group. This emphasis in the Baliem ceremonial cycle has been noted by both Peters and Heider. (cf. Heider 1975:60) In the life issue ceremonies, individual well being was the focus, and the community was affected only secondarily as the individual was a member of the group. Heider proposes that these different foci are one of the significant factors in their response to change. He writes:

> "The greater the society intensifying behaviours and the stronger the society then the more resistant to change that society will be." (1975:61)

A fourth observation regarding culture differences between these two groups has to do with what might best be called culture stress. That is, the Western Dani seemed to display a significant lack of satisfaction with their culture. It is very possible that their contact with other tribal groups acted as a continuing stimulus to be open to alternative activities or patterns of behavior rather than resting in the security of an attitude which asserted that "ours is the only way". Furthermore there was in the estimate of Ploeg, a marked sense of incompleteness or even incorrectness regarding some of their ritual behavior. This uncertainty expressed itself in their openness and even active solicitation of new ritual knowledge. (Ploeg 1969:51-2)

In another place Ploeg indicates that the Western Dani were

dissatisfied with their culture because of its poor achievements. Their traditional "rites had failed to ensure healthy pigs and large crops" (Ploeg 1969:63), their attempts at justice had led to an unending chain of revenge and counter-revenge, and their ceremonial exchanges had induced big men and aspiring big men to press for payments of wealth which became onerous to other segments of the community. It is very possible that by the time the missionaries came into their lives the Western Dani at least were "fed up" with the competition of the big men which was exemplifying itself in outright greediness. As we shall see in the following sections their conversion to Christianity led to their rejection of all forms of traditional wealth and even included a movement in which the big men were no longer to be considered big men.

Another source of dissatisfaction in their traditional culture which was evident in certain areas, was the dissatisfaction over ill health. This was felt probably most keenly in the Mulia and Sinak regions where goiter afflicted a high proportion of the population. Dr. Gajdusek concluded that "about one-fourth of the males and two-thirds of the females are found to have goiter. In some hamlets the incidence reaches 100% among the adult females." (1962:362) The feeble mindedness, deaf-mutism, cretinism and the huge goiters themselves were highly distasteful to the Dani who had them and were scorned by those who didn't (especially if the scorners were far from the high endemic areas).

And finally, their dissatisfaction with their culture was expressed in the heightened sense of anxiety which the Western Dani felt toward the practice of women's sorcery (*mum* or *magagirak*). The Western Dani felt that all women could practice sorcery, and indeed believed that they commonly resorted to such practices. While some men were also practicioners they were few in number and therefore not a

threat. But the practice by the women was perceived to be out of control and witchhunts were common. In the Grand Valley on the other hand sorcery had not reached such epidemic proportions. It was a known practice in the valley but there was seemingly little concern, and "the women were not harassed, and the whole matter was treated lightly." (Heider 1975:62)

Dissatisfaction of course leads to either despondence and hopelessness or to hope and aspirations. The Western Dani at the time of the arrival of the missionaries were at a crossroads in their attitudes. There was a sense of rage and injustice at their loss of eternal life as recorded in their mythology and yet without yet succumbing to the seeming hopelessness of that reality they still hoped for a return of that which was lost.

The Western Dani, then, were characterized by a pioneering spirit which expressed itself in an openness to change, in more overt expressions of emotions, in their life styles, and in their dissatisfaction with their culture. They were open and ready for change which came with the arrival of the missionaries. The Baliem Dani on the other hand were satisfied with their culture, looked upon themselves as the conservers of what they had, and were satisfied with the status quo. This is an attitude which has persisted in spite of the many years of contact with both missionaries and government personnel. It is an attitude which has by now become part of their personal identities. It is also a reasonable anthropological reason why one area was open for the gospel and the other was resistant.

SECTION TWO

THE DANI CHURCH - ITS BIRTH AND RAPID GROWTH

Chapter Eight

The Discovery of the Dani by the Outside World

FIRST CONTACTS WITH THE OUTSIDE WORLD

The discovery of the Dani people and the subsequent contacts between them and the outside world did not begin until early in this century when a mountain climbing expedition led by a Dutch explorer, H.A. Lorentz first penetrated into the interior of what was then Dutch New Guinea. The intent of the Lorentz expedition was to reach the snow covered top of Mt. Wilhelmina which lies just inside the southern boundaries of the Dani speaking regions. Late in 1909 and early in 1910 while they were making their way into the interior several natives from the Dani tribe visited with the expedition spending up to two days in their base camp. On a subsequent occasion, a second contact with the Dani was made by another climbing party as they too sought to make it to the top of Mt. Wilhelmina by following along on the same trail pioneered by the Lorentz party.

Three other climbing expeditions made contact with the Dani during their attempts to reach the snow capped peaks of the mountains, but these expeditions approached the ranges from the north coast rather than the south, and this put them in contact with a different segment of the Dani tribe. In 1920 the Van Overeem expedition reached the Swart Valley, and a year later in 1921 the Kremer expedition con-

tacted the Western Dani both in the Swart Valley and the North Baliem regions as they headed for Mt. Wilhelmina.

The third party to approach from the North was a Netherlands American expedition led by M. W. Stirling, which, in 1926 followed the Rouffaer or Nogolo River into the interior where they met some Dani living among the Moni people just beyond the very western extremity of the Dani population. According to Karl Heider, this was the expedition which attached the Moni name, Ndani, to the people for the first time. (Heider 1970:303; Bromley 1973:3)

These five expeditions, during a seventeen year expanse of time all made contact with the Dani people, and brought back reports of their whereabouts, but what was the total impact of these discoveries? In answer, we note that none of the parties mentioned so far had any real sustained contact with the interior peoples, and none of them had any concept of the large population which they represented. Reports to the Dutch government were lodged, but these were not followed up, nor hardly could be inasmuch as the government was still caught up in the effects of Holland's half century "policy of abstinence" in New Guinea affairs.

The Dutch missions in the meantime were totally consumed with the task of evangelizing the coastal areas, where for more than fifty years they had been laboring with just over 100 converts to show as the fruit of their labor. In the end their persistence paid off, and beginning early in this century, during the same period that Dutch explorers were discovering the interior peoples, literally thousands of believers were flocking to the missions and joining the Church. (Rumainum 1966:9-20) In opening up new posts all along the coast, the missionaries had all they could do to follow up this "people movement" in their own vicinity, without having to go looking for new fields of harvest in the almost inaccesable interior.

For the Dani, in the meantime, these fleeting contacts with the outside world were not such as would introduce significant changes in their world view or their culture, but there was one rather important result of these contacts. It appears that the coming of the white man to the Swart Valley prompted, or at least stimulated, a legend that some day the white man would come to stay and bring with him very important words for the Dani people. This was a legend which the missionaries when they did come were to meet to their advantage.

For the next several years no further contacts were made with the Dani, and it was not until June, 1938 when Richard Archbold flew over the Baliem River during his flight around the world in a Catalina Flying Boat. Archbold, in planning his trip around the world had purposed to examine the northern slopes of the Nassau Mountains, and to assist him in this task he had brought a number of scientists to study the plant and animal life of the region. (Archbold 1941:315)

Archbold chose Lake Habbema as his base of operations and throughout the month of July supplies were flown into the area and a camp was established. On July 31, as the men were celebrating the successful establishment of their base they were visited by two Dani who had come up from the Grand Valley, which was the name Richard Archbold had given to the Baliem. (Souter 1964:200) There was no population right in the Lake Habbema area chiefly because the lake is at an altitude of 11,342 feet which is far too cold for living and farming purposes, but it does lie close to the trade route which runs between the Baliem and the Western Dani areas. These two men who came up to visit with the Archbold expedition seemed to show no fear of the white men, and interestingly enough, one of them carried a steel axe in his net bag, which probably was a gift from one of the Mt. Wilhelmina climbing expeditions.

Before they left Dutch New Guinea, after almost a year of exploring and discovery, the Archbold expedition moved its base camp into the populated area of the Grand Valley, and used the Baliem River as the landing site for the Catalina.

The reports and findings of the Archbold expeditions were published in a popular format as an article in the National Geographic Magazine entitled "Unknown New Guinea". (March 1941) In that article Archbold describes his coming into contact with a population of 60,000 people who had never before been seen by a white man. (Archbold 1941:315)

This article was to become most significant for the Dani, for as a result of this publication, the outside world, and more importantly, the Christian church was made aware of the fact that a large population existed in the Baliem, and these without a knowledge of Jesus Christ. The war years closed down any opportunity for the immediate follow up of Archbold's finding, but seemingly, as if to ensure that the valley would not be forgotten, still another highly popularized encounter was made with the Dani of the Baliem. War correspondents flying over the Baliem in 1944 wrote stories home about New Guinea's "Shangri-la", and it became a popular pastime for service personnel to fly over the valley at low altitudes in order to see the natives, and also to qualify as a member of the "Shangri-la Society". (Souter 1964:195)

Then, one day, came the inevitable, and one of the "Shangri-la Specials" crashed into the valley wall killing all on board with the exception of one WAC and two servicemen. The massive rescue operations which was undertaken on their behalf became news, and was reported in the December 1945 issue of the National Geographic with full page pictures of the Dani and their homeland.

By this time the world was fully aware of the existence of the

Dani people, but it was not possible for the opposite to be said, for few of the Dani still knew about the outside world. For most of the Dani, the airplanes were only some strange manifestation of the spirit world, and when they approached, women went into hiding, and the men, if they were brave, might even try a pot shot with a bow at one of the planes if they could. The rescue operation indeed had brought the two worlds together but knowledge of this event did not spread far. Bromley relates that the incident seems not to have been known even 30 miles across the Baliem by other Dani who, though they lived in the same valley were members of an enemy confederation and blocked from communication channels. (Bromley 1973:10)

The outside world had again failed to make much of an impression upon the Dani, but not entirely. The rescue attempts in the Baliem did have one significant result in that at least one fight leader concluded that his victory in battle had been the result of his contact with the white man, and this equation of white men with fighting power or *mana* helped to open the door for a ready acceptance of the first missionaries who would later take up residence along the Baliem.

THE ARRIVAL OF THE MISSIONARIES

Our story jumps at this point from the record of parties of explorers and adventurers who fleetingly came into the lives of the Dani and then departed, and we turn instead to the determined attempt of the Christian Church to reach the Dani tribe with the message of the Gospel. Two missions were at the forefront of this attempt to reach the Dani and these were the Christian and Missionary Alliance (C.& M.A.); and what is now called the Asia Pacific Christian Mission (A.P.C.M.)[1]

[1] In 1931 the Unevangelized Fields Mission came into being as the result of the reorganization of a number of veteran missionaries

Early in 1938, Robert Jaffray of the C. & M. A. travelled from Makassar where he was serving, to Dutch New Guinea in order to talk with Dutch officials regarding the possibility of opening up a mission work among the Ekagi[2] people of the Wissel Lakes region. In 1939 Russel Deibler and Walter Post arrived at Enaratali with the intention of establishing a permanent mission post in the interior, and as they came to know the Ekagi language and people they heard more and more from the Ekagi traders who travelled through the interior of the existence of still other tribes including the Moni, Ndani, and Damal[2] (Hitt 1962:44) In the years following World War II, missionaries of

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who were then serving in Africa and South America. This newly organized group went on to establish three branch offices with three distinct governing boards in Australia, England, and the U.S.A. The primary focus of the work of the Australian Unevangelized Fields Mission was to engage in the evangelization of the Island of New Guinea. In later years as their vision increased for other areas in Asian and Pacific regions they changed their name, in 1971, to the Asia Pacific Christian Mission. In this paper this mission will be noted by their new name, but the reader will be conscious throughout this study of the close affinity which continues to exist between the work of the A.P.C.M. and the U.F.M. which is the work of the North American board which joined hands with the Australian personnel in 1957 in New Guinea.

2 For many years a number of the interior peoples were known by names other than those which they chose for themselves. We have already noted how this was true for the Dani tribe (see Chapter One). For the inhabitants of the Wissel Lakes region the name ascribed to them by early explorers, and passed on to us in the literature and anthropological journals of our day, is the term Kapauku. In recent years these people have rejected this name for themselves and prefer to be known as the Ekagi people. This preferred term will therefore be used throughout this paper.

A similar problem occurs with the term used to designate the Damal people in the Ilaga and Beoga areas, who have been traditionally known as the Uhunduni people. Their new designation, Damal, will therefore be used in this paper.

the C. & M. A. would follow these same trade routes across the length of New Guinea travelling from the west to the east in their attempt to reach the Dani people of the Baliem.

In the meantime missionaries of the A.P.C.M. who had been plying up and down the Fly River just across the Dutch border in what is now known as Papua New Guinea, expressed their concern for the evangelization of the tribal people who, while living across the border in Dutch New Guinea bore striking similarities to the tribal people with whom they already worked. (Horne 1973:20)

The vision of both of these missions was to be temporarily shelved by the interruption of the events of World War II which closed all missionary work on the island for a time, but the interruption did not lead to a cooling off of this vision but rather to an even greater expression of it.

The publication of the two National Geographic articles on the Dani of the Baliem Valley can be traced as having a direct effect upon a number of the men who would ultimately come to New Guinea to serve as missionaries, or who would stand in the administrative role of seeing that such a vision was realized. This was to be true, not just for the two missions already mentioned, but for other missions as well, such as Mission Aviation Fellowship, (M.A.F.), Regions Beyond Missionary Union (R.B.M.U.) and The Evangelical Alliance Mission (T.E.A.M.)

With the cessation of hostilities, missionaries returned to their posts and the advance into the interior was resumed. By 1949 C. & M. A. had re-opened all of their stations in Dutch New Guinea including Homeyo which was their deepest penetration into the interior. In the fall of 1950, Einer Mickelson finally made contact with the Western Dani in a trek from Homeyo to the Ilaga Valley. His reception by the Dani was filled with ominous implications which prompted him to turn back to Homeyo instead of proceeding on. (Mickelson 1966:200-201

In the following year (1951) Troutman and Rose along with Franz Titaheluw, an Indonesian Christian, made a second trek into the Ilaga Valley were they spent several days looking for a possible airstrip site. They could not secure carriers or guides to go with them any further and once again were forced to return to their homes. (Hitt 1962:70)

Later that same year Jerry Rose and Franz Titaheluw, this time in company with two Dutch officials, set out on a 67 day trek which took them past the Ilaga, across the Upper Plateau regions of the west Baliem, past Lake Habbema where Richard Archbold had made camp some thirteen years earlier and finally to the very ridges which led down into Ibele and the Baliem Valley. The Dutch government had requested that the party not enter the Baliem and so they were forced to return back to their homes from this point. But, the expedition had been able to determine population concentrations along the way and more importantly, they were convinced that the only successful penetration of the interior would be made with the aid of an airplane rather than through the long and dangerous overland expeditions which had been attempted so far. (Hitt 1962:72 ff.)

The A.P.C.M. in the meantime had re-established itself in their former bases in Papua New Guinea, and were in communication with responsible parties in Dutch New Guinea regarding the possibilities of entering that land for the purpose of missionary work. In June, 1949 their contacts with officials in Dutch New Guinea were rewarded by a letter of invitation from the Dutch missions to enter the unevangelized areas of Dutch New Guinea, including such areas as the Baliem and Swart Valleys. This letter of invitation was followed up by the arrival in 1950 of Fred Dawson, and Robert Storey in what was then known as Hollandia, the capital of Dutch New Guinea.

Dutch officials were pessimistic about mission work in the heavily populated but uncontrolled interior sections. In addition to its

dangers they pointed out that there was no way to get into the interior and so the missionaries would be forced to find their own way to the Dani. Choosing to work their way into the interior by approaching it from the north coast (in distinction from the C. & M. A. thrust from the west) Dawson and those who were to follow him soon worked their way southward to establish a post at Sengge, some 50 miles into the interior, but still a long way from the mountains and the Dani people. (Horne 1973:21-24)

The disappointments and experiences of the thrust into Sengge only further impressed the A.P.C.M. missionaries of the need for air support for any further advance into the interior. A.P.C.M. was already working with Mission Aviation Fellowship (M.A.F.) in their work in Papua New Guinea and this contact led to an invitation in 1952 to Grady Parrott to visit with Fred Dawson at Sentani to discuss M.A.F. involvement in the work in Dutch New Guinea. By this time, Jerry Rose from C. & M. A. had moved his base of operation to Sentani in the anticipation of the launching of their own air service for the interior. Also present during Parrott's visit was another missionary, Walter Erikson from T.E.A.M. who was seeking a way into the Baliem to open up a new ministry for his mission.

Chartering a small Norseman airplane these men undertook a survey of the Baliem Valley. When Grady Parrott later departed from Sentani it was with his assurances that he would do all he could to see that M.A.F. had a part in the work of God in New Guinea. (Horne 1973:25-28) The availability of M.A.F. services, beginning as it did in 1955, turned the vision of these men into a real possibility.

