

The KAMANUKU

Volume IV

Religious Conceptions and
Social Culture

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The Kamanuku

A Monograph

Volume IV

Religious Conceptions and
Social Culture

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Preface

This is the last volume of this monograph. In the pages of this volume I try to record the observations etc., which I made during my stay in NewGuinea with the Kamanuku in the time from 1934 to 1968.

It is not always easy to penetrate into the religious conceptions of the native people, but to understand their life and their actions it is absolutely necessary to understand the background, on which these actions are based. Only if one knows this background will one be able to understand their actions. Therefore it is essential to penetrate their spiritual world as far as possible, at least as far as that is possible for a foreigner.

What is recorded on the following pages is not meant to record everything in full, or to give a complete picture of their conceptions. I also do not say that the record is the only correct one. Each clan and each tribe will have some variations of this or that custom, but that does not make the other variation incorrect, or untrue. I follow my notes as they were recorded to me and according the explanations given to me.

I want to express my deep appreciation, to Karl and Laurel Bergmann, who kindly read these pages and corrected my English, as far as necessary.

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W. Bergmann

1. A few Remarks in Regard to the Legends
and Fairytales

In volume III of this monograph I have recorded a number of legends and fairytales, as they were told to me by some Kamanuku men, or were written down by some of them for me.

Legends and fairytales give some insight into the thinking of the group of people in which they originated. The same holds true with these legends and fairytales. - One could make quite a few remarks in regards to these legends and fairytales, but it is not my intention to go into details here. However, a few remarks may be appropriate.

Without doubt people have had some thoughts about the origin of mankind, of animals and things they see. That is indicated in quite a number of legends and fairytales. In legend 1 (one) (Siambuka) for example the origin of fire and the propagation of mankind is clearly indicated. That in such narrations nearly always some people are presupposed (as here man and woman) is quite natural in New Guinea. Siambuka is more or less of supernatural origin. He arrives from above, like lightning, but then he is a man, like all the others. But he is the first cause, and helps mankind to get fire and from that time on they have and keep fire. From that time also people multiply. Siambuka and his wife are seen as the progenitors of the Kamanuku and of all the surrounding tribes. - That later Gerigl tries to chase Siambuka away, indicates that he has done something against good custom, as he had intercourse with the wife of another man, a wife who did not belong to him. Therefore the fight resulting in chasing away the first husband of the woman. Siambuka stays as he is the stronger one.

In New Guinea one very often finds that, before men multiplied, somebody had to be killed first and out of his blood or pieces of his body new life came into existence. But that is not only characteristic of people in New Guinea but also is indicated in some fairytales of white people. - I know quite a number of legends and fairy tales of other tribes, in which a man always had to be killed, before mankind was able to multiply.

Of the Kamanuku this seems not to be the case, at least not according to legend number one; but there are quite a number of other legends and fairytales, which point in the same direction - namely, that somebody has to die, in order that new life can come into existence, as is clearly indicated for example in legend No. 4 (Mondo and Gande). Here Mondo has to die in order that the people may come into the possession of pigs. He does that of his free will to help his own people. The same thought appears also in other legends and fairytales, for example in legends No. 15 (resp. 54). Here the sister has to die. Even if it seems at first that it is because she did a wrong against the old Gokum, the real cause is so that the others can discover the valuables, shells etc, and by this she helps her people to come into possession of these highly appreciated and most valuable goods.

Also in the origin of many animals, birds etc. the same thought appears again and again. Somebody has to die; but very often a second or a third reason is apparent to explain why there are so many kinds of animals and/or birds.

Furthermore I wish to stress, that quite a number of legends and fairytales cast some light on the customs and unwritten laws of the native people. One notices also that many of the legends and fairytales have at the end an application to the existing custom. "Because that was so..... we do this or that, or do not do this or that....."

It would be more or less an idle question to ask what was earlier the legend or the custom. In other words: Were the customs already in practice and then they were given a basis by the legends, or the legends come first and then the customs were derived from the legends ?

In quite a number of legends and fairytales something happens which is against custom and usage, in other words a wrong, a crime, which has to be punished. At the same time it is then a warning to all the others, not to do such bad things. Therefore many of the legends and fairytales conclude with the remark: " if he (it) had not done that..... but now, because he did that..... it is so and so."

To illustrate that: In legend No. 3 one cousin cheats the other, time and again, and the other cousin, a bit of a simpleton, always follows the advise of his cousin until at last he is led into a crime against his own mother. Then Parake becomes aware and chases his cousin out of the "country".

In legend No. 8 the illegal abduction of the wife of another man is punished. In legend 15 the cheating of grandparents is punished. In legend 17 Gande cheats Mondo and takes even his wife away from him. This he has to pay for with his life.

One could add quite a few more remarks, for example: That the spirits have quite some influence upon the living people and that they can act to the advantage or to the disadvantage of the living people, - or that animals as well as plants are often personified in legends and fairytales - but I do not want to go into details of all this. I only wanted to give a few indications.

2. Religious Conceptions

1. Some indications

How the universe came into existence people hardly ever contemplated. If they were asked how the earth came into existence their answer was: "pamara pangwa" or: "pamere pangwa." which means: It is where it is, or: How it is so it is, or: It has been always so. Also in the legends and fairytales I have found no indication in this respect, but about the beginning of animals, mankind, birds etc. there are many indications in the legends. Therefore we may say, there is no conception of a "creator" god or spirit. At least of the Kamánuku nothing has come to my knowledge in this respect. Other tribes in New Guinea have such conceptions in their myths and/or legends.

About sun, moon and stars very little is known. But there are some indications that sun and moon have some influence upon the life of men. These indications I would not call "cult" but there are quite frequent indications that sun and moon are thought to be persons or spirits. I wish to mention a few of these indications. They do not play a big role, but are of small importance regarding the daily life. I could not say if it has been always that way. It is possible that they played a bigger role in ancient days.

The sun is sometimes called: yagl awa (awano ande) - grandfather. Yagl awa ande ongomuglo wagle mokona yagkera, Before your eyes grandfather I plant my garden (as you see it: while? look at it....) Mokona ere yagkera kuro tange te ere pangwa, ereme u wakai emin ninaglendi pira minggi gagl bilandiwa. Pirika areka si wemin ninaluo. (I planted the garden, but it has not grown well so far, therefore shine nicely and when you have brought it ready for harvesting, then I can eat it).

When people made a sign of "strictly prohibited" on a tree, by binding some material around it, or grass around a pandanus tree, then they often held this material they bound around the tree up to the sun and said: "Sun, you see this " and then bound the material around the tree. In other words: Sun, you look out and see to it that nobody dares to touch this, which I own.

When little babies were about 3 days old they took a strong smelling kind of grass and formed that into a loop. This grass is called wamugl. Then they killed and prepared fowls and/ or pigs. When that had been done they pulled the loop open (pirika sigga) and held it toward the sun and said: "Yawana ande ene sugl motnatn gake i yake wakai enambiwo (Grandfather sun, while you are watching him this boy shall grow up nice and healthy". When they had said that they threw the grass away and distributed the food and ate it.

When building a house the sun also was addressed, but that has already been mentioned in volume II under housebuilding' (eremine ande yei moglo....).

The sun was thought to be masculine and the moon feminine. Awamba arare, they called out when the new moon was sighted for the first time. Children call out like that often, but the old people tell them that they ought to call awamba, an expression for ancestor or progenitor.

In this way one could mention quite a few more indications which at least indicate some kind of cult in regard to the celestial bodies, but as they do not play a big part in the life of the natives these few indications may suffice.

Totem: Also in regard to some totem animals there are a few hints here and there, for example: Some old people never touched the meat of a cassowary etc. But otherwise I have not found anything that played any significant role in the life of the people in this regard. In other tribes, especially near the coast, this is different.

1. Local Spirits

Local spirits play a bigger role in the life of the natives. According to their belief there are quite a number of them living and around. They can influence the life of the people in a good way, or they can bring harm and mishap. One kind of these spirits is called:

a) Gitn dewe

Of them it is said that they live in the forest, or in grass thickets. They may cause sores and sicknesses. "The spirit hits me therefore I am sick" they say. The spirit is the cause of the sickness. Of these spirits it is said, that they are like human beings, or at least very similar to them. Therefore they believed that little children were exchanged by them, namely that they put their own children in place of a human child and then took the human child away with them. These dewe were said to be men and women. Their hair was said to be straight and very thin. Also they had only a few teeth, they said.

Because they were able to do harm to the people, one had to be careful not to arouse the spirits against oneself. At such places which were inhabited by these spirits one was not permitted to hunt, and often one was not permitted to visit such a place. If somebody in the vicinity of such a place had killed an animal, then he placed it for a while on the ground or held it in the direction of the place so the spirits could see it and take of it what they wanted (soul matter).

When the time was near for harvesting the amugl (kind of pandanus) men would go into the forest and into the huts, built to stay overnight in these areas. However they would not start immediately to harvest the fruits, but would have to wait until the dewe had taken what they wanted and as much as they wanted. Only after that might the people start to pick amugl for themselves.

b. Kumo kanggi

Another group of local spirits is called: Kumo kanggi. The name indicates that there may be some relations to kumo (see next paragraph), but what these may be, I could not say. Some of these kumo kanggi are thought to be similar to human beings, others are thought to be ugly monsters. The names are many, eg.: kumo, gitnuinui, arembande etc. They say: Some of them have only one eye in the middle of the forehead, also only one arm at one side, only one leg, divided heads ('split in two parts, etc. (cf. legend No 6 volume III). It is further said, that they live near water and rivers in the thicket of bambu grass, between bush and trees. They are thought to eat human beings, namely the bodies of the people who float down the river. (These bodies are often such of people who possessed kumo and were thrown into the river to get rid of them, therefore perhaps the name kumo kanggi.) Often the people do not dare to call or mention their names as in the motto: "Talk of the devil and he will appear". Instead one says: There where the ones who eat us live. People say: Dewe na sungwa, but also: kumo kanggi na sungwa (the dewe spirit or the kumo kanggi spirit hits me, makes me sick, causes my illness.) Sickness as well as accidents of people and domestic animals can be blamed to the evil influence of the evil spirits. They can cause mishap, failure of crops, even cause that a whole clan may be exterminated.

Such places, at which such evil spirits live are avoided (or shunned). One is not permitted to go there, one may not take anything from there, not even a tree, because kumo kanggi may have planted it (and therefore owns it). It would be theft and they would take revenge. Especially various kinds of vines, which grow at such places, may not be taken away: for example the kan gogl, which grows often in such thickets. This plant is a semi climber and climbs up on trees and has very many red flowers, a pretty sight. Also the kan kama, the black vine, was not permitted to be taken from such places.

Because these spirits could cause harm quite a few precautionary measures had to be observed in order not to provoke the anger of the spirits. For example: Someone wanted to kill a pig, but the pig might have dug the soil near the place where the spirits live, or might have eaten this or that belonging to the spirits. If one suspected that, then the spirits were called before the pig was killed; "I intend to kill this pig, listen and know it". When it had been butchered, the liver, or at least a piece of the liver, was taken and put on a platform, or near the house in front or at the back. It was left there for the night. Next morning, if the piece was still there, it was taken and held high in the air in the direction where the spirits lived and the spirits were called to take of the meat as much as they liked. After having done so the piece was brought back into the house and cooked with the other meat and eaten.

If somebody had gone near such a place where the spirits live, either because he was not careful or did not know it was a spirit-inhabited place, he had to count with mishap and even with death. Surely the spirits would come at night and eat him. Nothing could help them, nothing could break the power of imagination, even the influence of the good spirits were powerless.

c. Ancestor-spirits.

For a Kamanuku life was not bound by birth and death. Not only the time people lived, but the ancestral past belonged to it as well as the future (children). Altogether this is one unit. Therefore it is understandable that the spirits of the ancestors were honoured and venerated and a special cult had been developed to honour and venerate the spirits of the ancestors. The ancestors had lived before them and were living on after death; and in addition the life of a man was not full if he had no descendants. Therefore children were a special blessing, also, from this point of view. To have many children was something a man was always proud of.

If somebody died, the soul or spirit did not die with the body but lived on (This soul or spirit was called: *gigl*).

to

According to the belief of the natives the spirit of the deceased one stays at first close to the place where the body lived. In some respects, the spirit is bound to be where the body of the deceased one is. Therefore the spirit was thought to be near the house, garden, etc. where the person had lived. Later the spirit is thought to be near the place where the body has been buried, or at least in the vicinity of the burial place.

As the bodies of the kumo owners were thrown into the rivers, the spirits of such people had to follow the bodies, and had therefore to leave the area, where the kumo person had lived, and could therefore do no more harm to the others. The same was thought of the bodies which were thrown into big and deep caves. But people were afraid to go to or to be in the vicinity of such caves. Also near the rivers, which carried such kumo bodies away, one did not like to stay. Especially at night everybody tried to avoid such places.

If somebody had hanged him or herself, for example in the forest, then they believed, that the spirit was living near the place where the person had committed suicide. -

The spirits could not be seen. Also nobody knew how their form, figure or shape would be. Some said they would change into animals, or into birds, especially in such as could give indications for the future. These were thought to be given by the spirits. But even if they could not be seen, even if one did not know how they looked, they were convinced that the influence they had upon the life of the living ones could definitely be felt.

Because the spirits were thought to be living on after the body had died, the influence of them was thought to be real, for the individual person as well as for the clan and tribe. The more influence such a person had had, while living here on earth, the bigger the influence of the spirit after the death was thought to be. This influence could be benevolent or could be malignant. Therefore it was important to do everything possible to keep the spirit in good mood. Out of this conception or expostulation the ancestor cult will have developed.

To influence the spirits of the ancestors, to appease them, to keep them in good mood, to be sure of their good influence etc. there were quite a few customs and usages, which everyone followed, for his or her own good, for the individual life and for the life of the group. The influence of the ancestor spirits reached only as far as it did when the person was still living. That means, it hardly ever gets further than the own group, the influence does not reach over the enemies etc. Among these customs and usages which everyone followed belong for example the following:

1. The mourning customs, the lamentation for the dead, the decoration of the body of the deceased one, the putting in stage of the body, the burial, the eating of the burial feast etc.etc.

2. Komuglange, a kind of sacrifice for the dead one. When the body had been buried the relatives put a dish with some food behind the house in which the deceased one had lived. They did that for some days or weeks. The food could consist of: Sweetpotatoes, sugar cane, taro, yams, or something similar. The food could be placed there cooked or raw. It was meant to be for the spirit of the deceased one. It was not taken away, if it was still there next morning. If it was gone they thought the spirit had eaten it (perhaps rats or dogs had eaten it). If it was still there they left it to rat. Whether it was still there or had vanished did not matter; at least they thought the spirit had taken what it wanted from it, and therefore was pleased and well disposed to the living ones. (The visible things do not need to disappear, the spirits eat only the invisible, the magic strength of the food).

3. To honour the ancestor spirits there was from time to time a pig killed in the vicinity of the burial place, or on the place where the big pig festivals take place. These places are often close to the customary burial places or vice versa. This was thought mainly to be a sacrifice for the ancestor spirit. The burial places were placed in such a position, that close to them there was room to kill pigs, and for people to assemble there.

The spirit of the ancestor(s) were thought to be in the vicinity and could see and observe everything, that was done there to honour them. I did not observe that special parts of the pigs were given to the ancestors, but that would not be necessary, since it was fully satisfying for them that it was done there where they abode. The pig was butchered near the burial place or near the grave, and also it was cooked together with sweetpotatoes and vegetables there. They ate some of it at that place, but most of it was carried to the village and there eaten by all. These sacrifices were common. The ancestor spirits (they believed) were glad that they were thought of in this way, that they were honoured, that they were not forgotten by the living ones and were refreshed, comforted and delighted. Their good will and kind feelings resulting from these gifts were shown in success in breeding animals etc. etc. Their blessings were sure to be continually with their relatives.

4. Also the gerua pieces, which will be mentioned and described at another place, must be mentioned here. They were made and carried to honour the ancestors. They more or less personify the spirits of the ancestors and they are in this way able to take part in the big pig festivals (big dances of the pig festivals).

5. The bolum house, which the Kamanuku erected at the time of the big pig festivals, was also built to venerate the ancestor spirits. (see pig festivals). Here the pigs were lined up before they were divided amongst the guests, or at least parts of the pigs. And that was done so that the ancestor spirits could refresh themselves. They could then take what they wanted, and only after that, the guests were served.

6. Furthermore it has to be mentioned, that if possible, the bodies of the deceased ones had to be buried at home, and that has its cause in the belief in the ancestor spirits. Therefore it is understandable that everything possible was done not to bury the bodies somewhere else, but at home at the common burial places.

7. The blowing of the pig flutes (nerembare) is also connected with the ancestor cult. The spirits of the ancestors will hear it and give their special blessings so that the pigs grow quickly and get big and fat. These flutes are mostly blown in the evenings and late at night, weeks and months before the big pig festivals take place.

8. Also various dances which are performed during the time of the pig festivals must be mentioned here, for example the fertility dances. That is beneficial for the fertility of man and animals. Also the gardens will grow better, all by the influence of the ancestor spirits.

One could easily mention quite a few more things, which also are connected with the ancestor spirits, or ancestor cult, but this may suffice.

The natives thought perhaps somewhat along this line: The ancestors, or the ancestor spirits are not dead, but they live on. They are not separated from the living ones but live with them, take part in their woes and well-being and help the living ones, or, if the latter do not honour them, they take revenge.

So, if the necessary honours are given to the ancestor spirits they will help the living ones. They prevent sickness or even death. They take care that the gardens grow well, that the pigs and other domestic animals are well and grow quickly, that the pigs multiply. They watch over the women and children. They prevent wars, and if wars break out they help to overcome the enemies etc. etc.

But if the ancestor spirits are forgotten, if they are not venerated and honoured, if they do not give them what they can expect, then they have to take the consequences. Then not blessings and well-being will follow, but on the contrary; instead of blessing, curses; instead of health, sickness, pining away or even death. The pigs will get bony and sick, the young ones will die, the gardens will not grow, food will be scarce and hunger will be at the door etc. etc.

Therefore the life of the living generation is very closely connected with the ancestors. Health, wellbeing, happiness and plenty of goods etc. are dependant on the goodwill, the benevolence and the blessings of the ancestor spirits.

d. Omens

In a certain sense also, the omen must be mentioned here. There can be good omens and bad omens. They think these omens are connected with the ancestor spirits. They cause and send them. There are quite a large number of such omen. I shall mention only a few here:

If someone is sick, it is a bad omen if at night the bird kua calls out. It is a bad omen and means that the sick one has to die and that death is imminent. If then such a person dies, their belief is strengthened. The spirit has called out.

Also some noises in the walls of the house, or in the roof of the house, caused by the kugume kambu, were counted under bad omen. It also indicated, that some one of the inhabitants had to die shortly after.

These and other omen, as well as all unusual and sudden noises were feared, for example: If somebody went out of the house at night, perhaps to relieve him or herself, and then something rustled near his or her feet (perhaps it was a rat or a lizard) then they thought the noise had been caused by a spirit (of the ancestors).

If somebody wanted to make a visit, perhaps to exchange goods with some friends, and then he heard the bird kuraglm̄ba call out, then this could be a good or a bad omen according to the way the bird called. This bird seems to have different calls. If the call was a short clucking sound, then it was useless to go on, everything would be in vain and nothing would come out of the visit; but if the sound was like a peeping sound, similar to the peeping of a rat, then it was a good omen and success was assured.

Also dreams could be meaningful. If somebody intended to do something, say: Making a trip, a visit to friends and/or relatives etc. and he had a dream in which he encountered difficulties, then he would not proceed with his intentions. But if in a dream all went well, he was encouraged and went along with an easy heart.

There were also people who were kind of clairvoyants. They were called: Kumbu kanungwa p̄ai yungwa yomba (people who have dreams which become true). So for example some- one of such people could tell the place in the forest at which game could be found or he could point out the place where fish were to be caught in the river, or such a man or woman could see when something had been stolen and where the stolen goods were hidden. If the others followed the directions given by them the missing good would be found (at least so they asserted). Only cases with success were reported to me, but how often they had no success I do not know. To find that out one had to do quite a bit of research. But if it came true or not, that is not the point, the main thing is that they believed that some men as well as women had the gift of clairvoyance. They saw and could tell, what was hidden to others.

Also if war was imminent, such people with the gift of clairvoyancy could tell beforehand, what was not very difficult, as people lived nearly all the time in a state of war.

Such people are also able to tell beforehand, if and when somebody will die. I was told of a woman, who several times told of the death of somebody else, saying the name of the person who would die after a short while. They dreamt of people who were carrying poles. If they were short, then a child would die, if they were long, a grown up would die. The husband of this woman asserted that each time, when his wife had told of such a dream, shortly after, it had become true, always a few days later, exactly as she had told him before.

I do not want to say if all this is true or not, or if it was exactly as they reported it to me, also I can not say if it always became true, what was told, or what the woman said. I only report as I was told and as the people believed it.

3. K u m o

When the first white people came into contact with the people in the Chimbu area, which was in the year 1933, they were surprised about the free behaviour of the Chimbu people, including the Kamanuku, because the behaviour was different from other tribes. They were not shy and afraid, but open and freer than the people of other areas in New Guinea.

If one met other people, especially for the first time, people were normally afraid, shy, reserved, but not so the Chimbu people. They came near, stood up against you, looked at you from head to foot, stared at you, etc. Such free behaviour was also unknown to me when I arrived at Chimbu. I had at that time been 6 years in New Guinea and I had seen and travelled through many areas and had come in contact with many tribes and tens of thousands of people who had never before seen in their lives a white man.

I had seen many tribes on the Huongolf peninsula and the area in the highland up to the Goroka valley was well known to me at that time. But such free behaviour I had not met anywhere else. Even the women and girls were not shy at all. Normally they kept away at a distance; but the Chimbu women and girls were not so. They came close, they looked at you, they were not afraid at all. In other areas the women stood away from the visitors at a good distance and if you looked in the direction where they were, they quickly looked the other way, but not so the women and girls of the Chimbu area.

Such behaviour had of course its reason, but it took quite a long time, until I found out what was the real cause for this. If one pays only a short visit and stays only for a few days with them, one will of course not find out the real cause for such behaviour, but with time, I learned to understand, that the real cause lies in the belief in kumo

But with that statement nothing much is explained, if one does not know what kumo is and how it works. Kumo is a word of the Kuman language, a word of the local language, which is not possible to translate with a single word into English, because these things, which are expressed with this word, do not exist in the English culture. One could translate: black magic, or death sorcery, but its meaning is different from that for which these words are normally used. One could also say: Possessed by a spirit, meaning a person which is in the possession of the kumo spirit, but that would explain at best only part of the meaning of this word.

Black magic, or death sorcery, or sanguma, as it is called in the Madang area, is widely known in most parts of New Guinea, and it was known in this area too, at least by name and by hearsay; but in their lives it played a very small role. But this black magic was known and feared and practised for example: In the Goroka valley, the other side of the divide towards the Ramu, in the upper Maili river valley etc.etc.

To point out the difference between black magic or death sorcery, as it is known, feared and practised in most parts of New Guinea and kumo, it will be necessary to stress a few points of the black magic first. As far as I can see, there are two main differences between "black magic" and "kumo".

1. If one wants to make black magic in New Guinea the sorcerer needs a kind of medium in the sense, that he needs "soul matter" of the person whom he wants to make black magic against. Any part of the body can be used for such medium, but the parts preferred, are very different in the different areas. So such a medium can be: Hair, fingernails, refuse or waste which has been connected or touched by the person, faeces, urin, semen, the warmth of the body, breath, the look etc. etc. Of this, or of one of these parts, the sorcerer has to get some into his possession, mostly secretly, without the owner having a notion. If the sorcerer has succeeded to get some of this soul-matter then he normally bundles it, so that it cannot disappear, and then he starts to do different manipulations with this bundle in the belief, that everything that is done to the soul matter, as part of the body, will also happen to the body itself. In other words, what happens to part of the body, that happens also to the body itself.

But with kumo it is quite different. Nothing of all this is needed. Therefore kumo is not black magic or death sorcery in the sense that the well known black magic is. And because the native does not need to fear that some of his soul matter may be lost or taken by someone else, he has no fear in this respect. He throws away scraps of food etc. without fear; he does not shun an evil look et, etc. He may go anywhere to relieve himself. He may wash or take a bath in a pool or river and many other things. He is not afraid if he is confronted with a stranger. And all that because he does not fear to lose any of his soul-matter, which could be used in black magic against him.

2. Furthermore another significant difference has to be mentioned. In black magic, as it is mostly found in New Guinea, always somebody is blamed for making the black magic against the sick person, and in most cases always an enemy is blamed, mostly one of another village. If this person is blamed rightly or wrongly does not matter much. Mostly the guilty person is found out by some manipulations which are made with or in the presence of the body of the person who has died. In other words, they let the dead one tell the living who is to blame and who is the guilty one. And people firmly believe, that the dead one has given the answer to the question who the guilty person is. And soon after, or after the dead one has been buried, revenge is taken against the "guilty" ones. The enemy is attacked and one or more of them are killed. That is vendetta or bloou revenge.

But with kumo it is quite different. Never a person of a neighbouring village is blamed, but always somebody from their own midst, somebody of their own clan or tribe, somebody who lived together with the person who has died. The person who is blamed may be a man or a woman, a grown up person or a child. And if one was blamed to have kumo, or to be a kumo, that meant as much that he or she was doomed to die. If they agreed on who the "kumo" was, then he was killed, either by his own people, or they hired some men from another village and paid them and they did the killing for them, if they did not want to do the killing themselves. No revenge was taken against people of another village or clan. No blood revenge was carried out, if one does not want to call such killing blood revenge. Often the guilty one did not even know that he or she was blamed as kumo. And of all the discussions and negotiations which proceeded, such killings he or she often did not know anything. Mostly such victims were quite suddenly attacked and killed. The body was then thrown into the river, because, as long as the body was in their midst, the kumo would be there too. Only when the body had left the area, the kumo had to leave too, and only then the people felt safe that the kumo could not do any harm to them anymore.

Very often sudden or unexpected death were the cause why somebody was blamed to have kumo. For example: If a young person who seemed to be healthy, man or woman, suddenly died, maybe he or she had an heart attack; or if shortly after one another several people died, perhaps the cause was dysentery or any other infectious disease, or 'flue, then that would give cause for suspicion. At such and other occasions, they often concluded that a kumo must live in their midst and cause the sickness and deaths. And then the kumo had to be disposed of, otherwise all the others would be in danger of dying too.

But they could not always keep it secret if they blamed somebody for kumo. The more influential the person who is to be blamed, the more care must be taken that he does not get suspicious.

For as a influential and strong man he will find means and ways to take preventative measures, or to try to get the blame away from him and to somebody else.

I was quite surprised to learn that some people quite openly said that they had kumo, yes, even boasted to have killed so and so many people. Did the others not believe them? Or did such people want to die?

Comparing the cases, that came to my notice and which I could more or less observe, I must say: Those to be killed for having kumo mostly were the poor ones, who had not many relatives, or no influential relatives, often orphans etc. (Even small children of a few years old could be chosen and blamed as kumo) But that was not always the case and not infrequently people of good standing and with great influence were chosen, people who had many pigs and valuables, even such men as could be called the leading men or the chieftains. Then they concluded:

He is so rich, his having so much valuables cannot be except for the reason, that he has kumo. And when they came to this conclusion then they killed such people and distributed the goods amongst themselves.

I have of course tried to solve the secret of kumo, but it is not easy to understand the thinking of the natives. But one thing seems to be sure, kumo seems to be the bulwark or bastion of the thinking of the people. Nothing is feared like kumo.

What I have said so far does not give a real insight of what kumo really is. In the following I shall try to describe kumo a little more in detail. But it is not possible to define in a single word or in a single sentence the meaning of kumo. - A young man, his name is Mokono, once wrote down for me how kumo came into existence; and an elderly man with the name of Gende tried to give more details and explanations. Other men have told me their version and I try to give here, what I could learn from them. This man Mokono is able to read and write and what he wrote down for me in his mothertongue I translate here into English:

"Very long ago there was only a single woman who had kumo. She lived at Womkame (middle Chimbu), there where the first men lived and multiplied. All the other women had no kumo, only this one. She had a grown up son, he was married. His wife had no kumo. Then she heard other people say: That woman (her mother in law) has kumo. She thought: "What does that mean, she has kumo?" I should like to know what that is" she has kumo". I wonder, would she give kumo to me? I should very much like to have kumo. So she thought and then she presented her mother in law with a new string apron and a new netbag. She gave that to her mother in law, but her mother in law did not give her kumo. And because her daughter in law lived with her husband in a happy marriage, she gave her a magic spell for a good marriage, so that her husband, whom she loved very much, should never marry another woman.

Then the daughter in law, who had no kumo, thought: "I wanted her to give me kumo, but she did not do that. She gave me a magic spell instead. I shall make her another present! Then she cooked a good meal and gave that to her mother in law.

But her mother in law did not give her kumo but instead another magic spell, this time for her pigs, that they should grow nice and quickly and should multiply very much. Also a spell for the garden, that the food should grow abundantly.

Then the young woman thought by herself: " I gave her all that to get kumo, but she gave me only magic spells." Then she was thinking what she should do next. Then she went at night and collected mushrooms and prepared them, put salt over them and gave them to her mother in law to eat. When she did that her mother in law thought: " I gave her all the magic spells I know, and now she gives me another present. Why does she do that? Does she want to get kumo?" So, thinking that, she said to her: " I have told you all I know, I have nothing more to give." Then the daughter in law said: " O my mother in law, I eat your faeces(form of veneration like: "Kiss your hands") what else you still possess, give it to me". Then the mother in law said: " I still have a small thing, if I give that to you, you must be very cautious, otherwise they will kill us, therefore I shall not tell you that". Then the daughter in law replied: " O my mother, I eat your faeces, please do tell me".

When she implored her like that the woman who had kumo did the following: She gave her a small rat, that went into her body(without her noticing it) (somewhere at her hand or foot, this rat is supposed to go in and penetrate the body until it reaches the liver or the brain, and there it stays, without doing any harm to the owner). Doing this she gave her the warning: " If people far away are about to die, do not kill them; but if somebody in the vicinity is sick, then kill him or her. Not the common and poor people, but the influential and rich people, those are the ones you must kill. And the little sticks, do not

put them on the grave, so that other people may see them (such small sticks were put into the ground at the grave, before the body was layed into the grave. They were hidden between the fingers and put into the ground if possible in a way that nobody would observe it. The sticks were about the size of a match.) When the people who mourn the dead one arrive, put this stick into the ground, not far away from the body. (They perhaps think, when they are close to the body, others can not observe them so much.) (It seems to be a sign, that they have killed the person and is meant to be a protection against discovery.)

"But if somebody should observe it and blame you, then deny that you have killed him or her . Do not admit it but deny it, even if they should kill you, do not admit it! And because her mother in law gave her that little rat, kumo has spread from then on over the whole area.

While they were talking like that two men were standing behind the house and heard everything the two women talked to each other. One of the man was Barem. That is all we know about the origin of kumo."

This story or legend explains some of the secrets of kumo, but not all, at least not for us. One thing is sure, they believe that a little "something" is transferred into the body of the person, who has kumo. It is also sure that they believe kumo can be transferred from one person to the other, knowingly or unknowingly. Some say it can be transferred from one person to the other while the one person is sleeping. It is also sure that they believe, that the kumo owner has no disadvantage whatsoever by possessing kumo. Kumo does not harm the person who has kumo. But a kumo person can harm and kill others.- It is also certain that many people, even today, still fear kumo very much, even if killing for kumo has not appeared since many years, at least not to my knowledge within the area where the Kamanuku live.

In the following paragraphs I want to record a few more things about kumo, which the people have told me during my stay with them, some of it they have told me many years ago, some of it more recently. All of it does not lead to much explanation for us, but it gives an insight into the thinking of the people.

Even today some people assert, that they are able to see kumo at night. They believe firmly what they tell and talk quite a lot of it.

The people who have kumo are said to be able to change their form of appearance. The one change into a cassowary, others into dogs, pigs etc. When they do that other people can see them, such people who have no kumo, and when the kumo are chased by these people they often change again into human beings. The people who chase them say that they, if they can get the kumo (person) they kill them, beating them to death, pulling out their hair (head) tearing off their wearing apparatus etc. If the kumo is a woman, then the wearing apparatus at the backside is torn off and also the ornaments, if they wear such, as shells, feathers, animal skins etc. The things they take this way, are put into bambu pipes and put into the menhouses under the roof. These things are apparently thought to be loaded with magic power. When a war came, these bambu pipes were taken from their places and into them the points of arrows were put (in the opening), but only for a moment. By touching kumo some of the power of kumo would go into the arrows and make them more deadly and help in this way to be victorious.

Another account goes like this: The kumo (the ones who possess kumo) go at night in the form of human beings and stand behind the houses of their friends and relatives. They stand either behind the house or near the entrance and try to look into the house, craning their necks to see what is going on inside. If then a kumo was noticed and seen they were chased and if possible killed, or at least some of their hair pulled out. Some say that the kumo cut off their own hair

and gave it to their pursuers. Then the pursuer would take the other decorations from them, if they had any and let them run away.

An other man told me the following:
If somebody had died and they suspected that he had been killed by a kumo, then they set a watch near the grave at night, of course very secretly. They thought the kumo would come at night, dig out the body and eat it. (When I asked, if they in reality had dug out the body, they said: "Of course not, but a lizard, or a beetle or fire bug may be crawling around there, and that would then be the kumo. If somebody would eat these "kumo" then they would become kumo themselves." The ones who had kumo would get kumo and the ones with kumo would increase their power.

The men who kept watch at the grave had to wait perhaps the first night in vain, perhaps also the second night, but the third night they would have success for certain. If then somebody would come to the grave to look for kumo then he was suddenly overpowered by the men who kept watch and brought into the village.

If then the next day the prisoner was questioned and was threatened with being killed, then he had a lot of excuses. Perhaps he said: "I did nothing at all to kill the person, but the little "something" that lives in me urged me on and on and at last I followed its advise and killed him." When a person had confessed that he or she was killed, either clubbed to death or taken and pushed down a steep cliff or from a big rock. The body was thrown into the river. If they were some distance from the river, they bound ropes around the feet of the victim and several young men, the ones who were to bring the body to the river, made wide stripes over their bodies (with white clay) and then they pulled the body to the river as quickly as they could pull and ran.

Another way how they found out if somebody had been killed by kumo or not, has already been told in volume I page 206 - 207.

At the time, when the white people came into this area, from 1933 on, quite a few new thoughts were introduced into the thinking of the natives. Some of them said the white people would be a kind of medium, as the kumo could change into white people. Others said that kumo could change into horses, cattle, goats, even into motorcars, when the first cars came into the area after 1953. (The car was thought to be a living thing). Others said that kumo appeared with burning torches in their mouth (headlights of cars?) etc.

If one asked kumo people, such ones who were blamed for possessing kumo and who were themselves convinced that they had kumo, by what they knew they had kumo, then they answered: "Here in my head there is a little mouse (or a lizard, or a little snake or a similar animal). It tells us (dual first person!) let us eat faeces, let us kill people, let us do this, let us do that. If they urge us continuously in that way then at last we do what they tell us."

Others said: "Our kumo is similar to a bird." Others again said: "Our kumo is like a little baby, which is in our head. If it tells us: Let us do that, then we do it. We are human beings like the other people, but when we lie down and sleep, then it urges us continually and pushes us and does not let us have any rest, until we have to stand up and walk outside in the night! Something like that they confessed when they were threatened with being killed.

Christians often said, that nothing was behind all this; but they were not really convinced of that, otherwise they would not have been afraid of kumo anymore, but I had to observe quite the opposite. Some Christians even today assert

that they have seen kumo and even still today would see them from time to time. They may say that the devil's bad spirit is in such people and causes them to do the evil deeds. But that the fear of kumo and the believe in kumo is still there, even today, and the events of life are still under the control of the fear of kumo one can observe at a sudden death again and again. People then talk of kumo as the cause of death.

On page 22 I have said, that the kumo owner, when the body is put beside the grave, puts a small stick into the ground. One would think, that he would avoid doing that, not to be discovered, but they say: "Kumo urges us to do that." In doing that there may be a certain confession: "I am the one who did it", but more probably it will be a certain protecting charm.

One may compare the following: If in the olden days somebody had stolen a pig and killed it and had brought it home without being discovered and prepared and eaten it with his relatives and friends, then he went back and put little sticks on the road which he had come with the pig, to prevent the traces of his deed being discovered. If you take that into account it should be fairly clear, that such doing was a charm of protection.

The assertion that bodies which were killed by kumo were unearthed and eaten is also not true. That is not to be taken literally. That they believe that kumo (people) visit the graves, especially new graves, is a fact, but if they are asked, if they in reality dig out the bodies, then that is normally denied. But they say: "They eat the liver, or the spirit, or some animal or beetle or something like that." But some people asserted, that in the old days it happened that some bodies were unearthed, but then they say also, that they were not touched after that.

Sometimes bodies were taken from a grave to get different bones from the bodies used to make spells and charms, such as bones of the arms and fingers etc.

If they tell you that they at night chase the kumo,, grab them and kill them, that is hardly to be understood literally. It is something the people boast off, But an unexpected noise, a rustle in the grass, the call of a bird etc. gives such a fright to the one who hears it that he or she is literally rigid for fear and cannot get back inside quickly enough, when it happened outside the house. But all these stories indicate one thing: The fear which occupies the thinking of the natives and the fear of kumo.

Also the way as told in the "legend" in the beginning, that one likes to get kumo, seems not to be the common way to get it, at least not as far as I can see. Very often the thought of inheriting kumo seems to be prevalent. Father and mother pass it on to the children, brother to brother, sister to sister. Not in the way as we understand inheritance, but in the way that they think that one gives it to the other, mostly in a way that the other does not know it, for example while sleeping. In other words: Close contact with one another can make you a kumo. A little something, what can not be more closely defined, gets into the body (rat, lizard etc. but it can not be seen with the eyes), and that makes you a kumo.

As has already been told, when they killed a kumo then they also disposed of the body. Some were thrown into very deep caves, which are here and there in the limestone formation of the mountains, but most of the bodies were thrown into the rivers and then body and spirit were carried away by the water and the next flood. In the first years of our stay in this area we often saw bodies in the rivers. Skeletons were found near the rivers and in the river beds between big stones. Such skeletons were lying there for weeks until the next flood carried them away. Because of these bodies, people feared to go near the rivers especially at night. - Others were killed somewhere in the forest and were covered with earth.

As has been said, often the people who were blamed for having kumo did not even know that they were blamed.

On the other hand sometimes people were accused of having kumo, but they were not executed for a while. At least it was soon known of us, that we did not fear kumo and that we protected people who were said to have kumo and that we did not persecute and/or kill them. In consequence of that many of such accused persons sought refuge at our station. After we had been at Ega for about a year, we had about 30 odd people at our place, all accused of having kumo. - Often after a while such people could go home without being further molested, especially when no further mishap occurred or when nobody else died.

Distribution: Kumo is known over the whole Chimbu area. At the border of the area both are known, black magic (death sorcery) and kumo. Towards north the watershed of the Bismarck ranges is the border, the Gerigl, who live toward the Ramu side of that range, have the black magic. In this area, also called Iwam, black magic is very strongly feared and executed. In some tribes the women are the ones who are the "sorcerers". That was to such an extent, that in some tribes men not even eat or touch what women had cooked or brought from the gardens. - Kumo is also known toward east up the next river valley (Maili) and in the Elimbalim region and to the west it is known further west than Kerowagi. To the south the belief reaches further than Omkolai. All in all there may be 150 000 people in the area in which kumo is the main fear for death, either only kumo, or toward the borders mixed, kumo with black magic.

That is about all I have to say of kumo. According to our thinking and our logic quite a few things are not plain and clear, but I think according to the thinking of the natives there does not exist any doubt or obscurity.

Some Examples:

To illustrate what has been said so far about kumo I want to give a few examples which will show how kumo works. These examples are not meant to be taken as "nice stories" for they only show how kumo in reality works, and these things really happened as they are related. Of the first example I was an eye-witness.

1. We had not yet been very long at our new station, which we called Ega, when one afternoon, not far from the station we heard agonising screams in the direction of the Ega creek. We saw an assembly of men obviously fighting. My workers and evangelists, who were still closer to them than I was, ran to the place only 150 yards (130 meters) away and found that several men were about to kill a man with their stone axes. My people shouted and ran quickly to them and freed the man whom they had hurt. He was a man of about 30 years of age. The man's name was Girai. They had hit him and wanted to cut off his head. My people brought the man to the station. He was bleeding from a number of wounds which he had at his neck and at his shoulders. One of the wounds was so deep that air came through from his lungs with each breath. We treated the man and dressed his wounds and I am glad to say, the man recovered.

I asked for the reasons of the behaviour of the men. I was told he was a kumo. His home was about an hour's walk farther north. As often in such cases, this man was blamed for having kumo (he himself had no notion of this). They did not like to kill him themselves, therefore they had asked the Mirani people to do this for them for a good reward. The Mirani people agreed and were ready to kill this man for them.

Having made the necessary preparations this man was invited by the Mirani people to pay them a visit. He did so. He was welcomed in a very friendly manner and was well entertained. A good meal was waiting for him. After some time he wanted to go home, when they had finished the meal, which he had with his murderers. Some of them accompanied him, as is customary when friends and/or relatives make a visit. The men were heavily armed, but they always were, so that did not give any cause for suspicion. Opposite our station, near the creek, the men all of a sudden started to hit the man with their stone axes and tried to kill him. He tried to defend himself, but if we had not been near, they would undoubtedly have killed him.

We kept the man for some time on our station, several weeks, until his wounds were healed. When he was ready to go home, nothing happened to him, at least not as far as I could find out. The first anger had cooled off. Whether he paid for his life, or whether the fact that he had been in our care for so long saved his life, I could not say, or if the fact that the original plans miscarried helped him I don't know, but as far as I was informed, he could live unmolested in his home clan.

2. There lived two brothers of the clan of the Bomaikane. Both were chieftains, or at least very prominent people. At that time there died in the group of the Bomaikane several people. Most probably it was an infectious disease, which was unknown to the people. The result of these deaths was, that the two brothers were said to have kumo and that they had killed the other people. For a long time nobody dared to harm the two brothers, but when they then lost again a number of people, who were killed in a fight, the life of these two brothers could not be spared anymore. They decided (the other people of the clan) to kill both of them.

One of the two brothers, his name was Bage, was led under some pretence into the forest one day and there in the forest, not far from Somande, about 5 km north of Ega, they killed him and buried him there at the same place.

Teine, his brother, was killed shortly after, near the village Kurumugl, west of Uru- Pare. The father of the two brothers, who was still living, was also killed and his body was thrown into the Chimga river. Teine was buried.

The two men I have just mentioned, had still a younger brother. He was not at home at that time, when the brothers were killed, but visiting another village. When he heard of the death of his brothers, he tried to save his life by fleeing and hiding. But it did not take very long before the others had found out where he was. He was also killed. His name was Dama. In this way the whole family was exterminated as far as the male members were concerned. All were accused of having kumo. They were blamed for having done harm to their fellow village people. If they had let them live the life of all the others would have been endangered and they had to count with the fact, that all of them would have been killed, one after the other. Therefore they had to kill them as a preventive measure. That was their belief.

When they were killed they took possession of all their goods, gardens, pigs etc. "Influential men" means at the same time "well to do men". The goods and valuables were distributed amongst the survivors. It was said that they also found in the possession of the killed men skulls (human skulls) and other human bones (fingers, jawbones, teeth etc.) All this was a sure proof that they had killed the right men.

From that time on, so they said, sickness and mis-hap did not visit their group anymore. The clan multiplied and got strong and since then they had no more misfortune..

3. As has already been mentioned, at that time quite a few people came to our station, who were said to have kumo. Also when we made visits to the people in their villages, we met quite a number of men and women who were said to have kumo. On one of these visits we were in the Kui river valley on the evangelist station Gegere. (strictly speaking these people do not belong to the Kamanuku, but to the Yongumugl people or tribe). We met here a young girl, still a child of about

6 years old. The people had wanted to kill her, but the evangelists had asked for her life and they had agreed not to kill her, if she would leave the village. The evangelists took her into their house. That was in the year 1935. But as they feared, and perhaps rightly so, that they would kill the girl secretly if the occasion should arise, they asked us to take the girl along to our station. The girl was only glad to go with us, so we took her along. When she went with us they would not be in danger to be harmed anymore by her, because she would live far away in another group. To do harm the kumo must live in their midst. - I relate this story for two reasons. Firstly, quite innocent children could be accused of having kumo. This girl was an orphan. And secondly to prove, that the belief in kumo does not only affect the Kamanuku tribe, but all the neighbouring tribes as well.

4. Another killing was told to me by a man named Gende. He himself was involved in the killing of this kumo, when he was still a very young man. He would be now about 55 years of age.

Not far from our station there lived a young man named Kaigo. He was a good friend of Gende and Waim, both men well known to me. Both of the men are about 55 years of age. It happened several years after we had arrived at Ega and the men, Gende and Waim, were at that time about 15 years old. At that time a chieftain of this area was killed by the Naruku people. This man's name was Siune. Several other men were killed at the same time. Then this young man Kaigo was blamed for having kumo. His kumo had assisted the enemies and for that reason they had been able to kill their men. Therefore they decided to kill Kaigo. At first Gende and Waim and also their father Deglmba tried to kill him with arrows, but they missed him. Then Deglmba took the boy by his hair and pulled him on the village place. Another man with the name of Kawagle took his spear and hit Kaigo in his side. But he was not dead as yet.

At that stage others tried to intervene and seemed to save the life of Kaigo. They took him and put him on a stretcher and carried him away. In reality they wanted to bring him to the river and throw him into the river. On the way to the river the mortally wounded young man noticed the intentions of the people and in his pangs of death he freed himself and jumped from the stretcher to run away. He was chased by the others and soon caught. They killed him and his body they threw into a very deep cave in the rocks.

5. The same customs are also further to the west, therefore the following example: It happened not far from the mission station Kerowagi, about 25 km west from Ega in the Waghi valley. The evangelists there one day heard a pitiful moan. The local natives who also heard it wanted to run away, but the evangelists followed the wimper which came from the direction of the Koro river (not far away). Soon they found in the river bed a young girl, still a child of about 5 years old, buried under a heap of stones. Her people had not wanted to kill her with their hands, therefore they had piled a heap of stones on her and left her, hoping the next flood would come soon and kill her and carry her away. It was also a girl whom they asserted to have kumo, therefore they had decided to kill her in that way.

6. A further example may be related and that will be the last one. This happened, not in the area of the Kamanuku but towards the east, about 20 km away from Ega in the tribe of the Sinsina.

In the village of Dumun several small children had died, most probably of dysentery, but the people said a kumo must be living amongst them. Soon they found a suspect in the person of a young married woman of about 25 years old. She was blamed for being the cause of the death of the children. She herself had no children, but had been married for several years, and because she had no children, she was said to be jealous of the other women who had children, and had killed their children.

Circumstantial evidence was looked for and soon found. It was found that she had been out of the house at night several times. Where could she have been but only to the graveyard? One brought this suspicion, the other that. Soon they all were convinced that she was the guilty one. Then they could meet and decide in which way she had to be killed. Her own husband was an obstacle for some time, as he did not agree. But when another young woman was promised to be given to him as his wife, he consented. In that way her death was decided upon. The woman herself did not notice anything of all that what was going on.

The day of her death came near. Several men took the woman and told her they would make a visit to our station and asked her to go along. She willingly agreed. But after some time, when they came nearer to the Chimbu river she noticed that she was the only woman who had come with the men. She got suspicious and tried to run away, but too late. The men grabbed her and led her to the river. Then they took all the valuables she was wearing from her and hit her with a stoneaxe over her head and threw her body into the river. The water took her body along.

In this way I could easily relate quite a few more killings of kumo (people with kumo). But this may be enough to illustrate how they dealt with people who were supposed to have kumo. - It may be mentioned, that not only death and misfortune could lead to blame for kumo but also when a man was exceptionally rich he could be blamed. Many a chieftain had to die for this reason, as for example the chieftain Ganekaupa, not far from here, or an influential man of the Gena tribe, north of Ega, with the name of Kamanem. But these examples may suffice to give an insight into the belief in kumo with all the consequences.

4. Charms

The topic I want to describe next I call charms. It is quite different from kumo, which masters or controls the thinking and feeling of the people and which they fear constantly. For that reason I have tried to describe kumo in some details. Charms are different, as nothing is involved to do harm to anybody, but on the contrary, magic powers, which they believe exist, are tried to be worked for one's advantage in some way or another. The other kind of black magic, as known in most parts of New Guinea, was known from hearsay, but it was used very seldom and people did not have much faith in it. At least one may say that it was of very little consequence for them.

But what I call charms, (one could also call it: fortune spells, or sorcery to bring luck, or whatever the name may be), was very much in common for all people. There was nobody who did not use charms in one way or the other. One could differentiate between preventing charms, analogy charms, averting charms etc.etc. But always the fact remains that magic powers are tried to get or to bind, in order that they will work for the personal advantage, or to the advantage of their own people, clan, tribe etc. If someone would not use them, it would be to his or her disadvantage. To get the magic power to work for oneself, one needs to know some spells, incantations etc. In many cases some parts of a grass, a vine, animal parts, bones, hair etc. are kept and worn by the one who seeks to get the fortune, or to get the magic power to work for him or her.

It is quite impossible to tell and account for all the different kinds of charm and that would also go far beyond the framework of this book. For that reason I would like to describe a few kinds of such charms, and also repeat a few spells here and there. I will also try to tell when and where they were used. That each and everyone had such magic words and used them is self-evident. Each one believed that they would be to his or her advantage in some way or another, to be healthy, lucky, successful and so on. I give now a few of these charms by name and try to describe them.

1. Pig charm

The pig is without any doubt or question the most precious and valuable animal the Chimbu people know and possess. Pig meat is very much liked and very valuable, therefore it is understandable that the pig was also valuable. They did not shun time nor work to raise pigs, and the more the better. Each one had a number of them. It was always a great honour to show up with many and big pigs, especially at the big pig festivals. Many pigs not only show the wealth of the possessors but at the same time give a certain degree of influence over all matters concerning clan and family.

If one takes all that into account, it is understandable that everyone tried to do everything possible to further the growth and the increase of the pigs. One way to influence this is to know the growing and increasing charms. The normal charm each one used was to rub the pigs each morning with ashes, before they went out of the house, especially the back of the pigs and at the same time murmuring a spell to further the growth and health of the pigs.

When little piglets were born then soon a spell was enchanted over them to help them grow. One of such spells is:

Simbu kombuglo bera bera
Singga kombuglo bera bera

mup^h bera bera, mum bera bera
mua bera bera, mua bera bera.

But besides that, there were many other charms to promote the growth of the pigs. Amongst other things the following was reported to me:

When a man died they opened his chest and took a little piece of his lungs and wrapped it into diglimbi leaves. This little packet they carried with them and from time to time a little bit of the fibre of the diglimbi leave was broken off and put into the food of the pigs. This would help to get them grow quickly and keep them healthy. It was also said that would help to get big litters. This charm was traded in from the Kerowagi people, especially from the Dajga and the Gena. It was also sufficient to hold this packet in his hand and tell the pigs to keep well and grow fast and get fat. Power went out from such a charm packet and was transferred to the pigs.

(Remark: If in such a charm packet in reality was any part of a human body I doubt very much, but the people believed it and thought it was true.)

Also from the Dom people a charm was traded in for the same reason. (Of course, it is selfevident that such charms had to be paid for with a high sum). In this case the object was a bit of the bark of a tree, which grows in that area, but not in the area of the Kamanuku. This bit of tree bark was wrapped in leaves and from time to time they would break off a little piece of it, from leaves and bark, and give it to the pigs mixed in with their food. Or it was enough to hold the packet in one hand over the food and call the name of the leaves and bark over the food and give it to the pigs. That would have the same effect as has been said before.

Later on , when horses,cattle etc. came into the area it is understandable that the people were very much surprised about the size etc. They tried by means of charm and spell to transfer the size of them to their pigs.They touched the animals and then their pigs, they took hair and fed their pigs with it, yes even faeces(dung) they carried away and mixed into the food for their pigs.All that was in line with their magic thinking.

2. Garden Charm

As something has already been said in regard to this kind of charm in volume II, it is not necessary to repeat it here again. Garden charm was used when they made the garden ready, when they planted the seed and seedlings, etc.etc.

A short garden charm or spell was the following:

Ande noi noi, ande noi noi,
ba noi noi, ba moi noi.

3. Protecting Charm

This word comprised a number of charms, all of them used to get protection against sickness, against mishap, against lightning and thunder(the thunder is more feared than the lightning), against theft etc.etc.

That occasionally the sun was called upon to help against theft has already been mentioned.

Then there was a number of charms which prohibited other people from touching or taking things. It could be a vine, leaves,grass wound into a rope etc.All these things could be put into the gardens, into the forest, on the roads etc. All were put up while a spell(or incantation) was said.All that was done to prevent theft, therefore one could call it: Charm against theft.

4. Sickness Charm

Here different kinds of charms are in use which all are practiced if somebody is sick, and all are meant to help the sick person to overcome the sickness or to ban the evil influences of the evil spirits who are thought to be the cause in many of the sicknesses. In volume I page 60 - 61 such an action is recorded and I shall not repeat it here. Such and similar manipulations were very much in use.

It should not surprise us that such men, who performed such charms, the witch - doctors, also performed many other manipulations. For example, they could pull out foreign matter at the spots, where the pain was located, such as: little stones, pieces of wood, bones etc. They either "pressed" it out with their hands, or sucked it out with their mouths. That their difficult tasks had to be paid for, and heavily paid for, is easily understandable. Some of the charms commonly in use are called: : ganguino giugl nimbine - charm against pain; numbut nimbine - charm against pneumonia; kumo kangi nimbine - charm against the influence of evil spirits and so on.

If one had a swelling in the abdomen, the witch doctor took a piece of pig meat, wrapped it in spider webs (gogu mambu) and rubbed soot on, until it was all black. This little packet he hid into his mouth and then he sucked on the abdomen of the sick man or woman and then all the sudden he would spit out the packet, telling the patient that he would get better now, as he had pulled the cause of his sickness out. That no wound appeared on the abdomen where the packet had come out did not bother the people at all. That was the secret of the witch doctor. He then cut the little packet with a knife and found the piece of pig meat. "Who gave you that?" he would then ask the sick person. "No wonder you had so much pain. But now it is out and now you will be better soon". This charm had to be paid for with a big, fat pig.

5. Love Charm

There were quite a number of love charms in common use. Nearly every grown up man and woman used them. There were also quite a number of "media" in use. I can mention her only a few: Penki peni leaves were taken, which have a strong smell, and little pieces were plucked off and pressed into sugar cane or into sweet-potatoes, which then the man gave to the girl or to the woman on whom he had cast an eye. By touching the charm and eating from it, her longing for that man should be aroused to make her willing to dance with him and come with him.

Keru yombuglo are bones of an animal, which they cannot exactly define, as these things are traded in from other areas. They say the hair of these animals was like the hair of the white people. Such animal's hair and bones are taken and cut into very small pieces and put into small bambu containers. These small containers one put into his hair, secretly, so as not to be seen. By doing this they think the look of the girl or woman is attracted to them, at the same time her longing for him. They say that the girl or woman is attracted to the beauty of that man or youth.

Also mondo mungo, a kind of tree fruit, were used as love charm. They took them and removed the kernel out of the shell and made a hole at the top end. Into this hole they blew, and at the two sides they made two small holes, which they could cover with their fingers. In this way they were able to produce several sounds. The blowing of this little instrument would attract somebody of the opposite sex. Girls blew them who were waiting for boys and vice versa. If somebody heard such soft melodies, which were produced on these instruments, he or she knew that somebody else was waiting for him or her. There are quite a number of other love charms, which cannot be enumerated here, because it would be quite too much for the framework of this monograph.

6. War charm

Of yere nimbine, arrow charms, there are quite a number, which are all supposed to help the defeat of the enemy, to frighten him and to kill him. Here also I can mention only a few things.

They try to transfer special magic powers into the arrows. As has already been said under kumo, that hair etc. which they thought was especially full of magic power, was carefully preserved and held. They were put in small bambu containers and put under the roof in the menhouses, over the fire place or somewhere else. Such containers were taken from there places, when war was imminent, and the points of the arrows were put into them for a moment, so they would touch the object containing the magic power. By this contact some of the magic power would be transferred into the arrows. They would then be in a position to hit better and kill, or they should bring fear into the lines of the enemies so they would flee. If then the enemy had lost courage they could chase them and burn their houses and destroy their gardens and kill their pigs.