A few months later Walter Erikson in company with Ed Tritt, having given up their original intention of ministering among the Dani, were killed during a survey trip into the interior region of the Bird's Head of New Guinea. The total effect of this martyrdom is a whole story in itself, but one of its results was in challenging the

students of the Columbia Bible College to raise funds which would enable M.A.F. to provide an aircraft for missionary work in Dutch New Guinea. This airplane, a Piper-Pacer, was named the "Pathfinder" and arrived at Sentani in 1955 ready to take up its place in the advance into the interior which by this time had already been begun in earnest, following the arrival of the C. & M. A. twin-engined amphibian and its pilot Al Lewis. (Horne 1973:28-29)

Culminating their years of praying and their months of planning, on April 20, 1954, the C. & M. A. landed their first missionaries for the Baliem Valley on the banks of that great river. Included in that party were Lloyd Van Stone, Einar Mickelson, and Elisa and Ruth Gobai, who were Ekagi Christians from the Wissel Lakes region. On the following day Myron Bromley and two National Christians joined the first arrivals and thereby completed the total party. (Hitt 1962:13-19) This time the outside world had come to stay, and not for reasons of personal fame or fortune, but with the sole purpose of having the privilege of sharing the message of Christ.

Several months later in anticipation of the early arrival of the M.A.F. aircraft which would be able to maintain their supply line, the first A.P.C.M. missionaries were flown to the Baliem on board the C. & M. A. Sealander on January 22, 1955, and from there trekked across the ranges to the northern slopes of the Nassau Ranges where eventually they were to open up a land based airstrip at Bokondini which was to become the jumping off point for still other areas. (Horne 1973:30 ff.)

By this time interest in the Dani people had sparked the attention of a number of mission agencies which were focusing either directly on the Baliem Valley or the Dani people in general, and some very human feelings of competitiveness were being felt by the missionaries and their societies. (Hitt 1962:72) Among these other societies with an interest in the Dani people were A.P.C.M. as we have

already noted; the Unevangelized Fields Mission (U.F.M.) which was their North American counterpart; the Australian Baptist Missionary Society (A.B.M.S.); and the Regions Beyond Missionary Union (R.B.M.U.)

Indeed, the leaders of R.B.M.U. had been working on negotiations with the Dutch government for permission to work in Dutch New Guinea since 1949. After years of delay, they too finally received their permission to begin missionary work, and their first missionaries arrived in Sentani in 1953, where they began to establish a base camp in the anticipation of moving on into the interior as soon as it was feasible. Within three years of the initial landing on the Baliem every one of these societies would have personnel on location among the Dani, and quite obviously some guidelines and strategies had to be worked out among them.

The negotiations which took place between these societies was at times very strained and sometimes in doubt, but ultimately led to a system of comity agreements in which it was understood that missions with available personnel would be able to open up unevangelized areas so long as it did not compromise the geographic or cultural integrity of existing stations.

The ultimate results of the comity agreements between the missions was the partitioning of the Dani region in such a manner that the A.B.M.S. established themselves in the upper regions of the North Baliem; A.P.C.M. along the northern slopes of the Hablifloerie River system; R.B.M.U. settled into the Swart Valley area; and the U.F.M. in the upper regions of the Rouffaer or Nogolo Region. C. & M. A., in turn, occupied the central and south Baliem Valley area, the Ilaga Valley, and the Sinak Valley.

Within six years then of the first landing on the Baliem virtually all of the Dani people were in contact with resident missionaries from one of these several missions. Some twenty permanent stations had been opened during this period (as shown in the chart) and these

did not include some outstations or later witness points. (Hitt 1962:152,124; Horne 1973:30, 58, 80; Sunda 1963:6-7)

	C.& M.A.	A.P.C.M.	U.F.M.	R.B.M.U.	A.B.M.S.
1954	* Hetigima				
1955		Lake Archbold			
1956	Ilaga Pyramid	Bokondini			Tiom
1957	* Tulem * Seinma	Wolo		Karubaga	Maki
1958	* Pugima * Ibele		Mulia		Jukwa
1959	Sinak	Kelila			
1960	* Sinatma		Ilu	Kanggime	
1961				Mamit	

Stations marked by * represent the Baliem Dani area in contrast to the Western Dani areas.

Chapter Nine

The Response of the Dani to the Outside World

We turn at this point in our consideration of the conversion of the Dani people, from a recital of the activity of the missionaries, to the matter of the response of the Dani to these outsiders and to their message. Initial contacts with explorers and missionaries varied from outright hostility to open friendship. On at least four occasions C. & M. A. missionaries were attacked by the Dani, but in none of these instances were there fatalities. (Bromley 1957:15) The nature of the reception given to the missionaries seemed to be entirely dependent upon the particular group or its leader who met up with the incoming party.

Out of these contacts, certain adjectives began to dominate the Westerner's expectations regarding the Dani character. Russell Hitt speaking about the reputation of the Baliem Dani speaks of their being "hostile, arrogant, and tricky". (1962:19) In another place he notes how the proud, warlike Dani ranked themselves at the top of the tribal scale in comparison with their neighbors. (1962:163) "Bold and aggressive" were two more words that often cropped up when referring to the Dani, (Horne 1973:41) as did the word "curious". (Hitt 1962:23) While there were differing degrees of truth in each of these words it would be unfair to the Dani to characterize them by these terms alone. What was evident from these various contacts was

the realization that the Dani were a people who were not intimidated by their neighbors, nor by the outside world and their attitudes toward the missionary was conditioned chiefly by the perceived benefit that they thought could be gained with their association with the white man.

One generalization which we can make regarding Dani character traits has to do with the difference which we noted earlier, that seems to manifest itself between the character of the Baliem Dani and the Western Dani. The difference which we noted was in the pioneer spirit which characterized the Western Dani and which made them more open and receptive to change and innovation than the Baliem Dani. It is not surprising therefore that the first significant response to the Gospel was to come from the Western Dani.

THE BIRTH OF A MOVEMENT

While most of the missionaries were settling into their newly opened posts and desperately struggling to learn the Dani language some important developments were taking place in the Ilaga Valley in the work among the Damal people who shared their occupancy of the valley with a large segment of the Dani tribe.

In September of 1956, Don Gibbons and Gordon Larson arrived in the Ilaga with the intention that Gibbons would minister among the Damal population and that Gordon Larson would minister to the Dani. Their first seven months in the Ilaga was spent primarily in constructing an airstrip with was completed by February 1957. (Hitt 1962:152-156; Sunda 1963:15)

During those early days before the missionaries knew how to communicate much more than simple expressions in the Damal language, preaching services were conducted through an interpreter which in this case was the son of a local Damal leader who had recently returned from a Roman Catholic school where he had learned to speak Indonesian.

(Hitt 1962:165) While this approach to communicating the Gospel is not the most commendable nor effective approach, yet it bore fruit among the Damal inasmuch as it communicated a knowledge which was already a matter of interest and focus for them.

The Damal, like all of the rest of this world's people had developed around themselves a culture which, with its technology, structure, and world view reflected their own peculiar attempt to answer life's basic questions. But, in common with the other cultures of the world some of those questions defied satisfactory answers and for the Damal there was a deeply felt dissatisfaction with their culture, not unlike that which we have noted existed among the Western Dani. The Damal reaction to this dissatisfaction became a focus upon a millenarian existence which they desired above all else. The term by which they referred to this particular expectation was *hai* and it dominated their mythology, and the attention of some of their most respected leaders. (Sunda 1963:19-20; Hitt 1962:163-166)

John Ellenberger, who joined Gibbons and Larson in the Ilaga, in October 1957, in looking into this matter of the Damal expectation for *hai* has catalogued ten small messianic movements which flowered and then died in disillusionment. (Ellenberger 1973:161) It seems that no matter what they tired, nor where they looked, the *hai* they longed for proved to be illusive and the common denominator to all of their attempts was their ultimate failure. Then, came the inevitable encounter when Christianity with its particular worldview met up with the Damal expectation for *hai*.

The first encounter between these two worldviews came from a Roman Catholic source, who though we have not mentioned them up to this point were also very interested in reaching the interior people. In 1938, during the same period that the first Protestant missionaries were launching their initial thrust, Father Tillemans trekked into

the Wissel Lakes area where he spent a month, (Berg 1974:690) and in 1952 shortly after the successful completion of a C. & M. A. trip to the rim of the Baliem Valley, Father Kammerer set out for the Baliem, and on the way encountered some hostility in the Ilaga Valley which required him to return to the Wissel Lakes. (Berg 1974:699) On a second attempt in 1954 to reach the Baliem, Father Kammerer approached the interior mountains from the south coast where he asked Moses Kelangin, who was a member of the Damal tribe, to accompany him into the interior. (Berg 1974:699)

The story of Moses Kelangin becomes very interesting to us because of subsequent events. It appears that Moses lived on the southern slopes of the mountain ranges, and had come into contact with the Roman Catholic church during a journey to the coast with a trading party. Choosing to stay at the coast rather than return to the interior, he offered himself and his labor to a local school teacher in the Roman Catholic school in return for his patronage. Moses graduated from the Teacher Training School in 1953, and as the first member of the Damal tribe to graduate from this school was assigned by Father Kammerer to return to Tsingga, his home, where he had grown up, in order to establish a school there. (Eechoud 1955:198-202)

Father Kammerer's trip with Moses Kelangin took them through the Ilaga and Belogong areas and brought Moses into contact with large numbers of his fellow Damal tribesmen. As far as we can tell he certainly must have been very impressed, for following the tour with Father Kammerer, Moses Kelangin began a preaching ministry on his own which spread like wildfire among the Damal people in which he encouraged them to burn their fetishes and to prepare for the coming of *hai*. These burnings took place during the year 1955, but instead of bringing *hai* or even an opportunity to be baptized into the

Catholic church it brought a severe reprimand to Moses for acting without authority and for trying to start his own prophetic movement. While many of the Damal tribes people on the southern slopes were ultimately incorporated into the Catholic church during this time, those of the Ilaga and Beoga valleys were left still unfulfilled.

The C. & M. A. missionaries to the Ilaga, arriving as they did in 1956, really stepped into a heavily primed atmosphere and did not have long to wait before they began to experience dramatic results. In spite of their long (seven-month) pre-occupation with the construction of the airstrip, and their formidable battle to learn the Damal and Dani languages, within nine months of their arrival in the valley the first fetish burnings were taking place.

The determining impulse for the fetish burning among the Damal was the arrival in the Ilaga of a trading party from the Wissel Lake's region, led by Widiabi, a Christian from the Ekagi tribe. Through the use of bi-lingual speakers (including the missionary) Widiabi gave his testimony and encouraged the Damal to follow their (i.e. the Ekagi) example by following Christ. For several weeks during the months of April and May the Damal conferred over the implications of burning their fetishes culminating in their doing so on May 26, 1957. (Hitt 1962:167-172)

The missionary in the midst of this situation, Don Gibbons, was in the critical and influential position of being capable of either stifling this development or encouraging it, and his attitude became an important catalyst in the ensuing chain of events. Gibbons himself states that prior to his arrival in the Ilaga he had determined to win adult men to Christ, and during his early attempts to share his witness to them he purposely left the crowds of youngsters who crowded around him, choosing instead to communicate with the older men. (Sunda 1963:20-21) Furthermore, Don Gibbons had read a small

book which had influence his thinking tremendously which was called, Bridges of God. This book by Donald McGavran had introduced him to the concept of people movements to Christ, and his interest in this kind of approach to a people had been further enforced through a correspondence which he carried on with Dr. McGavran. (Sunda 1963: 17) The other missionaries in the Ilaga, Gordon Larson and shortly thereafter John Ellenberger, were both of them anthropologically sensitive missionaries. They also were in agreement with the basic principle of a people movement and therefore gave it their own encouragement and direction as well.

The total "spiritual mosaic" as Russel Hitt refers to it (Hitt 1962:168) that went into that first fetish burning in the Ilaga included all of the influences of the Damal worldview and aspirations for *nat*; the entire historical dimension which accented and heightened this longing; and finally the timely arrival of a band of missionaries, uniquely prepared to accept and to encourage and to direct the movement as a movement toward Christ.

During the months that followed that first fetish burning, additional burnings took place in which still other groups of Damal burned their amulets and fetishes until the movement had spread throughout the entire Damal populace of the Ilaga Valley. As we have noted earlier though the population of the Ilaga was predominantly Dani, and the message of the missionaries and the response of the Damal had not gone unnoticed by the more numerous and aggressive Dani.

As a matter of fact there was a natural link between the Damal and Dani tribes. It appears that Den, a respected Damal leader and Opalalok, a leader of no small reputation among the Dani were related by marriage. These men along with Nokogi, another Dani leader would pull Larson aside, even during the early days while working on the construction of the airstrip to question him regarding the various

details of the Gospel message. (Hitt 1962:174)

The Dani had been deeply impressed by the fetish burnings of the Damal, and they were interested in its implications, but they held off from making their own commitment, seemingly because of their desire to first of all extend their negotiations to other clansmen in the North Baliem region. (Hitt 1962:175) The ties which ran between the North Baliem and the Ilaga were deep, and included kinship ties, trading relationships and political alliances. Inasmuch as the Ilaga was an important link, and possibly even the center on the trade route through the interior, the Dani felt the need for discretion in making their decision.

In keeping with the "decision by consensus" making patterns of the Dani people discussions and negotiations went on for a whole year. The time factor here was probably determined by the fact that Larson was on furlough during that period. Shortly after the Larson's return in 1958 Opalalok is reported by Russel Hitt as announcing '"I have decided to hold a burning. If you men want to hang back, I am going to do it anyway.'" (Hitt 1962:176) While we don't want to minimize the importance of this man's choice, his decision to act was fully in keeping with the Dani practice of initiating an event for which a leader has already determined he has the reasonable support of the populace. In December 1958, the first burnings took place among the Dani in Opalalok's village and within a year had spread to twenty-five settlements, and by early 1960 included most of the inhabitants of the Ilaga Valley. (Hitt 1962:176)

The Movement Expands

Travel in and out of the Ilaga Valley in the year 1959, and during the expansion of the fetish burning ceremonies throughout the entire Ilaga, inevitably resulted in the dissemination of the knowledge of these events and their meaning to other Western Dani areas.

As we shall discuss in more detail in a later section, the missionary message of eternal life became inseparably fused with the Dani concept of *nabelan-kabelan* or immortality which bore many of the familiar characteristics of the Damal concept of *hai*. The main features of the Dani concept of immortality were drawn from an old myth regarding creation. This is the story of the bird and the snake which we related earlier.

The message then which went out from the Ilaga by the various traders and travellers was that the Ilaga Dani were burning their fetishes in return for immortality. For some of the talebearers, the message was even more elaborate and included tales of wealth and riches falling from heaven which gave to these activities the ring of a full-fledged cargo cult kind of movement.

Some men went so far as to appoint themselves as "prophets" of the new movement and purposely went about preaching its "gospel". One such man is written about in great length by Russel Hitt who develops a whole chapter around the prophet Jabonep. (Hitt 1962:216-223) Shirley Horne also writes of the influence of these early prophets as she tells of the visit of a fellow by the name of Watnibo who came to Bokondini, and with great oratorical skill held the crowd there spellbound as he related the new taboos and requirements for procuring the new promised immortality. In return he was rewarded with a small fortune in wealth and a new wife by the grateful Dani. (Horne 1973:123-125)

In spite of the distortions, outright errors, and mixture of Biblical truths with error, the outstanding significance of these men was their ability to hold the interest of large crowds. Whereas the missionaries were only able to draw small crowds, and these at times indifferent or openly hostile to their message, these preachers faced no such resistance. While the message was admittedly distorted,

it did purportedly come from the white man, and at least had the effect of stimulating the Dani to want to listen with renewed attention to the message of the missionary.

As the year wore on it became obvious to the various missionaries among the Western Dani that inasmuch as the supposedly "true word" regarding immortality had originated in the Ilaga, only the Ilaga missionaries and the Dani there could set the record straight. The result was an invitation to Gordon Larson and a party of Dani Christians from the Ilaga to visit the various stations on a tour of teaching and preaching. (Horne 1973:125-128; Hitt 1962:222-223; Sunda 1963:25)

On January 22, 1960 Gordon Larson and a large party of people set out from the Ilaga on a tour which would last 46 days and which took them through the entire Western Dani region of the North Baliem, as far as Pyramid station and across the slopes to Bokondini, Kelila, and Karubaga. Visiting first in the Dani communities along the North Baliem where the Australian Baptists had stations at Tiom and Maki, the party sought to correct error which had previously been taught, and to encourage a true response to the Gospel. Several thousand Dani at these two stations listened to the testimonies and responded by their declaration of wanting to conduct their own fetish burning. The Baptist missionaries on the other hand were not prepared at this point to support a massive fetish burning, feeling that an additional period of instruction was needed. The final result was a form of compromise in which some Dani tied their fetishes up in bags in anticipation of a later burning, while some proceeded with a burning in spite of the missionaries' opposition. Eventually all of them would destroy their spirit paraphernalia and fetishes. (Hitt 1962:227-228; Sunda 1963:26-27)

The party proceeded on to Pyramid where the missionaries anxious-

ly awaited them along with several area leaders who had already planned to go ahead with a fetish burning when the party arrived. Sensing the determination of the Dani to proceed with the burnings the missionaries sought to explain its full significance to them one more time, and on Sunday, February 14, 1960 over 5,000 Dani participated in the fetish burning, with an additional 3,000 Dani participating on the next day. (Hitt 1962:228-230; Sunda 1963:27)

From Pyramid the party visited Ibele where they met their first resistance from the Dani to the message which they brought. (Hitt 1962:230-31; Sunda 1963:31) While there appeared to be some interest in their message in the Ibele region, the Dani who lived there were not really Western Dani, but would be more closely allied with those whom we know as the Baliem Dani. This rebuff by the Baliem Dani at Ibele caused the Ilaga party to turn their attention instead to the other Western Dani regions and they moved on to the Kelila and Bokondini areas where the A.P.C.M. missionaries were working.