Or another charm: When men left to meet the enemy then one man, who had a special charm, went ahead of the others. Perhaps he alone knew that type of charm, for everything is kept secret, even the charms. If everyone would know them, they would lose their power. On the road this man went ahead and murmured his spell from time to time. By doing this he chased away all bad spirits and everything that could be a hindrance, all bad influences, so that the others could come near the enemy without obstacle.

7. House Protection Charm

That people also try to secure their houses, in which they live and find shelter against cold and rain, is understandable. Yungu nimbine, house charm, has already been mentioned under house building. The ornaments or decorations over the rooves of the houses (today one sees many houses without these decorations) were fastened on poles which extended over the roof. Pieces of fern trees (black) and many ornamental plants and leaves were fastened at the top of these poles. Menhouses had at least 6 to 9 or more of these decorated turrets which extended a meter or more over the roof, and most of the family houses also had a number of them. The fern pieces are called: tambuno mambuno. Eri kogugl, which is used for decoration of these poles is a plant which grows between stones. When they fasten this plant, it stays green for a long time, for months; and when it rains now, and again, even for years. Also dire duruwagl is used for these decorations (kind of orchid?). They often flower. Because it rains frequently in New Guinea these plants stay fresh and green for a long time. Most of these plants grow in their natural stage on trees as "parasites". I am convinced that all these decorations on the houses were originally nothing else but charms to protect the house against evil influences from outside.

Another charm is, that over the entrance of the house two sticks are fastened. These sticks are shaped differently so they do not fit together, for example one is pointed and the other is cut flat. Then at night when one of the spirits arrives, he will try to fit the two sticks together. He will try in vain. Then he gets tired and passes on without doing any harm to the inhabitants of the house.

That, when building a house a spell has to be said, I have already mentioned under house building. This is done when the main posts are put into the ground. They look for and gather different grasses and cut them fine, and chanting a spell they put it into the hole and then put the post in. Thus the house shall be able to stay good for a long time and give shelter and warmth to the inhabitants. The charm used at that occasion is:

Eremine ande yei moglo
endiweri endi yei moglo
niqqa niqqa.

8. Rain Charm

If it did not rain for some time (weeks and months), which now and again happens in the so called dry season (I have experienced this 3 times in the 40 years which I spent in New Guinea) so that the gardens dry out and the sweetpotatoes and vegetables die, or at least are about to die, and a real famine threatened, then some people, who knew how to do it, made the rain charm. (but not only then, but even if it was a bit dry they did the same).

They took nogaï maine, or better, the red flowers of this plant or small tree and also some branches of the same tree and carried them to the river. Having arrived there the plucked the flowers from the twigs and branches and threw them into the water of the river while saying the words of the rain spell. The contents of such a spell were: Now it is sunshine day by day, that shall stop and rain shall come again. Some men cried the words of the enchantment out aloud, others did so and cried and shouted, so that the tears ran down their cheeks. (It seems that the tears should attract the water. As the tears would run down the cheeks in the same way the water should run down from heaven.) There are quite a number of other rain charms.

9 Sunshine Charm

The opposite from rain charm is the sunshine charm. When it had rained for a longer period and the dry season did not come when expected (the variation may be 4 to 6 weeks and/or a very heavy rainy season), and when people waited to prepare and plant their gardens, then they made the charm for sunshine. They fetched water and poured the water over banana leaves which were put on the roof of the houses, if possible in the area where the fireplace was in the house. There is should dry and the sun should shine again. Doing this they chanted the spell:

Ereme ande endambandi
nigl kogl mitna yei iwo.

(That today the sun may shine again we have fetched water and put on the roof of the houses.)

10. Hunting Charm

When people went with bow and arrow into the forest for hunting they mostly took a dog along to trace and track the game. Whether the dog was a good hunting dog or not could mean success or failure. But to make him a good hunting dog, he had to be prepared for the hunt, that he would trace the animals, that he would be eager and full of pep and strength to follow and catch the fleeing animal.

To ensure all this they caught burume, a kind of wasp, and looked for different kinds of thorny vines, cut them into small pieces and mixed it into the food for the dog. Such vines were: kewan mai uglu, bugla kunagiku (a kind of grass with sharp edges, which easily cuts your hands and legs if you are not careful). By eating these things in the food, the dog should get all the powers which were in the things they ate.

Also when snares and slings were layed, enchantments were made before putting them in their places. One of them is the following:

Kiame kayane dogo daga
were kan humba inditne,
bungo gange
waramugl teugle maugle.

(The meaning of this spell is:

Search and find
the rope shall get you(the snare)
the stick shall pull(which is bent for the snare)
covered with dew you shall lie.

(In the morning, when the dew is, you shall lie dead).

11. Marriage Charm

Also for marriages, namely that the marriage should last, that the husband should not leave his wife and the wife should not go to another man etc., they had various charms. Here also I can mention only a few things.

Kere yombuglo, that is: Bones of the kere bird and penge penge, which are leaves of a tree, were gathered and put into a small bambu pipe as is done with the love charm, and then this bambu container is carried hidden in the hair. This container can also be hidden somewhere near the sleeping places. The meaning is twofold: More common: The wife and also the girls shall like me, and the other: My wife shall long for me and for nobody else.

The charm used by the women to get the good will of her husband and that the husband should always be faithful to her is called: Dendine. It consists of spells, which only the women know and use. These charms or spells aim to have the effect that the husband shall like only them, that they should appear nice and charming to their husbands and at the same time that all the other women should appear ugly and distasteful to them, so that he shall not like any of them.

Against this women's charm for faithfulness, the men had a charm to counteract this spell. If a man tried to get the goodwill of a woman and had no success, he attributed his misfortune to the charm of his wife. Then he went to a man who knew a charm against that and bought from him for good "money" a charm stronger than the charm of his wife. This should make his wife's charm powerless and other women and girls would start to like him and long for him.

Therefore a good marriage depends to a great extent on the correct use of such charms and spells. Nearly everyone used these charms to secure a good marriage.

12. Protecting Charm against Exhaustion

If somebody felt exhausted or fatigued for one reason or another, if he had no appetite, if he lost weight, when that showed that something was wrong and was a bad sign. To counteract all that, various charms were in use. For example: If a man had had intercourse with his wife then he often used such a charm, so that he should not feel fatigue or get sick. This charm consisted in an enchantment or spell which was murmured while the area of his abdomen had to be rubbed with his hands, both sides of the navel. By doing this the state of fatigue and exhaustion should disappear or be prevented.

13. Perfume Charm

One could call this type of charm just as well by another name, such as increasing charm or something similar. This is the charm for pig fat or pandanus oil, which is used to rub on the skin. This is done frequently, so the charm is to make it keep for a long time and to increase it, so that there should be always enough of it in the containers. This type of fat or oil was kept in containers made of gourds etc., and a spell had to be said (while the container was being filled) to the effect, that the fat or oil should always keep for a very long time etc. Only after the spell had been said could the container be closed. In other words, the spell should increase the quantity of the contents of the containers.

But also when they took something out of the bottle, then they had to say a spell before they opened the bottle and only then, when this had been done, could the container be opened to get the amount out which was needed at that time.

When they wanted to rub this fat or oil on their skins they had to say a spell before they did so - As far as I can see such "ointments" were rubbed on not only to look nice but at the same time to be a means of protection against cold and wet. So it was essential that it stayed on the skin or body as long as possible.

Here is one such spell which was used for this purpose:

Memin niql kindo
bakan nig' kindo
urumugl koglo
waramugl kog'lo
kuol koglo' koglo koglo.

Meaning: The water shall glide off and run down
as it runs down from slippery stones (in the river
as the drops fall from the urumugl
as the drops fall from the waramugl
as dew glitters and is in drops
even and smooth it shall be (the skin).

14. Clothing Charm

Even if the clothing of the natives may have been poor and scanty they took great care that it was always nice and orderly, meaning that the clothing fitted nicely to the body, that nothing went to one side etc. It brought shame to a person if the clothing was so much to one side that man or woman was "nude" or naked. Each evening, when they lay down to sleep the men took off part of the wearing apparel, for instance, they had more than one apron on, or several belts, and each morning they had to put it on again. The leaf apparel for the backside was all taken off each evening. When they had put on the aprons etc. in the morning, they would spit into their hand or hands and stroke the aprons smooth, from top to bottom. While doing this they had to say a spell. The sides were also treated in the same way so that the apron should not slip to one side, while walking, standing or sitting down.

As with the men, the women had also several charms in relation to their string aprons. Each morning when they put them on, they had to say a spell, with the same purpose as had been said of the men. At night the women took all the string aprons off except one.

15. Protecting Charm against Loss of Magic Power

When they had to wade through a river or if they had to cross the river over a bridge then they had to be careful to lose nothing of their magic power in their bodies or in the things they had on their bodies or were carrying with them. They did it in this way: They took a stone, said a spell over it and threw it into the river, or better, across the river. When the stone then had landed at the other bank of the river, one could cross the bridge, or wade the river without danger of losing some of his or her magic power. On the other hand, if one had not done so, he could have easily lost some of his magic power (or soul matter) by touching the cold water, or by just going over the cold water. The magic power had to be protected and it could not be allowed to go "cold."

16. Decoration Charm

To decorate their bodies is not only a lot of work and takes a lot of time, but it is also very expensive. Nevertheless people like to decorate themselves, maybe for a dance or any other festival, such as marriage, pig festivals etc. It is always very important how one decorates him or herself. If one is decorated, one wants not only to look nice and attractive, but one expects that the eyes of other people will rest with pleasure and astonishment on the person decorated in that way. To achieve all that, it is necessary that a spell be said while putting on each of the pieces of ornament with which one is decorating him or herself. This will help to achieve the admiration of the other people

For example:

Somebody wants to decorate himself with the plumes of the bird of paradise. He takes the feathers into his hand, says the spell and only then does he put the plumage into his hair.

Before the small shells (put on strings) are put over the little sticks in the nose, a spell has to be said. After that they may be put into place.

If one wants to "wash" his face and bring it up to shine and then put on fat and paints, he must say a fitting spell before he or she begins the work.

When armlets or rings for the legs are put on, they take the rings and hold them in their hand, say the spell and then put them on. etc. etc.

All that is necessary to be and look nice and attractive. And this is especially the case if one (he or she) wants to get the attention of somebody of the other sex.

17. Sleeping Charm

This charm is not necessary for good sleeping or for the purpose of falling asleep soon, but so that while sleeping nothing gets lost, nothing of that which one knows, nothing of what one is thinking of (memory etc). Then on the other hand that nothing of the nice fatty skin and its shine is lost, that is shall not get dry etc. To *avoid it* all this happening, they say a fitting spell before they go to sleep, which will help to achieve this.

18. Growing Charm (for Children)

One of the charms they use so that little children may grow well and quickly is the following:

Gugl pindako, gugl pindako,
wamuna pindako, wamuna pindako
keio pindako, kaio pindako.

19. Dance Charm

If a girl wanted to dance with a boy or young man (see courtship dance, volume I) then a spell had to be said before this could be done. One of the many enchantments is the following:

Agua kugl kugl
mugua kugl kugl
binde kuku, binde kuku
baundo kuku, baundo kuku.

All these examples are taken more or less arbitrarily out of the enormous number of charms and spells of which the daily life is interwoven and intermixed and grown together. Without them normal life is not possible, not thinkable. I could give quite a number more of different charms but the examples given may suffice. The examples may show that there is nothing in the life of the natives which is not in some way or the other affected by charm or magic power, which one tries to put into his or her advantage. These examples are intended not to give a full record, but to let us have a glance at, an insight into the life and the thinking of the native and his supernatural or religious conceptions. Without any doubt, one has to count these charms and belief in magic power as part of their religious conception.

20. The Perforation of Septum and Ear.

I have already mentioned that the septum of all males is perforated. They made the holes into the wings of the noses only for the purpose of putting decorations on. One would think that this would also be the case when perforation of the septum is made. That would be partly true, but only partly, and that was not the main reason. The perforation of the septum of all males was done fairly early, perhaps when the children were 2 years old, sometimes earlier, sometime a little later.

The deeper significance of the perforation of the septum was the following:

A hole in the septum was more or less the passport for entering the life hereafter, the life after death. If somebody should die without having the septum perforated then he would not be permitted to enter the other world. They said, an ugly and odious worm had to eat a hole through the septum first, and only then they would be admitted. The perforation was made with a buglo tambuno, a piece of stick of a fern. This piece was sharpened to a point and then pushed through the septum. Some said the point of this stick had been heated before pushed through the septum. In that case the hole would have been burnt through instead of just pushed through.

Such a hole was at first fairly small and narrow, but to enlarge it they put at first leaves into it, which were rolled. This prevented the hole from growing together again, and, at the same time, as the leaves had the tendency to open wider, the hole was slowly enlarged. I have seen many a man who could without any effort put a 12 gage shut gun cartridge through his hole in the septum.

If a child died before the septum had been perforated, then they did that before they buried the body of the child.

The ear, or better, the lobes of the ear, are also perforated and this not only with the male but also with the female. As far as I know, this has no deeper significance, but is done only for the purpose of hanging decorations in the holes, also different charms, such as: hunting charms, lucky charms etc.

At many neighbouring tribes such occasions as perforation of the septum and the earlobes, cutting the hair etc. were always an occasion for festivals, as with the Yonjumuql, Sinesine, Yondumo etc. All that could be done only if several pigs were prepared for a good meal and a good meal could be served to all. Other things were connected with it too, but as I write more or less only of the Kamanuku, and they did not do it that way; I shall not describe it further.

21. Ambi mendiglkwa

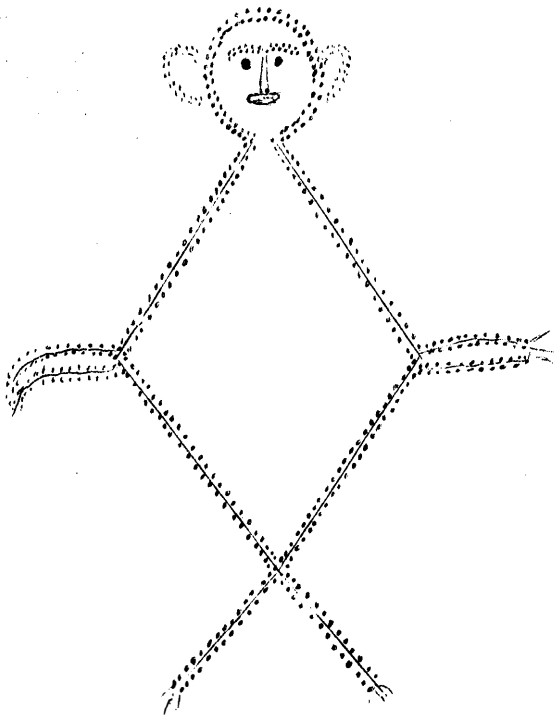
Ambi mendiglkwa means literally: Women are ^epregnant. Without question we have to deal here with a fertility charm. It was performed when food was scarce and a famine seemed to be imminent. That could happen after a long drought, or if for one reason or the other the garden did not bear, in time of war, when no gardens could be made at the proper time.

Then they made a figure on the ground from small sticks, which they put into the ground, sometimes with some leaves till on the sticks. A head was formed, a face, ears, eyes, hands, feet, legs etc. While doing this, different spells had to be said. In the middle of the figure (see next page) various seeds and fruits were put at the place of the abdomen. As the variety of the seeds etc. indicated, so the gardens should bear various fruits and vegetables. The growth of the vegetables should be accelerated by that. The figure itself resembles without doubt a pregnant woman. It is understandable that they chose this type of picture, for they could expect for certain that a pregnant woman would after some time multiply by giving birth to an infant. Likewise, the garden should soon bear fruit.

The picture on the next page: ambi mediglkwa, is drawn by a native. I have tried to reproduce it according to illustrate what has been said about this charm. /to their picture\

In other contexts it has been mentioned that nearly everywhere in the highlands, mostly on trees, one finds such or similar fertility charms cut into the bark of trees, in stones, on clay walls etc. These signs which are often called mondo mamuno are without doubt fertility charms, at least they were originally. Today it is often said they had no special meanings. It would be only "play" of the young men to make these signs. That may be partly true today, as these signs always indicate the genital part of a woman, especially when the bark swells and tries to close the "gap".

Ambi mendigkwa, size differ, mostly about 80 by
120 cm.



22. Yaql awane ande

This has already been mentioned on the first pages of this volume, I mention it here again, because it belongs also under this heading "charm". It is different in that the sun is personified and is addressed directly. In the other charms or spells it is always impersonal, nobody is addressed. Who or what is addressed there, is uncertain, some power, which cannot be defined. But here the sun is called upon, if one makes some sign of prohibition (don't touch!). The sun shall see it and bring it to light (if somebody dares to touch or to take it). So a man may say: "Sun, grandfather, look at me (what I am doing)". Then one takes a vine and holds it over the fire so that it gets soft and flexible, put the vine around his hand or hands and waves it in the air and holds it up to the rising sun and then he totters and falls down to the ground, like one who is weak and sick and is about to die. Doing this they call the sun and say: "Yaql awane ande, na eremere yegl kunot nenambuka yegl eretenatiwo. No konbo yongugl panderamiwo. (O sun, grandfather, as I do here so it shall happen to anyone who steals this, I close the door (or obstruct the door))." When he has said this spell then he binds the vine around the tree or whatever else it may be, which he wants to protect.

Mawacl (fastings)

There were quite a few rules that one had to fast, or at least that one was not permitted to eat various food, or that one was not permitted to eat such food for a certain time. Most of such prohibition rules concerned young boys, and girls when they had their first menstruation. But now and again I found, that also old people did not touch various food, for example cassowary meat. (Totem?)

Cassowaries were mainly eaten by elderly men, not by the younger men or boys and not by girls or children. The same was true of dogs. Game from the forest was also prohibited for young people to eat with exception of rats and other small animals, especially such ones which could be hunted in the grassland. All these the young ones were permitted to eat. Also eels were not eaten by young people, but when the young boys then were fully grown all these prohibition rules, which were said to be precautionary measures, were abolished. When they were fully grown, then they had no prohibition rules to follow and they could eat the same as the old people did.

The prohibition rules were not only for various kinds of meat, but also for other food. For example, the kambe v, yaundo, a kind of banana, was forbidden to be eaten by young people, also the other kind: gane paikurukwa(banana). In addition the grown up people of both sexes never ate of them at the same time. If the women ate of them the men refused to eat and vice versa. At least that is what they told me. Also a special kind of gin(fruit) was not permitted to be eaten by young people, namely the mume and the gin bei. The same was true of the amugl kea (kind of pandanus).

There were other rules of abstinence. If there was a fight in progress and preparations were taken for the next day to have a fight, then none of the warriors who wanted to fight was permitted to sleep with his wife or touch any woman at all. They were also not permitted to sleep in the family houses, but had to be in the men houses. That was quite openly announced the day before.

Also when a big festival was close at hand(pig festival) the men had to avoid coming close to the women. They said: Otherwise they could not perform well when dancing.

Another type of abstinence was practised in the following way: If somebody had been killed in a fight, then a single man of the clan was selected to "fast". He was not permitted to eat with the others, was not to stay with them, not to communicate with them, he had to live on his own, by himself etc. By all this they hoped to impress and influence the spirit of the killed one. He should see what they did for him ("they" - represented by this one man) and therefore he should be good to them and help them that they could be victorious in the next fight and kill one or more of the enemies for him (not "blood revenge" but getting even, the same number had to be killed on each side.)

5. Law

There is of course no written law, or codified law, as we know it. People could not read and write. But still there is a kind of unwritten law, which everyone knows and respects, and according to which everybody lives and acts. We could call it custom, but it is more than that. There are firm rules according to which they know well what is right and what is wrong, rules that apply to everyone and everyone respects them. "That is the way we have acted and are used to living and acting," that is clear to everybody. White people may often not know and understand why they do this or that, but it is quite clear and simple and selfevident for the natives. It may seem mixed up and illogical for us in many cases but not so for the indigines.

That everyone is covered and protected by his or her own clan or tribe, is well known and selfevident for every native. It is also clear that one may do or may not do in one's own clan or group what is permitted to be done to another clan. Yes, it may be a crime if you do something in your own clan but it may be a heroic deed if you do it to another clan. So for example: To take or steal something from a foreigner, or from somebody of a neighbouring clan (including from the white person) can be good, because your own clan is enriched, whether it be money or valuables, pigs dogs etc.

The only firm rule in this respect is not to be caught, because that brings shame to their own clan and in the old days would have renewed enmity and perhaps war. But to steal etc. from one's own clan or from his or her friends, is always a bad deed. But that does not say they do not steal from each other, from the garden, from the house, or whatever and wherever it may be.

1. Ownership

For a white man it is often not easy to understand the native in their thinking and logic. It does not matter from where he comes, whether it be from Australia, America, Germany or from any other European country; because we are brought up in a quite different culture and atmosphere. That the group, clan or tribe covers the doing of the individual and takes his side, I have already said; that on the other hand each one has the wellbeing of the group always in mind, should be understood as self-evident. But the group and clan, or whoever it may be, is also responsible for the doings and for the acts of each of its members. Therefore, if one has to get "even", it is not necessarily the case that the civil-doer or culprit has to be punished. It does not matter, as long as it is one from the same group or clan, because all are responsible. We do not understand that in many cases. Collective thinking and individual thinking clashes here often. That also can be applied to ownership. Some is commonly owned, by the group and/or tribe: other things are not. Sometimes one might think that the natives are bigger individualists than the white people are, often in things of which we should think that they would have them also under collective ownership.

I want to record now a few observations which I made and put down in writing in the course of years. They do not cover every aspect, but they may give a few hints here and there for the one who is interested in the thinking of the natives or who tries to understand them.

The Land, Soil and Property

As to the ownership of the land one has to differentiate, as far as I can see, between tribe and smaller subdivisions (clan and/or groups). For the tribe the borders for the land are absolutely firm

and fixed to every side and in every direction against the right of ownership of the neighbouring tribes. Mountains, rivers, creeks, trees etc. serve as land marks. Everybody knows that, and knows also the marks from childhood, as they are instructed with them very early, and everybody respects the borders and border marks.

Borders of a tribe can, as far as I know, not be changed, not by negotiations nor by payment. The only possibility of changing the borders and of acquiring land and take it into possession, was to chase the owners away by war and to annihilate them as far as possible. That happened, and not even seldom, but even then, such a case was not settled for a long time, not for many decades. The only settlement possible was to give the land back to the original owners. Unless the tribe chased away was so weak and so few people survived that they could not think of getting the land back at all. In that case such remnants of a tribe were absorbed into another group and the other side could keep the land; in any other case the real owners would try in one way or the other to get their land back.

So we may say, the tribe as a whole is the owner of the land. And here the old men and the most influential men are the ones who are chiefly responsible. The land is inherited from generation to generation and this only to the male descendants. Women have no right to the land and can never be owners of the land, at least not with the Kamanuku and with the other tribes in the Chimbu area. We have here not the matriachial but the patriarchial law, which is quite different from many coastal tribes.

The basic right in regard to the land or ground has brought many clashes and misunderstandings with the white people and with the Engl. law, not only with individual persons, but also with the policy of the government.

For us a deal, if concluded, is final and for ever; not so with the natives. Strictly speaking it is not possible and unthinkable to sell land. It does not belong to an individual alone; the ancestors as well as the descendants are also owners. So it is not surprising, even if not in the now living generations, but in the next generation, that claims will be made again to the land which was "sold". Land can not be "sold" in our sense, but only be "hired", that means one may have it for life or for usufruct (to use it for gardens etc.)

The matter is not changed by the behaviour of individual men, who claim to be owners of some land and are willing to sell it to the white people (the government buys the land and leases it to the individual or companies). If influential people act that way, the others will keep quiet. The money offered for the land is a temptation for them. Perhaps many hope that the buyer will not stay long and they will get the land back anyhow. But the right of a single man to sell land, does not exist, as far as I can see and as far as I have been told. (And that applies also to the tribe as a whole).

But this is not only so at the area of the Kamanuku and neighbouring tribes, but is more or less the same, notwithstanding if father or mother right is the custom in this or that area. At least I know of many a case, where the next generation claimed ownership of the land which had been sold by their fathers or ancestors. That only proves that the basic thinking of all the Newguineans is very similar and alike, as far as the ownership of the land is concerned.

Quite big problems arose when, by intermarriage of coastals with the highlanders, father- and mother rights came into clash. As far as the highlanders in the Chimbu and Oroka areas are concerned, men who married girls from this area (coastal men married local girls), such men could never become owners of the land (at the coast is is vice versa).

It seems to be quite different, if we do not take the whole tribe, but different clans or groups of the tribe into consideration. They are not the proper owners, therefore the "ownership" is more fluctuating. To be sure, the groups and clans have their own menhouses and they work their gardens in common and divide the portions amongst all the adherants, relatives etc. Even people who do not belong to the clan may make gardens, as friends, relatives of women etc. They stay perhaps for a longer time. If you ask who the owner of the gardens are, you will find quite a number of gardens that belong to people from other clans etc. But that someone of another tribe has gardens here, will be found very seldom.

By working the ground and planting gardens, by planting trees etc. (big trees as nege and yomba are 50 years old or hundred years) the one who does the work gets a certain ownership right, which I would like to call "subownership". One can often hear: "That land is mine, my father planted the trees, my brother had a garden, my grandfather planted here, therefore it is mine".

It happens in most cases, if one asks who the owner of the land is, that quite a number of men claim ownership, firstly the leading men of the tribe and then all the ones who are in some way or the other "subowners", because at some time they have planted gardens there, trees etc .

That they could "sell" land in the meaning as we understand it, that thought has hardly ever entered their mind. Therefore the single man has no right whatsoever to sell land, because he does not own it. If it still happens, then only because the price for the land tempts them to get rich quickly, and all the others may keep quiet and permit him to take the money. They may get part of it; and if not, the tribe or clan is enriched anyhow. (Today they know of course quite well that land once bought by the government, is bought for ever. According to the laws so far, land once bought and alienated, cannot be returned to the natives).

How strong the feeling of the ownership is in their minds, for that only one example: When we arrived in the Chimbu area in the year 1934 and founded our station we asked of course who the owners were. We had of course to tell them, that we could not buy the land, that that would be done later by the government, but we could make a present to them, so that we could use the land for the time being. When we did that, the Kamanuku did not claim ownership, but they said, the real owners were the people of the neighbouring tribe. They had chased them away and had occupied the land, but it did not really belong to them. They named a number of the leading men of the neighbouring tribe and these people came then and took the presents we offered, in the presence of the Kamanuku people. How long the Kamanuku had "owned" the piece of land which we wanted for our station, I cannot say. Anyhow, even if they had chased the other people away and had taken the land into possession and had made gardens etc. they still knew quite well, that they were not the real owners.

If it happened that a man of another tribe lived with friends, perhaps because his sister was married there, then a piece of land could be given to him to plant a garden, but that was only meant for a limited time and he never became "owner". But a certain claim he had, even when he had returned to his clan or tribe, for example on trees which he had planted.

If it was not possible to buy land, at least not to my knowledge, it was possible to secure some rights to a certain piece of land, provided it was in the area of the same tribe. Take the case of an old man, who was dying and had no descendants, or no male descendants; if then other people treated him well, fed him and cared for him, possibly with pig meat etc., then this man could provide that these people could inherit his land, gardens, trees, fruitgardens etc. In other words, he could bequeath his sub-owner rights to these men. If he did that, his will was normally respected by the other men of the clan.

Also in the case of infectious diseases, as with scirosis of the liver, an exchange of land could take place. That means, the rightful heirs exchanged the land for another piece of land. By that they tried to avoid having the infectious disease go over to the heirs, because they believed, that inheriting the disease was connected with personal relationship.

If one person had a big piece of land which he could claim as his own, but had only a small family, while another family had less ground but was a big family, that did not normally raise a big problem. It was the custom, when land was divided to be planted, that this was done

by the chieftains or influential people according to the number in the families. Not to give enough land to the families with many children would have harmed the home clan, as the manpower of each group was very important and the more people a group had and the more fighting men, the stronger they felt and the more respect others had for them, therefore each clan saw to it, that each family had enough land and nobody had to starve for want of food.

Marriage

The men are the owners of the land. The children of the male sex are the heirs of the land. Women have no rights in regards to ownership of the land. As exogamy is the custom, not in regard to the whole tribe, but in regard to the clans in the same tribe (a girl was never married to a man of the same clan) and as the women were always taken into the community of the clan into which they married, no change could take place by marriage in regard to ownership of the land.

The woman, even if she is not owner of the land, becomes by her marriage usufructuary (she can use the land) for the sake of her husband, and for the children which she will bear to the tribe. If a woman has many male children, that is no problem. On the contrary, she is very much respected for that, because the tribe or clan is enriched by it and strengthened. Land is distributed according to the size of the families. The men who distribute the land for the gardens are often called "fathers", because they care for them all. But the old men are not always the persons who count, for sometimes also the elder brothers can have a lot of responsibility, especially in the case, when he is older and has smaller brothers and in case the father has died or has been killed in a fight. In that case the responsibility of the father goes over to the elder brother.

That can be very important, especially when a younger brother wants to marry, or if a younger sister is given into marriage. The maternal uncle has no special rights or responsibility, as is the case in the areas, where the matrilineal system is in use. In the areas where this is the case such an uncle has often a special name, which is not the case in this area.

If it happens that a man dies, or when he is killed in warfare which happened very often in the olden times, then the woman (wife of the deceased one) stays mostly where she is. She belongs to the clan and is more or less owned by the clan. Not a single man or person, but very often the whole clan have put their valuables together to pay the brideprice. In most cases they try, when the time of mourning is over, to marry such a widow, especially if she is still young, to a man of the same clan, which can be done mostly without much difficulty. Whether she has children or not does not make any difficulties. Mostly there lived quite a number of men in each clan who had no wife and were only too glad to take such a widow. Perhaps it helped too, at least to some respect, that no new brideprice had to be paid in this case. But also elderly women were remarried, perhaps as second or third wives. If they could have no children anymore they were still good enough to look after the pigs and work in the gardens. The women gained by their marriage a state of security and were sure to be provided for.

If there was nobody who was willing to marry such a widow, or if the widow refused to marry the man, she was supposed to marry, then it was permissible for her to stay in the clan of her husband, particularly if she had children, or she was permitted to go back to her clan. In such a case they asked for the return of the brideprice in case she married a man of another clan or tribe. The brideprice was then returned to the people who had paid the brideprice for her originally.

In the case where the woman(widow) returns to her own clan or tribe, she is permitted to take her children along with her, especially when they are still small, but only temporarily. The children are in, and stay in, the custody of the clan or tribe of the husband(father). The woman takes the children along only up to the time when they are grown up. At that time at the latest, they have to come back to the father's clan, boys as well as girls. The children are members of the clan of the father. The relatives or the clan take care that the boy gets a wife, and the girls can only be given in marriage by the relatives of the father. But now and again they agree to pay some compensation to the clan of the mother for bringing the children up.

Also they care very well for orphans as a rule. In most cases the relatives of the father take care of them, but sometimes families who are not related (by blood) to them take such children and bring them up. Often they make special fruit gardens for them and when they come into marriageable age they ensure that the boys get a wife and the girls are given in marriage.

But there were exceptions. There were some orphans who were quite forsaken and nobody cared for them. If the mother died when her child was still a baby, there were normally some other women who took such a small child and fed it at their breasts, as long as they needed milk from a mother. An exception was, when both parents died, because then they feared that they would have to die, if they took such a little child, and such babies were abandoned and had to die in misery. Evil spirits had caused the parents to die or the spirits of the ancestors, and everyone who would care for such children, had to die too.

If one asks for the reason why some people liked to take and care for such small children, orphans and half orphans, one has firstly to mention that some families like to have many children, and if they have none or only one or two they like to take a few of such children and care for them. That can be seen in quite a number of families. I have known quite a number of such families, who took several orphans into their house and home and cared for them until they were grown. But one has also to consider, especially in the old time, that by each child, that was brought up, the clan increased, if it was a boy then manpower was increased, since he was a warrior later, and if it was a girl she would bring a brideprice and friendly relation with others could be established by her. Perhaps there was also the thought, that by taking care of such children the blessings of the parents and ancestors spirits would rest upon them.

Parents without children, and there were quite a number of families who had no children, about 8 - 10 percent, very often took several children and regarded them as their own. These children were often taken from families who had many children and willingly gave one or two to such families to bring them up. In the olden days it was very often the case, that a man, if his wife had no children, took one or more wives beside the first one, hoping to get children by them, especially sons. But that did not always materialise.

As a rule such adopted children were cared for very well. But the foster parents had not the last say about the children they had raised, for the real parents always had some say over them. That showed especially when the girls had grown up and were about to be married. The decisive word was then still said by the real parents, namely the father. It was different, when the parents were dead and the children were orphans. In that case the foster parents were more or less responsible, even if they made decisions only with the agreement of the clan.

In more recent time there is a "buying" of children. They "buy" a child and take it as their own. They pay a certain sum of money or valuables for such a child. By taking the price the parents forfeit the right of ownership of such a child. But as far as I can see, this is a innovation and was not done in the olden times.

Bride price, payment for children when they are born to the clan of the mother, also when children die, payment to the relatives of the mother, have already been mentioned in volume I and I do not need to repeat it here.

Each clan and each group was very particular, even jealously interested that all children, who belonged to the own group, had to come back to the group of the father. There were sometimes very long negotiations especially when the mother had taken the children along with her and they had grown up in another clan. Balance of man power was perhaps the foremost reason for such customs.

The children belong to their parents, but not alone to them, they belong also to the community, to the clan or group of the father. Only small children belong at first more or less to their mothers, because they had to care for them, had to feed them, had to keep them clean etc. That was with the boys as long as they were still small and needed the mother, but with the girls longer, mostly until they came into the marriageable age. But the decisive words as far as the clan and the group was concerned, was always said by the fathers and by the leaders of the clan or group.

When women caused abortion, which was not seldom at all in the old time, or if they killed the little ones soon after they were born, because they did not want any more children, the women did that on their own and not with the agreement of their husbands. These learned to know of it only after the fact and when it was too late to do anything to prevent it. For the men the rule was: The more children the more prestige.

Gardens

The land, as stated, belongs to the men of the clan, the women are not owners, and the women belong to their husbands and the children to their parents and at the same time to the clan. Of all the other things one could say: What one obtains, gains, earns, acquires etc. that is his or her own. The gardens belong to men and women jointly, as both have worked to get the gardens growing. It has already been stated which work each one has to do, men and women, cf: gardens, volume II.

But even if the gardens belong to them jointly, each one has his or her own rights and responsibilities. Eg. the man plants the sugar cane and the bananas, he has to put poles to them, has to tie them up and has to harvest them, when they are ripe, and offers them on the market. If the wife likes to have some sugar cane she asks her husband first and if he gives permission she may take some. Only if he has said what she may take will she take it. Also the yams are planted by the men, but not the taro.

On the other hand the woman is the owner of the sweetpotatoes and of most kinds of the vegetables. She plants them, or put the seeds into the ground, she has to keep the garden clean and she also harvests them and carries the sweetpotatoes and vegetables home for the daily food.

The men are the owners of the fruitgardens. They plant the pandanus (long ones) and also the amugl in the forest, But the women may also eat the fruit, especially if there is plenty of it, but the men will do the harvesting.

Houses

The men houses are owned by the men. The other houses are owned more or less jointly. The men build them for the women and for the children. As the women live in them and keep the houses clean they are more or less co-owners. One may also say the family houses are jointly owned.

The Pigs

The pigs are mostly bought by the men, in case where they are traded in, usually as little piglets. Therefore they are the main owners. But as the women do most of the feeding and bring them into the fence and/or houses at night and let them out in the morning, rub them with ashes etc. - in other words as they care for them - they are co-owners of the pigs. One may therefore

say correctly, that the pigs are owned jointly. The husband therefore will never sell a pig or kill one before he has asked his wife and she gives permission for him to do so. It may of course happen that the man is rough with his wife and does not care what she says, or that the wife fears her husband and therefore does not say anything, even if she does not agree, because it would cause bad feelings and so on, if she did. But if a man acted in this way, it was not seldom that his wife went and hanged herself. Normally the man asks his wife and if the two agree, then the man can do as they have agreed upon.

When a mother pig had a litter, the little piglets were also owned by the husband, as he had bought the mother pig in the first place. If then the woman cared for the little pigs, sometimes even took them at their own breasts, then she became more or less owner, at least the main owner; But even then she could not do with the little pigs as she liked, but always had to get permission of her husband.

Dogs and Cassowaries

With them it was similar, they were owned jointly. The husband bought them and because that he became the main owner. The women fed them and cared for them and became with their work part owners. It was the same with the offspring (dogs).

Cassowaries were seldom caught by the Kámanuku men. They were not close enough to the forests. Mostly the small cassowaries caught by some men of the neighbouring tribes, were bought from them. They were fed mostly by the women, but the hut they lived in was built by the men, so both were jointly owners.

Of other animals which were kept the same holds true. They were traded in and then kept until they were grown up.

Netbags are made by the women. Nearly all kinds of netbags are also worn by them. The bigger net bags they need to get the daily food from the gardens, they carry the children in them, sometimes also little pigs and dogs. Netbags are owned by the women with one exception: i.e. the small netbags which are carried by the men over their left shoulder (mostly). This netbag belongs to the men, even if they are made by the women.

String skirts. What has been said of the netbags holds true also of the string skirts or string aprons. The women make them and they are the sole owners. That holds true of the string skirts which are worn in front and also of the wearing apparel of the backside, even if the bark is taken off the trees by the men, since all the other work to get them ready to be worn is done by the women.

Mondo, or wooden pots were made only by the men, or they were traded in from neighbouring tribes, which lived closer to the woods or forest and had better access to suitable trees of which they were made. But all the cooking in these pots is done by the women, and as they have to care for them to keep them in good order and condition, the women become part owners of them too.

Weapons. These are made exclusively by the men, or they trade them in. They are used also only by the men, for a woman does not use bow and arrows, or shields and spears. Therefore the men are owners of the weapons.

Decoration: Most of the decoration or pieces of decoration, except some types of armlets, leg-rings, chains etc. etc. is owned by the men. Most of the ornamental pieces are made by the men too, or traded in. The women and especially the young girls, who wear a good number of these pieces, are mostly not owners of them, but they are given to them temporarily by some men. If then the festival occasions are over, these pieces have to go back to the real owners; or, when a girl wears a lot of them before she is married, it is only up to the time of her marriage. Then most of the most valuable pieces go back to the owner.

Pieces of decoration can also be lent to or borrowed from friends and relatives. If then the festival occasion has past they have to be given back, of-ten for a charge or with the promise to recompense for the use of them by lending some of the same kind at an other occasion. Mostly the price is a good hunk of meat. It is understandable that they do not like to lend or borrow the best and most valuable pieces of such decorations, as there is always the danger that they might get damaged, for example by rain, or even that a piece may be stolen and is thus lost. To us one plume may look like another, but they know exactly which is theirs, and often know even the real owner of a piece by sight.

There are many things which are always lent or on loan, as the many pieces of the brideprice. Many have contributed to get all the needed pieces together. But each one expects that he will get at the appropriate time a piece back which is at least as good as the one he has contributed, or even, if possible, a better piece. And if somebody dies without having paid back his debts the children and other heirs are responsible to give them back or pay for them.

Each one likes to borrow from other people. One hardly can find a man who is not indebted to someone else. As long as the owner does not press for paying back they don't mind at all. And if someone is hard pressed he perhaps tries to pacify the first one by lending or borrowing the same item from another friend or relative. It bothers most of them very little, if at all, or when they will be able to pay back their debts.

Nowadays they also have money. The owners of the money are the men. Of course they may give small sums to their wives but the bulk is kept by the men. That applies also to bank books. There is quite a bit of money in circulation, but most of it is spent as soon as it is earned. But there are also quite a number of men who have hundreds and thousands of dollars hidden, either in their houses or somewhere else, or they have it in a bank. As a normal rule one may say, that the men consider themselves to be the owners of the money.

The children belong to their parents and to the clan. When small, it is the responsibility of the parents to care for them. If the father dies, the eldest brother takes over the responsibility, if he is old enough. If the mother dies the father is responsible. If the mother goes back to her clan or tribe, she leaves the children in the clan of her husband as a rule. Relatives of the deceased husband take over full responsibility in this case. If she takes the children along with her to her clan, then her relatives will care for the children. But as already stated, they can go only temporarily, for as soon as they are big enough they have to go back to the clan of their father.

The Food

The food as it is needed for the daily meals has to be fetched from the gardens if not each day, then every second day, sweetpotatoes, vegetables etc.etc. Also the sweetpotatoes have to be cleaned and the vegetables have to be prepared for cooking and fire wood has to be collected. All this has to be done by the women, except for firewood, for if there are big logs, branches or trees, then the men split it and carry it home. The cooking is also women's work. But if meat is to be prepared and cooked, that is men's work. They kill the pigs, they hunt the game, they butcher and prepare the meat and normally they do also the cooking.

When the food is ready to be eaten then it is distributed by the women. They give the portions to the men and children and then take what they need for themselves. When they are in the house for the meal, then they eat more or less at the same time. Each one sits down and eats what was given to him or her, of he or she may prefer to eat in a standing position.

Tables and chairs were unknown to them, also plates and dishes were seldom used. As a rule the food was served on leaves, or just without anything the portion for each one was given into his or her hands. Today there are dishes and plates in every house, mostly cheap enamel or tin or aluminium, which are used to distribute the food; and mostly there is also a spoon for each one, especially when they cook and eat rice.

Meat is, as mentioned, normally cooked and prepared by the men (not tin or canned meat, but pigs etc.) They cook the meat (pigs etc.) together with the sweet potatoes and vegetables in the big pits in the ground. The meat is usually seasoned with different herbs which they collect in garden and forest; salt and ginger are the most used seasoning ingredients. When the food is boiled or steamed and ready to be taken out, this is done by the men and the meat is distributed by them too. Each one of the people present gets his or her portion, always remembering to repay what they got from them at such and such an occasion or festival.

At festivals they do not distribute individually, but always for groups of people. At the big festivals there are several thousand of people present. Then the food is put in heaps on banana leaves, sugar cane, bananas, and then the cooked food such as sweet potatoes, taro, yams, beans, vegetables..... and on top of all of it the meat. Between each heap a stick is put into the ground and then the heaps of food are piled up, one beside the other, in a long line. When they have finished distributing (men and women carry the food, the women what they have prepared and the men what they have cooked), then one of the leading man goes along the line and standing at each heap calls the name of the group, which has to take the heap. Only when he has arrived at the last heap and called the last group of people, all cry out with a loud shout and then they take the food and divide it amongst them, and eat, and what they cannot eat, they put into their net-bags and carry home. The big meal is always the finishing act of such a festival.

As long as one lives he is and stays owner of his or her goods. If someone wants to use any of the tools, decorations etc. of somebody else, he will always ask first and get permission to do so.

If somebody dies, the right of ownership goes over to the heirs, that goes both ways, positive and negative: that means, not only the goods, but also the debts, are inherited by the heirs, and they are responsible. Of the children the eldest son has some privileges and responsibilities, because he is, if old enough, the representative of the father, especially if the father has died. That can be in regard to the distribution of things inherited, or in regard to the care of the younger brothers and sisters, and when the brothers get old enough to be married, the eldest son is then responsible to get a wife for his brothers. In other words: The rights and responsibilities as they are given by the patrilineal system go over to the eldest son in the family.

If the eldest son is not in a position to take over the privileges and responsibilities, for example if he is not strong, if he is sick etc. then these responsibilities can be taken over by a younger brother.

If there are no male heirs, or if the children are still small when the father dies, then the brother of the father takes over. This is only temporarily, for when the children are grown up, they take over the privileges and responsibilities of the rightful heirs.

If a mother dies and the children are still small, then other women mostly take the children and care for them, either until they are grown or until such time as the father remarries. By his marrying another wife, the children get a new mother and she cares for the children. Remarriage after the death of one of the mates is normally not very long after husband or wife has died, in most cases it will take only several months. If the necessary goods are at hand for the brideprice and especially if the man is a leading man, a new mother to find does not take long.

2. War

There were no special war-laws, but there were certain rules and customs, which all knew and observed. I want to mention a few of them:

What has been said to war itself, has already been mentioned in volum I pages 185 - 195, concerning the different kinds of fighting etc. and does not need to be repeated here. That the causes for war could be various ones, such as women, land questions, pigs etc. has also already been said. Whether the "crime" or misdemeanor was done by one of the same group or by a stranger, was very important. If someone considered himself to be neglected or mistreated in his own group by one of his own people then he would easily get excited and angry and it was not at all seldom that some people of the same clan had a brawl or a fight and even that some men were wounded. Normally on such occasions other men take sides and let go. If then later they have cooled down, the "guilty" ones have to pay some valuables or pigs etc. as a gift of reconciliation, or both side exchange goods.

If someone of another tribe was involved, then that normally meant war, if the "guilty" one did not pay heavily in pigs and goods etc. Of course they did not just start a war and fight. They carefully considered their own strength and manpower and the manpower of the enemy they wanted to punish. Were they strong enough to do this? Here the elderly people, formerly mostly fighting leaders had the decisive word to say, the fathers of the clan or tribe, as they were often called. If the decision of the old men was that such a crime could only be dealt with by war, then the fight started very soon, of course only after the necessary preparations had been made.

That most of the fights were fought in the open, away from the villages, in no-man's-land, had already been mentioned. The other type, that they tried to extinguish a clan altogether, was not so frequent. It also happened that one, two or a few warriors hid somewhere in an ambush, in a garden, near a road in the grass etc., and if then someone of the enemy passed by, they killed him or her, or them.

Another way of killing was to kill someone treacherously.

In such a case they appeared to be very friendly and if the other believed them and went where they wanted him, then suddenly they attacked and killed him.

If somebody had been killed and his body fell into the hands of the enemies, then the body was mostly returned to the other side for a good payment. Wounded ones, when they fell into the hands of the enemies, were often killed by young lads, who took part for the first time in a fight. Not infrequently such poor victims were tortured for a while until they died. Sympathy with them was more or less unknown.

Prisoners were not made, unless they were women. They were taken and were common property until such time when they were released against payment. It happened of course that such women would run away, if they could manage it.

When it was a war of annihilation, then nobody was spared, not women, old people or children. Mostly they were all killed. But it sometimes happened that somebody took a little child with him and reared it as his own.

That people who were blamed for having kumo were killed by their own group, has already been said. Often the ones who were blamed and killed had not the slightest notion that they were blamed in that way. If somebody accused another person of having kumo and killed him straight away, then that was a very difficult position and only by payment of a very high ransom could such a person avoid being killed himself, unless he could bring convincing evidences that the killed person really had or was a kumo. But if somebody, of whom they had agreed that he was a kumo was killed then nothing further was done. They did not even mourn for the dead one.

In a common fight the victory could be one day on this side, the next on the other. If one side had several mishaps and were defeated, the cause for that was not seldom thought to be the spirits of the ancestors. In some way or the other their wrath had been incurred. If that was the case they stopped fighting for a while. As has already been stressed, it was essential that the losses on both sides were equal before they could think of making peace. If an influential man had been killed, that of course weighed very heavily, far more than if an ordinary man had been killed.

If one group was in a state of warfare with another group, and if they had to hire allies to help them, and if one of these was killed, then they had to pay for the dead one, unless they had already paid in advance for their help.

The old leading men did not take part in a fight, as a rule. In days gone by such men had been leading warriors in most cases, but now they let the younger generation do the fighting. The old ones stayed at home. Only if their own house and home was threatened by the enemies and when they had to fight for their lives would they take their weapons and join in the fight.

The custom, which I found in neighbouring tribes, whereby a chieftain did not kill the people he disliked for some reason or the other, but had his henchmen do the killing for him, I did not observe with the Kamanuku.

It is ^{self} evident, that in wartime the intention was to kill. Nobody thought that to be wrong. It was necessary to keep the peace and to preserve the tribe. Here also the rule may be applied: What I can do to harm the enemy is always good, but what the enemy does to us is always bad.

Spoil.Loot

The rule mentioned before, that everything that one catches, earns, finds etc., belongs to him, can also be applied in wartime. What one catches is his, a pig, a dog, tools, weapons, fruit, sweetpotatoes and vegetables etc. To a certain extent women and children fall under this rule. Dead people, if they fell into the hands of the enemy, were seldom maimed, but given back unutilated against payment. But as exceptions it happened that in their anger they hacked the corpses to pieces, burnt them, or, when a house burnt, they threw the body into the flames and burnt it together with the house.

3. Marriage and Family

As has already been mentioned under marriage, resp. family in volume I page 162 ff. and 177, the girl or the woman goes or changes over by marriage into the group or clan of her husband by exchanging the brideprice. Her husband and the new clan are her rightful owners, not in the sense that they can do with her as they like, rather she is protected by the exchanging of the bride price. If a husband treats his wife badly, rightly or wrongly, she can always run away from him, and that happened fairly frequently. They then try to persuade her to return, but often quite in vain. In such a case the valuables paid in the exchange of the brideprice, have to be returned, which is often hard to do, as they have perhaps been exchanged several times in the meantime.

Women as well as men were and are often jealous. The women often had or have a fair idea if the husband has another woman, and, when on the other hand, the wife was unfaithful to her husband, he soon noticed it or others told him. If it then came into the open, normally the man was considered the guilty part and had to pay the husband of the woman, with whom he had had a love affair, and this, if accepted by the husband, settled the matter. The relatives were mostly involved too.

If unmarried girls had intercourse with boys or men that was not considered a serious matter. The girl had no "owner" as yet and in most cases such actions would not even be known to others. The boy or man did not say anything and the girl received in most cases a present and she kept quiet. If both ate salt together, that meant that nothing would be said. It was different, if a girl got pregnant. In such a case she mostly stuck to the boy or man by whom she was pregnant (if she knew who it was) and if he then was willing to marry her and could pay the brideprice, the matter was settled.

It was not seldom at all that if a girl found she was pregnant, that she tried to have an abortion.

A woman who had run away from her husband sometimes could be persuaded to return, often by people from both sides. If not and if she was pressed to hard, and if they did not agree to return the bride price, then it happened that she just went and hanged herself. In that case the relatives of the husband asked for return of the bride-price, but seldom got it.

That a man had certain rights against his wife and on the other hand also responsibilities, and visé versa the wife against her husband is well known by all. About the division of work I have already reported in volume II. If one party did not fulfill his or her obligations, then often there was quarrel and strife. Even brawls between husband and wife were not seldom. But the wife was not always the one who got the beating or was hurt, even if that was true in most cases, but there were also quite a number of men who were beaten by their wives now and again. Perhaps they needed it too.

That many men looked upon their wives as "bought" and that they therefore owned their wives and therefore could more or less do with them what they liked, should be clearly understood. Often small actions of his wife could put the husband into a rage and in his anger he mistreated his wife. There were also some rude and violent men who were feared by everybody and nobody dared to intervene. The more influential a man was, the more he could do as he wanted.

The women did not consider themselves as strangers, when they married into another clan or tribe. In times of war they stuck normally to the side of the husbands clan. But notwithstanding they might try from time to time to give certain messages to the relatives of their own clan or tribe. In times of negotiations for peace they often were the first ones to arrange negotiations and act as mediators.

In time of peace there is always a certain friendship between the husband of a wife from another tribe and that tribe, and the relatives of the husband profit by that in some way or the other. That is essential especially with the trade relations.

How women were treated, who had frequently to do with other men I have already told in volume I (page 179 ff.)

A punishment for women of this type, which I have not mentioned there is the following: The hair of the head of such a woman is cut off, but they put the lice back again into her short hair. They want to put shame on the woman.

Intercourse with a woman was basically dealt with as theft. Moral or ethical considerations were hardly decisive or even considered.

4. Theft

The feeling of ownership is well developed, even strong. There are things which we would normally think husband and wife would own jointly, but they are individually owned. "I made it, I earned it, I bought it etc. therefore it is mine and belongs to me and to nobody else." What is owned by one, the other one does not dare to touch or to use, at least not without the permission of the rightful owner.

If somebody needs and uses something of another person and it gets lost, or is damaged, for example a piece of decoration such as plumes of a bird, which can easily be damaged in rain, then the one who loaned it has to replace it and give another one of the same value for it.

That even goes for an employer. He is responsible for everything that happens to his employee. That went so far, that they sometimes asked for payment if people brought sweetpotatoes and vegetables to the station to sell it, even if they were not asked to bring any, and if them anything

happened to the carrier of such goods, or to the goods. They then came and asked for compensation. They had had the intention of coming to the station, therefore they had been in our service and they concluded that we were responsible for any losses.

If they lent a tool etc. the one who used it had to pay a certain amount for the use, but normally the deal was made with mutual understanding. If for example an axe was damaged when lent from another person then the one who borrowed it had to pay for it or had to give another one for it. He had to pay in a way the owner is content with.

Such liability can even last for a longer period, maybe for months or even years. If for example one buys a pig and after some months the pig gets sick and dies, then the one who bought it will ask for compensation.

If one does not pay and/or compensate, then he may be blamed for theft. One was obliged to do it, but did not do it, therefore he is in the wrong, or used something which he was not supposed to use and because he did not compensate, he is guilty of theft.

The responsibility or liability can also be transferable. There are cases where the payment cannot be made by the one who is responsible for them. In such cases the responsibilities can go over to brothers, relatives, friends etc. Each one expects to get back what he has lent, sometimes with high interest. If a person dies before he has paid his or her debts, then these go over to the rightful heirs.

But it may happen, that they are convinced, that the person who died, was the only one responsible and that the heirs assert, that, because he died, they are not responsible. In such cases, not infrequently brawls and fights are the consequences, until after some time they come to a compromise.

"He ate it", they say, "he is dead, therefore there is no more responsibility". The word "ate" has here a wider sense, perhaps it can be translated with "use"; for not only eating and drinking but also to steal etc. is often expressed with "to eat". Perhaps in the latter case they think that most of the things stolen are also eaten. But even sexual intercourse is terminated as "eat".

Direct theft is frequent. In olden times I think, each one was a thief and took what he or she could, if there was occasion to do so. It was deemed bad and wrong to take anything from anybody of the same group or tribe but still it happened very often. Temptation was there nearly every day. The other person had something which another person liked to have and if there was a fitting occasion one took it, if it could be done without being caught. There were pigs, dogs, normally they were killed and eaten - fowls, eggs, all kinds of fruit and vegetables in the garden, valuables, feathers, shells, skins, tools etc. etc. Who can enumerate all the things that could be stolen and could be used? Even if they were told and taught to take nothing from another person, especially not of any person of the same group, but only from strangers, there was hardly a man or a woman, who could abstain from taking things, if there was an occasion to take it, even from their best friends and close relatives.

Because the basic thinking was, that you were not supposed to take anything from your friends, but that it was permitted and even a good act to take what you could, without being discovered, from any stranger, including the white people, it is understandable that many things were stolen from white people, government officers included, even if the thieves knew quite well that they would be punished if they were caught. The white people had so much, and most of them did not even know if something was missing. Therefore it was even easier to take from them than from their own people, for they would not even recognise the goods they were missing. But their own people would always recognise them, even years later. If one was caught stealing, that was a cause to be ashamed.

When a thief was caught - which was only possible if caught in the very act, otherwise the thief will deny the deed or have a plausible excuse - then he has to pay compensation. If it is with friends that may settle it, if it is from another tribe, it may be cause for war.

For the animals one possesses one is responsible. Take for example that a pig breaks through a fence and destroys part of a garden, or your dog eats the fowls of somebody else etc., then that is counted under theft and the owner of the animal has to pay compensation. He has, so to speak, stolen through a third person, in this case by his animals.

That thieves were killed, even if taken in the very act, was seldom done. There were a few cases which came to my notice, but they were exceptions. These cases concerned sick people. They were hungry and had gone into the gardens and helped themselves (Their relatives did not care for them). That was discovered and they did it repeatedly, (people with leprosy who lived in isolation) and then they were waylaid and killed.

5 Fighting of Women

Fighting amongst women was frequent in the old days. I could observe quite a number of them. The causes are: Theft from the gardens, jealousy of the women in regard to certain men and polygyny, as several wives of one husband very seldom like each other. There are of course many other causes, but I mention only these. - When such a fight starts, it normally begins with bad words and accusations, which very soon go over into a fight. The other women take sides and soon there are dozens of them fighting on each side. The men look and observe but do not intervene. Bleeding heads, broken fingers and arms, bruises etc. are the consequences of such fights. Later on, when they have cooled off a bit, the men try to mediate, the chieftains or other influential men. Mostly they have to exchange gifts of reconciliation. But any new theft, or suspicion, jealousy etc. can renew such fights. That a husband preferred a young woman and neglected the older one, was also a kind of theft, as the older one had older rights and privileges. The young one had in such case stolen the heart and the affection of the man from the older woman.