For two days the Dani, the party from Ilaga, and the missionaries discussed the implications of the fetish burning for the Mbogo area and concluded the discussions with a burning first at Kelila and then at Bokondini. These burnings became a virtual repeat performance of the Pyramid experience. (Horne 1973:127-129) From Bokondini the party crossed the pass into the Swart Valley where they met with the R.B.M.U. missionaries and the Dani of that region. Repeating the same procedure as before, of teaching, correcting, and preparation for the fetish burning, on March 1, 1960 the Karubaga area witnessed their first burnings. (Kline 1972:1)

Returning home from the Karubaga burnings brought an end to this particular journey, but it did not bring an end to the fetish burnings These continued long after the trip ended, generally as an extension or an intensification, within the geographical regions where the

larger fetish burnings had already taken place. There were some new areas though which were to later follow the pattern of the earliest burnings. One of these was the Yamo or Nogolo region where the U.F.M. has two stations at Ilu and Mulia; the Sinak Valley, which is a C. & M. A. station adjacent to the Mulia area; and close to the Baliem, there were burnings at Kulukwi, also a C. &. M. A. station, and in the Wolo and Ilugwa valleys which are A.P.C.M. stations.

In the case of these latter areas, the delay in the burnings seems to be most probably due to the fact that they are in close proximity to non-sympathetic villages associated with the Baliem Dani. The converts in all three of the areas, Ilugwa, Wolo, and Kulukwi faced opposition and even martyrdom as they burned their fetishes and sought to follow the Lord. (Hitt 1962:234-246; Horne 1973:164-172)

In the upper Nogolo region, including the Sinak, Mulia, and Ilu areas, the delay seems to have been more complex and varied. The U.F.M. missionaries were definitely opposed to what they considered the premature decision to burn. The Dani on the other hand, did not press for a burning as had the North Baliem Dani, but seemed to accept the decision of the mission, and indeed may have done so because of an existing and unresolved hostility between warring factions in the area. For eight months before the actual date of their burning, hostility continued to break out in the area with some extensive killing and shifts in population among the downriver Dani. By the time of the Mulia fetish burning on February 5, 1961, both Dani and missionaries finally seemed ready to face the event which was by now an established pattern among the Dani people.

We conclude this section on the spread of the fetish burning throughout the Dani region by turning our attention to a consideration of the details which accompanied the actual fetish burning ceremonies. While there were differences from area to area in the actual proceed-

ings, there were enough similarities for us to formulate the following composite description.

To begin with, the decision to burn the fetishes was a decision which was made over a considerable period of time and involved long discussions late into the night by the leading men of virtually every men's house or village among the Dani. The decision to proceed with the burnings did not necessarily signify the unanimous agreement of every individual, nor of the agreement of every village, but rather signified the determination of the important leaders to proceed with what they and their followers believed to be a right choice. Their determination being supported by the realization that they had the reasonable support of a significant number of friends and supporters, and that by stepping out with positive and aggressive eadership they would be able to draw behind themselves still other more reticent villages to follow.

A second observation which we might make on the pattern of the burnings was that the discussions, negotiations and decision making process which led up to the burnings were done in the traditional decision by consensus patterns of the Dani and that the role of the missionary was that of an outside advocate who in many cases was not even in support of this particular action. In spite of the missionaries' objections, or admonitions to caution the Dani continued to proceed with their burnings having chosen this action as the vehicle for expressing their choices. (Sunda 1963:26-27; Horne 1973:128-129)

In respect to the fetishes which were burned, these generally included those objects which were believed to possess special power or *mana* for a specific purpose such as subduing sickness, gaining wealth, sexual attraction etc. Other objects were those which were associated with the sorcery and black magic of the women who could take out their revenge on their or their husband's enemies. And then

there were those items associated with fighting power and control or appeasement of the ancestral spirits. (Larson 1959:12) In addition to these fetishes were all those items which some areas included in their burnings which had to do with "the old way of life". (Horne 1973:123 ff.) In a letter to the home office Ralph Maynard enumerates the kinds of items which were burned by listing the following:

> ...innumerable bows, arrows, spears, stone and bone knives, shells, beautiful fur headdresses, pig tails, nose bones, bits of string, all sorts and sizes of feathers, large and small bridal stones, pieces of cane, armbands, "feather dusters" (large feather affairs used for waving about to chase away evil spirits), necklaces, rare ornamental shell plus a host of wrapped items which we didn't see. (1961:1-2)

Most of the items burned were fetishes which the Dani claimed as their own personal reservoir of power, and many of them were surrounded by secrecy. The combined power of these fetishes in one village or alliance, of course added to the total power reserve of the community, and therefore acted for the benefit of everyone in spite of their personal ownership.

When it came time for the actual burnings, the Dani prepared a pyre of firewood and brushes and then gathering on the site, listened again to a message regarding the significance of what they were about to do. At the close of the message, each participating group (either a men's house, a village or an area) led by its leaders would surge up to the pyre which was still unlit, and throw their objects on the wood. Frequently the objects themselves would be brought to the pyre stuck into the fork of a split stick in the traditional manner in which spiritually related objects were designated either to the spirits or to the ancestors. (Maynard 1961:1-2; Horne 1973:130; Sunda 1963:28)

Many of the fetishes which were brought to the pyre were ritually desecrated by calling out their nature or function in public and

thereby nullifying their requirements for secrecy, or by denouncing them in front of everyone, or by spitting upon them.

When everything that was to be burned seemed to be on the pile and when no more people were coming forward then came the climax of setting fire to the brushes which would act as the kindling to all the rest. Due to the highly personal nature of most of the fetishes the decision as to who should set fire to the pyre was often in doubt. At the Pyramid Station burning it was the missionary who set it a-blaze after the Dani insisted that he was the one to do it. (Hitt 1962:230) At Mulia it was done jointly, by way of compromise, as we read in the following description. Ralph Maynard who is writing says:

> I told the chiefs to go ahead and light the fire, but they refused, saying that I had to do it. We had quite a discussion as we all tried to point out to them that it was their place to burn their own fetishes, but our admonitions were to no avail, and for half an hour we were locked in a stalemate that looked as if Satan would claim the victory. At last I suggested that the chief and I together would set fire to that huge pile of fetishes. Everyone was pleased with this...The chief who was to set the fire to the pile came forward and held a bunch of dry grass. I set fire to the grass, and he in turn placed the burning grass under the firewood. In a matter of minutes the wood had caught fire and rather quickly...became a blazing inferno. (1961:3-4)

This conflict as to who was to set fire to the pyre seems to have been not so much a conflict which signaled indecision, but rather a hesitation as to who had the right to instigate such a matter. This was an unprecedented matter in Dani affairs and few big men felt they could be so presumptious as to accept this responsibility without first of all negotiating it before the public.

No one burning was sufficient and virtually ever area witnessed several such burnings as other villages joined those who had been first. In the Ilaga the burnings were conducted every week or so for about three months, (Larson 1976:1) and at Mulia the burnings were

conducted for six Sundays in a row before the Dani finally assured the missionaries that they were finally done. (Maynard 1961:3)

A final act of these fetish burning events was the burial of the ashes and unburnt stones which took place in such locations as Bokondini and Mulia. (Maynard 1961:3) This last act seemingly obliterated the very last vestiges of the fetishes and their place in the lives of the Dani.

Chapter Ten

The Response of the Outside World to the Dani Movement

OBJECTIONS TO THE FETISH BURNINGS

The missionary community had serious reservations about the fetish burnings and some even went to the extent of actively opposing them with force. Their objections centered around four or five matters, the first of which was their objection to the many misconceptions that accompanied the movement. The Christian message of eternal life had been perceived by the Dani in terms of their concept of immortality or *nabelan-kavelan*. The interpretation which they read into the missionaries' message therefore was that by becoming Christian they would never die, and that death would be forever wiped away. (Hitt 1962:218; Horne 1973:146-147) This was a misconception that persisted for some time with the Dani and even led some Dani to bring their dead to the missionaries in order to have them brought back to life. At both Karubaga and Mulia, the Dani thoroughly believed that the movement would result in the return of their dead ancestors.

Other misconceptions had to do with the belief that goods in the form of axes and Western style supplies would fall from the sky. Or that at their baptism their skins would turn white. The entire expectation here was that to become a Christian would result in their becoming just like the missionaries in appearance and wealth. It is

not surprising therefore that the missionaries stood aghast at such a movement, and wanted to stop it.

A second major objection by the missionaries to the fetish burnings centered around their rejection of the spurious or suspect prophets, and their messages as they went from area to area. We have already referred to the prophet Watnibo who came into the Bokondini area and departed a short time later with one new wife and a small horde of wealth. Another fellow by the name of Jabonep is described by Russel Hitt as being a sincere but sometimes mistaken and often misunderstood prophet of the movement. (Hitt 1962:216-223) The witness of these and other men like them led a great many missionaries to conclude that God could not be in a movement such as this since it was giving birth to so much falsehood. (Horne 1973:127)

A third objection to the movement was the widespread realization that the Dani still did not understand or were even totally unaware of some of the most basic elements of Christian truth. Jabonep had identified Mary with Eve (Hitt 1962:222) and for others the path to salvation was perceived not as the gift of God but rather as a new series of taboos and rituals which had to be followed. (Horne 1973: 125, 148-149) Without a firm understanding of the plan of salvation, the missionaries felt the burnings would be an exercise in futility or even worse "an open door for Satan". Ralph Maynard in a letter to the home secretary of the U.F.M. writes: "Most of the natives hardly know the difference between God and Satan, and to do away with spirit worship with nothing to turn to will simply open themselves to the seven evil spirits, rendering their latter condition seven fold worse than their first". (1960:1)

The fourth objection which missionaries raised was the whole question of whether group decisions were a legitimate way for a people to come t Christ. The individualistic cultural background of

the missionaries and their short time in Dani culture had hardly prepared them for an experience of this nature arising from a group oriented people which operated from within a decision by consensus environment. For the most part the missionaries did not want to see personal commitments to Christ clouded up by all the confusion which would attenuate a fetish burning with all of its social and cultural implications. (Sunda 1963:30)

A final point of concern was the painful realization that all too many of the missionaries had been on the field for too short a period to be able to follow up adequately such a widespread movement. (Sunda 1963:30) They had a horrible sense of inadequacy to meet the situation which they faced, and they were afraid that the result would be the multiplication of doctrinal errors and the total chaos of the culture. Their concern was not one of false humility but rather one of genuine bewilderment and confusion as to know how to handle such a potentially explosive situation.

In an effort to answer some of these objections and to co-ordinate their activities, an inter-mission conference was scheduled at Pyramid during the height of the burnings. (Sunda 1963:29-31) Missionaries from all of the missions working among the Dani tribe were present during the discussions. While the conference did not answer all of the questions of the missionaries regarding the fetish burning movement it did draw them together in an opportunity to share their fears and to hear the opinions of others as to how the movement could be utilized and directed for the sake of the work of the Gospel among the Dani. While the concept of a people movement was still only partially understood by most, one of the results of the meetings was to give consideration at least to the principle that God could use the movement, and that the days ahead in following up the burnings would be the most critical of all in determining its future.

THE FOLLOW-UP WORK OF THE MISSIONARIES

The most obvious immediate need following the burnings was that of an intensive training program which would be effective in reaching large numbers of people and which would bring an understanding of Christian truths resulting in the discipling of the Dani into the church. The pattern which all of the missions were to follow was that which had already been pioneered by Don Gibbons, John Ellenberger, and Gordon Larson in the Ilaga which they called the witness schools. In the witness school system, representatives from a given area came into the mission station and were taught by the missionary. These were men who had been chosen by the villages themselves rather than by the missionaries and therefore brought with them an established mark of approval and authority for leadership from their villages.

Lessons were frequently grouped into series of tens which would be more easily remembered, and included such subject matter as the "creation story, the ten commandments, the story of Jesus' birth and His death and resurrection, the beginning of the church, the Apostles' Creed and a paraphrased version of the first chapter of Mark". (Bromley 1960:13)

Classes were conducted for three or four days and then on Friday the witness school men returned to their villages where they taught the lesson and the Bible verses which they had learned that week. In this way the missionaries were able to teach, through the witness men, several hundreds of people instead of just a few, and in the process an emerging leadership for the future church was beginning to appear.

The lessons were simple, and frequently repeated, but they were being taught extensively throughout the Dani populace, and through the weekly class sessions corrections could be made and new material added.

In spite of the carefulness and sometimes monotonous repetitions of the lessons, errors did arise. Such a one was the experience of the time of the first Dani baptisms in the Ilaga, when following the baptismal service, the people broke open the dam to release the water and were warned by a shout from one of the Damal leaders not to let their feet get wet by the rushing waters lest they now become contaminated by the sins of the people who had just been baptized and whose sins now resided in the water. (Larson 1976:2) Another such problem was experienced by the missionaries in the Mulia area who had to correct one of their witness school men who went out teaching that the gift of the Holy Spirit could only be had by those who cut their hair short.

These difficulties, not withstanding, the witness school approach proved to be an effective means of quickly disseminating the essential truths of the Gospel message and thereby led to the second stage of the follow up which was the early and widespread baptism of Dani believers.

In preparing for the baptisms virtually all of the missions in Irian Jaya have followed what Dennis Oliver calls the Antioch model for baptismal standards. The Antioch model, as Oliver describes it required the candidate for baptism to undergo a indeterminate period of instruction prior to his baptism so that

> "By the time of his baptism the prospective Christian knew well what it meant to be a disciple...(and) the prospective disciple had to confess his intention before the congregation...By the time they were ready to make this confession the catechists were well oriented to the issues of Christian ethics and Christian theology. Each knew the nature of true righteousness and the nature of the true God. (1973:46)

In Irian Jaya, each of the missions following their own particular variation of this standard produced the following results.

Station	Mission	1st Burning	1st Baptism	Elapsed Time
Ilaga	C&MA	Dec. 1958	June 1959	6 months
Pyramid	C&MA	Feb. 1960	April 1961	14 months
Bokondini	APCM	Feb. 1960	Sept. 16, 1962	31 months
Kelila	APCM	Feb. 1960	July 18, 1962	29 months
Karubaga	RBMU	Feb. 1960	March 1963	37 months
Kanggime	RBMU	May 1960	January 1963	32 months
Tiom	ABMS	Feb. 1960	May 13, 1962	27 months
Maki	ABMS	Feb. 1960	May 6, 1962	27 months
Mulia	UFM	Feb. 1961	July 14, 1963	29 months
Ilu	UFM	Nov. 1960	May 29, 1963	30 months

The most obvious fact that arises out of the above observations is the realization that there was a sharp difference of opinion between the missions regarding the amount of instruction that should precede baptism. The C. & M. A. missionaries held to a short period of instruction and indeed gave expression to this view in an article written by John Ellenberger which expressed what I believe to be the opinion of many of the members of that group during that period. He writes regarding the problem of screening adherents for baptism that "...it is infinitely more dangerous for those on the frontier, and for the church community to delay for a long period this essential sorting of the genuine believer from the nominal adherent." (1964:33)

For four of the missions, (ABMS, APCM, RBMU, & UFM) the policy was one of requiring a long period of instruction prior to the administration of the ordinance of baptism. What difference did it make that some areas baptized more quickly than others? This is a question which we cannot answer easily but perhaps a more important consideration for us at this point, is not that there were short or long catachetical periods of instruction, but rather that the missions all chose to include polygamists in the baptisms.

Probably the most significant decision of the missions in Irian

Jaya was the choice, by virtually all of them, to procede with the baptism of polygamists A great deal of theological discussions accompanied these discussions, and letters to and from the home boards were often in sharp contrast to one another. Ultimately though the conviction that God accepts people where they are, prevailed and the very first baptisms frequently included a man and his wives. For instance in the first baptism in the Ilaga there were at least two polygamists and their wives. These were Obalalok (the first Western Dani to burn his fetishes) together with his two wives, and Nggewo and his two wives. (Larson 1976:1) At Mulia the first baptism included Wagariapmban and his two wives, and so the story could go for each of the stations.

This decision to include polygamists in the baptisms was not in any way a compromise or an endorsement of polygamy, but rather an act of accepting those whom Christ had already accepted. The question of course, still remained as to whether polygamists could be leaders in the church, and as we shall see, all of the missions chose not to ordain to the ministry any men with more than one wife.

During the continuing program of instruction, and indeed as one of the results of it was the discovery that in spite of the burning of their fetishes there were continuing bonds which held the Dani to pre-Christian practices and taboos. Bonds which definitely stood as a barrier to their obedience to Christ, and indeed for some missionaries they constituted barriers to their salvation. As these bonds emerged then, the Dani were urged to make a fresh commitment to Christ with the result that many Dani came to the point of making two or three distinct commitments to following Christ. Some of the more important commitments involved the following decisions.

In some areas, and especially early in the history of the burnings the Dani would participate in a second burning, this time dis-

carding on the fires those fetishes which they had held back from the first burning. (Horne 1973:133-134; Post 1959:12) With the burnings behind them probably one of the most important subsequent activities were those that centered around the confession of the names of the ancestral spirits.

The Dani looked to their ancestral spirits for magical powers in battle. In the Bokondini area this was known as *amulok kunik* and required that the recipient of this power keep the name of the beneficient ancestor secret. (Ploeg 1969:47-48; Horne 1973:141-142) To reveal the name of one's ancestors was to virtually deny and challenge their power upon the living. To be wrong in this decision was tantamount to being powerless in battle, and object to the ancestors wrath.