6. Lost and Found

If somebody finds anything on the road or elsewhere, then the object he or she has found belongs to him or her, as long as the rightful owner cannot prove that he lost it and that it belongs to him or her. Often the finder will not mention it at all that he found it, but hide it, and perhaps trade it in somewhere else. If the ownership has been proven, a gift has to be made to the finder and then he will give the object back.

Frequently the finder will not be known. But if in such cases the real owner discovers the lost object in the possession of somebody, then he will blame the one who has it with theft, or the one from whom he traded it in. Often such objects have changed owners several times before they are rediscovered and it will be hard to trace who the original finder is.

At hunting it was similar and still is. The one who kills the animal is the owner. But the right of ownership can go further, the one who saw the animal first may claim ownership even if the other was quicker and killed it before he could do so. That may lead to quarrels and brawls and the stronger one will be victorious in the end, or the man who has the highest influence.

In the course of time even in these rules and "laws" some changes have taken place. But fundamentally most of the old rules still hold true. A few of these changes I may mention here. They are not complete, but may give an indication:

1. The payment at the birth of a child to the relatives of the mother is today often not observed anymore. That was a firm right (law) in the old days, but today it is neglected and not in use anymore with many people.

2. Also when children died they had to be paid for in the old days. The relatives of the mother asked for compensation. That custom is hardly ever followed anymore today.
3. To ask for payment for dead ones was common custom and usage in the old days. Some accusations were brought forward, with children for example, that the father did not care enough, if a woman died the husband had neglected her etc. This custom is not in force anymore with the exception in accidents, when somebody is blamed and made liable. As accidents with cars and trucks happen today, the driver is mostly blamed and very often the driver runs away after an accident and cannot be found for weeks and months. Many drivers are from other areas and sometimes they do good to run away. Of course one or the other of the old customs may be revived at any time, nobody knows.
4. Also various customs in connection with the first menstruation of a young girl and also initiation rites with the boys have nearly all disappeared.

Those are only a few of my observations in regard to the customs and unwritten "laws" of the natives. I am convinced I did not even touch many aspects, but the little hints given may give a little insight into the thinking of the natives, and some of their doings and actions, and why they do it etc., may be a little better understood.

6. Social Structure.

The organisation or the structure of the Kamanuku tribe, as it appears to the outside, has already ^{been} described in volume II page 33 ff.

One may ask: What is it that binds a group of people together? Who are the leading men and how do they come into this position? How far is relationship a binding factor for a clan or tribe, how much geographical and historical influences come into account? I could not say. I am here concerned mainly with the leading men. It has to be said at first, that the tribe has no single leading man or chieftain, only the clans have. If it were necessary for a tribe, then a tribe would not exist here, but only clans. The unity of a clan does not rest in a man who is the leader of the tribe.

The clans have leading men, one, two or more. As a rule these men are mostly fairly old, the so-called fathers of the group. Each subdivision of a clan may have again one or more leading persons. For all the different functions there need not be only one man but several men can be leading, each one in another direction, and also, today, this man may be the leading person in some respect and in another matter the next day it may be another man. One for example may be gifted in oration and he will be the man who does the talking, another is a good judge, a third one is good in trading, another in counting etc.etc.

As has already been stated the Kamanuku leading persons or men are not the young men. The same applies to all the neighbouring tribes. The leading men are mostly all over 50 years of age, mostly older. A young leading man, except in war and fighting, one will find very seldom.

It would be interesting to know and to explain for what reasons the leading men come into the leading position. One cannot explain that in one or two sentences. As far as I can see, there are quite a few factors which contribute to making a man to a leading man or chieftain. I shall try to mention some of them, as I see it:

1. Leadership is not just inherited, so that it would go on from father to son, but is has of course certain influence, that means: Sons of influential men have a better prospect of becoming leading men than sons of mere common men. But it is not inheritance alone which make them chieftains etc. It is very well possible, that the sons of the present leading men will not be the leaders of the coming generation.
2. Further it must be considered that to be a chief-tain one needs a special gift or talent in leadership. If that is missing, one, even if he is an appointed leader, will soon lose his leadership and if he stays in the position, will only be a figure head. A leading man must be gifted to lead other people, he must be able to give advise, and in difficulties he must show how they can overcome them.
3. A further factor has to be taken into consideration, namely how or in which way such a man has shown his bravery, his skill etc. in fights with other tribes. Was he brave and could he distinguish himself before other men? Was he daring and bold in war? etc.
4. Furthermore a certain luck must be counted with. That was not only in regard to fights with the enemy, but also on hunting trips, success in trading etc. One who has mishap after mishap had not much prospect of coming into the position of a leader.
5. Connected with this is, that a man who is lucky and successful will get richer than other people; richer than the others, he has more valuables, he can have more wives, bigger gardens, more pigs (women have to care for the pigs etc) and with that is connected more influence, bigger esteem etc. One is conditioned by the other and follows as consequence of the other.
6. Also a person is more gifted than his fellow men. This must be taken into account: A gift for speech, a good voice, ready-tongued and quick-witted etc. The gift to convince others,

the gift to judge the state of affairs correctly and evaluate it, to give the correct advise how one has to act correctly and at what time, all that and many other aspects I wish to include when I say personal gift for leadership.

7. Valuables and wives meant esteem and influence. The social esteem will be higher the more a man has. But that, alone does not make him a leading man. All the other qualities must be present or at least part of them. Only, if one takes all these things together then the preconditions to become a leading person are given. That also other factors come into consideration I know, and is selfevident, for example: Experience which the "old" ones have gathered and attained in their lives etc.

The leading men are held in high esteem and are honoured even if they are old and frail. Normally what they say will be done and when more of these men make a decision and give advise, it will be followed by the others. Only when they are really old and infirm then they gradually lose their influence and others take over.

If one considers all this one will not just say: Leadership is inherited. A brave and capable man will always get more and more influence. The old leading men are not voted into position. I would rather say: By their acts and deeds men grow into the position to become leaders.

To explain what I mean I want to say the following: Take a group of children, boys or girls (the age does not matter, they may be 5 or 6 years old, they may be 12 or more). It will always be that one or several of them will have a leading role, willing or unwilling. (with or without intention), knowing or not knowing. Similar it is here.

Somebody may be a leader from childhood on, others may come into such a position only step by step, others are working themselves into such a position. Of course, all the different gifts and capabilities will have a certain role as well as the position of their fathers.

But it might happen from time to time that a single man made a decision by himself, which normally is only done in the council of the old men. - The things which have to be decided can be of different importance. Some refer only to the clan, for example; to make a garden, to build a menhouse etc. But there are other matters which are far-reaching and go over the competence of a single clan, for example: War with a neighbouring tribe, a big pig festival and more of such things. In all of such matters hardly ever will a single man make a decision, but only the council of the old men, and then only after long consideration. When the matters are less important, then of course the men of the group can take the decisions. In all the important questions the old men or the fathers of the different clans will come to a decision or conclusion jointly. Therefore we may also say: The leading men of the different clans are the ones who represent also the tribe.

Then, when the white people came and established a civil government, they introduced a system of Luluai (chieftain) and Tultul (interpreter). In many cases the main and leading people were picked out, but in other instances the choice was not as good. Some officers just asked how many wives a man had and made the one who had the most to be chieftain. The tultuls were often more the leading men than the luluais, as they did the talking and nobody could control what they translated. The system also had some difficulties in the respect that people were not used to the one-man-system. Also some tultuls misused their influences. But in all new systems there always will be some drawbacks, especially if they are strange to the people.

For several years now this system has been abandoned and village councils have been introduced; but here also the people have to learn first, as the members of such councils are voted in and are not necessarily the leading people of the groups.

That for all this there were no written laws is clear, but experience had made the people wise. The preservation of the tribe and/or clan, if possible also the increase of the group, its manpower, one had to keep in mind always, in all decisions.

Something else I want to mention here. Did "castes" exist amongst the people, different ranks according to the social position of the people? One may answer with no and with yes.

"Castes" as they are known for example in India, did not exist: a state in which one was born and had to stay in. And still, there was a big difference in the social rank of the different men, in the clan as well as in the tribe. Of this difference I want to say a few words.

We noticed very soon after we had arrived in that area, especially in the first years, amongst the Kamanuku as well as amongst the neighbouring tribes, that there were many grown up males, often more than 40 years of age and older, who lived single and were not married and never had been married. That was very surprising to us. Today it is quite different, yes, one may say, this has been altered altogether. But every census of the people will confirm that there were a fairly big percentage more males living than females in all the tribes. If then quite a number of the leading men lived in polygamy and had up to 4 and 5 wives the situation was still more aggravated. I know a man, who was made head luluai, who had 28 wives, taken to a large extent only after being appointed into this position and the brideprice for some of them was not paid until many years later, if at all. In his position he got away with it. If one knows these facts it is not surprising that many men could not get a wife, and of course the ones who were poor and had little or no influence were the ones who had to stay single.

We may distinguish between 3 groups of people:

1. The old men and leading people.
2. the common people or the middle class, men with families, with houses, gardens, pigs etc. and then
3. the men who had no wives, the have-nots, the poor ones, the tom-tai as they were called. Any ethnologic differences were not the cause for this. If one just says: these poor people had to stay single, not much is explained, but if one knows all the implications, it looks quite differently.

A man, who is not married is and will stay a poor wretched, and very often he is at the same time a simpleton too. He owns no valuables (where should he get them?), which he could give for a bride price, normally he has also no friends who would help him. He has no wife, in consequence he has no gardens, no pigs, because to work the garden is women's work and also to feed the pigs. Such a man is dependent on the goodwill and sympathy of the others. Perhaps he stays close to a family, so he will get something to eat, but he has to do most of the work of the man in return. He may be well liked, if he is industrious, but he will not get paid for his work and will never be able to change his state of affairs.

One may ask how it is possible to come into such a position to be such a poor man. That may be explained quite naturally and simply. Take for example: One is an orphan. He has no parents who care for him and also has no close relatives. Then perhaps nobody did much care for him and when he grew up he had to live in strained circumstances, or from hand to mouth. He had nothing, he gained nothing, he earned nothing and had always to stay as he was, one who had nothing. It happened now and again that such a man got a wife when he was old, perhaps an old widow or so, whom nobody else wanted anymore, or a woman for whom no man was available. In most cases such men stayed single until they died.

There were several dozen of such bachelors in each tribe, with the Kamanuku as well as with the other tribes in the neighbourhood. I had the impression that with the tribes toward the east there were still more of such men than with the Kamanuku.

On the contrary there were no single women, except very old ones whose husbands had died and who were too old to marry again. They were mostly cared for by their children. Girls, even if they came from poor families, or if they had no parents, always got a husband. It was possible that the bride price for them was a little less, but if such girls were grown up, there were always people claiming to be the "owners" of them. Daughters of prominent parents were not only very much sought after, but for them also a higher bride price had to be paid. Therefore it was often the case, that boys of prominent parents also were married to daughters of prominent persons, but that was not always the case.

In the course of years also in this respect many changes have taken place. People who had nothing in the old days had occasion to work for the white men, at the government station, or go to the coast and stay there for 2 years and work on a plantation and then came back with a "lot" of goods. By that they were all of a sudden not the poor and downtrodden people anymore. They could pay the bride price and could get married. Furthermore, polygamy has decreased very much and more women are available (in proportion) for marriages. In other words this type of poor unmarried men has nearly vanished entirely.

For these and other various reasons there have been changes in the life of the people, and also in regard to the social structure some changes have taken place and everything is still in the changing state. If one lives with them and amongst them, one does not notice it so much; but if one compares today with the time 30 and more years ago, the changes are enormous in many respects.

7. Pig Festivals (bugla yungu)

The big pig festivals, which are celebrated in the whole Chimbu area and further, will be the biggest and most important event in the life of the people here, except perhaps warfare. They have religious significance insofar as a good part of them is connected with the ancestor cult. The people do not count years as we do, but pig festivals. They do not say a boy is so and so many years old, but: "He has seen so and so many pig festivals". Besides this they have an important social meaning such as: Visits, meeting of friends and making new friends, exchanging of women from tribe to tribe, peace at least for some time, common meals and eating of meat, all that and many more is connected with these big pig festivals. This pig festival is the biggest of all festivals and the widest spread of all festivals. But such festival is not held every year but perhaps every 4 - 6 years. Different customs connected with these festivals may vary a little from tribe to tribe, but basically they are very similar. In the following I shall refer only to the customs as they are known with the Kamanuku and as far as I could observe them there. Some of that which I want to report, was told to me by elderly men, especially by Gende.

As has already been mentioned, the tribe of the Kamanuku is subdivided into clans: Okondie, Endugakane, Romaikane, Awakane and Simbaiku. In the old days these big pig festivals were celebrated only at 4 places, at Pare, Kou, Wagl and Kogai. Later other places were added, perhaps because the population had increased. These places are: Kurumugl, Singere and Uru. The places for the festivals are from old, traditionally at the same place and at no other places can such festivals be celebrated.

As already mentioned, the intervals between each of these festivals could vary, the shortest interval being 4 years, but sometimes it lasted up to 7 or 8 years, until the next one could be celebrated. That an occasion with such important meanings was the basis for their time counting does not surprise us. Compare the Olympic festivals. The intervals between the festivals depended on the consideration of and when it was possible to get enough pigs ready and fat enough to be killed.

The number of pigs which are killed and eaten at such festivals is enormous. One can only guess the number, nobody has counted them so far, and they themselves could not count exactly with such big numbers. But that is not necessary and not important. I have tried to get an appropriate estimate and came to the conclusion, that fairly small places killed up to 100 or 120 pigs. The estimate is possible, as the jawbones of the killed and eaten pigs are lined up either over the menhouses or the houses which are especially built for this occasion, or on tree branches. But even if the people cannot tell how many pigs were killed and eaten all in all, they know exactly how many they have eaten when invited by neighbours and consequently how many they have to kill and present to them to get even, or pay back their debts. Or on the other hand, how many pigs one may expect from the hosts at the next big pig festival. Sometimes they carve knots into trees (standing and life trees) to remember how many pigs they have got from the others and therefore are obliged to pay back. I have often seen such markers and have counted them and came up to one hundred and more. Give and receive in return, those are two things which are very firmly engraved into their thinking.

That such festivals need enormous preparations and planning, also a lot of time, to make everything nice, good looking, and worthy for the hostes, need not to be stressed too much.

The people who live here around our station have their festival place at Pare. That is a place about 4 km north from here, near the Chimga river, the other side of the Akan mountain (about 2000 m high). There at Pare the Endugakane, the Okondie and the Awakane have their festivals as long as people can remember. I want to mention that the other clans of the Kamanuku tribe have their festivals all about the same time, but at different places. It happens of course that there is a difference of several days.

"ka ingwa, they take talk" they say, which means: the first preparations for a pig festival are started. The leading men gather and talk it over and when they agree that it is time for a new festival, further steps will be taken soon. The main point for the decision is whether there are enough pigs for the occasion and when they will be big enough to be killed and eaten. If this condition is not fulfilled, then they have to wait and no festival can be arranged. If there are not enough pigs, then admonitions may go out to ensure, that they multiply and that the people take special care that they get big and fat soon. Then the gardens must be big enough to have food for the pigs to feed. Even if the pigs run mostly free and look for their food, they will always be fed at night and the more they have to eat the quicker they will grow. It is of course an honour for every one to have the biggest and fattest pigs. To make the gardens for food for the visitors can only be decided at a time, when the pigs are enough in number and big enough.

To expedite the growth of the pigs a number of men went, in the olden times, into an area with plenty of trees, if possible into the forest (not far away from Pare there is plenty of forest, this side of the mountain is only grassland). They took the pigs along and let them look for their food there. There they could find worms, beetles, grubs etc. also roots and perhaps some tree fruits (acorns). In other words they could find more and better food there. The food had more protein and the pigs grew better and quicker.

Besides that a number of charms have to be applied. This side of Pare in the rocks of the mountain there grows a vine, the kan kama (the black rope). This they collect and then it is broken or cut into small pieces and mixed with the food for the pigs. They say that that helps

Not far from Ega there is a small pond. Its name is: Yowai nungu. From this pond they took water and fed it to the pigs, or they put the water on the boiled sweet-potatoes and gave them to the pigs. That also had the same effect, they claimed.

In the vicinity of Pare there is also a pond. Its name is: Nungungi. Of the water of this pond they also took and fed the pigs with it.

The matter with this pond was the following: When the pig festival was finished then the men took the building material of the bolom house and submerged it into this pond. There it stayed and rotted. But as the bolom house had been built in honour of the ancestor spirits, and because this bolom house had been built for the ancestor spirits, they concluded that the bolom house which had been put into the pond, would with the blessings of the ancestor spirits give the water special magic power.

It took always several years of preparation until the needed amount of pigs were raised and big and fat enough to be killed. The pigs grew very slowly, as far as I could observe, because they do not get the feed they need for quick growth. Grown pigs will be mostly 4 years old and older.

When they then saw that the number of pigs increased and were growing well, they could also see when approximately the festival could be arranged. That this type of festivals were only in a certain time of the year, has already been mentioned previously. The main reason for this was presumably that at this time of the year the sweetpotatoes and vegetables were abundantly in the gardens.

But even if the pigs were the main items for such festivals, it was also essential to have enough other food. In other words preparations must be made early, big gardens have to be planted etc. I do not need to repeat here, what has been said about garden making, fence building etc.etc. only that this all has to be done for this special occasion in view of the many guests, who will be invited for the festival. It would be a shame if the hosts should not have food enough for them, food, abundantly, more than they can eat.

Men as well as women take it as a point of honour that everything is there, nice and abundantly, and therefore they do not shun work and labour, that enough is planted and they do all they can to have plenty. That is all quite selfevident for them.

When everything had been arranged and ordered, then it was the privilege of the chieftain of the Endugakane clan to take the next step. At that time (about the year 1936 - 1938) the chieftain was Waim-tembera-biake. He was the son of Molba. He proclaimed the coming festival, decorating himself with a wide belt, gagua, made from Spanish reed and putting akemake (a specially nice leaf) on, as wearing apparel for the backside, and then he visited the leading men of the other clans. That had to be done according to the firm order of succession.

The said chieftain went first to the Endugakane, which is part of the same clan. The chieftain of this group was Siwi-moninigangigle. He knew at once what he wanted. Al-ready his dress told him that. He talked with him for a while and when he agreed and said "everything is alright" then the two went on to the next group. This were the Bomaikane. These had several men houses and several leading men. Therefore they had to go from one to the other and tell them why they were coming and what they intended to do. They went first to the chieftain Kuman-kumugl. When he had agreed, they went to the next group whose leading man was Siune. When he had agreed they went to Mondo-bugla-nongwa (also Bomaikane). When he also had agreed they went to the Awakane. Their chieftain was Endei-kumburukwa and a second one was Boie-endoka. When both had agreed they went on and came to the Okondic. Their three leading men were: Deglmba, Dakan and Bonguro. When everything had been talked over with them they went to the Simcaikw. Their chieftain was Nini9iglkine. He of course did also agree.

When this long trip had come to an end then they assembled on a certain day, all the leading men, and had a long discussion. It was agreed upon that the time had come to blow the pig flutes. If they all agreed then they also decided to tell all the other people what their decision was and that a pig festival would be held in the "near" future. The people had now to prepare a good meal for all the chieftains.

This meal did not just consist of the daily sweet-potatoes and vegetables but a few small pigs had also to be killed and prepared and also several roosters or hens. If all this was cooked it had to be seasoned with salt and herbs. But before they ate, the men admonished the women to care very well for the pigs, so that they should grow quickly. Not work nor toil should be shunned. When they had told them that, only then did they start to eat.

When they had finished eating, all then joined in a loud cry of joy: oii, oii; and with that the signal was given that from now on in all villages the pig flutes had to be blown each evening and night. The leading men had decided upon that, but they themselves did not blow the flutes. That was the job of other men who knew best how to do it. They soon started. The women and children present had to bow down, head fairly low, standing or sitting. (For description of the flutes see volume II under musik instruments page 185 ff.)

From now on each night beginning with the setting in of darkness these flutes had to be blown. The men who did that went in pairs, each one with a flute, which were blown in a certain rhythm, and the flutes were tuned to each other. So they could make various melodies in quite different pitches, as the flutes were of different sizes. Doing this they went from one hamlet to the other and sometimes around them. They walked around the houses in which pigs were, which were marked to be killed for the coming festival.

Without any doubt this blowing of these flutes also belongs to the ancestor cult. "When we blow the flutes, the ancestors will hear it and help the pigs grow quickly and get fat", they said.

Soon they also decided when the festival would take place. Some count the months "when the moon has been young so and so many times" (newmoon), but more often

they "count" by the position of the sun (when the sun has reached such and such a point at the horizon). From time to time the admonition that every one has to look well after the pigs, will be repeated.

So that the pigs will grow well and grow quickly it was essential, that several charms had to be made. I cannot go into details here, but I want to mention a few of these charms.

1. Each morning, when the pigs were let out of the houses (they were at night in the women or family houses) they had to be rubbed with dry ashes, especially the backs of the pigs. The ashes were taken from the fireplace of the house. This was done by the women, as they took care of the pigs. The men were mostly not present, but in the men houses. While rubbing the pigs with ashes they had to say spells. One of these spells is the following:

Kua pake pake	clouds in cluster	(In this way
Kawa pake pake	clouds very thick	(the pigs
Bundo pake pake.	mushroom like	(should grow

2. There was also a man in the vicinity who could say a magic spell over the sweetpotatoes. The women brought them to him. He would then take one or two, brake them in half and spit on them and murmur his magic spell over them. Sometimes he also went from house to house to do this. After that the women took the "blessed" food and carried it home and fed the pigs with it.

3. There was also a growing spell, which was used, when the pigs were still small. If a sow had piglets in the house or somewhere in the grass then they turned the "nest" upside down (the leaves etc.), the nest on which the sow and the piglets had lain, and rubbed both mothersow and piglets with ashes and said the following spell:

Also small trees and poles for rafters, purloins etc. had to be selected out and piled up. They were not carried to the festival place at this time. They were piled in heaps to dry in the sun.

Then they prepared with their axes kinds of boards, about 1.50 to 2 meters long and 30 - 40 cm wide. These they took and erected them on prominent hills, mountain slopes etc. They could be seen throughout the whole area. On many of the prominent places these boards can be seen and they indicate: Make ready, feed the pigs well, prepare your decorations for the festival, the time for the occasion draws nigh. (Endi bungu boken - di yengwa it is called, when they put these boards up.)

Having put these signs up they started to carry the building material from the forest to the festival place. This was done not only by the hosts, but friends and men from other groups helped to do this, especially the men who were sure to be invited to the festival.

Soon after they started to build the guesthouses near or around the festival place. At first the walls are made. This is done by the hosts. Vines are put tight on the ground and the posts for the walls are rammed into the ground and the grass is put between the posts, which has been carried to the place by the women. It is important that the walls are fairly dense, so the huts will be warm later. These guesthouses are built by one room being added to the other in a long line until they think they have enough for all the expected guests. Sometimes they make single small houses for the guests, sometimes they make only 2 or 3 houses, but up to 80 or hundred meters long. If the area is undulating then houses are fitted accordingly. The houses are at the sides of the festival place, at the end round or oval round. Each room of these guesthouses is about 3 by 5 meters, that means about 15 sq., but many rooms are bigger, according to the group which is intended to occupy it.

Each room has an opening toward the festival place, an entrance or door. When the rooms are bigger, double the size or more, then there may be two entrances. "Doors" are normally not made for the openings, the entrances stay open. The walls of these houses are about 80 cm high and in the middle, if it is a hipped (A shaped) roof it may be 1.50 m high, but often these guest houses may have a flat roof with the high side to the festival place. The roof is made from leaves and grass. There is no "floor" in the houses. The guests will sleep on the ground, on which some grass and leaves are strewn. In most of the rooms is also a fireplace, especially when the festival place is located in a high altitude (more than 2 000 meters). In this altitude it can get fairly cold at night and in the morning.

When the walls are finished then the other people, who will be invited for the festival, are called to help. They come and help carrying further building material, poles and long posts for the roof etc. While the men do this work the women have to go into the gardens and bring food from there, which they then prepare and cook.

The men bring the building material, but not quite to the festival place. They put it down at some distance, about a km or so. When they have brought all the pieces to that place, then all assemble in a long line and carry the wood to the festival place shouting and crying out. Also flutes are blown for this occasion.

Having arrived at the festival place they start soon after to put the posts into the ground, the main post for the roof in the middle and the ridge pieces on them. Then they put the rafters on and the purlins. Material for binding these into position is only sparsely used. The houses are not built very carefully, but that is not necessary, as they will be used only for a short time, a little over a week or so. The purlins are fastened with vines.

While the men do this work the food is cooking in the pits. When they have finished, the food will be ready to be taken out of the "earth ovens". When the food is distributed, each one of the people present can see how much pig meat (and other meat) he will get at the pig festival. The distribution is made exactly to indicate that. If a man gets a full netbag with food then he knows: "O, I and my group of people, we will get a whole pig. Another netbag is taken and the announcer takes the one side of the netbag in his hand and says the name of one group, and then he takes the other side in his hand and says the name of another group. By that the people know: "O, my group and the other group, we together will get a pig." If the portion of sweetpotatoes is bound into a bundle and is given in this way to the people, then they know: "We shall get several pieces of meat, a hind leg, a piece of the back etc. etc." After having eaten, some of the people go home into their hamlets, others stay to help work the next day.

Next morning the men go and fetch banana leaves, pandanus leaves etc. The women go and get grass and then the houses are covered with this material (i.e. the roofs of the houses are made.).

Having finished that, the men start to split firewood, which also has been brought to the place in the meantime. This wood is to be used for cooking on festival days. When they have split it, it is carried into the houses and piled up into heaps, if possible close to the fireplaces. There it can dry. They need a lot of wood for festival days. It has to be dry, otherwise it will not burn and not give heat, which is needed to heat the stones and cook the pigs.

After finishing all this work there is an easy spell, a time of lull. The houses have to have time to dry a bit, otherwise they are very cold at night, and the fire-wood also needs time to dry. This time of rest may last about 2 to 3 weeks.

When this time of waiting has been observed, then they say: "Indaun dewie sumga", which literally means: we cut the grass straight (namely the lower end of the roof). But they do not really do anything like that, it is only a saying and the real meaning of the expression is: Now it is time to bring the pigs, fowls etc. to the festival place, (Only selected ones are brought at this time). When they have arrived, they are killed and put into a line. Also pieces of decorations, made from shells, are brought to the place etc. All this is done as preparation for the lighting of the fire for this festival.

Having made all the necessary preparations, a number of men would sit down in two rows, facing each other. All were richly decorated. Then a pole of kurumba wood (softwood) was brought and given to the men. The one end of this pole or stick was split open to about the third of the length of the stick and a wedge was put into the slit. While the men held this stick with their hands, head and shoulders bent backward so as not to damage the decorations, - they told me - two men took a vine put it over the stick near the wedge and, some inflammable material and started to pull the vine or rope with quick movements from one side to the other. The vine, rope or cord, is normally made from guimbo, a type of bambu, or from gundo, another bambu etc. By the friction heat is developed and soon smoke starts to rise and they have fire. As soon as they saw the smoke several men would bend forward and blow into the little spark and soon they had flame and fire. This whole action is very much like the making of fire, in normal circumstances, but all has to be done with some pomp and solemnity, worthy of the big pig festival.

It will be obvious that we have here certain rituals and actions which have an old tradition and had to be carried out exactly as they were handed down by tradition, from ancestors to posterity.

When the fire was burning all leading men took some of it, all who had helped to light the fire, and brought it into their houses and clans. Nobody else was permitted to take any of this "holy" fire.

Now they also started to bring some of their decorations to the festival place. Some of the guests who were invited, brought some of their decorations, so the hosts could decorate themselves abundantly. These pieces of ornaments were not given, but only lent, and had to be returned after the festival.

About the same time the young people started with their dances. Of the girls all took part, starting at the age of 5 years and upward, all who were not yet married, and from the boys such who were about 5 - 12 years old could take part. The older ones were not permitted to take part in this type of dances, for they were already counted as grown ups. These dances were on the festival place, in the afternoon and in the evenings. They lasted about 8 to 14 days. One may say, and one can see, that here also it is the young folk who start the festival and the dance.

Now the leaders had to check and to see if the necessary quantum of the stones, needed for cooking had been brought, and whether they were sufficient or not. In many cases they would find, that they needed more. To bring them from the rivers to the place was women's work. They go in a long line one after the other to the next creek or river, or where they can find such stones as needed, put them into their netbags, or the bigger ones they carry on their heads, and while singing aloud they come back carrying the stones to the festival place. That is repeated again and again until enough stones are piled up.