The manner in which the Bokondini Dani handled the confession of their ancestral spirits is probably one of the most dramatic for all of the Dani areas. In the first burnings, the Bokondini Dani had not included their weapons and then talk began to circulate among the Danis regarding a burning for these, Garnet Erickson, the APCM missionary who was there at the time began to encourage them that with the weapons burning should also come the public confession of their ancestors' names. This they did in a service conducted in December 1960, some ten months after the first fetish burning at Bokondini. (Horne 1973:141-142; Ploeg 1969:59)

Another important commitment by the Dani in these post burning days was their decision to destroy their *yao* stones. The *yao* stones as we have noted were used by the Dani for a number of different functions including their use in wedding, cremation, and compensation payments. Because of their association of the *yao* with their former lives the Dani felt they should be destroyed and once again public abandonment of their old customs was made in a ritual act. The mis-

sionaries were totally against the destruction of the stones since their value was chiefly economic, but the Dani persisted feeling that they were an intricate part of the blood payments of the past which had to go. (Horne 1973:149; Ploeg 1969:61)

One final example of the many incidents which could be named regarding how the Dani were required on repeated occasions to confront their former allegiance to the ancestral spirits and sacred powers was in the act of calling out the name of one's relatives by marriage. A Dani was "not allowed to utter the names of his wife's parents and vise versa," (Ploeg 1969:62) and to do so was an invitation for sickness or retaliation by the "spirits". At Ilu, the missionary threw out the challenge to call out the names of one's in-laws, and set the example himself by naming his own in-laws. (Horne 1973:175) At Bokondini the decision was made, apparently following a meeting which the Dani had called themselves. (Ploeg 1969:62)

These several illustrations constitute the most significant of what Dr. Alan Tippett refers to as "power encounters" which the Dani felt they had to pursue in order to bring to fruition, or as Tippett refers to it "to consumate", their decision to follow Christ.

As we continue to consider the follow-up activities of the missionaries following the fetish burning we need to last of all consider the matter of the various aberrations which followed and which had to be dealt with by the missionaries.

One such aberrant movement seems to have sprung up in the Ngguragi Valley, mid-way between Mulia and Ilu. Its leader was a fellow who renamed himself Jetut (Jesus) Onuwakum (or Amoluk) and who claimed to be able to cause people to die and come back to life again. (Horne 1973:157-158) In one of his services a volunteer would come forward and sit in front of Onuwakum who would then begin to repetitively command the volunteer to die. Shortly, the volunteer would

fall over in a swoon, and Onuwakum would then change his repetitive commands to ones of rise up. When the prostate victim finally did come back to full consciousness he would then tell the group what he had experienced in his "death" state.

For a very brief time the movement gained popularity especially in those areas where there were no missionaries present, and the disciples of the movement travelled as far as Ilaga holding their dying services. The movement seemed to die away almost as quickly as it sprung up when it failed to gain widespread support, especially as the missionaries and the "witness men" turned their attention to discrediting its leaders.

A second such movement known as the Kuttime movement sprang up in the Toli area. O'Brien and Ploeg in a joint article (1964:281 ff.) described the movement as originating with a man from the Kuttime area in the Toli by the name of Wingganggan. The vision which he had, and the subsequent result are described here by O'Brien and Ploeg.

> "After a night of the communal recitation of scripture verses, Wingganggan had left Kuttime to go and talk with one of the missionaries. On the trail, his father's spirit urged him to go back to preach at Kuttime and tell the people to replace their old, dirty houses with new ones. Wingganggan was accompanied by two men who did not see the vision, but who believed what he told them.
>
> Work was begun on new houses at Kuttime, several vegetable feasts were held, and the people threw away their old clothing and replaced it with new string skirts and gourds. It is reported that the men went naked for one day and then resumed wearing short gourds. Wingganggan was repeatedly visited by spirits of his dead relatives and, at times, communicated with them by radio, but neither spirits, voices, nor radio were ever discernible to other Dani. The ancestors told Wingganggan that when the houses were completed they would return to live in them, and that on their return they would bring with them steel axes, clothing, salt, and soap for the people of Kuttime." (1964:298)

Missionary intervention was ultimately able to bring Winngganggan

and his followers back into the mainstream of the movement but it becomes apparent from this and all of the other diversions that there was a great deal of confusion which surrounded those days. The whole Dani story is a classic example of the communicational problems that are involved in cross cultural transmissions. The missionaries were saying one thing, and the Dani were hearing another. The missionaries were focusing on what they perceived to be a problem, and the Dani were applying it to other problems.

In spite of these and still other miscommunications and aberrations there was a steady movement on the part of the Dani away from the cargo cult and millenarian features of the movement toward a more realistic understanding of the nature of their new found faith in Christ. The persistence of the missionaries and the effectiveness of the witness school program brought this newly emerging church through the trauma of those early days.

EVALUATION OF THE FETISH BURNING MOVEMENT

As we look back on the conversion of the Dani to Christianity much of the confusion of those early days can be seen to be part of a pattern that frequently accompanies cultural transformations. Their motivations were in the direction of millenarian and temporal expectations. They were unrealistic, distorted, and confusing. They were in fact so contrary to what the missionaries wanted that they were frightening. But into a situation such as this possibly a lesson from our Lord is instructive in that during His own earthly ministry He never turned people away because of their "impure" motives. He was willing to accept inquirers as they were and to lead them into deeper truth and purer motives. His dealing with the woman at the well in the Gospel of John chapter four is one of the clearest examples of this characteristic of our Lord.

From the perspective of the Dani the fetish burnings were a necessary first step. By their own testimony, they declared that as long as the fetishes were around they could not "listen to God's Word". The fetishes stood as a "sound" barrier to the Gospel and therefore had to go. In destroying the fetishes though, the Dani were committing themselves in an act of faith which had almost irreversible consequences. Once the fetishes were destroyed there was no possibility of bringing them back. While new ones might be invented, the power of the old ones was gone forever and the temptation to reversions was made more difficult.

From the perspective of the anthropologist the fetish burnings bear all the marks of what Anthony Wallace calls a revitalization movement. (1956:264 ff.) The Dani had come to the place in their culture where there was widespread dissatisfaction with their accomplishments and the levels of satisfaction which they were experiencing. As they stood there at the "threshold of change" the missionaries stepped into the picture and provided the extra measure of dissatisfaction that would propel them forward. The revitalization movement was then directed toward a reformation around the precepts of the Christian faith.

The occasion of the fetish burnings of the Dani has become one more example of what has emerged as a common form by which animistic people have turned to Christianity. Dr. D. McGavran and Dr. A. Tippett of the School of World Mission have coined a new word by which such movements have been designated. Their term is "people movements", and is described by Dr. McGavran in the following words:

> "A people movement results from the joint decision of a number of individuals--whether five or five hundred--all from the same people, which enables them to become Christians without social dislocation, while remaining in full contact with their non-Christian relatives, thus enabling other groups of that people, across the years, after suit-

> able instruction, to come to similar decisions and form Christian churches made up exclusively of members of that people." (1970:197-298)

The essential element in this definition is that people movements are the result of many individuals acting together in a "multi-individual" context. In cultures such as the Dani culture Tippett goes on to note how "the total group is really the decision-making body..." (1971:199) and that the decision to be made will be discussed for weeks until "every angle has been probed and unanimity is reached; then and only then will there be decision and action." (1971:200)

People movements will vary from culture to culture due to the differences between cultures but as the writings of Dr. Tippett have demonstrated, people movements are the pattern by which most of the people of the Pacific have become Christians. The Dani movement, while it is unique in many respects, was not some strange aberration, but rather one more part of a total mosaic. A Mosaic which is not limited to any special part of the world. It is the way in which Europe, Asia Minor and North Africa were converted to Christianity several centuries ago, and it is the way in which people in Africa and Asia are still coming to Christ. (1970:298) People movements have been a little understood but outstanding feature of the history of the expansion of Christianity.

SECTION THREE

THE DANI - THEIR NEW AND CHANGING WAY OF LIFE

Chapter Eleven

The Agents and Patterns of Change

The arrival of the missionaries, the opening of government administration posts, the construction of airstrip and the continual flow of personnel into and out of the highlands has brought irreversable change into the lives of the Dani. These changes have been a mixed bag of the desirable and the undesirable, the intentional and the unintentional, the progressive and the obstructive. Our focus in this section will be upon identifying some of the significant agents behind these changes, and their purposes for introducing change, and then we shall briefly review some of the outstanding changes which have transformed Dani culture into what it is today. Our section will then conclude with a brief consideration of how the Christian church is functioning in the midst of Dani society today.

THE AGENTS OF CHANGE

Agents of change as we shall refer to them in this section are people. People who by their involvement in a culture cause it to undergo change. Our approach to culture change will draw heavily upon the concepts of Homer Barnett (1953), and the agents of change shall be broadly divided into two separate classes: innovators, and advocates. Innovators, we shall define as those persons from within

the culture, who initiate changes in their customs and culture. Advocates are those persons who come from outside the culture with the intention of initiating changes. The first category of people will always be Dani, and the second category will be non-Dani, either from the Western world, or from other segments of Indonesian culture.

The advocates of change who have come into the Dani culture have been representatives of three broad spectrums of people. There is the church whose missionaries represent the interest of the Christian faith. There is the government whose personnel in the form of military, police, administrators, teachers and bureaucrats represent the political authority of the land. And there is the business community whose members represent the economic potential of the area and its resources.

The methods of these advocates differ from group to group, from proposal to proposal, and even from person to person. Some will rely on moral persuasion, and some upon decree or fiat. Some will utilize the power of reason, while others will lean on physical power. Some will stimulate by example while others will use coercion. Some will be exploitive and unethical, while others will be genuinely concerned and giving. In short, the methods which they choose to employ will be the result of their commitment toward the change which they hope to introduce, (or in its results), and in their particular philosophy regarding the process of change. In respect to the whole process of change, all too often the change agents have neglected or minimized the role of the innovator. Larry Naylor's study of change in the Baliem notes that most of the current strategies for change among the Dani suffer from just this oversight. They are programs of change in which "the thinking, decisions, plans, organizations and administration are provided <u>for</u> the people." (1973:20) While such commitment or enthusiasm for a program may be laudable, it is headed for a possible failure because it has failed to include within the change

process the role and function of the innovator.

The aims or motives of these agents of change have been of a very different sort as we shall see, and their results have been a reflection of these aims. For instance the business community has come with a profit motive which has sought to exploit the economic potential of the area which at times has also included exploiting the people. Artifacts of culture have therefore disappeared from the Dani community at an alarming rate for a fraction of their real value, and livestock and garden produce have been bought and resold for a profit because of the Dani lack of understanding of a cash economy. Fortunately, such incidences are relatively low because currently there is not a great deal of profit making potential in the area. The resulting changes therefore from this element have been mostly in terms of their own self image as the Dani have found themselves as the objects of ridicule and the victims of exploitation. These changes have been outstanding examples of unintentional or non-directed changes.

The government on the other hand has been actively engaged in a program of directed change in which the Dani population has been the specific objects of attention. The focus of this change has been to incorporate the Dani into the national life of Indonesia and into an active participation in Indonesian society. The following statement is cited by Naylor as representative of the Indonesian government's asperations on behalf of the Dani.

> "The plan...is directed toward elevating living standards and know how among the people in the inland areas...so that they may become an integral part of Indonesian society and thereby realize the just and prosperous social conditions of life, physical as well as mental, embodied in the Pancasila and the Constitution of 1945." (1973:17)

The aims of the missionaries have been unique inasmuch as they involve eternal as well as temporal goals. The balance between these

goals has never been a point of agreement within the Christian tradition and so there has been a range of opinion as to what should be the proper emphasis in missionary activity. The result has brought different approaches to change among the Dani, and yet inspite of these differences there has been a commonality that has characterized their work. The majority of the Protestant missions, which represent the bulk of the missionary activity among the Dani, would I suspect agree in principle with the following five operational guidelines in respect to introducing cultural changes. (The last two principles being much more subject to broad interpretation than the first three.)

1. The principle that the primary focus of the missions has been to bring men and women into a personal relationship with the Lord Jesus Christ. Conversion from this perspective is not allegiance to an organization, or a system, but rather an allegiance to a person, namely Jesus Christ.
2. The principle that the means for achieving this goal is best realized in the translation of the Scriptures, the creation of a literate core of believers, the training of an indigenous clergy, and the establisment of a locally relevant and self sustaining church organization.
3. The principle that Dani Christians should be encouraged to express their faith in a culturally relevant manner utilizing Dani thought forms and practices.
4. That changes in cultural practices should be required (of believers) only in those customs which are plainly contrary to the teachings of the Scriptures. And that whenever changes are encouraged, that meaningful cultural substitutes should be promoted in their stead.
5. That schools, hospitals and programs of community and economic improvement would be encouraged to the extent that they promote the growth and development of the church. Further, because

these types of programs for directed change are properly considered as expressions of the Christian faith, they should be heavily oriented toward innovator (ie. Dani) participation. That is, such programs should arise out of the felt needs of the Dani populace themselves, and should be planned in such a way as to be quickly free of support or direction from the mission. The missions therefore have begun several projects which related to their own needs in the area, or which fell within the range of the expertise and energies of a given missionary, only to find that such projects have failed to continue because they did not adequately conform to the Dani way, or to their needs.

Changes in Dani culture have come in two distinct waves, the first of which was the process of change and innovation which accompanied their conversion to Christianity. The second wave is still in the process of sweeping over the culture, and that is the change which is being aimed at making them into Indonesians. Because it is a process which is still taking place, many of our conclusions will have to be only observations for the time being.

Periods of change are characteristically stormy ones, and in the first wave of changes not a few mistakes were made by the missionaries. Misunderstandings, mis-conceptions, and outright distortions were common, and yet in spite of these problems there has been a wholesome leveling effect which comes in numbers. Other missionaries could correct their fellows, and the Dani were bold enough and free enough to challenge a decision they didn't like and to make their own contributions. The free inter-action between missionaries as advocates and the Dani as innovators has not always been appreciated by outsiders. Both Denise O'Brien and Anton Ploeg speak sharply in their respective ethnographies regarding the mis-understandings which the missionaries had towards the Dani, and the seeming unnecessary changes

which they required in their preaching. While we would admit that there were indeed mis-understandings, we would add that these flowed in many directions, and that whatever changes, both good and bad, that took place in Dani culture were done with the full co-operation of the Dani themselves. My intention here is not to absolve the missionaries of any responsibilities for mistakes which may have been made during those early days of change. Rather, to settle for the sake of the record at least, that it is ludicrous to believe that a handful of missionaries, with only an imperfect grasp of the language, and no power of coercion could force the Dani to change patterns of behavior which they cherished. Such at least has been the implication of some of the critics of the missionary work among the Dani.

PATTERNS OF CHANGE

In our discussions of the changes that have taken place in Dani culture, we are discussing what has happened primarily among the Western Dani who readily embraced changes into their living patterns. Our subject matter will be divided up into several sections, and while it is necessary to do so, it is also unfortunate, for frequently changes in one area of their lives has led to other changes. Such inter-relatedness therefore will pervade all of our discussions.

Changes in Self-Image and Personal Appearance

One of the conscious attitudes which pervaded the conversion movement of the Dani was the anticipation that they would all become Europeans or white men. In the early day of that movement (i.e. during the years 1960 and 1961) the Dani actively sought to imitate the white men in all that they did in the anticipation that through their adherance to all that the missionaries said they would indeed take on the physical appearance of the caucasians, and become heirs to his wealth. By 1962 it was becoming increasingly evident to the Dani that

becoming a Christian did not result in their becoming white men, nor instantly rich. This growing awareness was taking place within the wider context of their realization that Christians also died, became ill, and had problems to solve. In the succeeding years since that time then, the Dani have begun to formulate an entirely new concept of what it is to be a Christian, and what it is to be a Dani. They have begun to accept themselves as blacks in a racially mixed world, as Christians who are members of a world wide body of believers, and as Indonesians. In this latter identity there are problems, for Indonesia is predominately an Asian nation with an Islamic heritage. The Dani as Christian blacks constitute a minority group within the nation who have the double disadvantage of being economically underdeveloped as well. Indonesia's system of social stratification, in combination with the inherent ethnocentricism of its dominant groups has left its mark upon the Dani who see themselves as at the bottom of the ladder of Indonesian society.

One of the results has been that the Dani have attempted to at least try to look like Indonesians, and the nearest model for them to imitate have been the coastal Irianese people who have had a longer history of contact with the outside world. So young people no longer pierce their noses as the once did, nor extend their ear lobes, but they do pierce their ears with safety pins and hold them open with those pins, and they have begun to tatoo on their bodies in imitation of the coastal peoples. Girls in particular have gone to a longer hair style and currently like to "fluff" up their hair in what we now call the "Afro" hair style. Young people have taken to changing their names, to Christian names, or Indonesian sounding names. And even among the older people, traditional names have been shortened generally as an accommodation to the shorter names of the outsiders in their midst.

Clothing and the desire for clothes is one more new feature of the changes in their self image. Wearing clothes was never an issue in the preaching of the missionaries. Clothes were not required for converts, and in fact there was a fair degree of hesitation among the missionaries about the wisdom of distributing clothes which would quickly become dirty, and only compound the skin and health problems of the Dani. The missionaries emphasized instead such matters as personal cleanliness and hygiene, and aimed at clearing up the widespread instances of scabies and skin infections.