Now the necessary konduwagl (fire tongs) have to be made, sticks of about up to one meter long and split open on one end, so the glowing and red hot stones can be taken up with them and put into the pits.

The men are responsible that enough of these *Yngi* are prepared.

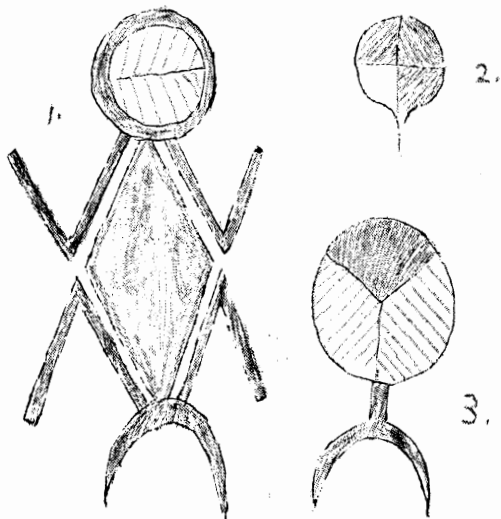
During all this time men as well as women will in their spare time work to bring their wearing apparels as well as their decorations and pieces of ornaments in order, the pieces made out of shells as well as the plumes of bird of paradise and others. Also the animal skins have to be looked after, the ornamental axes, the spears, belts etc. etc.

Now soon the time comes when the women have to bring the food from the gardens, an enormous amount of sweet-potatoes, taro, yams, and all the different kinds of vegetables. The men will get and bring sugar cane and bananas. Some of the food is stacked into the houses, but most of it is put on elevated frames of wood in the open air, but possibly in the shade of a tree. Tons, after tons of food are carried day after day, for it would shame the hosts, if the guests should go short. Sweetpotatoes do not keep well if dug out of the ground, about a week is the limit, unless they are looked after very carefully. Then they may last a few days longer.

The men also have to prepare the geroa pieces, made from wood (ancestor cult). These geroa are known in many sizes from the smallest of only a few cm big to the largest of 1.50 meters high and about 50cm wide. These pieces are worn on the heads of the men or boys. I have seen such geroa pieces of more than 3.00 meters high, but these are exceptions. Now and again one may see a girl carrying such a geroa, but never a married woman. Most are worn by young men and grown up boys.

For the time being these geroa pieces are only prepared and made ready. They may have to be cut, or if they have been used before, they will need new painting etc. On the next page I shall try to give a drawing of such geroa pieces, so it may be easier to have an idea what they look like.

1. Geroa, a piece commonly used, about 1.20 - 1.50 m high and 40 - 50 cm wide.
 2. Very small form, only 10 - 20 cm wide (flat).
 3. A bigger form, only the "head" and not the "body".
- Paints prevalent are: red, yellow, blue etc.



Then they have to bring kokun tambun leaves. These are very big leaves of a shrub with a special fragrance. These leaves are put with the meat into the pits and cooked with the meat. In some leaves they wrap in some meat. They will be eaten later with the meat which is wrapped in. But also other herbs (roots, leaves etc) and also salt had to be provided for in sufficient quantities.

When the kokun leaves have been fetched then they start to paint the geroa pieces. The paints which which predominate are: red, yellow, blue and others. Not that each piece is painted with one colour, but each piece is painted with different colours.

When that has been done then they prepared for the gigl kambu dance. (spirit dance). That was done in preparation of the bolum house. Only leading men prepared secretly the building material for this house. The grass which was needed was brought by the women to the festival place and here the men took it and carried it to the spot where they wanted to build the bolum house. (the bolum house is usually a little distance away from the festival place proper, but not very far). Women and children and also common people were not permitted to help building this house, they were not permitted even to watch or be in the vicinity.

The gigl kambu dance is performed at the festival place. All may take part in it (the women do not dance). Every one decorates him or herself and the men wear the geroa pieces. The geroa are worn in honour of the ancestors (ancestor spirits). They also are thought to take part in the ceremonies of the festival and to honour them the men wear the geroa and kill the pigs for them. For little pigs which are killed, they wear little geroa pieces, and for the big pigs big geroa pieces. Some men wear even two geroa pieces. One is then for a relative, who had died not very long ago. If he had lived, then he would have worn this geroa piece.

Also for cassowaries which they intend to kill they make such geroa pieces. The gigl kambu dance is similar to other dances, partly they dance tredding with the feet at the same spot, partly is is a moving forward and backward in rows of 4, six or eight people. The songs (texts and melodies) which are sung are not stereotyped, the same each time, the words as well as the melodies change. They like always having new songs. The words of a song are very often repeated, sometimes for hours. Here are a few of such songs :

About:
Kawagle goma kuku goma po Red bird of paradise
Kawi po no kui pakero red and gay coloured
wande ende. comb(of rooster) move
o song of joy.

Or another:

Kagl age muno , Kaglage(bird) appear
domo gane domo in all your glory
muno domo gane domo. appear.

Or:

Gerua muno domo The glory of geroa appear
Kawi muno domo the glory of kawi appear
Kawi muno domo the glory of kaw'i appear
Geroa muno domo. the glory of geroa appear.

In the following night : the bolum house is built, which had to be done "secretly" by the leading men. It was erected of the previously prepared material. I said "secretly", that means no children and no women and no common people were permitted to help, but they were permitted to be in the houses not far away.

The bolum house I have mentioned in volume II. The building of this house I do not need to repeat here. (See volume II page 15 ff).

During the same night the first guests will arrive and start to dance. Guests come now on the following days from everywhere, wherever their friends live, partners in trade etc. So they come from :Yonggumugl, Sinesine, Kewandugl, Naruku, etc.etc.

Now also the time has come to kill the pigs for the ancestors. Already during the past days pigs have been brought and tied up near the festival place, tied by one front leg with a rope, so they can dig and eat and move a little. The rope is up to 8 or 10 meters long. The ropes are fastened to trees, or to little posts which the owners have rammed into the ground. Of the pig already there a few are selected to be killed for the ancestors. The owners kill them. They take a cudgel or club or even, a big stick in their hand together with sweetpotatoe leaves (vines with leaves) and twigs of casuarina trees. That is also a charm and is done so that the pigs shall increase very abundantly in the days to come.

Then they kill a number of these pigs, perhaps a dozen or so. Then they are taken and brought to the bolum house, where they are lined up around the bolum house, or near the house piled up one over the other. That is the time when the ancestors, or their spirits may take of the pigs as much as they want. After a while they take the pigs away and singe the hair, (The cassowaries are not put on fires, but the feathers are pulled out. Then they are cut up. That is done in a ritual way and according to firm custom. (butchering of a pig see volume II page 125 f.) To prepare a pig in this way takes several hours.

Now the cooking pits have to be prepared and everything that is used for cooking (leaves, grass etc) has to be brought near. The fire is lit and the stones are put on the wood to get them hot. etc. The meat is steamed in these pits.

Only the heads (skulls, as the bones are separated from the meat) and the liver are not cooked. They are carried to the bolum house and put down there on the ground. Then they make a small pit there near the bolum house and cook these pieces there. While this is cooking in the pit the women have to gather small bundles of grass and the men put the grass on the bolum house, (make the roof). When that has been done then the meat will be ready to be taken out of the pit. It is taken out and then all the jawbones are collected and put over the cross pieces of the walls of the bolum house. Then they take pig fat (lard) and rub that on the posts of the bolum house, so richly that the fat runs down the posts. The meat of the pig heads, the little that is still on the bones, is not distributed to the guests, but is eaten by the hosts themselves. On to the roof of the bolum house they put then the belly pieces of the pigs, firstly, without doubt, a gift to the ancestors, but then also to show how many pigs they have killed. While it is lying there the main part of the pigs is taken out of the pits and is distributed to the guests and eaten. The belly pieces are now taken from the bolum house and these are eaten by the hosts, resp. the owners of the pigs. When all this is done, the day is over, and everyone will go and have a rest.

Next morning the work will continue. Already very early every one decorates him or herself as richly as he or she can. More people approach dancing, from all directions. They do not proceed to the festival place at once, but stay at some distance, several hundred meters away, and wait.

While they are waiting there, two men appear and quarrel: "Why did you sleep last night with my wife?" Crying out and abusing each other they come near and start to hit each other. Doing that they move into the direction of the arriving and assembled dancers (guests etc.).

Women and children follow, but all decorated men are hiding here or there. When all the men are hidden away from view, the two men who have quarrelled, stop shouting. They have arrived where the visitors are. They lead the visitors now to the festival place. The people follow the two men who lead them, dancing. After having arrived at the festival place, or after having come close to that place the men who were hidden so far come from their hiding places and arrive in big numbers. All this, the dramatisation etc. is called: bugla tambuno wiggwa, without doubt a warning to the visitors, to behave themselves.

When all have arrived the women come in a long line and go close to the bolum house and sit down around the house. Head and shoulder they bow forward halfway to the ground and sit in this position, hundreds of them. On their heads there are leaves of sweetpotatoes and vegetables and on top of that is a digging stick. While they sit down in this way several songs are sung by the men and the women. This is obviously a fertility ceremony. The blessings of the ancestors, which are present to a certain extent in the bolum house, are asked upon these women, for themselves and for their garden work, for the gardens which they plant and attend to and also for the pigs which they raise.

While the women are sitting in this position around the bolum house, some men give a sign (they are also close to the bolum house) and then the young girls and the young boys arrive in a long line and come to the bolum house. (initiation rite). While they are approaching other men make a dance and shoot arrows, not real arrows, but only stalks of grass into the direction of Randie, Genabona (south of the Near river) Mondoma buno etc. and doing that they call out: "Go into that direction". The mentioned groups of people are their enemies as long as they can remember. They say if the young boys accept, some food from them and eat it they would have to die. Here it seems to be a curse spell, which they perform. They call it: geroa kiamugl. Having arrived near the bolum house the young girls and boys soon mix with the other people.

Now the dances begin again and for a while all men dance. In the meantime the food is ready and can be distributed. It is put in heaps, for each group a heap. They take what belongs to them, bananas, sugar cane and the cooked food. They eat what they can and the rest they put into their netbags for later. Then the dance begins again and goes on and on, all evening and all night. This is the only night where the people dance all night. On all the other occasions they dance in the afternoon and in the evenings, but late at night they go into their houses and sleep.

What the dances are like I have indicated a little here and there. Not all dances are alike, not the texts nor the melodies, the beating of the drums, nor the rhythmic movements of the bodies. It has already been said, that only the men dance these dances but that here and there a grown up girl is dancing in line with the men. The men are all very much decorated and the girls who dance in the lines with the men are just decorated as the men. The men dance according to the beating of the drums and the drums are beaten according to the dances of the men, just as you wish to express it. Sometimes they dance tredding on the spot, then they move forward, backward, quickly, slowly, mostly in lines one after the other of 8 or 10 men side by side, other dances are in a long line. Most of the movements are done with the feet, but the other parts of the body are also more or less involved. So they dance all night long.

Now the next morning is the main and last day of the pig festival. On this day the main killing of the pigs is the main feature. Then the food has to be prepared and all the people have to be fed. They get the main meal and at the same time the last one. Until now everything was only an indication of that which would follow, but now is the real thing.

But before the pigs are killed they sing some songs of mourning to their honour. I want to mention a few here:

- | | |
|----------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Bugana ya | O my pig |
| buglana ya | O my pig |
| guglkumba boratnomo | The gual cudgel will hit you |
| augl kumba boratnomo | The augl cudgel will kill you. |

2. Buglana ya O my pig
buglana ya o my pig
wie kumba boratnomo the wie cudgel will hit you
kogai kumba boratnomo. the kogai cudgel will
 kill you.
3. Buglana ya O my pig
buglana ya o may pig
yu dinare pikitniwo you do not tell me anything
yoko dinare pikitniwo. without a grunt you will go
 away. (depart)
4. Buglana ya O my pig
Buglana ya o my pig
pime tou yawe with pime you will be wrapped in
tambage tou yawe with tambage you will be
 enveloped.

When the day has fully come the pigs will be killed,
while these song are song by the women (mostly).

But before that can be done the women have to decorate themselves very nicely. Then the men put the gerua pieces on them and then the women go and loosen the pigs (they are the ones who cared for them) and lead them with the ropes with which they are fastened to the festival place. Here they hand the pigs over to the men. They put strong sticks into the ground and fasten the pigs to them, so they cannot run away when hit to be killed. Some kill them without fastening them. Some of the pigs may run away fastened or not fastened. Most of the pigs are not dead after one blow, but need to be hit several times until they are dead. The men kill the pigs with a kind of cudgel or big stick, often a kind of club, which has been prepared beforehand or has been put into the house from the last big killing, so as to be dry and firm.

With these clubs the pigs are hit on the forehead to split the skulls, but some miss the centre and only cause the pig to be frightened and to run away. Some pigs tear the ropes and run away. Then often not only one man but 3 or more run after the victim and hit the pig when they can. The more the pig cries and squeals the bigger the fun, and the men have their joy too in chasing the pig(pigs). The killing is done by the owners of the pigs, but if a pig runs loose, then every one runs after it. Each of the owners has normally more than one pig, mostly 4 or 5, or even up to 10. As a rule one may say that as many pigs are killed on these festivals as there are inhabitants, women and children counted. Here of course are meant the hosts.

When the killing is finished, which is done with much crying and shouting, then the dead pigs are pulled to the bolum house and there they put them in a long line and pile them up one over the other. Dogs and other animals are not killed at this moment but later. The pigs are killed to honour the ancestors and they can at first take what they want. They see the big number of pigs and are glad. But just as important as the good will of the ancestors is the showing off. The guests can see the big number of the killed pigs, how big and fat they are etc. The more pigs and the bigger they are, the more honour. Therefore the whole group of visitors comes and files past, to have a good look.

After a while the pigs are taken away and pulled back to the festival place. Here they are lined up in two long rows, reaching from one end of the place to the other, so the whole place is more or less covered with pigs.

When they are lined up, then the so-called kanggu men (the town criers) come forward. They have the word now and make speech. It is not necessary that these men are always the leading men, but often they are, it is also very important to have a good and strong voice. They say something like the following:

Yawagle, yom̄ba yungugl woi .O you friends, you have
unga, mogl eniwa, ene mokonan come from everywhere. I
na ne waniŋga dirange diyomiwo. have eaten at your place
(pig festival) and I pay
back my debts now.

Ipire na sinatno m̄andi
kunduŋl pire wan mogl-
kerawa. Góŋge ere wan
moglerawa. Yaŋl ere yaŋl
ambu kinde boŋl at̄n̄e
ururu wan mun erawo.

That you might punish us,
for that we lived constantly
in fear. I did not dare to
look up. Bent over I lived
under this debt, all of us,
men and women.

Ereme u kinde ongwa to
i u wamgera. Ereme kumba
mambuglo wage'bcgl kungu-
ane sindumiwo.

For the reason of debt
we have gathered here today.
We hit them on the heads
(pigs) so that the pieces
scatter.

Ipire natnga neiŋga pam̄ara
monggo baŋl ine ere diwo.

Therefore I pay back today
what I have eaten at your place.

(I -singular - is:group,clan)

Ipire ta nem wankiran
wankurume dinaro. Wanan
wan ne ne dinaro.

Therefore eat and if it is
not enough then say so,
but if it is enough then
you may say so too.

Ana ene bugla kindzka
kultasi kei nenga waniwo.
Si kei nenga dinga.

You are used to kill lean
pigs and to eat them. You
eat them pigs!

Bugla yungo gombe duggwa
si kei nenga waniwo. Si kei
nenga dinga.

Half grown pigs you used to
eat. You call them pigs!
(He is boasting of the big
pigs killed).

Na bugla yungu ere iwo
yegl dinga i na pirika
egl pai pumiwo.

You then call that a pig
festival, but I call it
cheating people.

Na ereme teinga i ongo
kagle ta nenatnga, yombuglo
gigendinambiwo mo dikirambe
dawao, kano.

What I offer you today,
eat the hind legs and the
front legs. See if the bones
are hard or soft (if the
pigs are young or old).

Windan dinan pukusi akin
endo, gigendinan yombuglo
binangele kane kotn pai morand

If they are soft (pig not grown)
throw them away, if they are
hard, then bundle them and
put them into your house
on a frame (over the fire
place) and keep them.

Okuo bat natn kuno erambuka.

Later you may then reci-
proke (hinting for the next
pig festival).

Pora, sunguagl yegl mende
dikondinga. Piri ipio.

That is all, only this short
speech. Hear it and take it
to heart (or: keep it in mind,
remember it.)

Such or a similar address each of the "speakers" of the hosts will give now. When that has been finished then the pigs are distributed. The kaungu man goes along the line of pigs and the owners of the pigs whisper to him for whom the pig is thought to be, and he cries it out aloud. He calls the people by name (group name or family name, just as has been indicated weeks earlier. When there are two groups for one pig he calls both names etc. When he has finished with the distribution then the people take the pigs which have been allocated to them, make fire and singe the hair and then they can begin with the butchering and cooking.

While the pigs are singed, bambu knives, which are brought for cutting etc. must be blessed before they may be used. The men who cut the pigs will bring pieces of bambu to the sorcerer, who is somewhere, not far from the festival place. He takes the bambu pieces and cuts them into fitting lengths and says a magic spell meaning that all the meat which will be cut with these knives should be such a lot and the people should eat so much of it that they have to vomit. (that means, have enough and more than enough, even so much that they shall get diarrhea afterwards.

Then the men carry the knives away and begin to butcher the pigs. How that is done see volume II page 125 ff. The main parts of the pigs are not cooked in a hurry, but first the soft parts, such as intestines, lungs, stomach, liver etc. When that has been cooked it will be eaten soon with the sweet potatoes and vegetables which were left over from the previous day. Then they start to cook the other parts. If it is already late, they may leave it until next morning.

Another way is that the pigs are prepared by the hosts alone and cooked by them too, and only then the distributing may take place.

If it could not be done at the first day, then the next morning is for the cooking of the other meat, the bulk of it. That takes several hours, to get everything ready, not only the meat, but the pits, the fire, the heating of the stones etc. and it takes also several hours until the meat is done and before it can be taken out of the pits. If that has been done and it is cooled off a bit, people eat as much as they can and the rest is packed into net bags, or the men carry the big pieces of meat, whole pigs or half pigs, over their shoulders, or fastened to poles, and carry them home. With this meal the big pig festival is over, the biggest festival in the Chimbu area. (If the distribution is after the cooking, then it takes several hours until all has been put in heaps and the people can start to eat and then carry away what is left over).

In some parts the ceremonies etc. of course differ between the various tribes, but the basic concept is the same in all clans and tribes. The festival is not only for one or two days, but with all the preparations it takes weeks and months. Sometimes delays can happen, adverse weather, etc. so a delay of several weeks may occur. Often one hears: O, it will be one or two weeks later, this and that has not been finished.

That these festivals have a "religious" basis has already been mentioned, but beside that they also have a social significance. Friendship between individuals and clans are renewed and newly established or old friendships strengthened. During the time of pig festivals there is not warfare. If there is still a grudge, which has not been straightened out, then this can be done, or shelved until some time after.

In the olden days, as far as I was told, there were always also a number of girls to be exchanged, some from the host's side went with the guests, and vice versa, to be married in that tribe or clan, or preparations were taken to marry them later. They had learned to know each other and by exchanging the women this new friendship was thought to last better and longer, forever they thought.

These festivals are still celebrated today. Not all the customs and ceremonies are still in use, especially the ones which are related to the ancestor cult. Also many types of charms are not in use any more. But basically the same festivals.

8. Initiation

After the guests have left and the festival place is empty the initiation ceremonies for the own young boys will follow. That is an affair which concerns only their own tribe. (or clan). This initiation was always connected with the pig festivals and followed them, therefore this may be the right place and time to say a few more words about these ceremonies. The aim is, to take the young boys, who are now grown up, into the community of the men of the clan and tribe, as full members. The boys to be taken into the group of adults are the same to whom the geroa pieces were given before, which can be done at such a festival, but can also be done at other times. The following has been narrated to me by some Chimbu men, who themselves went through these ceremonies.

" The young boys, or the candidates for the initiation, have to line up on the village place. There they are surrounded by the grown up men. The skins of pig heads are now given to them (the bones are removed). While they take them and hold them in their hands some men begin to blow the pig flutes. They start at first at some distance but then they slowly approach. In the old times the boys were not supposed to see the flutes as long as they were small, therefore they don't know exactly what to do now. In the old days they were told, that big spirit birds would make the noises. Now the boys stand, leaning over forward with head and shoulder. They face the ground. While they are standing in this position the flute blowers come quite near. When they are close by, the boys are told to look up now. When they look up and see the men with the flutes, they do not know what to say or what to do. Shaking they stand there being afraid.

Now they are led into the men house.-There they have to sit down on pieces of wood or boards. They are not permitted to sit on the ground, they may not even touch it except with their feet. The ground could be polluted by men who had visited their wives. Then a flat piece of wood is handed over to them, about 20 cm long. They are instructed now that they have to use this piece of wood, when they want to relieve themselves. With that piece of wood they have to lift up the leaves behind, when they have to make "the little road" and also the apron in front when they have to urinate. If they should touch the wearing apparels by hand these could then be polluted and they might get sick and die.

Further they are instructed that they, when squatting down (buttocks on heels) are not permitted to touch the ground with their hands. By doing that the hand could get unclean. They also are told not to blow into the fire to make it burn, otherwise they would loose too much breath and they would not become good flute blowers. They should instead, if nobody else was present to blow the fire for them, take leaves in their hands and with waving movement kindle the flame.

These and many more admonitions and instructions are given to them in the men-house. And at intervals the flutes are always blown again and again.

After that the men make a big fire in the middle of the menhouse. The boys have to sit close to the fire and the elder men surround the boys, so the boys must be close to the fire, and also that nobody may run away. While they are "heated" in this way the boys do not know what to do or where to go. They hardly can breathe anymore. And while they are in this position more instructions are given to them. I shall try to give a few of these instructions:

" You must always be diligent and work hard. You must never loaf, otherwise the gardens will not give a good harvest. But if the food grows well in the garden then your mother will have enough for you, all the time, and you will do well. But if you are lazy you will be hungry and if you then come into temptation to steal then you will be chased. Then also the other people will learn to know that you are a thief and you will bring shame over us all, not on you alone but on us all, as you belong to us. Such a deed will be known everywhere."

"If one of your friends wants to build a house, then don't be lazy but go and help him willingly. And when helping you will feel that the work is hard for you, you must not groan and complain: "I have done enough today, my bones ache, I don't want to do any more today."

" If you do not help your mother regularly and split the fire wood for her, she will not be able to cook the meal and you will have to go without and be hungry."

" Stay with your friends and do not go (alone) into bush and forest with the excuse of catching rats and birds. Also do not go to the river saying you want to catch fish. Such talk is only excuse for laziness and idleness. If you want to live that way, you will soon be a poor fellow and will have nothing."

" If a call comes for a fight, go with the others. Stay together and do not leave each other. If you should stay at home and your friend would be killed in a fight, you would experience deep sorrow. Therefore stay together and stick together and help each other. If you do that you will be strong and you will return unharmed."

" Do not stay in the houses of women. When you split wood regularly for your mother, she can cook your food and bring it to you into the men house."

" If she brings you your food, then give some of it to your friends. If you eat everything yourself at once, they have perhaps to go without food and be hungry. You must not only think of yourself and get your belly full. You must be generous towards the others. If you do that, everyone will like you and you will be praised, esteemed and honoured."

These and other instructions are given to the boys while they are sitting around the fire. They are listening and sweating all over. The boys who were diligent and were willing to help are coming out of this mostly quite well, but the others, the lazy and obstinate ones, the ones who were arrogant etc., these are pressed now closer to the fire. They do not do what to do, the heat is too big. Will they push them right into the fire? Being in this position they are reproached for example:

" You were lazy when others were working (housebuilding etc.). You did not help. If you were told: "Fetch water", you did not do it, if you were told: "split fire wood" than you disappeared. If you were told to look after the pigs, then you went somewhere else. Today you have heard the kua flutes. Today such a life has to be finished. From now on you have to work, to help. You must be diligent and industrious etc.etc."

Then the men bring 3 or 4 long sticks of sugar cane. The leaves are still on. This sugar cane is pulled into the menhouse, ~~the~~ (leaves) first. They put it on the fire. For a moment the fire is dampened but then it burns the more. Then the men may say: "It seems you are feeling a bit hot and you are perhaps getting thirsty?" (The boys had thought when they saw the sugar cane it would be given to them to relieve their thirst, but they were cheated, the cane was put on the fire and burnt.)

After that several men bring long bambu pipes, water containers into the menhouse. The containers are nicely decorated. The boys are glad to see them, for at last there is some relieve, they think, they can drink. The men say: "Surely you will be thirsty, therefore we bring you some water in these pipes." Eagerly the first boy grabs one of the containers and wants to drink, but alas, the containers are empty. They have been cheated again. The men admonish and say: "Come and drink and be refreshed." That is now too much for most of the boys. Their nerves cannot take anymore and most of them start to cry bitterly. "Have you had a drink and are satisfied now?" they are asked. Very meek and low spirited the boys say: "But there was no water in the containers." Then one of the men may say: "No water in the pipes? Sorry about that."

Another one may say: "You did not fetch water for the others, therefore we have given you some! But you gave me a drink, therefore I will give you something to drink, for you must be very thirsty." Saying this he gives them a full water container and the boys drink eagerly. (What the man said is not true, just the opposite is meant).

Then some sugar cane is brought in, in bundles. The man will say: "Because you brought the poles for me and I put them on, therefore I present you with some sugar cane today. (This is also said in a mocking way, as the opposite is true, the boys did not help him). Then the boys one after the other had to stretch forth their arms and hold them so the men could put more and more sugar cane on. Some boys nearly fall over, it is too heavy for them to hold, but some of the men help now and hold their arms.

Then the sugar cane is distributed and all eat of it, the old ones for the good instructions they have given, and the boys for the fear they have gone through. With that this action is finished and it is time to go to sleep.

The next morning the boys would be led to a near river or creek. Doing so the flutes would be blown again. Before the others left, 2 men had gone ahead and at the place where they went to, they had erected a little hut. There was only a small entrance at one side, that one could crawl in. In the wall opposite there was a small hole, just above the ground and just big enough to get the head through. The men had also collected enough stinging nettel which lay ready to be used.

The boys were led near to the hut, about 100 meters or so away. They were told to wait here. They were far enough so they could not see and observe what was going on in and near the hut. Then one of the boys was called to come near. When he arrived he was told to go into the house. "Yesterday you saw only a small bird, to day you will see a big one (the mother of it)." "Have nor fear, enter!" I quote now literally what the narrator Gende told me:

" I went into the house (crawled in). I had to lie down on my back and slide on my back to the other wall and get my head through. There several men were standing and waiting. The one grabbed my throat and ordered: "Open your mouth wide"! If one did not open his mouth they choked him until his mouth opened. This they did to me. At first my arms were still inside the hut, but I wriggled until I got my arms through the wall. Several men grabbed my arms and held them firm. Others took the stinging nettles, which were there in readiness and put them into my mouth. They rubbed from side to side, especially my tongue. Then they pulled them out again. When they did that to me I nearly had the pangs of death and wriggled and struggled until I got free. I sprang up and found some stones and strew them at my tormentors. Then they let me go."

In this way one boy after the other was treated. They did this that "the old" should be washed away, from them. They had lived up to now with the women (mother and sisters). They got their food from them. If they were not treated in this way, they said, then they would be weak men, skin and bones, would never be famous men, would never learn to blow the flutes, they would be no men but women etc. (It may be mentioned that the stinging nettle in NG really stings, and it lasts about three days until relief sets in.)

When this procedure was gone through by all the boys, then it was shown to the newly initiated boys how the flutes were blown. Each of the boys got now a "teacher" to teach him the art of blowing the flutes. He handed a flute to his pupil and showed him how to hold it in his hands, "with the right hand in this way and with the left hand hold it thus". Then they would put the flute to their lips and they had to blow into the hole. The boys blow first very timidly but no sound came. "Stronger, stronger", the teacher says. After a while a sound comes. "Alright, already a little better, but still stronger". So it goes on for several hours the first day, and then day after day for several weeks.

When they have learnt the first elements of flute blowing the first day, then they would be led into the village again, into the menhouse. There they were very thoroughly "washed" or cleaned. Then they were decorated. Also the menhouse was decorated for this occasion, especially the side of the entrance. There many ornamental plants were put into the ground.

Then each of the boys was given a stone axe, not one used for decorative purposes only, but a working stone axe (to work with). Then they brought two long sticks of sugar cane and put them crosswise in the entrance of the menhouse. Then the boys were led from the menhouse to the village place. While doing this the first boy had to tread on the sugar cane and break it. When the boys come out of the menhouse

they are fully decorated. In their hands they held the stone axes which had been given to them previously. The boys had to line up into a long row. When they were standing there, the food was distributed to them. They had to put forward their hands and arms, and as the day before in the menhouse, the food was piled up on their hands and arms, but now it was meat and not sugar cane as the day before. When they could not hold out their arms any longer, then others came and helped them hold the arms and the meat on them. When enough had been distributed, then they were permitted to eat the meat, but they divided some, or a big portion of it, to the men who were most active in the initiation ceremonies and also to their teachers, who tried to teach them how to blow the flutes. The other village people have their meat separately distributed.

The teachers, who instruct the boys in blowing the flutes, have to stay with them for several weeks, even months. The boys have to learn the different rhythms, different melodies, different kinds of flutes etc. Some boys learn it soon, others never. All is well as long as there is enough food for all, pupil and teacher. But if that is finished or only lacking, then the zeal to teach and to learn is soon over.

With that the initiation festival has come to an end, at least the ceremonies. The customs in the different tribes at these initiations vary quite a bit. At the Yoncumu I saw the "poking of the nose" which is also found in some coastal tribes. The Goroka people "swallow" the cane, that is, they put it into their mouth right down into the stomach. It is a thin cane, of about pencil thickness. It is bent and the bent end is put in first and then right down, 40 or 50 cm, double cane. This was not done by the Kamanuku. Therefore I do not want to say more of such and similar customs, which are many and vary very much.

But I want to mention still a few prohibition rules relating to food. They are partly the same as at the time when the geroa pieces are given to the boys. In volume I page 141 ff some of them have been mentioned already.

Here are a few of such prohibition rules:

The boys are not permitted to receive any food from the women, they are not to eat anything that has been prepared by women, not even that which is cooked by their own mothers. The last rule is in force only for a few weeks. After that time they may take and receive again food prepared by their mothers. Only from their fathers and from their friends were they permitted to take food. But they were not permitted to eat any cooked or steamed food (cooked in pits or/and mondono) but only such food as had been roasted in fire or ashes.

When the time came that they might take food again from their mothers then they were also permitted to eat sweet potatoes which other women had dug out of the gardens, but the women were not permitted to put the food into their net bags, but had to bundle it and carry it home on their heads. - They said, all these precautions had to be taken so that nothing of the women (menstruation etc.) would pollute the food. If it should, it would be very harmful for the boys, they could get sick and even die.

If the boys from now on would meet any women on the road, they had to make a wide circle around them, at least wide enough that not the shadow of the women would touch them. They also might not go into the houses where women were or lived, they might not even go near the women. For the first few weeks the boys do best to stay in the men houses as much as possible.

Also men may not quarrel in presence of such boys. If it happened then it was the duty of the boys to go away. If men used bad language and obscene expressions, the boys were told to hold their ears closed. It was prohibited for the men to utter obscene language in presence of the newly initiated boys. If it happened the men (or the man) had to kill a pig as reconciliation gift and that was eaten by all.

The boys were not permitted during this time (several weeks after the initiation) to eat anything of the intestines of the animals killed and eaten, no blood, no fat meat, no lard (pigs) etc. Only when the boys were fully grown, all these rules of prohibition were dropped one after the other. Some lasted only a few weeks, others several months and others several years.

After three or four months had passed another meal was prepared. There also several pigs had to be killed and prepared. The meal was cooked in pits and in mondo-no (wooden pots). When everything was ready then the food was distributed, not only to the grown people, but also to the newly-initiated boys. From now on they might eat what had been prepared in the daily and normal way, or, they could now once again eat as the others did. The other rules, that they might not take food prepared by women etc. would stay in force for a longer period. Some of the rules for years.

As already indicated, the boys were not supposed to hear any obscene language and they did not know any of it at that age, they asserted to me. Also about birth, sex etc. they were not instructed. They were told that children came out of the navel of the mothers. The navel would open and the children would come out. They of course believed as they were told, at least as long as they were small.

Remark:

The bolum house which is essential at the pig festival in the Kamanuku area seem to be a custom which may have come from the west. East of the Chimbu river it is not known, except with the Yongomugl tribe. The tribes east of the Chimbu river have instead stones, holy stones, stones loaded with magic power. These stones are venerated.

In the course of the years many changes have taken place, but the essential parts of the big pig festivals have survived all the changes, except part of the ancestor cult. The pig festival is still today the big occasion for the tribes of the Chimbu area. Even today no labour nor costs are shunned to make such a festival a big one and a full success. And even if the customs related to the ancestor spirits are not in use anymore, the festivals have still an important social aspect.

The bolum houses are still built by such people who are not Christians. The charms are mostly forgotten. The blowing of the flutes has lost its real meaning. Bambu knives and stone axes are not in use any more. The initiation of the boys has been abandoned. The prohibition rules in regard to food are hardly observed anymore, in some respect to the disadvantage of the young people. Today it is hardly insulting to utter obscene words and language, even in the open. About the flutes there is no more secrecy.

But the eating of the pigs has survived. That this has a social significance has already been said. Also the old decorations have been preserved to a great extent. But besides that there is a lot of false lustre, such as coloured paper, silk cloth and many other things are used today for decorations, etc.

Also today there is rarely only pig (dog and fowl) meat on such occasions. Besides pigs, cattle and horses are killed and a lot of tinned meat is bought. Instead of sweet potatoes etc. there is bread, rice and so on.

Up to a few years ago alcohol did not have a big role in such festivals. But sad to say, in the last 3 years or so that has changed also, and this has quite a few disadvantages. The permission to drink alcohol, and as much as they want, is not always a blessing.

9. Other Festivals

Occasions for celebrations there are in plenty. Quite a number of them I have already mentioned occasionally, for example: The birth of a child, housebuilding, a marriage etc.etc. I want to mention here only two more festivals. They are not as important as the big pig festivals, they are also fairly rare, at least in the latter years, as it seems that these festivals are more or less just disappearing, but these festivals had also some social significance. The first one the natives call:

(1) Mogona Bire

One could translate this as food festival (literally: Food (vegetables) plenty, plenty of food, heaps of food). This festival is not at certain intervals, and not as frequent as the pig festival and also not as big as the pig festivals. But I have seen and observed quite a number of them. The whole tribe does not take part, but only a smaller group, a clan or so. But for this festival also, friends and relatives are invited, mostly such ones who had made such a festival and were the hosts at other times. I think this festival must be fairly old. Today stress is put on the individual; in times bygone the stress was on the collective, on what was common. That is perhaps one reason why these festivals seem to be celebrated less and less.

Such festivals were fairly frequent in the olden days and people liked to celebrate them. If one asked why they were celebrated then the people said: "We were invited by them and have eaten there, so we have to have a festival to pay back."

Also these festivals need a long preparation. As only food from the gardens is piled up at these festivals, and no pigs, so the gardens have to be planned, made and planted etc. The gardens are made only by the hosts, the guests do not help.

If they intended to have such a festival then first of all some discussions had to take place and it had to be decided who should be invited, which clans etc. Sometimes one clan made such a festival for the neighbouring clan, but often several clans worked together in preparing such a festival and the number of visitors was then bigger accordingly. Sometimes the whole tribe united in giving such a festival and neighbouring tribes were the guests. If a whole tribe prepared the festival then all worked together, not that all people worked at the same time, but several men from each clan came and helped. The preparations were mainly in regard to the size of the gardens, what type of food should be grown; sweetpotatoes, taro, yams, bananas, sugar cane etc.

In short such preparations were necessary. Also the guests for whom the festival was given were soon informed. When later the time for the celebration came near, namely when the people saw that the food in the gardens grew and was nearly ready for harvesting, then they were called upon to make ready for dancing. This they did willingly and joyfully. At first they danced in their own villages, each day in the afternoon for several hours. Doing so they started on the road and came each day a bit closer to the festival place, but always returned again into their own village. But at last they danced right on until they came to the appointed place.

This place was not a "firm" or "Fixed" place according to tradition. It could be any place suitable for that purpose. It could be here one year and at another place the next year.

While the guests were busy dancing, the hosts were very busy gathering the food from the gardens. They carried it day after day, but put it at first somewhere near their own houses, until the festival day arrived. On that day everything was brought to the place and there it was piled up into a big heap.

They needed about two full days to put all the food together and stack it into an enormous heap, first sugar cane and sweetpotatoes (sometimes they had made extra gardens with taro and yams), then bananas, pandanus, and all different kinds of vegetables. The hard items, such as sugar cane, sweet potatoes and taro, are put down first and on top the softer kinds, as yams, bananas, vegetables. Then there are often some small animals, game from the forest, rats, birds, lizards etc. These are put on top of the heap. Such heaps of food displayed one must have seen, tons and tons of food, several meters high and perhaps 5 meters or more in diameter. The bigger the heap the greater the honour.

There were other similar festivals, on which only one kind of food was prepared and displayed, such as; taro yams, sugar cane and in latter years even pea nuts. These festivals were on a smaller scale.

On the first day when they started to put the food into the heap, the dancers danced right to the festival place. Having arrived there they danced around the people who were busy piling the food into the heap.

The second day the piling up of the food continued until everything was finished. The dancers arrived again and surrounded the place dancing. That went on for several hours, perhaps until 1 or two o'clock at noon. Then they had some speeches, 2 or three men of the hosts, and then a few men of the visitors. The man of the host side starts the first speech, one of the visitors answers, then another of the hosts and an answer from the other side etc. The speakers are not just any men, but only certain men, the so-called kanggu or kaungu men. The contents of such speeches are something like the following:

" Anggerao ene mokonano natngera neinga, ana dena
biglku wage yonggo wan meikera na ereme bo kamba komba
uruom ya te kumba monggo ya ambu gake ta si yeindimiwa.
Ipire ene yomba mere kougl yumiwa i temin yomba pi-
kamugl enarum iwa. Na yaql nake panan mokona mere si
yenaglo ipire

kambu nuglo ta si goundi yeigga iwa. Ake yemin yumbun ere dinan baije tareke yeikire ake ipi yu yungunomugl yuŋgu diramugl tareke panditn pai bugl gogl ere wenan. Olto dikiragl yuwa. Baije sunguagl keme dikondiwa.

(Translation: O you friends, you have prepared for us a big meal (some time past) and we ate and it was depressing for me (group, clan) because I had not paid back anything, and now today I have put down here some sugar cane and pandanus, also some vegetables (lit. women and boys, hint of the game). You have come and you are quite a big number. Now take that and pile it up. If I had been more numerous, I would have given more, but as I am only a few therefore I give you the unripe bananas. Take them and carry them to your home and if they get heavy to carry, don't hang them on a tree on the wayside, but carry them home into your house. Hang them behind the entrance of the house, there they may rot. I do not want to give a long speech, but only this short one. That is all.)

Then one of the visitors will stand up and reply, something like this:

"Angera, na gake ta komba muglo kamondi dimbirika pire na komba urum suo kage but, nenambendi tengura, anekera wan moc' kaimayene na i'nigle ende panditnga iwe na konbo pikiragka pam, iwo. Bi kimiql kama enagle motniwa. Kambe kenduwa yaungo enagle motniwo, omburum kiau enagle motniwo. Kamba kimiql kikawa enagle motniwa, kambe kimiql kikawa enagle motniwa. Ipiŋe natnga na yomba kogl wiŋga pamao koya endire endenaglaol. Olto ta dikiraglaol, baije sunguagl dikondi yuo. "

(Translation: O friends (he also uses sing. and means the whole group or clan) I did quarrel with somebody about an unripe banana (hint on the previous speech) and some time ago I have given to you

a few pandanus (hint of a festival in the past) but you have given to me today so much that I am just sinking down (in the water). It will hardly be possible to carry all this food away, all the different food, the pandanus, the beans etc. Therefore I shall eat with my people who came with me what we can eat and then leave. I have spoken only for a short time, but that may be enough.")

The speeches go on in this way for a while, but hardly anything new will be said, just repetition of the same thoughts in other words.

If then the dance has finished and the speeches too, then some of the guests take a quantity of food and vegetables and hold it in the air and ask: "Who put this down and for whom?" Then the owners will answer: "I put that down for X, our friends, they shall take it." The called people will now take it, carry it away a little and put as much as they can into their net-bags. One follows now after the other and take away from the big heap. That all goes on with plenty of loud cries and shouts until the big heap has disappeared.

When everything has been divided and the people have left for home, the festival is finished. The hosts are content, for the guests were hardly able to carry the amount of food away. They have done their duty, they have paid back their debts. Now they can wait with a light heart until others make such a festival and they will be invited as guests.

Mokona owa

The songs which are sung or danced at such festivals are called: mokona owa. They are not songs with fixed texts, but at each occasion new texts and also new melodies are used, if possible. They sing the old ones too, but they always like to have new ones.

Everyone who knows a new song is welcomed to sing it and soon the others will join in. Of the many of such owa I shall give just a few here:

1. Welo eo airo wa welo welo welo Melodie of intro-
we airo welo welo welo welo. duction
2. Gurume gurundo gurundo gurundo As a frog croaks
o o gurundo gurundo gurundo
3. Yomba gurundo yomba gurundo As a yomba (tree)
gurundo yomba gurundo gurundo rustles
4. Moki gurundo kaman gurundo :/ As the moki and
moki gurundo kaman gurundo kaman trees rustle
gurundo, gurundo gurundo

(such is the noise on these festivals
noise of crowd of people).

2. Konqun bambun

Konqun bambun is: making a garden together. Not to get a gift of food, but to help making big gardens people are invited. It will often be that such a garden is meant to give food for an intended festival. People, men and women from other clans and / or tribes come to help making the garden. Such gardens are fairly big. Some are about 5 - 10 hectares. In recent years I had an opportunity to observe such work in progress, not far from our station. The Okondie intended to make a big garden and plant sweet potatoes etc. and later coffee trees on the same land. The Yonqumugl tribe was invited to help. Several hundred of them arrived, men and women. They had to clean the area of grass, weeds etc. That took them several weeks. During this time the hosts had to provide the food for them. The many ditches length and cross, which are made in such gardens, were made by the Okondie themselves, not by the Yonqumugl.

Also the fence was made by the Okondie. The job for the Yonggumugl was only to clean the ground.

When this work was done the Okondie prepared a big meal for the Yonggumugl. A big heap of food from the gardens was brought in, sweetpotatoes, bananas, sugar cane and many kinds of vegetables. But the main food, meat, had to be there too. There were at least 50 pigs, a big bull, which they had bought, many cases of tin meat, rice, bread and other provisions etc. A good part of it had been bought in the local stores.

While the meal was prepared the people had a big dance, which is also called:owa. When everything was ready, the food was distributed to the various groups in big heaps and then each group could divide the food amongst all their members. This meal is at the same time "payment" for the work done, any other remuneration they don't have, except that in the next year or so, the Okondie will have to help the Yonggumugl to make a similar garden. Everything will then be repeated and in the end the Okondie will then be treated by the Yonggumugl with a big meal.

Without any doubt such gatherings and common work had significant social meanings especially in the old heathen time. They had contact, they had time to learn to know each other better, friendships were started or renewed and not infrequently connections were made to marry women from the other side or to marry some girls into their tribe.

10. Games

In describing some music instruments, it has already been said, that some of them could also be counted under games (or sports) according to the viewpoints from which they are regarded.

In this paragraph I want to mention a number of the games which the Kamanuku had. There were quite a number of them. It cannot be my intention to mention all and every one of them that they have. Some of them have been mentioned occasionally in other connections. Here follow some of their games or sports:

1. Kilua begikwa

This game is played mostly by young boys. They throw grass arrows or grass stalks to each other. Who scores the most hits is the winner.

2. Kugange tai

This game is also played by bigger boys. They put a piece of a banana, a piece of the stem of a banana or any other soft piece of material in some distance on the road or on a free place and then throw and try to hit this object with pointed sticks or grass stalks. They form mostly two groups one on each side. The group with the most hits is the winner. When the game is finished the winners say to the losers: " As we have won you may eat it".

3. Yere tai

The game is very similar to the previous one, only they take bows and arrows and a tree, a stem of a banana, a fern tree or a similar object is shot at. Here again: The party who has the most hits is the winner.

Of such or similar games quite a number are in use. The names of several others are: Dokai bogl- , sigl koi , kuglange auna ere - , etc. As can be easily seen, these plays are at the same time a good exercise for the young boys and young men to get perfection in throwing and hitting, in shooting etc.

4. Singial banan

Of this game there are two kinds in use. One is: One person tries to kick the other with his foot. The other who gets the kick tries to turn quickly so he gets the kick on his buttocks, if he cannot avoid the kick. This game can be dangerous, as it happened fairly often that such a kick was delivered into the area of the abdomen and the spleen was hurt. As the spleen was often swollen, caused by malaria, such a kick could be fatal as the spleen could rupture. I have experienced several of these accidents and as no professional doctor was available and no hospital, such boys died after several hours.

The other kind of this play was, that not the foot, but the hand was used to hit the other. This type was more harmless. It was called: Atn dange beglkwa.

5. String plays

There were also quite a number of these games. I cannot mention them all, nor describe in detail the ways the strings were put on the fingers and different figures etc. were produced. Here are a few names of such games:

dirango pogl pogl	to cheat
clirango kugl-	to make stars
dirango kui kire	fish(weir) basket
dirango gandi kambu	animal on a tree, has young ones etc.

dirango metana	chinese taro
dirango kumugl ambai	boy and girl
dirango ande ba fere toxi	sun and moon, rise and set
dirango yomba paunano	the face of a man
dirango kake waku nigl minman	birds looks into the water (mirrow)

etc.etc.

6. Kuqlke

These games are swinging games. A long vine (or more than one) is taken and is fastened onto a tree branch, one end as high as possible. At the other end one or more of the boys hold fast and swing from side to side and as far and wide as they can. Quite a number of children, mostly boys, can be seen swinging at such vines, each one at a different vine, or 3 or 4, all at one and the same vine. Doing this they sometimes sing:

Kuql kuql ke kee
kan kan ke kee etc.

7. Me quo koalka

The fibres of the leaves of taro are pulled out and together with little stones they are rubbed on the thigh. Doing this these fibres or little strings roll around the little stones. Then they lift the "strings" up and the stones turn at the end of the string.

8. Kike

They have a kind of ball. Rubberballs were not known, but instead they had fruits, a piece of bark etc. They formed two parties and each one hit the object and tried to get it to the other side. The object flies from side to side, until the one side can hit it so hard, that it flies away past the others. If that happens they have won.

9. Kugu mambuno

This game is a kind of hide and seek. Some of the children hide in the long grass, others have to find them. As the grass is mostly very long, the children can move from one place to the other without being seen. They call out, or whistle to indicate where the one is who is hidden, but moves then on quickly if possible. "kugu mambuno" the ones who have hidden call out, and "pe pee" the others call, especially if they have found someone. Other call signs are:

Koi panamo?	Are you here?
Kaia pane?	Are you there?
pee pano!	There you are!-

10. Gugu bera kai bera

That is a game normally played in the long grass. Usually they go in a group (children) on a hill. There they start to roll down the slope and roll the long grass flat.

11. Gicl dagikwa (Ghost play)

This kind of game is more or less a dramatisation. They try to imitate certain actions and happenings. This type of games were, as far as is known to me, mainly performed at two occasions. The one was at the "girls" dance, namely when the girls visited another village and stayed there for several days and with the boys and younger men danced on the village place. When it was time to go home, then these games were performed the day before they left, after a festival meal, which was prepared for them by the hosts.

The other occasion was at the end of work, which had been performed in common, for example when they had made a big garden. When this work had been concluded by an abundant meal then such games were performed, or the day before. But these types of games may have been played at other occasions as well. Especially in recent years one often sees them at big gatherings at Christmas and New year, when it has become customary that the people were invited by the government for a dance and a meal.

To give a little idea of the abounding varieties of such games I shall give the names of some of them and then explain what the names mean and include. This enumeration is not the whole lot of the games, but only some of them, perhaps the better known ones:

1. ambu werai	The widow
2. endi bire pegkwa	Tree trunk rolling
3. Gokoro	The cricket
4. Geke kußlange	Shaking
5. Kerewo wanba	The python
6. Yomba yono tongingwa	Eat the dead
7. Kamun keke	Standing on the head
8. Kumo puka	To flutter
9. Kuro kare kambu	Hen and chicken
10. Kua bage wakiingwa	Hunting birds
11. Mem bake wakiingwa	Trip a person
12. Ongono unagle	Long talons
13. Gamba gumane boglkwa	Masks
14. Gogi beglkwa	Double face
15. Dagare kiambu	Dagare shooting
16. Git nui nui	The spirit nui nui
17. Bugla waglka paglkwa	Castrate pigs
18. Moi oggwa	To chase away sickness
19. Kambu bugla	To chase pigs (animals)
20. Ambu kiam beglkwa	Quarrels amongst women (polygamy)

As the names alone do not explain much I shall try to explain these games a little.

1. Ambu werai

A number of men rub clay and earth over their whole body. They further take banana leaves and rub them in with dirt and bind them around their heads and waists. Then they take a big stick into their hand and appear at the place where the people are gathered. They come running trying to embrace somebody. The people afraid of the wet and dripping dirt try to avoid them. They cry out when the men come near and run away. That goes on for a while and then the "ghosts" disappear again. They run back from where they came from.

2. Endi bire pegkwa

Grown up boys and young men paint their bodies with kiler and gamba gogl. They paint long stripes lengthwise or crosswise over their bodies. Then they make a "chain", or a "tree trunk." One lies down on his back, the next one lies down at his head end and puts his legs around the neck of the other, around neck and shoulders, then the next and the next, until they form a long line. With their legs they hold firm at chest and shoulder of the other man. Then they start to roll. That goes on for a while until the line brakes somewhere. When that happens all jump up and run away. Nobody wants to be recognised.

3. Dokoro

Men and boys act like the cricket. The cricket shirps flying from tree to tree. The men envelop their whole body with leaves and moss. Then they come running and try to embrace somebody. The people cry and run away. Then they try to "sit down" on the next one. That lasts for a while until they disappear again, running away to one side of the place.

4. Geke kuqlange

The men who perform this game have painted their bodies "ghost"like, that means they have put stripes all over their bodies with kilen(white) and gamba gogl(red), or with gamba kundu(white).They carry small shields which are decorated with cassowary feathers. In their right hand they have a spear and swing or wave that over their heads, moving them forward and backward and at the same time they shake their whole body as if they were in a very strong excitement, compared with the excitement at the beginning of a fight.When they arrive and take up a threatening position the people see them and run away.A little while later these men turn around and run away from where they have come.

5. Kerewo wamba

A long vine is taken , fairly thick and paited with signs and stripes. This represents a big(giant)snake. A man hides in a house and he pushes the snake through a hole outside the house. He moves the "snake" from side to side.Other men come running.They are painted with kilen and gamba gogl and they try to spear the snake. After a while they run away.

6. Yomba yono tongingwa.

This game represents the kumo belief.A grave has been made and a "dead" one is buried. They have wrapped the "body" in with diglimbi(treebark) and with banana leaves and covered him with some ground. Under the leaves they have hidden orowa(pumpkin) and gin bogl(a fruit) and have filled them with blood(their own, they shoot with small arrows in the arms and let the blood drop on the fruits) and also blood from pigs and other animals.Some of the blood they have smeared over the fruit.

Also wrapped in is the lower end of a banana stem. When the "body" is buried then the men hide in some distance, quite a number of them, and wait. They guard the newly buried body.

Now the kumo, the people possessed with kumo, arrive. They look around and after a while come to the grave. They sniff and smell the dead body. They unearth the body and start to cut it. The blood runs down on it and they start to eat it together with the orowá (pumpkin) and gin bogl. Supposedly they eat the body.

While they are eating the men hidden all of a sudden jump up from their hiding place and assail the kumo. Most of the men run away, but some cannot make it. They are caught and "killed" and then they bind ropes around their necks and drag the "bodies" away toward the river, to throw them into the river and dispose of them. This is all done with much crying and shouting and women and children run away believing things to be real.

7 Kamun kake

One or two men decorate themselves with kilen and gamba gogl and put some yambagle feathers above their ears into their hair. Two other men, painted the same way have drums and dance around the others. Having arrived at the festival place the two first mentioned men stand on their heads and shake their legs in the air. The other two beat their drum in a furious tempo and the people come and surround the spectacle. The more they shake their legs the bigger the fun. That brings a lot of cheerfulness amongst the onlookers.

8. Kumo pake

The bodies of the players are here also painted with kilen and gamba gogl. Especially the lips are painted red so that all looks "bloody".

A half grown boy sits on the shoulder of each man and is carried by him. After having arrived at the festival place the boy glides down on the back of the man who carries him and has his legs around the neck of the man, over his shoulders. He hangs down and stretches his arms to each side. So that the boy does not fall the man holds his legs with his hands. With the boys hanging in this position the men run around the place, 2, 3 or 4 or even more. They run around the place several times and then disappear where they have come from.

9. Kuro kare kambu

This game represents hen and chicken. One man is the hen, several small boys are the chickens. They pick on the ground with their hands and find small insects. They scratch with their feet and find worms and beetles.

In their hands they have often small sticks with hooks (ongoinc) which represent the claws of the chicken with which they scratch. If an ant bites them (kaugl) the chicken run away, but return soon to the hen. The hen looks always to one and then to the other side, scratches and calls: "Here, here". Then the chicken come running and pick up what the hen has found. After a while all run away.

10 Kua bage erekwa.

This game represents hunting of birds. They wrap their bodies in with red leaves, or with blue red leaves, especially their arms and their hands (wings). On a pogum tree they perch and eat the fruits of it.

Somewhere in a hiding place a man waits for them. He has bow and arrows. While the birds are eating he shoots them. They fall down when hit. When they do that the people shout for joy.

They call out: " Very well, you'hit a bird, let us get him and cook and eat him". They run away and get leaves with which the bird is to be cooked. Then all of a sudden all run away.

11. Mem bake wakinwa

Performing this play the men paint their bodies and especially their faces with kilen and gamba gogl. There are always several men who perform, mostly in pairs, sometimes more than two together. Each one of them tries now to make the other fall putting his leg in front of the other man's leg or pushing one leg of the other man away with his foot. For a change they attack also the onlookers. They of course shout and run away; So the men try to get the other down. They fall, stumble, jump up and try again to get the other down. After a while all run away.

12. Ongono unagle

Men decorated with kilen and gamba gogl come running. At all of their fingers they have small bambu pipes or pieces, enlengthened fingers or fingernails, 10 to 20 cm long or longer. They spread their fingers wide and run for the people. These run away and the others after them. So they play for a while until the attackers run away.

13. Gamba gumane beqlkwa

The men who perform this game cover their faces. They take kokun leaves (very big leaves) and put them before their faces. On these leaves they have made signs with paints, the nose is enlarged, the face is made from clay, partly or the whole face. Therefore the whole face is a mask. The body is also painted accordingly. So they come running and chase the people present and try to catch them. The people run away with much shouting.

14. Gogi beqkwa

One or two men disguise as is told on the previous page, not only the face is masked but they have two faces, one in front and one at the back. Both are made alike, both are made from clay. The back of the man is also exactly "clothed" as the front. It is really hard to say which is front and which is back, as also the sides of the body are covered with leaves. The arms they turn and twist around so they point at one time to the front, the other time to the back. Such men are often walking between two other men, who more or less lead them. When I saw them I could not tell which was front and which was back, until I looked upon their feet. Disguised in such a way they appear as "ghosts". The people are supposed to be afraid and run away.

15. Dagare kiambu

A man paints his body with kilen and gamba gogi and on his back he has a long pole standing upright. This pole is fastened to his body on several places. On top of the pole is a vine with leaves (dagara) placed. Several boys, similar dressed, come running with bows and arrows and shoot and try to hit the dagara. The arrows are grass stalks. These fly in every direction and the people present have to be careful that they are not hit by them. They run away crying and shouting.

16. Gigi nui nui

An old man, decorated accordingly, hides. Then some young boys arrive and sit near a fire. They roast kurage in the fire. While they are doing this the old man, who had been hiding, sneaks near and acts as if he would eat them. The boys see him

and disperse to all sides, but soon they come back, as the old man has also disappeared, and the whole performance is repeated several times until all run away.