In recent years the government has launched a wide spread campaign to get clothes on the people by associating clothes with progress, and by giving them out to students, village leaders and as remuneration for community support behind government projects. The result has been that the Dani have developed a heightened awareness regarding their state of "undress" and increasingly young men and women, and the village leaders, including pastors, want to be dressed. For the rest of the population, Western style clothes continue to be scarce and only worn on Sundays or on festive occasions.

Bodily decorations have become somewhat of a moral issue among the Christian Dani. The older men state that their express purpose in decorating themselves up was to call attention to themselves and to excite the young girls and women to look at them. Such demonstrations of pride and sexual provocation they have felt was not in keeping with the Christian message of humility and inner beauty. And so the long hair styles of the men were abandoned, the arm bands which were used in courting parties were destroyed, and the extravagant body ornaments were no longer worn. This does not mean though that they eschewed all forms of decorations. Necklaces of either new or traditional materials were still popular, and of course clothes have become a new fad. Changes of this nature tend to be highly relevant

to a particular period and even to a particular group, and as one moves from area to area within the Dani culture, it is possible to note area differences where some have been more conservative than others. It is also possible to discern a difference in the attitudes between generations. The young men and the women both would like to have longer hair styles but the older generation feels that such styles were characteristics of their former lives and have no place in a Christian lifestyle. Balance here is a problem that churchmen and responsible Dani Christians are going to have to resolve themselves as proper expressions of their own faith.

Changes in their material culture

The introduction of steel tools has made a significant impact upon the Dani but; chiefly at the more surface levels of their society. Axes have been more efficient in clearing land, building fences, and supplying firewood. Shovels have been helpful in the gardens, and hammers and nails have built longer lasting fences. In the home pots are beginning to come into more frequent usage which is allowing a slight variation in food preparation. The chief limitation on all of these items is their cost which continues to be more than most individuals can afford to spend.

Dani housing continues to be much the same as in the pre-contact period, with only slight variation. Some areas have abandoned the upstairs sleeping loft with everyone sleeping on the lower level instead. The sacred cabinet has been transformed into a cupboard where clothes, Christian literature and other valuables can be stored. For a while some missionaries encourage the construction of square, Western style and individual family residences. These were found to be too cold and drafty and were soon abandoned. Today such houses continue to be found in the villages where they have acquired a new function as storage rooms for clothes, books and other items which

the Dani want to protect from the smoke, dirt and destructive gnawings of the mice. Such houses will undoubtedly come into more frequent usage as the government village redevelopment programs encourage their construction. In which case they will become the front house where visitors are received, and goods are stored, while out back there will be a traditional house where "real living" will take place.

Changes in their Economy

In their traditional patterns of living the Dani farmed solely in order to provide food for themselves and they raised pigs in order to meet their social and spiritual responsibilities. When the missionaries came they needed food and so they offered to buy it. Any man or woman who was willing to sell their produce could do so for the missionaries. And then the missionaries, who wanted a greater variety of vegetables, began to give out seeds for other kinds of table foods, and before long vegetables became "big" business. Almost any kind of vegetable can be grown in the highlands and by providing the seeds the missionaries could be assured of a sufficient supply for themselves. Payments for vegetables were made either by giving out cowrie shells or by paying a small quantity of salt. As the supply of vegetables grew in the interior, missionaries began to send excess vegetables back out to the coast to their friends on the empty planes, and before long they even began to sell them to coastal traders for a profit. Vegetables had become a small business with profits going back into their missionary activities. The Dani in the meantime finding that vegetables were a means for procuring not only salt, but as the volume increased, axes, pots, shovels, clothes, and other Western style goods. The size of this total operation was fairly restricted due to the limited amount of space available on the empty planes back to the coast. But it was large enough to provide

a sizeable (at least for them) flow of goods to the Dani. Gardening had been the domain of the women, as long as it only involved the family, but with the prospect of procuring an income it ultimately drew men into this activity, and thus affected the traditional work roles of the Dani.

As long as the missionaries were the only non-Dani residents in the interior such an operation remained solely in their hands. Eventually of course the government began to send in their personnel, and these too needed food, wanted to help their friends, and saw the opportunity for making a small profit. Obviously a mission controlled monopoly of the vegetable trade was hardly appreciated. And so under government direction centralized market places are being constructed and the informal "buying days" of the missionaries are becoming "market days". Another factor which has added to the development of the market place concept has been the increased mobility of the Dani themselves. Men travelling from one place to another, or young men who have gravitated to the larger centers in search of employment or an education have needed food as well. Without land of their own, and constituting too large a number for free distribution from the local inhabitants, these new comers have gone to buying food at the market place.

Up to this point in our discussions we have been considering the economic implications of the vegetable program which the missionaries introduced, and yet the intention of the program had hardly been that at all when it was first begun. The missionaries, recognizing that the diet of the Dani was limited to just a very few staple crops and that malnutrition and protein deficiency were problems, their intent in this program was to try to introduce some new sources of food. Realizing that personal tastes and palate preference were made only slowly, the missionaries chose to use the stimulus of eco-

nomic gain as a means for developing support for the new good crops. While they indeed bought a great many of the vegetables that were brought to them, there was a lot that they couldn't or didn't buy. The ever pragmatic Dani then, rather than throw them away, took them back home and did begin to eat some of the new food. In this manner, new foods have entered the Dani diets including: cabbage, carrots, white potatoes, tomatoes, new blends of corn, cucumbers, squash, beans including soy beans, beets, onions, and others. By way of fruits, there are now available, but only at lower altitudes (approximately around the 5000 foot level or lower) oranges, pineapples, tangerines, new and larger bananas, papaya, grapefruit, avocados and others.

In addition to these attempts to introduce new garden crops into their diets the missionaries in various degrees of emphasis have experimented with livestock and animal projects as well. The measure of involvement and relative success of such programs have been largely dependent upon the interest and expertise of individual missionaries. Programs of this nature include the following animals: cows, goats, sheep, horses, larger breeder pigs, chickens, rabbits, turkeys, ducks, and geese. Typically programs of this nature involved bringing in the initial animals and then giving them or their offspring out to local Dani with whom a prior agreement or contract has been made.

As a result of government interest in stimulating similar development programs in Dani areas, quantities of livestock have also been introduced in several of the areas by various agencies and regional projects. These have included especially the development of fish ponds in villages, and the distribution of goat and sheep.

What then has been the total effect of these new foods into the lives of the Dani? In respect to their diets the new foods have made only minimal change. Sweet potatoes and sweet potato leaves

continue to be their chief source of food. The new foods, and especially corn, cabbage and squash will often accompany their meals, but only as a second vegetable to the main meal. Meat continues to be reserved primarily for ceremonial occasions although in their new life styles such occasions tend to be smaller and more frequent. Meal times continue to be on their traditional meal schedules of once in the morning and again in the late afternoon or early evening.

Probably the most fundamental changes in their diets has been that of the introduction of peanuts. Peanuts have become an important source of protein in their diets and are a food item which has gained popularity among all the Western Dani. In addition to their food value which has helped to reduce the severity of the protein deficiencies, peanuts have had a significant role in the economic relationships between areas which we shall discuss shortly.

In the main, the new foods have been accepted not because of their nutritional value but because of their economic or prestige value. A Dani would rather sell a chicken than eat it, he'd rather kill a goat or a cow at a feast than realize its full economic potential. In short, the Dani have reinterpreted introduced potential in terms of traditional values. This is a subject which has its wider implications as we shall see. One final aspect of this whole matter of change in their diets has to do with the matter of food taboos. In their pre-Christian days certain foods were taboo to the women. Characteristically these included a prohibition on bananas and certain marsupials. Because these prohibitions were linked to the world of the "spirits" when the Dani denied their allegiance to these "spirits" one of the tests of their conversion was their willingness to eat such foods. Furthermore because of their special affinity with dogs that stems back to some of their old myths, the Dani would not eat them. After their conversion when they found out that

the missionaries had no special reluctance about dogs as a food source, these too became an occasional food source. One of the interesting spin offs of the food taboo concepts came in the form of food dedicated to the "spirits". Traditionally such food, namely pork was offered to the "spirits" and became *mage* or prohibited to the donor who could not eat it himself. When the church began to ask for offerings at church services in the form of food crops, the question was raised as to who could legitimately eat such offerings. Pastors, and Bible school students were considered safe by the Dani since they were working in the ministry, but if there was more than they could eat, what about their friends and associates? For a while rumours were rampant that anyone found eating food offered to God who was not in the ministry of the church would be struck dead by God. The forms and legalism of their old culture had indeed been brought into their new attitudes and inspite of continued teaching on the subject are still felt in some measure today.

The most immediate effect that the missionary created in his coming into Dani culture was that he became a new source of wealth which the Dani had not known before. They needed food, firewood, construction of their airstrips. For each of these they were willing to pay, using new introduced items or resorting to traditional forms of wealth. In this way steel axes, knives, beads, salt, soap and clothes quickly became available to the Dani. Cowrie shells were still valued by the Dani and these were brought in by the bucketful and distributed to workers. Eventually the cowrie shells became so plentiful that they lost their value and soon disappeared from the list of items used for payments. Trade store items continued to hold their popularity with additional items including shovels, pots, towels, blankets, etc. entering the list.

Typically workers' names would be recorded in a book by the mis-

sionary and at the conclusion of the week or project he would be paid in accordance with the credit he had in the book. If he wanted a more expensive item than he had credit for, then he continued to work until he had the required sum, or else pooled his resources with a friend. A variation of the ledger approach was to issue credit chits to a worker who was then responsible for keeping his own accounts. This latter system quickly paved the way for the introduction of money and the beginning of a cash conscious economy rather than a barter economy. Such a transaction though did require the Dani to adopt a system of counting from the Indonesian language. The Dani system of counting while adequate for bartering and simple addition, did not lend itself well to quick mental abstractions at figures which is a critical function of mathematics in a cash flow purchase.

The missionaries in offering to pay for goods and services also made it possible for the individual accumulation of wealth which was free from social obligations. In their traditional culture, the Dani attitude toward wealth was much the same as that of their attitude toward leadership. Namely, that wealth was due to whomever could legitimately procur it for himself. But wealth and the possession of it carried certain social controls and responsibilities. Wealth was to be used for the good of the community, not for the individual himself. This is a principle that outsiders have often failed to appreciate and have looked with dismay at their househelp or employees willing and sometimes not so willingly "impoverishing" of themselves by giving away everything they earn to their friends and relatives. Furthermore, missionaries who have ignored this principle have unwillingly contributed to inter-parish rivalries by unconsciously favoring one parish or geographical area over another in their hiring practices. By doing so, they have created an economic

imbalance between parishes which the Dani perceive as unjust and in need of correction. It has also meant that some of the missionaries' projects have not been accomplished when he wanted them, or as rapidly as he had wanted them. The Dani characteristically work in labor cycles and in large groups. If the missionary or government therefore has a large project to be done, requiring a large labor force, they can expect almost total community support if such a project is co-ordinated with the Dani gardening, harvest, and community work cycles. If on the other hand there are deadlines to meet, and scheduling is done to the convenience of the non-Dani community, then only a token number of workers will show up and there may be even opposition to the project. We outsiders also tend to think of "getting the most for our money" and therefore prefer to work with smaller crews and closer supervision. The result has often been that villagers have become disheartened over their own work cycles which have failed to draw the total support of the community because so many of its members are off on their own working for the "foreigners" and as a further result village leaders find themselves in an unwanted and hopeless contest with the wealth and drawing power of the missionaries and government.

In short, by failing to recognize the social responsibilities that surround wealth and its accumulation we have inadvertently taught an individualistic approach to wealth. We have compounded the task of village leaders, and we have unnecessarily fragmented community solidarity. Now in admitting all of the above, in the interest of fairness, we must admit that a number of missionaries and government officers have been aware of these problems and have consciously sought to make their plans around them. Our point of emphasis here is not to criticize, but rather to contrast two very opposing points of view regarding labor. The Dani view that work parties

are a social occasion which must contribute to and function within their total cycle of well being. And the Western point of view that focuses on efficiency, economy, and the well being of the community only from a narrow perspective.

It is quite obvious by now that the flow of wealth in the current scheme of things is radically different than in the "old days". The old forms of wealth are gone or have been altered, and new forms have come in their place. Stones from the stone quarry are no longer sent out over the trade routes, cowrie shells are only minimally valued, and salt is available from any missionary station or government post. But interestingly enough the old trade routes have not died down and continue to function today. Trading partners continue to carry on their business with salt ash still flowing through the Ilaga in spite of the availability of refined salt. The reasons which the Dani themselves give for continuing this trade are that they like the salt, and besides they want to continue the reciprocal relationships which exist in the transactions. In the Mulia area on the other hand where the trade in stones has ceased, there has been a totally new substitute in the form of peanuts. Currently each year virtually hundreds of pounds of peanuts stream out of the area travelling all the way into the Baliem Valley. Still another whole new form of transaction which has grown up has been that of an area, which is farther away from an airstrip or government post coming into such an area and selling their labor to a local parish or cluster of parishes in such tasks as clear away jungle growth or opening new gardens. In this way they have helped "close-in" parishes to spend more time working for the outsiders in their midst, and at the same time helping to circulate locally available cash. Such work party transactions have followed the traditional trading relationships.

While the Dani have begun to sell their labor to one another, it has been most successful at the group level rather than at the

individual level. In their pre-contact days, men did not sell their labor, except in the case of the healers. Today, with young men being trained as teachers, village clinic practicioners, pastors, and still others with specialized skills, the question has come up as to *how to support them.* Salaries for services have been quickly absorbed into Dani life, as long as the salaries were paid by non-Dani people. But will they willingly support "specialists" in their midst when they have to pay them themselves? Currently pastors do not receive a salary and live primarily off of their own labors, to which the parish is willing to help through their supportive labor. But as more and more young people develop the skills which will allow them to work for a salary, the Dani people and the Dani church are going to have to make this transition, or else watch while their most ambitious and promising young men go off to find employment where a *"gaji"* or salary is available.

In their pre-contact days the primary means by which wealth flowed from person to person was through the very intricate system of ceremonial exchanges. Today there is only a faint vestige of that system which continues to function. Bride wealth payments which were the most important in these transactions have been reduced to a fraction of what they were in the pre-contact period. The skirting ceremonies have been done away with almost entirely, as have the skirts which were an integral part of the ceremony. The remaining payments have generally been reduced to just one transaction if even that. Various areas have sought to resolve the issue of bride price in different ways. Some banned it altogether, some have set a price of one or more pigs along with a small collection of other items. No subject has occasioned more discussion and debate among the Dani than this one. Dani leaders have stood up and condemned it as the source of all their former conflicts and an evil of society. Others have defended it as

necessary and right. Missionaries for a while tried to give recommendations both for and against the payments but the matter continues to be in a state of uncertainty and transition. Ultimately it is a decision which the Dani themselves will have to make and the determining factors will be sociological not moral.

Funeral payments tend to be more informal and closer to a distribution of the deceased's personal possessions than an actual payment. Indemnification payments have been all but done away with. If there is an occasional murder or death, the victim's kin generally seek police intervention in apprehending the criminal in an operation which generally includes a raid on his hamlet and some plundering and destruction of his goods and houses. Nevertheless on occasion, hostility will threaten between old confederations, especially when the government posts are some distance away, and in these areas payments will still be made. The presence of the police has done much to change this whole pattern of payments inasmuch as the police have been given the responsibility of apprehending criminals. In general they go and find, or have brought to them suspects, who are then questioned, judged, and sentenced on the spot. A typical sentence is either a beating, a fine or a work assignment, all of which are referred to as *maluk onggo* or a "crime payment" by the Dani. The payment generally falls to the benefit of the police, their assistants, or the village headman.

In drawing to a conclusion this section on the economic changes in Dani life we note that there has been a radical shift in the orientation around which the economy functioned. In the pre-contact days wealth flowed in a cyclical pattern during ceremonial events which involved the transfer of human lives. Today the transaction of wealth has been secularized and involves a cycle of events which transfers goods and services to sources outside the Dani community in exchange

for money and goods which then flows to persons and parishes within the Dani community, only to flow ultimately back out of the community to non-Dani people again. The whole cycle depends entirely upon the goods and services which the Dani can offer to the outside world, and here is where we find and will continue to find a sensitive spot for the Dani. They have very little to offer to the world in terms of natural resources, and their strength as unskilled laborers is hardly required, especially in light of their existing attitudes toward work. These limitations in their economic potential have been temporarily stalled off by the various programs of community development which have been supported by the missions and the government. But these programs have had only limited funding and significant progress has yet to be made on a wide scale. This failure to achieve widespread economic potential could still lead to the emergence of either a political movement or a religious one which takes on this particular emphasis.

A second observation which we make here is that the function of wealth in Dani culture continues to be directed toward the well being of the group and toward group participation. Today, in Dani culture a large proportion of the money of a group is transferred out of the group on a festive or ceremonial occasion. Most of these are related to church functions in which money is being raised in order to construct new church buildings, or in order to underwrite a project of the church associated with sending one of its members off to another tribal area with the Gospel message. In the North Baliem area and in the Yamo area such occasions have been extended to include raising money for the support of their own community medical services. Fund raising events of this nature are usually announced following a consultation with other areas regarding the appropriate timing of the event. This event may be a feast to which the host area treats its

guests to a meal in return for an offering, or it may be a market out of which donated food or animals are sold or auctioned off to those who come. At the collection time, men stream forward by clan, hamlet or parish and place their money in an appropriate receptacle generally in the form of a net bag hung on a post. These gifts are received with a great deal of overt expressions of appreciation, gifts are flagrantly displayed on the way, group solidarity is once again expressed, and a great deal of joy is shared by all as they publically demonstrate their generosity before all, and indeed provoke generosity by their display and example.

The results of such activities has been the raising of hundreds of dollars by literally scores of churches in order to construct aluminum roofed buildings in which to worship. Missionaries have been both surprised and shocked by such offerings. Surprised that so much money could be raised by people who had so little, and shocked that it should be raised for so "trivial" a matter as firer church buildings. Such attitudes have once again demonstrated our total lack of capacity as foreigners to understand the most elemental nature of the "social soul" of the Dani and the amount of pride and prestige which they feel they must invest in order to secure their own self image.

A third and final observation which we would make in this area is that to date the Dani continue to lack a profit motivation in their economic affairs. A number of fledgling business ventures have been started among the Dani, including small co-operatives in opening stores, producing peanut butter, making clothes, etc. Many of these have failed to continue after several months due to a lack of sufficient capital to continue. For a Dani, the purpose of wealth is to procure prestige and status and if he has accomplished this, so what if he fails to make a profit, or even goes broke. Such attitudes have frustrated pragmatically profit minded outsiders who have wanted to see the Dani establish their own viable sources of income. These

are problems which are not at all untypical of the kind already faced by the free enterprise system across the border in Papua New Guinea where it has been demonstrated that given sufficient time such endeavors can become successful.

Chapter Twelve

Patterns of Change in Social Organization and Leadership

Changes in their Social Organization

In their relationships to one another the Dani have experienced both superficial and profound changes. These are changes which continue to transform their culture as they continue to feel the impact of the outside world. One of the areas of change has to do with their custom of exogamous marriage patterns. The Dani, in many areas have concluded that apart from close relatives there ought not be any restrictions regarding the choice of marriage partners. Their reasoning has been that as God's children now, and as members of His family, clan distinctions are no longer necessary. Intra-moiety marriages have become common in recent days therefore and have brought an unexpectant result. Under the old moiety system girls could relate fairly freely to boys their own age as long as they came from the same moiety. Now, with such persons being potential spouses contact is not as permissible and has thrown confusion all around the whole matter of proper propriety in boy girl relationsthips. A second aspect of the problem is that some of the young people have taken the opportunity of freely mixing with their own moiety "sisters", and then slipped into pre-marital liaisons with them as potential spouses, much to the dismay of the parents who are confused as to how

to deal with these new standards. The answer proposed by some of them has been to return to the old moiety standards.

In respect to their clan names, the Dani have begun to use these as last names in keeping with the more popular two name system which dominates the world. This means though that in each area there are a lot of people with the same names, and some of the young men in the large centers have gone to taking as their last name the name of a patri-lineal grandfather.

Political alliances and confederacies have ceased to have a functional value, but continue to exist as prefered partnerships because marriage ties continue to exist between its members. Peace has been made between confederacies as a major result of the desire to conform to their new living standards as Christians. Old debts were negotiated and enmities were settled in an open and conscious attempt to bury the hostilities of the past. The cessation of hostilities brought with it a lot more free time for the men who no longer now had to stand watchful guard over their areas. In many of the areas therefore, the missionaries sought to channel all of the energies of the Dani and this new inactivity into meaningful substitute activity by initiating an inter-district system of roads which the Dani were encouraged to build. These roads extended out from the airstrips which were the centers of the movements and reached into all of the surrounding valleys. It functioned as a means for facilitating travel to and from the stations, and it gave a sense of oneness to all of the surrounding areas, many of whom had been former enemies. Today that road network is being used by the government as a basis of further development in their own road building schemes.

Today the peace which was made in those early days is sustained by the presence of the police and military, and by bonds of friendship, marriages and new trading relationships which have grown up between the areas. It is a difficult task though to "love" everyone

and new allegiances in contract to alliances are becoming evident. There are five missions and three national church bodies which have grown up among the Dani, and these have led to a distinct feeling of "us" versus "them". These feelings at times continue to be quite strong despite the minor distinctions which separate them. It seems apparent that what is emerging here is the beginning of a new development which could be a pattern for the future, namely, that voluntary societies will begin to replace old kin ties in establishing personal identities for the Dani.

At the parish level the most evident change has been that of the construction of churches in many of these parishes. Typically the decision to locate a church is made by the Dani church leaders themselves and their decision reflects the social organization of the parish, which means that the church will probably be located in the hamlet of the strongest leader of that parish. As these leaders wax and wane in their positions there is an accompanying sense of competition regarding the location of the church which on occasion is moved to a new hamlet. At this stage in its development this can be healthy for the church as it is identified with the strongest leaders of the community who in turn give the church its full support.

At the hamlet level there was a distinct association in many areas with a drive to clean up their villages as being a part of their conversion to Christianity. Part of the new energies of their break with the past included the rebuilding of the fences around their houses, the prohibition against keeping pigs inside the village compound, and even the planting of flowers around their houses and paths In recent days the hamlet has undergone additional changes as the government has sought to modernize these by requiring that houses must be built in parallel lines (rather than circular) with a village street running through the center. They have also attempted to increase the size of the hamlets by asking several hamlets to join to-

gether at one site. This has had only limited success since it requires the villagers to live too far from their gardens.

In respect to marriages young people continue to select their partners as they did in the pre-contact days, but today they will communicate with one another through notes, instead of relying on the uncertain oral transmission of an intermediary. Pre-marriage contacts and communication is still prohibited to young people with possible marriage partners of the opposite sex.

Polygamy has become a moral issue due to the traditional teaching of the church regarding monogamy. In contrast to an earlier generation of missionaries, the missions took an enlightened approach to change in Irian Jaya, and concluded that an outright ban on polygamy would be seriously and unnecessarily disruptive of the society. They therefore concluded that any polygamous marriages contracted prior to their conversion would be allowed to stand, and that such persons would be eligible for baptism and church membership the same as any other member of the community. But, any persons taking a second wife after their conversion would be subject to church discipline. Furthermore, the positions of pastor, and church elders were to be filled by men with only one wife. These requirements for the Christians have pervaded the whole culture, so that today new polygamous marriages are almost unknown, and there has been a minimum of disruption in the social structuring of Dani culture.

One of the evident changes in marriage patterns has been that marriage partners today tend to be closer to the same age than in previous days. Young men are getting married younger, and the girls are being asked to wait longer before marriage. The reason for delaying marriage for the girls has been the result of the recommendations of both the missionaries and the government officers who have prefered that girls be more physically mature before accepting the

responsibilities of a family. The men tend to marry younger now that bride payments are less and not as hard to procure.

Changes in divorce and remarriage patterns have not been studied in detail in the Christian era and so it is not possible to know precisely whether there is a difference between "ideal" behavior and "real" behavior. Divorces are not now approved in Dani culture which means that Christian Dani couples are having to resolve their marital conflicts in new ways. The amount of discussions at pastor's meetings on the marital complications in their various areas is only one indication that marriage continues to be a difficult time in interpersonal relationships.

Widows are a new problem to the Dani, and the question is being raised regarding their well being in the new scheme of things. In the pre-contact days widows were soon remarried, either to her husband's brother or other kin, or possibly to a man of her own choosing, but often as a second wife. Today, with polygamy being out of the question, the options for a widow have been greatly reduced and her presence in her former husband's hamlet is a problem. She is an enigma in a culture where she should be married but isn't, and to whom the men who are responsible for her in providing her with gardens, pigs and housing are hesitant to do so because of the traditional sexual connotations which such activities implied. The question of widows in the Dani church has the potential of becoming as big an issue as it was for the New Testament church.

In matters of sex, we have already noted that girls are getting married at an older age. This delay in their marriages means that a lot more girls are experimenting with pre-marital sexual activities, and increasingly girls are getting married after they have already gotten pregnant. It has also led to the disciplining of young men by their teachers, the village headmen, and if they worked for the mis-

sions by the missionaries, and if any lesson is to be learned from all of this it is that punishment doesn't establish morality.

In respect to marital love, the Dani still practice abstinence during the post partum period following the birth of a child. The mission medical facilities have tried to introduce birth control measures into usage by certain select experimental groups, but the total result and effectiveness of such programs can hardly be foreseen or evaluated at this point.

Dani family life has been the focus of a great deal of interest and indeed it is here that much of the changes in Dani culture will undoubtedly spring. One of the emphasis of the Christian message has been on a loving relationship between marriage partners. That such is indeed taking place among the Dani was evidenced to me one day when I was discussing with some village elders regarding the greater overt expressions of emotion which had characterized some recent events in our area. The answer which one of these men gave me was "In the old days our hearts used to be like these stones, but since the Holy Spirit has come into our hearts we have learned how to love (*obuwa*)." His answer had been so totally candid that I was left with the distinct impression that a good many Dani were experiencing new dimensions of tenderness toward one another which they had not known in their former lives.

The fear which men used to feel toward women and their power to retaliate through their black magic is mostly gone (although in some instances still capable of resurfacing), and possibly with it some of the latent hostility that such fear induced. Domestic tranquility has become one of the highly prized virtues of the new Christian society, and new baptismal candidates are examined regarding their marriage relationships. At communion times, quarreling families are asked not to participate in the communion service until their problems have been resolved.

Family residences continue to be basically the same with men and older boys sleeping in the men's house, and women and younger children sleeping in the family residences. This arrangement tends to offer a great deal more security to younger children than does our system of separating the parents in another room away from the children. But it has proved shocking to some missionaries who would prefer to see more activity generating around the nuclear family. For a time the Dani experimented with Western style practices and in church they began to sit together as families. But both practices were soon abandoned as the men found that they couldn't continue to observe their post partum sexual taboos if they were in constant and intimate contact with their wives. Furthermore sitting together with their wives just wasn't the Dani way of doing things. It disrupted the casual and continual interplay of ideas that constituted a major part of the decision making patterns of the community, and it forced the family to accept functions and responsibilities for which it was not yet ready. And so these new attempts to be modern were abandoned, but not without having raised some questions. Basic to them all is the question of what ought to be the function of the nuclear family in Dani culture? How much should nuclear families do together to the exclusion of the rest of the hamlet? Should they eat together, and sleep together, and conduct family worship services together? And if they do begin to practice some of these things, what will they gain and what will they lose, and why should they even be expected to change at all? These are some of the questions which need to be asked by the missionaries as they come to Dani culture from that of their own where there has been a strong cultural focus on the family. Are the models which the missionaries want to introduce really Christian models or only Western cultural models?

Some of the answers to these problems are going to be shaped by the very nature of some of the continuing stresses which are con-

fronting the family during their continuing exposure to cultural changes. In the past the Dani were casual and even informal regarding the raising of their children. Everyone had a part and almost everyone held to the same basic values of life. But today in the face of rapid change, changing values, foreign influences, and increased mobility, such casualness will hardly be adequate. This increased stress of rapid acculturation will force the Dani to spend more time in the active socialization of their children. Young children are being required to attend schools where they are being taught by teachers from a different segment of Indonesian culture, and with the express purpose of changing the life styles and values of the Dani children. Hamlet activities are no longer attended by all of its members who function as a unit and share their common goals and values. Children are off to school, young people are working in the employment of the government or the missions and only the very young and the older adults are left to do the gardening and maintain the village. And so, the question remains what is the function of the nuclear family in this rapidly changing state of affairs?

In concluding our comments on the changes which have struck at Dani social structures, I believe that one of the most evident victims of this change will be the sense of groupness or community togetherness. Co-operation in the life of the community is no longer as demanded as it once was. Wealth was more controlled in the old days and co-operation in the community was more easily secured because of this economic leaverage. Fear was used to secure co-operation in those days and parents inculcated it into the lives of their children. Fear of aggression and retaliation permeated their behavior, but today, no such fears exist for the "spirits" are dead, and the police maintain the peace. So one more social support of the system of co-operation has been knocked out. Furthermore Christian-

ity has characteristically been an individualistic religion stressing the relationship of a person to God in heaven. And so it would seem, that if any of the rich heritage of the old community spirit of the Dani is to be preserved it is going to have to be through the conscious efforts of the agents of change to preserve such activities. This will mean having to work through community centered activities, and through an emphasis on the Biblical teachings regarding the responsibilities of believers to live as responsible members of the community which is the "body of Christ".

Changes in Dani Leadership

Dani leadership has changed dramatically during the past few years. New kinds of leaders have been required, and new qualifications for leadership has been needed. These changes in their leadership began in earnest early in the conversion of the Dani people, for from the very beginning of their ministry, the missionaries were on the alert for potential candidates for the ministry which would inevitably arise from out of the new groups of believers. The qualifications which they sought in these men were as follows:

1. A genuine desire for spiritual knowledge and a practical application of this knowledge to their own lives.
2. A gift for leadership which was demonstrated by their previous experience and the current support of their own people.
3. A demonstration of mental alertness and an ability to perceive Scriptural truths.
4. Exemplary family relationships and preferably of a monogamous nature.

Regarding this last mentioned qualification, there was a considerable amount of discussion among the missionaries as to whether or not polygamists could function in leadership roles during the transition period from the old way of life to the new. This was the one

requirement which could have proved to be the most disruptive to society by bypassing traditional leaders in favor of younger ones. Fortunately the matter was satisfactorily resolved as a result of a realistic attitude towards leadership on the part of both the Dani and the missionaries. The Dani on the one hand recognized that leadership existed in their society with different shades of emphasis. That is, a "big man" could have a special renown for fighting abilities, while another "big man" was a leader whose special renown was that of a healer. Under the impact of the Gospel and with the prospects of a new kind of "big man" not everyone of the older men wanted to rush into the new positions. This applied not only to positions of church leadership, but to positions of government leadership as well. In fact many of these men chose to support other such men while they themselves kept a watchful eye on the current trend of events. From this vantage point they could continue to exert leadership over their communities. They were free to disagree without losing face or prestige, and at the same time continue to support the process of change. Had the conversion movement of the Dani proved to be a bad choice these men could have pulled out their support at any time and given it new direction without damage to themselves. If we can use an illustration at this point these men chose to be not the sails of their culture, but rather the rudders where they could help to direct its movements from a less obvious vantage point. The men whom they supported therefore tended to be middle aged big men, or rising big men who quite often were their own sons, or heirs apparent.

The missionaries on the other hand were open to accepting those men who were put forward by the Dani themselves as leaders. The missionaries would request the Dani to appoint 20 or 30 such men and then they would work with these men in a rudimentary training program known as the "witness schools". Moral standards were high so that

any men found abusing their new positions for reasons of sexual pleasure, or personal gain were immediately dropped from the program. The few polygamists who entered the program continued on as "witnesses" for several years and as a more formal type of ministry was developed, they were channeled into other responsibilities within the church as active laymen or lay preachers.

Inasmuch as the witness schools functioned on a very elementary level they were able to train a sufficient number of pastors quickly in order to allow for the rapid expansion of the number of churches out to the various parishes in each of the areas. The training program was such that the men spent a few days a week in school and the rest of their time in the villages. This type of school program did not require them to live in a residence type program which separated them from the life of their communities, and it meant that their new knowledge was quickly becoming public information. (In testimony of this fact, when the Dani came to designating the days of the week in order to conform to the calendar system of the rest of the world, Friday, which was the day they returned to their villages was designated as "the day we tell God's Word".)

As the Dani culture continues to experience rapid acculturation to the Indonesian culture, Dani church leaders are going to need to make the transition as well. Therefore, in each of the major centers of missionary activity Bible Schools have been built so that some of the brightest of the witness school men and acceptable younger men are being trained as pastors in the Dani language, but in a context where they are being exposed to more of the Indonesian language and ways of doing things. These schools represent a greater degree of sophistication and also constitute a point of tension, which is a subject we shall return to later.

The missions also needed another kind of person in their programs, and these were men who could help in the literacy schools as

teachers. In the beginning stages of the literacy program, the missionaries prepared the primers, taught the classes, and revised their materials. The classes were offered only to adults at the beginning and were immediately popular in all of the areas. These classes were limited only by the shortage of teachers, so, out of every graduating class, the brightest and the best were selected to teach a class of their own. On the whole these men proved to be younger men who would eventually go on to become mature pastors in the years to follow. In their youthfulness though many proved to be unwise innovators of change and virtual despots in their communities. Restraining their enthusiasm and excesses was no small task.

A third kind of leader who emerged from out of the context of the missions and the Christian faith was that of the leadership of the local churches. Pastors were appointed to the ministry by the Dani, but often these men were asked to serve churches which were of an interparish nature, or to a different parish than that of their own origins. In fact many missionaries insisted that pastors should not serve in their own parishes where they could play favoritism with their own families. They were also afraid that pastors would come under the undue influence of local politics, and therefore liked to see pastors rotated on a regular basis to other churches. While there were some advantages to such programs, there were also disadvantages and such standards have not always prevailed. Meanwhile, in order to enhance the needs for intensive leadership on the local level. whatever pastors were in their midst, the local church needed local participation. And so, in keeping with the New Testament pattern of multiple church leaders, a group of men have been appointed in each church as church elders. Normally these represent leading men with exemplary standards of behavior, who come from and represent the surrounding hamlets or parishes in that church. These men are elected by the congregation to their positions which may be a term

of service which lasts one or two years.

A fourth kind of leader is that of the administrative leadership of the church which varies in style and nature between the three different churches now among the Dani. In the main these administrative leaders consist of district supervisors, and higher level personnel who can represent the church before government officers, mission heads, etc.

The leadership of the church therefore bears a direct correspondence to the traditional levels of leadership. In traditional Dani leadership there was the hamlet headman, the big man, and the confederacy leader. In the church there is the elder (at the hamlet level), the pastor (at the parish level), and the district supervisors and administrators at the highest levels. The literacy teachers constituted a specialized form of leadership and were not really a part of this structure, and so are not included in this hierarchy. The church therefore in entering Dani culture did not really seek to replace traditional leadership but rather instituted a complementary form of leadership in order to meet its own requirements.

In the meantime the government has begun to set up its own organizational apparatus, and have gradually sought to bring traditional leadership patterns around to conformity to the desired norms of the government. The process began when they appointed the acknowledged "big men" (but not those who had become pastors, or those who refused the position) as *kepalas* or village headmen. Then into this position the government began to infuse more authority than had ever been held by the traditional big men, so that these men have become not just the "first among equals" but truly chiefs in a hierarchical structure.

These developments were then followed up by a succession of programs in which the government has moved to change the rather unwieldy *Kepala* system, which represents the parishes, into a network of *desa*

which represent several parishes. These *desa*, representing ideally in the vicinity of 1,000 people, are then governed by a council of men appointed by the government to specific tasks related to the operations of the *desa*. Typically the men appointed to these positions are younger men, who have had some schooling, and who can speak a reasonable amount of Indonesian.

A third level of leadership within the government which affects the Dani, is the elected position of area representatives in which one or two Dani from an area designated currently as *Kecamatan* (representing several thousands of people) are selected to represent their area at the district meetings. While this position is an elected office, only men who are fluent in Indonesian and reasonably familiar with the culture can function at this level.

These three levels of governmental leadership do not correspond to the traditional forms of leadership which also existed at three levels, but rather begin at a higher level of representation and reach beyond the Dani community to an inter-tribal level. The acknowledged intent in this form of leadership being to bring changes in Dani culture and leadership patterns, especially as these relate to the broader perspective of the nation.

A problem area for the government which paralleled the problems which the missions faced was in the establishment of a "boys brigade" which was attached to the police at each of the posts. This brigade known as *Hansip* accompanied the police and military whenever they went out on patrol and in their enthusiasm, likewise became "tyrants" with the power of physical coercion to back their demands. With moral standards sometimes low, and ethics lacking, these young men habitually misrepresented and distorted situations to the police or military and became a most undesirable element in the community. With the progress of time and with more of the Dani being able to

communicate in Indonesian some of the excesses of this group have been controlled, or at least reduced.

At the parish level therefore it was not uncommon to find several kinds of leaders. Pastors and church leaders for one, kepalas for another, and thirdly a few traditional leaders who had rejected any of these new leadership statuses but who were nevertheless influential men. These latter men were frequently given honorary positions as spokesmen or organizers for public feasts and gatherings. But, frequently there was tension between these men and not a few times the pastors found themselves in conflict with the village headmen over the affairs of a village. Redefining these roles and learning to lead together has been a difficult process as through the years the culture continues to change, and change again.

Qualifications for leadership have quite obviously changed to meet the new requirements of Dani culture. Excellence in warfare is no longer necessary, but it has become necessary to have leaders who can act as intermediaries to the government. That is men who can function in Indonesian, and as they continue to acculturate, there is also the need for leaders who can operate in an Indonesian milieu by successful negotiations, bartering, and representation. In the church two kinds of leaders are being required. Those who can preach and apply the Scriptures to the hearts of the traditional people who continue to think and function in Dani. Then there is the need for the more sophisticated men who have the charisma and the prestige to appeal to the younger generation of Dani as they seek to become "modern" in their lifestyles. This latter type of leader being those who represent the transition to Indonesian culture.

Chapter Thirteen

Patterns of Change in Religion and Worldview

Inasmuch as the first agents of change in Dani culture were the missionaries it is not surprising to note that the changes in their traditional views of the supernatural have been profound to say the least. The Dani conceptualization of the supernatural world as consisting of ghosts and spirits has been altered, not by denying their existence but by teaching that all living creatures are under the control and power of an Almighty God. The emphasis of this message was the need for men to be in right relationship to God not to the spirits. This approach to Christian doctrine has been able to dispel many of the fears which the Dani had towards the spirits.

God was presented to them as a God of creation and the world as a place in which man was given responsibility for subduing and controlling. These attitudes had the effect of eliminating food taboos and sacred places in the forests. The physical world lost some of its mystery and the spiritual world was identified in the more systematic structure of Christianity. The result was a secularizing of many of their traditional concepts of the unknown. In traditional culture the "spirits" were seen as the cause of sicknesses, but under the impact of medicines and modern treatments, myth and magic succumbed to science.

God was identified by the term *Ala* which is a borrowed term from Indonesian and was done inasmuch as none of the Dani concepts of the supernatural seemed sufficiently large enough to be adapted for Christian usage. Jesus Christ was easily indentified as our "elder brother" and the Son of God, and, given an extended period of teaching are coming to an understanding of the trinity. The Holy Spirit is identified as *Aberiniki* or the "true heart" of God which proceeds from the Father and the Son. And as for Satan, the Dani term *Nila* which was a designation for one of their own spirits who was the source of temptation and evil was adapted for use.

In respect to the Christian teaching regarding the fall of man into sin, the Dani story of the snake and the bird proved to be a real bridge of understanding. The Dani had their own concept of immortality which was lost, and they responded to an opportunity to regain it. The Christian message regarding an afterlife was a new concept for the Dani, and while the missionaries were not "hell and brimstone" preachers, the reality of a hell in the afterlife became vividly perceived and a powerful influence in the lives of the Dani.

The Dani took up the practice of praying in order to communicate to God, and typically such prayers are audible whether others are present or not, or whether they too are praying. Needless to say prayer times in church are noisy affairs as everyone prays out loud. Undoubtedly for some Dani prayer fills the same functional slots as the old forms of magic and on occasion it is not uncommon to have a man ask God to curse another man who is a scoundrel.

The new faith of the Dani was often expressed in quite legalistic forms. When told that Sunday should be a day of rest, some Dani would refrain from even going to the edge of the village and pulling up a tuber to eat when they were hungry. There a great deal of fear in those early days that God would strike dead anyone who was thought-

less enough to violate any of the new taboos of the Christian faith. The Dani concept of God was not in terms of a God of love, but rather in terms of a God of power and ritual, and strict regulations. This was not unusual and even quite typical of the conversion patterns of people coming out of animism which is a worldview which focuses on power not love. In the due course of time the Dani have discovered that God won't strike them dead for minor infractions, but they have responded to this new freedom with quite an opposite reaction. Namely that without fear to restrain them they have begun to act with license much to the dismay of the pastors and missionaries. What seems to have happened in Dani culture is the experiencing on a cultural level of the same type of reaction that takes place on the personal and psychological level whenever human feelings have been repressed. While this reaction may have been normal what is evidently needed at this time in the Dani experience of following Christ is a motivation of wanting to obey out of desire and love, not fear and punishment.

A number of outstanding standards of personal piety have characterized Dani Christians as they have sought to apply their faith to practical living. It is quite obvious from all that we have said previously that a new standard of sexual behavior prevails. Pre-marital sex is not accepted any longer nor is sexual activity outside of the bounds of marriage. There are those few of course who transgress these standards and though they are not plentiful, by Western standards at least, they are a perplexing problem to the pastors.

Smoking was one of the more superficial habits that was quickly abandoned. The Dani were quick to perceive that the missionaries did not smoke, and when asked why, the missionaries pointed to the smoky insides of their houses and said they didn't want the insides of their bodies to look the same. And so, wherever the missionaries felt the strongest about not smoking, the Dani too abandoned the habit as be-

ing no part of their new lives. Smoking still continues in some areas, notably the North Baliem where the missionaries refused to be drawn into making an issue out of such a superficial matter.

Cleanliness was one of the outstanding traits that followed the Dani quest for Godliness. Villages were cleaned up, pigs moved out of the houses, bodies were washed, long hair was cut and soap was a prime object of barter on pay days.

One of the outstanding prestige items which the new Christians eagerly sought to carry around with them in their net bags was one of the newly translated portions of Scripture. Since only graduates of the literacy schools could buy books, everyone tried their best to finish that program and then to get their own book. For some of these eager people prestige and a desire for God's Word may not have been their only motivation for wanting a book as it appears that for all too many the books were a Christian substitute for their old talisman.

Sundays are a day of rest and worship with most of the Dani attending the Sunday morning service. Offerings of vegetables are received outside of the church and interestingly enough, the vegetable offerings are given mostly by the women who have planted, tended, and harvested them. Men on the other hand take a much more active role in the periodic offerings which involve cash donations. On such occasions, no man wants to be caught without making some contribution. Pride is quite evidently one of the contributing factors in their giving, but this shouldn't obscure the fact that the Dani see giving as an act of reciprocity which is deeply rooted in their way of life, so that giving is both an act of gratitude to God for what He has given, and also an anticipation that God will in turn reciprocate.

Turning now to the ceremonial cycle of the Dani. In their traditional culture, ceremonies were prompted by issues or events and occured as the need for them arose. In Christianity on the other

hand, with the exception of baptism, most of the important religious ceremonies are calendar oriented events such as: Sunday worship, monthly communion, Christmas, Easter, etc. This shift in the focus of ceremonial events has created some problems as we shall see in the following discussions.

The Life Cycle Ceremonies as we noted began with the birth ceremonies, which were the least important of the life cycle ceremonies. In the new cycle of events births have continued to be passed over with only occasional interest, but a new development which is taking place is the holding of a birthday party on the occasion of the child's first birthday. The full significance of this celebration is still not clear, but seems to be gaining in popularity. As a result, in the Mulia area we have suggested to the Dani pastors that it might be advisable to conduct dedication ceremonies on this occasion as well. Such a ceremony would infuse a distinct Christian element into such occasions, and whatever needs these celebrations are meeting, could then be further elaborated.

Initiation ceremonies have died out in all Christian areas, but have been replaced by baptism which is the outward act of incorporation of new believers into the church family. Complete statistics representing baptismal patterns from other areas are not yet avilable from all of the areas but the baptismal patterns in the Mulia area as one such example may be falling into a distinct pattern. That is, in keeping with the old initiation cycle which ran in a four or five year turn, baptisms also seem to be running in spurts with successive areas holding large baptisms, and then going for some years with out any more baptisms, and then starting up a new burst of area wide baptisms.

Marriage ceremonies too tend to exhibit the same or similar groupings as they did in their pre-contact days. Marriages, includ-

ing several couples at a time are performed by the pastors who are generally giving a short message regarding the need for the new couples to live as responsible members of the community and as obedient Christians.

At death there have been a number of significant changes, most notably being that there is now a strong reaffirmation of the Christian hope of life after death. Body mutiliations have totally disappeared, but expressions of grief have been a point of controversy. Missionaries have attempted to discourage wailing and dirges, but in spite of their apparent success these have cropped up at the most unusual times. We may have here an instance of an undue emphasis which focuses on changing a form without an accompanying functional substitute that meets the felt need of the Dani. The occasional rumor that comes to our attention of secret ceremonies held by some folk on the occasion of a sudden death in which they seek to ascertain if there has been witchcraft at work only further substantiates our contention that more attention needs to be given to teaching and conducting more satisfying funeral ceremonies.

In the life issue ceremonies we begin with fertility ceremonies which have also almost totally been abandoned. No substitutes have been suggested in their place, although it is not uncommon for the Dani to promise a share of the crop or return to God. Stealing of crops has become so rampant that some Dani have resorted to erecting *kuli pige* or warnings in the form of notes, not at all unlike the old "spirit restrainers" indicating that the owner has asked God to protect his harvest and to punish thieves.

Harvest celebrations have taken on new significance in recent years and have led to area wide festivities and have been used to reaffirm ties between various areas. Typically the pandanus harvest, peanut harvest, and cucumber harvest have fallen into these occasions.

The festivities may have begun to extend across the old confederacy boundaries which would be a most wholesome and beneficial trend in ensuring the continued solidarity of the various areas.

Times of sickness are a special expression of the Dani attitudes toward illness. Medical help is generally only sought when there is a major injury, birth complication or illness in which the Dani perceives that his "soul stuff" is being threatened or decreased by the illness. Their pain tolerance is fairly high, and so many of the medical cases that show up at the clinics are either advanced complications, emergency treatments or some brand of high fever inducing illness. Typically the Dani speak of the latter kind of illness as *"kugi andi"* or "spirit sickness" which appears to be a linguistic carry-over from the days when such sickness were attributed to the spirits.

The Great Pig Feasts of the Dani have been replaced in Christian areas by an annual Christmas feast which is the climax of the Christian year. Every year at this time hundreds of pigs are killed and unprecedented numbers of Dani come together to eat, socialize and commemorate the coming of Cnrist. Christmas plays are common as are game day celebrations for the young people.

In recent years these Christmas feasts have tended to become smaller as other feasts have been added to the yearly schedule of activities. These have included the Indonesian day of Independence, graduation ceremonies, the arrival of important guests, etc. The effect of this schedule of festivities has been two fold. It means that in terms of diet, the Dani are eating meat on a more regular basis instead of having to gorge on it during the rarer but larger big feasts, and it has led to a complication of the traditional Dani system of financial loans and obligations. With more feasts to have to sponsor and attend, more transactions are having to take place and

it is becoming increasingly difficult for men to keep track of what they owe and what they own.

We conclude this section on the changing Dani ceremonial patterns by noting that ceremonies function at three levels: they meet the needs of the individual, they bind the culture together, and they reinforce the religious convictions and worldview of the participants. Not all three of these functions have been fully perceived by the missionaries and especially in respect to the second function. It would appear to me that a great deal more thoughtfulness is going to have to be given to ensuring that Christian rituals, worship services, and festivals are planned so as to reinforce groups solidarity, social cohesion, and the emotional and psychological needs of people who are still in a state of transition from their animistic past. Secondly, in taking such a functional approach to the Dani ceremonial activities we need to realize the human need for symbolism, mirth, and the ludicrous. Edmund Leach (1961:124 ff.) has noted that rituals fall into or incorporate three distinct features: formality, masquerade, and role reversal all of which are necessary components. In Dani culture each of these were a part of the pre-contact ceremonies (as for example when warriors dressed as birds, and women dancing as men at victory dances), but these elements have not been incorporated into the Christian Dani festivities, with the possible limited exception of the Christmas pageants. It would seem that there is a bit too much of the old Puritan sternness and sobriety in Dani Christian activities.

Changes in Dani Worldview

Anthropologists who have focused their attention on worldviews have noted that here is an aspect of a culture that changes only very slowly. Changes in worldview requires fundamental shifts in the paradigms or conceptualizations of people and it is a task which is

not easily accomplished. As we come to our review now of worldviews we shall see that while there have been changes in their culture, radical changes at the worldview level have not been as common. It would be incorrect though to say that there have been no worldview shifts.

Dani logic continues as it has always been, in terms of pairing, and in concrete expressions. For this reason students who have been schooled in mission schools which were taught in the Dani language and in their own thought forms find it difficult to make the transition to higher levels of schooling in the Indonesian system. While language continues to be a formidable problem to them, even more difficult is the task of reasoning in abstractions which usually accompanies the school system. It has been my observation that Aristotelian logic which underlies most Western teaching, reasons from a perspective of scientific empericism, amorality, and universal principles. The Dani on the other hand reason from what I would refer to as contextual logic. That is from a perspective of relationships, moral responsibilities, and cause and effect. Another interesting corollary to this problem has been that in Dani culture oratory was geared to impress and then secondarily to make a point. This oratorical style seems to have been drawn into their writing style, and frequently students will begin to answer a question by writing about seemingly altogether unrelated materials.

The Dani have discovered that the world round about them is a much bigger place than they had ever anticipated. It has also become a much more scientific place, quite subject to the laws of nature, and therefore a much more secular realm than they had anticipated. The discovery of science has become for the Dani one of their most important worldview shifts. To the Dani medicine is second in importance only to the desire to follow the Lord.

Economics too has become a secular realm as the Dani have discovered that they can procur wealth without having to be upright and moral members of the community. The focus of morality therefore has had to shift toward eternal rather than temporal values as they have sought to resolve the age old question of why the wicked man prospers.

In respect to the principles of life which we have noted, these continue pretty much the same as before, but now with a Christian focus. The living and the dead are no longer seen as existing in relationship to one another. And war is not seen as a moral responsibility, but then again, this attitude seemed to prevail in the Baliem, where there is still evidence that the Dani there would be prepared to fight again if they were given the opportunity.

Community spirit and togetherness continue to prevail in their attitudes and frequently a community or a patri-lineage will back one of their members in his bid to get ahead in life by going off to school. In such situations the young men involved are expected to return to their area, and give their all to those members of their community who have supported them. And, wealthy and ambitious individuals are purposely "neutralized" in terms of their wealth and power if they forget the true purpose of their wealth.

Into this whole scheme of things the church and the Christian message faces a number of very distinct challenges. In their interpretation of the Word of God, and in their application of it to the lives of the Dani a great deal of care is going to have to go into ensuring that the best of this culture is preserved as the Dani continue in their allegiance to Christ. Failure to take this caution can only mean an irrepairable loss both to the Dani and to the Christian church.

Chapter Fourteen

The Dani Church

As we come now to this final section our purpose will be to draw together a number of observations which have been made or hinted at throughout our study. Briefly we shall try to summarize how Dani Christians are currently expressing their faith through their acts of worship and their deeds of service.

Dani Worship Patterns

Places of worship have never been a problem to the Dani inasmuch as land has been plentiful, and the necessary building supplies have been available from the nearby forests. Labor was also available in abundance since the conversion of believers took place not by a gradual process of "extractionism", but through the people movement which we have been describing. In the early days meetings were held out in the open, and then they progressed to a shed with a grass roof, and this led to a building with walls, and now it is a transition to aluminum roofs, sawn floors, and painted walls. Undoubtedly pews are not far down the line in this whole process of making the church a symbol of their progress toward modernity. Support for all of these developments has come solely from local believers, including the raising of the finances necessary for their latest projects.

Church services are held on Sunday mornings at times varying

anywnere from 9:00 A.M. to 11:00 A.M. and lasting one to two hours. The variation in time depends a great deal upon the weather, for the Dani prefer to wait until the sun has warmed up the chill morning air. The general pattern seems to be that they start the service when everyone has arrived and when the church leaders have finally agreed on the order of the day's service.

Men and boys generally sit on one side, and women and girls on the other. The services tend to be noisy particularly from the women's section where infants and small children express their own wants irrespective of the occasion. Services begin with a time of singing which is led by one or two men from the congregation. The hymns are typically Dani hymns which have been written by the Dani themselves in traditional Dani music patterns. The music is an innovative adaptation of the old singing styles of the courting ceremonies which have been sanctified and transformed for use in Christian worship. The singing is more recognizable as a chant which is sung by the leader, and to which the congregation responds with a chorus consisting on nonmeaningful mono-syllabic but rhythmic vowels. The texts of the hymns are generally that of a Bible story, or point of Christian doctrine. New hymns are continually being written by aspiring writers, some of which become popular, while others just disappear.

The sermon for the day may be delivered by one or more men and is varied in style and content. Frequently responses from the audience are called for and received, and it is common for the text of the message to be repeated several times while the congregation commits it to memory. It would be impossible at this stage to generalize on Dani preaching styles inasmuch as there is considerable diversity from area to area. While it is true that the old oratorical styles still bear an influence on their patterns of preaching, many

of the pastors are developing a more Western style of preaching pattern as a result of the influence of the Bible school classes in homiletics which are taught by missionaries. This change in preaching styles can be considered a beneficial trend with the exception that it could lead to a suffocating form of monologue if the congregational responses and inter-change is neglected.

Communion services are held once a month in keeping with the patterns which are practiced in the home churches of the missionaries. Baptisms we have already noted are generally large affairs, sometimes involving several churches and conducted on a cyclical basis. Offerings on Sunday morning generally consist of produce which is given to the pastor or to students in training for the ministry. Cash is reserved for special "offering services" in which people come together especially to give an offering for a designated purpose.

One of the dissappearing characteristics of Dani worship services is the "pre-worship" dancing and singing which they used to do. In the days immediately following their conversion the Dani loved to come to church in groups singing and chanting along the way, and then in the courtyard of the church to dance back and forth or around. It was a practice which many of the missionaries encouraged, while still others longed for the day when it would cease. Those days seem to be rapidly approaching as more and more the Dani 'tailor' their own practices to those of the worship styles of the Western world which they see in the worship patterns of the missionaries and the Indonesians.

Church Organizational Patterns

The missionaries who have served among the Dani have generally come from churches of an evangelical heritage, but even here they have distinctive traditions. This has resulted in the formulation of three distinct church bodies among the Dani namely:

1. The Christian and Missionary Alliance Church of Indonesia which is better known as KINGMI.
2. The Baptist Church of Irian Jaya, which is the product of the work of the Australian Baptist Mission.
3. The Evangelical Church of Irian Jaya (G.I.I.J.) which is the result of the work of the three missions: A.P.C.M., R.B.M.U., and U.F.M.

Each one of these churches has established its own constitution and by-laws in accordance with Indonesian requirements and in reality reflects the legal requirements of the government rather than the practical needs of the Dani churches. But organization has brought changes to Dani patterns of relationships. Informal leadership, and decisions by consensus function well in small groups when a unity of opinion can be sought. But decisions by the leaders of the church reach out to affect the lives of thousands, and opinions are not as easily reconciled. In trying to preserve the decision by consensus patterns of their culture, church leaders have made decisions, gone back and discussed them with their constituency, and then had to remake them again. While this process has been wholesome it has been cumbersome and seems to be leading to a generalized feeling among the churchmen that they want to see more power invested in the decisions of the church councils. And so the concentration of power by the government into the hands of the village headmen, is being paralleled by a similar trend in the churches.

In spite of these developments, authority and leadership in the churches continues to focus on the local level with most of the essential decisions taking place in the presence of those who are affected most by them.

Training for the Ministry

There has not been a significant shortage of pastors for the

churches or needs of the Dani community primarily because standards for leadership in such positions were never determined by the educational background of such men. Rather, pastors were chosen on the basis of their spiritual maturity and their community's recommendation. These men then were the ones who went to school and the school curriculum was adapted to meet their needs. For this reason the witness schools only met for three or four days a week, because this was the length of the attention span of these men. Lesson materials were arranged in such a way as to be easily memorized (ie. by grouping them in sets of ten) or were taught in sermon fashion so that the men could preach their lessons. The residence schools which succeeded the witness schools were aimed primarily at intensifying this level of training, and have added the fresh dimension of incorporating Indonesian language learning classes, and Indonesian teachers in order to assist church leaders to meet the need of acculturating to the Indonesian context. While standing in full support of such a program, a note of caution needs to be added here regarding the function of the witness schools. Today most pastors are graduates of the Bible School programs or else they are those witness men who continue to study at the Bible Schools in special continuing education classes as characterized especially by the Mulia Bible School. But there is a continuing need for Bible school training for lay leaders which the witness schools can provide.

In cultures where there is a strong priesthood who control the religious authority and power, there is a corresponding rise in the secularity of the average layman. Oosterwal in noting this tendency as it applied to Messianic movements feels that often Christianity in focusing on a professional clergy leaves the layman with a sense of lo[illegible] regard to his own religious responsibilities and capabilities. Oosterwal then goes on to note that many Messianic movements are in

s an attempt to bring the laity back into the religious life of c community. (1973:40-41) If there is any truth in such observa- t ons, then it would appear that the Dani church, and the missions who serve there need to be promoting lay training movements through the increased use of the witness schools, instead of closing them down and relying solely upon the resident Bible schools.

Evangelistic Ministries

Evangelism in the Dani church has a three way focus. First of all it is directed toward the adult members of the Dani community who though they profess to be Christians have not evidenced their convictions by their manner of living. The Dani hold to a very distinct principle of determining one's faith on the basis of their deeds, and baptism and the Lord's Supper are reserved for only those individuals who are walking with the Lord. Preaching services therefore do aim at provoking such individuals to a fuller commitment to Christ and to a change in their lifestyles. Decisions are not asked for in public, but are rather negotiated in private. Indeed, the only public expressions of a decision are those which are made as groups an example of which was one that I attended in 1971 at Mulia. At this ceremony an entire church had gathered to symbolically burn their new "fetishes" in the form of written notes on which were penned desires, actions, and attitudes which were hindering their Christian growth. While this service was representative of such services, they have not been common in Dani culture possibly because the church needs a good revival, but also possibly because they need to be encouraged more to experiment with meaningful ways of expressing spiritual decisions instead of just passively choosing to imitate the Western world.

The second focus of evangelism in the Dani church has been in the direction of ministering to the younger children. These are

children who have basically grown up in a "Christian" culture and who do not have the same sense of turning from the old pre-Christian way of life. Instead there has been the need to both indoctrinate them in the essential truths of the Scriptures, and to incorporate them into the church as a result of their conscious desire to follow Christ. The emphasis in such evangelism has been upon the teaching of Sunday School classes and a program of youth activities through Christian Youth organizations such as PEMUKRI. The needs of this area of ministry are painfully aware to both the Dani and the missionaries as they see the conflicting standards and sense of confusion that pervades the lives of the young people. How to resolve these problems has not been so clearly discernable. For the children's ministries, the missions are all experimenting with a number of programs and the distribution of teaching materials, but to date hardly any co-ordination has gone into developing these into a strong and effective program. In respect to a youth progam, the PEMUKRI has been established as a viable youth program which focuses primarily upon Scripture memorization, Bible reading, and athletic activity. Several other ideas have been proposed including a Christian 4H Club, but in all of these programs we are dealing with relatively recent developments that can not really be evaluated at this stage in the history of the church. What is needed most obviously is a life related ministry that speaks to a new generation of believers who are having to face a whole new set of problems from that which their parents faced.

The third area of focus of the evangelistic efforts of the Dani Church has been toward other tribal areas of Irian Jaya. Currently an estimated 100 Dani, most of which are under the full support of the Dani church are serving in other tribal areas as evangelists or missionaries. Their tasks have involved learning the language of

that tribal group, and then preaching, teaching, conducting literacy classes, even doing preliminary Bible translating, and preparing for a formal Bible school ministry in those areas. Their work has generally been done under the supervision of other missionary personnel, but not just as "missionary assistants". There has been a conscious attempt on the part of the missions to make the Dani church a church with a missionary vision. The Dani in turn have responded with enthusiasm both with personnel and finances. Leadership in such programs is becoming more evident as they gain new experience in their ministries and already they are proving to be capable and qualified individuals. In the course of time, their testimonies and ministries may very well prove to be more instrumental in starting other people movements to Christ, for as we saw in the Ilaga, it was the testimony of an Ekagi Christian that provoked the Damal to action.

The Dani missionaries do have their limitations of course. They are lacking in technical know how and experience, and finances. When they go into an area they can soon be preaching, but they don't have the resources to start any new agricultural programs, and they can't afford quantities of medicines, and so for some of these things they must rely on the older American or Western missions. But in terms of living with the people, and speaking to them from a culturally similar perspective they have all the advantages. The Dani have every prospect of becoming the "Celts" of their domain in respect to their missionary enthusiasm. In making that comparison then, I wonder whether like the Celts, the Dani missionary program might not be more effective if they were sent out as teams rather than as individuals. In its developmental stages such alternative forms of missions might well be explored by the Dani church leadership.

Social Concerns

Missionary writings are replete with concerns for the social

needs of the people with whom they serve, and rightly so for such needs are the legitimate concern of Christians. Nida has observed that "when a religion abandons certain vital areas of human concern, a kind of ideological vacuum is created which will inevitably be filled in one way or another." (1968:14) It would seem that we could postulate a principle here that whenever a church abandons some area of human need they leave the door open for false movements to come in. And so in the development of the Dani church one of the questions which has been foremost in the minds of the missionaries has been to know how to direct the church so as to assist it in meeting its social obligations, while at the same time not distracting the mission from its primary goal of being an evangelistic arm of the church to the lost.

In general, the missionaries have felt that one of the best ways to help the Dani church realize its potential in this area, was to keep from strapping it with huge institutional programs that depend heavily upon foreign subsidies. Therefore while institutions have been built by the missions in the form of hospitals and schools, the aim has been to plan for full self sufficiency in the foreseeable future. For this reason, medical students who have graduated from the medical programs are not under subsidy by the missions, literacy teachers are not paid in cash but receive instead a remuneration in the form of labor or gifts from their classes, and Bible school teachers are being brought into programs in which student tuitions will meet their salaries. In all of these programs though, cash is in short supply, and for limited times mission subsidies do have to come into the picture. On a long term basis though these are the projections, and as the need for cash increases more readily than the resources of the Dani the question has been raised often as to whether business ventures on behalf of some of these programs might not be

encouraged in order to assist with the need for funds. That is, that a small store might be used to finance a literature ministry, or a Dani vegetable co-op might be used to support an educational venture, etc. A number of ideas of this nature have been attempted and are continuing today and may indeed be an answer to this problem. Once again though one of the problems in such activities is that they tend to be time consuming, and especially for missionaries who have been trained in Bible Schools instead of Business Schools. Hospitals, schools, and businesses all seem to have a legitimate role in the church both in Indonesia and especially among the Dani, but maintaining balance will be a continuing moral and ethical problem which faces the missions for some time to come. Such programs could become a distraction to both mission and church.

Chapter Fifteen

Conclusion

It is difficult to write a finish to a study such as this. The Dani people including their culture and their church are caught up in a period of change for which the end result is impossible to predict. Looking back we can see that the Dani culture was transformed in a sudden and dramatic movement that defied all suggestions of a policy of gradualism. Missionary attempts to utilize some of the old pre-Christian practices were rebuffed while others were willingly accepted. In the main the Dani wanted a clean sweep from their old culture, and the momentum of that choice continues to propel them away from their past. It is very possible of course that sometime during the second or third generation there will be a revived interest in the old way of life, and some of the abandoned practices will be restored, but with new meanings and without the current existing fear of reversions.

The "clean break" effect of the movement has meant that there is no problem with syncretism in Dani Christianity which has been a serious problem in other areas for missions and missionaries. But by the same token such a radical shift has created many other problems, and it is possible yet to have a movement out of the church in the form of a nativistic movement which is the same form of culture change as a people movement but in an opposite direction.

It is not with smugness therefore that the missions and the churches sit back and congratulate themselves on a "good job well done". The Dani church faces some very big issues in the days ahead. Some such problem areas to which both church and mission must be aware include:

1. The need to finish the translation task of the Scriptures. This should include the rest of the New Testament, and at least the most relevant parts of the Old Testament.
2. The need to see qualified leadership in the Dani church who will be able to relate effectively to the Indonesian officials on behalf of the needs of the church.
3. The need to bring the Dani populace through the current transition into Indonesian culture. (That is, to bring large sections of the Dani to the place where they can function comfortably in the Indonesian language, custom and economy.)
4. The need to prepare the Dani people for life with the rest of the world. (Today the Dani are shockingly naive regarding life as it exists beyond their own valleys. Their critical faculties and their knowledge of life needs to be expanded, so that they do not become pawns in political, religious and cultural conflicts.)
5. The need to prepare a core of young men who can function at the highest level in developing a truly indigenous theology which is more than a copy of the missions and the results of their classroom notes.
6. The need to continue to explore ways in which to make the Word of God fully relevant to their lives today in the midst of the changes which have already taken place.

As missionaries serving in that land, and as Dani church leaders who bear these responsibilities the promise of Christ is comforting indeed as we reflect that this is His Church, not ours, and we can trust Him to build it, it is not our responsibility alone.

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VITA

Douglas James Hayward was born in Midland, Ontario, Canada on June 24, 1940, and moved to Redondo Beach, California in 1952. Under the influence of the ministry of the Gospel at the Community Baptist Church (Manhattan Beach) he made a personal commitment to Jesus Christ which led to his decision to enter the ministry.

He graduated from the Missions Major of the Moody Bible Institute in 1960; received his B.A. from Westmont College in 1963; studied linguistics with the Summer Institute of Linguistics during the summer of 1963 at the University of North Dakota in Grand Forks; completed his M.A. in Missiology degree in the School of World Missions at Fuller Seminary in 1977.

He served in his home church in Manhattan Beach, for one year during which time he was ordained to the ministry by the Conservative Baptist Association of Southern California. In 1966, following an additional year of study and service under the auspices of Missionary Internship Inc. in Michigan he was appointed as a missionary to the field of Irian Jaya, Indonesia by the Unevangelized Fields Mission.

He has completed 2½ terms of service (11 years) in Irian Jaya, where he has ministered as an advisor to the Dani church and its leaders in matters relating particularly to church growth, church planting, evangelism, and training for the ministry.

He is married to Joanne (nee Rummel) Hayward, and has three children who all share a portion of the ministry which God has given to them.

This is a book about one of the most remarkable groups of people in the world today, the Dani of Irian Jaya, Indonesia. Isolated and hidden away from the outside world until the middle of this century, the story of their conversion to Christ burst upon the Western world during the 1960's shattering the pessimism of the missionaries of that decade and providing a vivid and contemporary example of a "people-movement conversion" to Christianity. This is the story of the people and the events that surrounded their turning to Christ. The book is presented in three parts.

Part I gives an extensive overview of Dani culture, noting the similarities and difference which are practiced in the various Dani areas. Particular attention is given to the subject of Dani worldview and the values which underlie Dani culture. This section closes by noting the differences between the Baliem Dani and the Western Dani and the implications this has in their receptivity to change

Part II records the remarkable series of events that were a part of the Dani conversion movement. This is the first comprehensive account of the movement as it spread from area to area engulfing all of the missions and embracing virtually all of the Western Dani tribe. It is a studied account of a classic people movement to Christ and a must reading for all who would seek to understand this particular phenomenon.

Part III is a record of the struggles of the Dani, as they seek to respond to the claims of the Gospel, to express these within their own tribal setting, and at the same time to discover their own identity within the Indonesian state of which they are a part. It is a chapter without an ending for it is a process to which only the beginning is recorded here. This is a chapter to which all missionaries who are involved in the process of culture change will want to give special attention. This is a book that seeks to point the way into the future for the Dani and for those who serve in their midst