17. Buqla paqlka peqlkwa.

A young boy decorated with kilen and gamba gogl, a small netbag hanging over his shoulder, comes and stands for a while and waits. After a while a man appears similarly decorated. He also has a netbag hanging over his shoulder and several items are in the netbag. He has caught a rat previously, has hacked it into pieces and together with kende fruit, a type of yams, bulbs on a vine, wrapping it all in and binding it to his belt over the apron he is standing there (these fruits are supposed to be the testicles).

This man meets the boy and the latter says to the man: "Give me what you have in your netbag." The man puts his hand into the netbag and gives him a piece of the contents. The boy wants more and again more until nothing is left in the netbag. Then the man says: "I have nothing left". "Then give me what is hanging there over your apron" the boy says. The man takes a knife and cuts into the wrapping and the blood and meat and the kende fruits come out. Then he takes it and throws it toward the onlooking people. He himself falls down to the ground as "dead". Then the boy to whom the man has given everything, shouts a song of triumph. All people run away.

18 Moi onqwa

A man is very sick. His abdomen is very swollen (perhaps sclerosis of the liver). This sickness occurs fairly frequently and is dreaded very much, as there is no remedy and the people have to die after some time. The man has built for himself a small hut and has made a fire

and he lies near the fire curved and contorted and groans with pain (all is mimicked from real life).

Because they fear the sickness is infectious, the sick man has to be gotten rid of. A number of men, painted "ghost" like (that means they have white stripes all over their bodies, faces covered with clay, or wearing a mask made of clay, in the nostrils they have put a kind of vine (tendrill) which they have bound together over their heads, so the nostrils are very wide and big and pulled up. In their hands they carry spears). The people see them and run away with loud shouting. These men now take ropes (vines) and bind them around the sick man's neck and chest and drag him away with the intention of throwing him into the river. After a while the sick man jumps up and all run away. (Here it is only play, but in earnest they acted in exactly the same way. The sick people were disposed of in this way).

19. Kambu buqla

A young man or nearly grown up boy comes, richly decorated, and climbs on a tree. He is supposed to be an animal. Others come with sticks in their hands and intend to hunt. They go first to a banana stem and puncture it with their sticks or hit on it etc. Then they go from tree to tree until they at last come to the tree on which the boy is hiding. "O, there he is" they shout and stab and hit him, until he is "dead" and falls down from the tree. Then the man drag him away amongst much shouting of the onlookers.

20 Ambu kiam beqlkwa

Up to now I have only mentioned such games or plays which are performed by men only, mostly young men or grown up boys. There is a great variety of these plays as can be easily concluded by the little I have said. All are performances, dramatisations of happenings from real life, but here given as games, as plays.

It would not be difficult at all to mention quite a number more of such plays, especially as always new ones are introduced and as each group of people have their own plays. Therefore the manifold and numerous plays can only be partly enumerated.

But, the women have also their own plays. Mostly they are onlookers, but the following play is acted only by women. They call it:

Ambu kiam begkwa.

This performance or play is also taken from real life. Such plays as well as ambu kiam begkwa in earnest I had plenty of occasions to observe. I mention here only this one play, of which there are quite a number of variations:

A man makes a garden. He divides the garden and gives a part at one side to one of his old wives and a part at the other side to another old wife and the middle part he gives to his young wife (the better part of the garden). Being angry about that, one of the old wives starts to abuse the young wife and starts to hit her. Other women, decorated with clay over the whole body, very often in large dots, take sides, some stick to the younger wife, others with the older ones and in a moment the best brawl has started. All have sticks, often as thick as their arms and 2 - 3 meters long, and they try to hit each other. Not to be hurt, one side holds their sticks horizontal while the others dash and hit with their sticks on them and then the other side goes over to the attack. When they are attacking the other party retreats a little, until they start to attack again. That goes on for a long time. Of course there are always loud shoutings and abuses. On a playground there are often several dozen groups of women who perform in this way.

11. Music

In volume II page 182 to 195 I have described the musical instruments. That all, at that place mentioned, instruments are used to make some kind of music, is self-evident. It would be best, if one could put the music down on paper. I have quite a number of their songs on tape, flutes and jewsharps etc. but it is not easy to fix the music or tunes. I intended to have it done, but so far I have not found a person who was willing to do it, perhaps it will be possible to put the music down on paper at a later date, but I cannot promise to have it done. To write their music on paper has two major difficulties, one is pitch and intervals, as they do not always harmonize with our rules, and the other its the rhythm.

I want to say here a few words about vocal music. The people all like to sing. There are many occasions to do so. I mention a few: Dances combined with singing at harvest festivals, pig festivals courtship dances, mourning songs etc. etc. - I have occasionally given the texts of a few songs previously, but in the following I want to write a few more down. All the songs which are mentioned in the following I have on tape and if possible and we are lucky we may find somebody to help us in fixing them. Here are only the texts of the songs given.

It is only a small selection I can give here. There are abundantly more in use. Then one has to remember that new songs are always being made, texts as well as melodies. Here also it holds true, that each group have their own texts, their own melodies etc. The variation may be small, but may also be considerable. Out now the songs:

1. Bugla gende (pig festival songs)

I.

1. Endi moqlumara wia I come through forest
kambuglo moqlumara wia I come through stone desert
angai suna yene naro. give room to me.
 2. Pire yauro yauro Take the lid away(make room)
dire nigl sumiwa we decorated with dire
duruwagl nigl sumiwa. we decorated with duruwagl.
(our bodies)
 3. Pire yauro yauro Open, give room
angigl nigl sumiwa we decorated with angigl
anguglua nigl sumiwa. we decorated with anguglua.
 4. Anggera gaya gaya O my friend, o my friend
umbuglkerba we two are coming
enene kara you yourself have shot a bird
angire kua sine. with a bird arrow.
 5. Ambara gaya, gaya O dear sister
umbuglkerba we two are coming
enene ga maiya you yourself
nigl kan patne. have gotten a vine(maiya nigl kan)
 6. Togl pugla mitna ime At the fence gate
kau kau konda all is full(of people)
keno pagle wagle ime at kene pagle also
kau kau konda. all is full(of people)

(so many people are there)
-

II Another bugla gende song is the following:

1. Umba darua sungura The umba fruits
bogl yomande gagl yomande are ripe, are ripe
kagl wagluo yagle the kagl wagluo bird'
irimin yarimin beo. is eager to eat them.
2. Koimbondo kan keya imbonde Yonder, the other side of
kai imbonde kan kagle Kan keya
imbonde koimbonde Yonder (the other side of Tema)
Yambaqle kinde manle ya the yambaqle bird is moving
kunambu kaiye nene windo wa i from side to side and
gandai kuiye nene rowaindo e. intends to eat the kunambu
 fruits, it is hopping up
 and down the Gandai (tree)
(Meaning: Everything is ready for the festival
 now we come to celebrate).

2. Aqlaqle kuql opal singwa

This and similar songs are sung at the time when the amugl is ripe and is harvested and ready to eat. Before they do that, they sing and dance. One of the many songs sung at such an occasion is the following:

1. Wau kua wie To stay, to see I come
you koi sungura the you is ripe
erai kaiya the arai is ripe
wan kana wie. I come and see.
2. Wan kana wie I come and see
pondo koi sungura it is very big
kande koiya sungura it is very thick
wan kana wie. I come and see.

3. Wan kana wie I come and see
angigl koi sungwa the angigl is flowering(orna-
anguglu koiya sungura mental plant)
wan kana wie. the anguglu is flowering
I come and see.
(These plants grow under the amugl trees)
4. Wan kana wie I come and see
keiya koi sungura the keiya is ripe(wild pandanus)
banda koi sungura the banda is ripe
wan kana wie. I come and see.

II. Another

1. Gaglma bonqi koimbo Yonder of the mountain gaglma
koindagle tenga piriyai bongi
kani yai There they shout for joy
moro singu yagle yai I hear it, I see it
kani yai. the twins amugl(pandanus)
I see them.
2. Keiya kagle kombo The other side of the keiyakagle
kondagle tenga, piri yai (mountain)
kani yai There they cry for joy
moro kom nolai. I hear it; I perceive it
The twin yams.
3. Yonggawo diunde The other side of the yonggawo
kombo koindagle tenga diunde (mountain)
piri yai, kani yai There they make a cry for joy
moro bongi yagle yai I hear it, I see it,
piri yai, kani yai. moro bondi(twin yams)
I hear it, I see it.
-

Remarks to the last song:

The two men who divide amongst them such a twin fruit and eat it, are not permitted from then on to call each other by their real names, but exchange their names, for example: Au and Kega. Kega calls Au Kega and Au call Kega Au. Later on they call each other only "Singiyagle" as long as they live. Also if one of them dies the other says: "Singiyagle has died".

3. Nunqo yumbuqlkwa

(The first part of this song is only sung by the old people, the leaders, the others beat the drums).

1. Goglo nigle nigle imara yo The other side of the Goglo
Pagle nigle nigle imara yo the other side of the Pagle
de o oa dende o,o,o,o. frivers)
2. Buqlana di, poglumbo To kill my pig with the
piri dimba kana unimba stone axe, of that I speak
o ca dende. You all want to see it
o,o,o,o,
3. Yu ere ere ya u ere ere Somewhere it ran about
wan dumiwa it did not listen to my call
de oa dende. you all want to see it
o,o,o,o.
4. Kawagle nolalo The beautiful bird of paradise
wakai yalo (kawagle)
de oa dende. very nice he is
o,c,o,o.

Then all join in singing: (pirika si endingwa):

Gene yaundo bal yare	Hack short the ginger
gene kora yaundo balyare	hack to pieces like gene kare
buglo ya stoiwe	as the buglo(fish)
gagle ya stoiwe stoiwe'	it slips between the fingers
wai wai stoiwe sto iwa.	like the bagle(fish,slippery)
	wai ,wai etc.

(so fat is the meat)

4. A common pig festival song

1. Biglki biglki dinggera mane
Kundi kuimbo biglki dinggera mane
Awa kuimbo giglki dinggera mane
biglki kuimo biglki dinggera mane
2. Bina koime biglki dinggera mane
dange koime biglki dinggera mane
biglki biglki biglki dinggera mane.

Translation:

It broke loose, I can not find it
To Kundi did it run, it is not there
To Awa yonder, it is not there
If broke loose, it is not there.

At the edge yonder, at the slope yonder
I tried to waylay it
it broke loose, it is not there.

(it had already run away).

5. A song of mourning (when the pigs are about to be killed at the big pig festivals).

1. Buglana ya :/:
kokun kumba boratno
tambuno kumba boratno
buglana ya :/:
O my pig ;/:
the kokun club will hit you
the tambuno club will kill you
O, my pig :/:
2. Buglana ya :/:
yao dinare po
yau dinare po
buglana ya :/:
O my pig :/:
You have a rattle in the throat
You have a rattle in the throat
(and are gone)
O, my pig :/:

(This song is very similar to the formerly mentioned one, see under pig festivals). The melody is the same, the words are slightly different).

6 . Owa

This type of songs are called owa. They are mostly sung at the occasion of food festivals.

1. Wawe wo welo :/: , :/: Melody is introduced
2. Wan kã unamba piro
Ben suna piro
wan kan unamba piro
wawe wo welo :/: , :/:
To tarry and then come
from Bena coming
to tarry and come
(melody repeated)
3. Wan kan unamba piro
ongan inamba piro
wan kan inamba piro
wawe inamba piro.
wawe we welc :/: , :/: . Melody repeated.
To tarry and come
to get shells(thinking)
to tarry and come
to get wawe (thinking)

3. Nin inamba piro To get nin(shells)
poglu inamba piro to fetch poglu(shells)
inambara piró to get them
wan kan piro. to tarry and come.
-

Another owa song

1. Wawe lo e lo ee :/:, :/:
Melody
Yalyomba moglume di kanba o I am an old man (you think)
kundia yongura yoko yome but I have still kundia
mareka yongura yoko yome (blessing)
I still have mareka(")
- 2 Wawe lo e lo ee :/:, :/:
Melody repeated
singie kagla sume di kanba My teeth have fallen out
boglo yongura noko yome but boglo I have still
kaugla yongura yoko yome kaugla I have still
(blessings)
3. Wawe lo e lo ee :/:, :/:
Melody
ambai kigalg moglma di kanba o I am an old woman
singigl yongura yoko yome but still I have fun
gaugl yongura yoko yome and I can still laugh.
wawe lo e lo ee :/:, :/:
Melody repeated.

(meaning: I seem to be an old man, but I have
still power, I am still strong).

Another owa song

1. Okondie ambai gilsı ye We two Okondie girls
nono di yombuglo do we have agreed
Keya dangine wanambuglendi to go to the Kaye slope
dijombuglo do we have agreed to go to the
kagl e dangine wanambuglendi Keya slope, we have agreed.
nono diyombuglo do.

2. Kokuru mitna wanambuglendi We intend to go into the
nono di yombuglo do Kokuru grass, so we have agreed
Akire mitna wanambuglendi We intend to go into the
nono diyombuglo do. akire grass, we have agreed.

3. Wiminogl mitna wanambuglendi To Waminogl we will go
nono dijombuglo do (fed ground) and stay there
Wanimogl mitna wanambuglendi to Wanimogl we shall go
nono di yombuglo do. so we have agreed.

4. Umba mitna wanambuglendi We intend to go to the
nono di yombuglo do umba tree, so we have agreed
darua mitna wanambuglendi to the darua tree we shall go
nono diyombuglo do. so we have agreed.

7. Ji kenquai

This is a song which is sung when at the food festivals the food is distributed and all are glad. This joy is expressed with song and dance.

Yaya pua ya eglke pua ya	O o o o
Okondie yat nina ya	the people of Okondie
Kindewai yagl nina ya	you people of Kindewai
eglke pua ya.	you from far away.

Keya bire nem wa	You from the Keaya (mountain)
kagle bire nem wa	you from the Kagle (")
waya pua.	You from far away.

Dingi bire nem wa	You from the Dingo mountain
darua bire nem ya	You from Darua
aglke pua ya.	You from far away.

Nigl bii nem wa	You from the cold waters
hamun bii nem wa	you from the coal villages
waya pua ya.	from far away.

(You are all here)

Another we kenquai song

Ira era ere :/:, :/:	Ira era ere :/:, :/:
Gende wiglki kuro kuro ai	Gende(bird) sweep sweep
wena wiglki kuro kuro ai	Wena(bird) sweep sweep.
Biri wiglki kuro kuro ai	Biri sweep sweep
Kerenga wiglki kuro kuro ai	Kerenga sweep sweep (birds, living in swamps)
mum wiglki kuro kuro ai	Mum(bird) sweep sweep
mua wiglki kuro kuro	Mua (") sweep sweep.

(sweep clean with a broom)

8. Kua nande

A type of song which the boys sing when they visit girls, courtship dance.

Wayá wayá aiyá waiyá Melody
wáya wáya eiyá wayá :/:

1. Nana nina ya O my father
 nana angera ya o my brother
 Okondie Kindewai yagle The Okondie Kindewai yagle
 , u ake imbirika na. come and take(the shield).
2. Kuglumbo korai dekiye They take the shield
 u ake imbiriki kano they take it, see
 , ye kuime kuime ende. they come down the mountain.
3. Eglei kaiwo i kuime ende They come down the Eglei
 wai i koime ende kaiwa mountain, they come down
 , egle waglo yei. They come down to fight.
4. Kondu kera suna To Kondo (village) down
 egle woglo yei to fight they come
 egle waglondi. to make a fight they come.
5. Mugla punduma bogl To shoot with arrows
 egle woglondi they come down
 , egle woglondi. they come down.
6. Dimbin kogkiki bogl With spears(they have hit him)
 ayo nina yo di O my father
 ayo mana yo di. O my mother.

7. Pai wan dungwa yawe There, here he lies
nine kayane tou pai dungwa wrapped in with kayane
ake yongwa pame. here he lies.
(nine kayane is a kind of grass which is
used to wrap in bodies).
8. Tangigl woru yagle yawe Tangigl did do it
u ake yongwa yawe there he lies
ake yongwa yawe. there he lies.

Another kua nande song

- Wai waya wai waya :/: Melody
1. Siggigle wan wan Being laughing
gaula wan wan being jesting
2. Baglo ya wan wan With the charm spell
kaugla ya wan wan with the blessing spell
3. Puglo muno dende With puglo (kind of vegetable)
paka muno dinde with paka decorated.
4. Yoro uglum mur. dende Nice as the yoro uglum
giame muno dende beautiful as the wie giame.
(plants for decoration)
5. Dokoru wan wan Nice as the dokoru
nonme ya wan wan beautiful as the nonme,
(insects and beetles)
6. Wi endie koratno mo At the wi tree it sticks
poglai endie koratno mo. at the poglai tree it sticks
7. I koglumbo ya koglumbo Shalã I hold fast here
wan wan suna wan. or hold fast there?
- Ai waya wai waya :/: End melody.
-

When boys are together with girls for courtship dances then they sing songs like this. Seeds of vegetables are names used for girls and also names for insects, girls who are present.

When the boys have finished their song then the girls answer in a song. One goes like this:

1. Gondu gonduma duglo ino A_S the roots break into
' puro mitna pare waya waya e. the ground
right to the end(as yams)
2. Mekirimba duglo ino A_S the mekirimba roots
' puro mitna pare waya waya e penetrate the same way
3. Kumuglo nen duglo ino A_S the man's father's
' puro mitna pare waya waya e root penetrate
4. Ambaino man duglo ino 'As the mother's roots pene-
' puro mitna pare waya waya e. trate, pull it out it shall
go.

Another giglange kua nande

Eya waya waya :/:

Melody

- 1 Kamuno koire The ones from the village
' i aglone? from where are they?
2. Kuno koa ire kano They are from Kunokoa '
' kuno koa ire kano from Kunokoa there are.
3. Siune keke dugwa ire Where the siune sings
' miure(keke) dugwa ire where the miure sings
(Birds of paradise)
4. Moro pike dugwa ire Where the crickets chirp '
' gambu. pike dugwa ire kano. where the gambu(beatle).

5. Kundu pike dugwa ire ' Where the stone axe come from '
nerema pike dugwa ire , where the stone axes come from.

(The names for birds etc. are used for girls)

9 Ambu endie qiglange.

This and similar songs were sung in the night before the marriage of a girl or woman. It is also a kind of kua nande.

- E waya waya e e /: Melody
1. Kimam ya nina ya Kimam my father
paka yat nina ya Paka my father
 2. Gamba suna kama suna Where the land is
wau yei dume lying uninhabited
 3. Ende Gerigi orumanda He is perhaps gone to Gerigi
ende kombugi ongo orumandahe went perhaps towards
the east
 4. Mondia koa berandi The other side of Mondia
kandia suna kiundi (mountain)
The other side of kandi where
it goes down
 5. Bunbun suna kiundi At the Bunbun there it is
luglan suna kiundi (mountain)
At the Kuglan (") there it is.
 6. Kunduwagle sundu sinambiwo Kunduwagle (bird) he will
yambagle sundu sinambiwo hunt
yambagle he will shoot
(bird of paradise)
- E waya waya e e /: End melody.

12. Trade and Communication

Trade and communication belong close together, but not all communications (visiting) means also trade. As far as trade goes, only the barter system was known. People went not only to close friends in neighbouring villages, but far beyond that. With many of the tribes which surrounded their own tribe, there were some connections. It has already been mentioned that many women who were married in the tribe were not from the vicinity but from further away. About half of all the women in one tribe were from other tribes. Sometimes they were from far away, not only from the neighbouring tribes. By this they had at the same time natural connections, contacts which helped them to communicate with one another, and most of the time these connections were also utilized for trading purposes.

At times when the tribes were at war with each other such connections were hindered or broken off altogether.

The Kamanuku had trade connections with the tribes at the upper Chimbu, and even further, the other side of the watershed (towards Ramu), to Sunti etc. From there the much appreciated shells could be traded in. These were not only pieces of decorations, but at the same time they were their "money". Of course they had to pay heavily for them, especially for the gold-lip shell (mother of pearl shell), often they had to pay pigs or even girls or women, etc. That is probably the reason, why in the area of the other side of the divide (Iwam or Gerigl) one meets so many women who have come from the Chimbu area (upper Chimbu). Also the iron tools could be traded in from there (a few of them before our time). With that new variations of food and vegetables came in, such as: maize (corn), tobacco etc. The area is also mostly forest, so they could trade in plumes, animal skins, wood for bows and spears etc.

To the west trade connections, existed with the Kerowagi people and further west. From there many kinds of stone axes were traded in etc.

Towards south the trade connections went to the Dom Diga and towards east to the Yóngumugl and Sinesina, towards northwest to the Gena. With many tribes they had frequent connections; with tohers only occasionally. With the Gena people they visited frequently, mainly because the Gena live near the forests in the north and if the Kamanuku wanted to hunt, they had to pass throught the Gena area. From that area could they get forest animals, birds of paradise, cassowaries, various woods for bows, spears, arrows etc. All this they could get without trade. If they did not get it by their own work, they had to trade it in and had to pay for the goods accordingly.

If a group intendd to trade with another group, then they did not just go to them and trade. They first had to talk everything over and set a firm date for the intended visit and inform the other party of their intentions. They sent a string to them which had many knots in it. A similar string they kept for themselves. Each day they cut one knot off, and if then only one was left they made ready, and if the people they wanted to visit lived far away, they could leave that day for the visit.

Another sign they used was to light a fire in the morning outside the house, a fire with as much smoke as possible. With that their friends were given the message that the visit was imminent. The others saw the smoke and they answered in the same way. So they informed each other and were sure, that they were expected and welcome. These fires meant: We are ready now and are starting our visit, and the others said: You are welcome, come.

When they wanted to trade with others, men as well as women went along. If it was not too far, and they could expect to return the same day, then they left early and did not lose much time. Also after having arrived, they soon started with their trade. If they wanted to stay over night, which was often, when they went further away, then they had time to talk and the hosts would offer food etc. Perhaps they started the same day with the trading, or they waited until next morning.

Nearly everything could be traded. To mention only a few things: Food, plants, pandanus fruits, sugar cane, animals, animal skins, plumages of birds, feathers, armrings, legrings, diglimbi (wearing apparatus for women (backside)), stone axes, fibre, string, salt, shields, spears, mondono, wood for bows and arrow heads, arrows etc. etc.

The trading was mostly done in this way: One party lined the goods up on the ground in a line, and the other party then looked at the goods and offered something for it, if they were interested to exchange some for other goods. The more valuable goods were often put on leaves or mats. If then the other made a bid good enough then the goods were exchanged and both partners were content. One was permitted to say what he wanted for his goods and for what reason he had brought them. If he said that he wanted such and such an item for his goods and the other one had that and was willing to supply it for the offered goods, then the exchange was quickly done. But often he might not have that item but was willing to offer something else instead. If the other partner was interested in it and took it, alright. If not then each one kept his or her goods. Often it took quite a while to get a deal made, as each one wanted his or her advantage. Mostly such visits were conducted in a quite orderly and peaceful manner. But it happened now and again, that people got angry and had brawls and went away in anger. But those were exceptions. Normally they traded, often for hours, and everyone was content to have made a good deal.

If for example one man wanted a pretty piece of ornament and was not willing to pay the price asked for, then it happened that he just took a piece, without the consent of the owner and then went away. That was against all good custom and behaviour. Mostly some other men tried to mediate on the spot. Of course it was depended on who the man was who had acted that way. If he was just a common man then the case was soon brought in order; but if he was one of the leading men, then it was not so easy to mediate. If they did not come to an agreement, the day, which had begun so peacefully and amicably could end in a fight and wounded and dead ones could be the result.

Such trade was done on the village place or on special places suitable for such purposes. They needed some room as all lined up the goods at the same time and sat down beside them and the others walked around and then sat down to trade, when they had found some items they wanted.

Trade was only one side of the communications. There were quite a number of occasions which caused people to pay visits to each other, and such visits were often not connected with trade. To mention only a few of such occasions:

1. Some important matters had to be discussed, festivals or similar causes.
2. Looking for a girl suitable to be married to one of their young boys.
3. Girl's dance, courtship dances.
4. Sickness of friends and/or relatives.
5. Birth of a child (if the mother was from that tribe)
6. When somebody died etc. etc.

It was not always easy to make a visit. All had to be done on foot and good roads did not exist. There were paths, but most of them led to the gardens. If they wanted to build the houses on another place then they pulled some grass and weeds out, but that was about all they did for roadmaking. Sometimes they just burnt the grass and "trod" a new road.

When they had to cross a river, then, if it was small or shallow, they just waded through without a bridge. If the river was deeper then they put poles or trees across and went over them.

Really big rivers do not exist in the Kamanuku area, therefore they did not have to build the big hanging or suspension bridges, which were found over the Nera (Waghi) river; but occasionally they had to help to build them or bring some material as they too would cross the bridges now and again. Therefore such travels were always connected with some strain and some difficulties.

But notwithstanding all this, one may readily say, that communications and trade with the other tribes were fairly frequent. It was at least different from many coastal areas where the different tribes had very little communications. That communications were frequent may have been caused by the fact of the geographic condition, as the whole area is more open than most of the coastal areas and also by the density of the population. Other causes may be taken into consideration for example the type of "black magic" against "kumo". Where black magic is people have to be very careful that nothing of their "soul matter" is lost, the belief in kumo is no hindrance to visiting other people, even strange people. There may be other reasons, but the mentioning of these may suffice.

13 The Language

The social culture of a people includes without doubt also the language of the people. "The language is the soul of the people" a prominent man once said. That is true. The language is also the mirror of the soul of a people and of the culture of the people. In the language one will find a wealth of thoughts, past and present, thinking and ideas deposited, as nowhere else. And the language will preserve this wealth for a long time to come, as any language tends to be very conservative and does not change as easily as customs and fashions change.

It is often said, that customs and usages of a people, especially of primitive people must be preserved. Most of the people who advocate this have only certain customs in mind, for example polygamy etc. I admit and agree, there is a good bit of truth in the thought of preserving the customs and the culture of the natives, but I do not understand why nearly all the people, who advocate this do nothing to conserve one of the main bases of this: namely to conserve the language of the people. And even if that is known and acknowledged, nothing is done in this respect. The language of "primitives" is deemed to be inferior and a person is not considered as "educated" if he uses only his or her mother language, he is looked upon as equal only if he is able to speak the language of the white man. In the following paragraph I want to say a few words of the construction of the language of the Kamanuku.

The language of the Kamanuku, now commonly referred to as the "Kuman" language is spoken by a fairly large number of people. It belongs to the group of Papuan languages. The language, or perhaps better the language group, comprises many dialects, which deviate more or less from each other. If one includes these dialects then the language is understood and spoken by more than 150 000 people. The deviations (dialects) are sometimes quite substantial. As a common rule one may say, if the deviations affect only up to 10 % of the words and grammar then the people will not have much difficulties in understanding each other and will converse without much difficulties. But if the differences are more than 20 % it will be fairly hard to understand each other. But such variations must still be classified as dialects. Probably the density of the population, frequent communications, trade etc., are some reasons for the wide spread of the language. But one could also say the opposite: Because the language is so similar, trade, visits, knowledge of the other etc. could develop far more easily.

I cannot go into detail to describe the characteristics of the Kuman language. A dictionary of 500 pages

has been compiled, and revised for the last time, about 5 years ago by the author. Also a grammar of 150 pages has been compiled and duplicated by me about the same time.

But I would like to make a few remarks in regard to the Kuman language here. These can only be fragmentary, but they will give a little insight into the language and its construction.

The vowels of the Kuman language are fairly easy, as they are to a good part pure or simple vowels, very similar to the vowels in German (English has only very few pure or simple vowels, especially when long, but mostly diphthongs). These vowels may be long or short. The beginning of a vowel is hard (as in English) and soft in the ending (no hard endings or glottal stops). Diphthongs are numerous and they have the same stress as our diphthongs have. The stress is on the first half and then glides down to the next with less stress on the second. Also a number of vowels, even more than two or three appear fairly frequently.

It is a bit different with the consonants. Most of them are like or very similar to our consonants, but there is a whole group of consonants which are strange to us. I mean here the lateral fricatives and affricatives. One may count at least 5 or 6 of them. How these sounds are written does not interest us here. They can be voiced and voiceless.

There are many assimilation rules, that means, if various vowels come together and also consonants, changes take place and these changes go according to certain rules, or can be explained by certain rules. But we can not go into detail about that here.

The Kuman language has, (as have all the so-called "primitive" languages) an enormously rich vocabulary.

In many respects the language is, more exact, more precise, than our languages. There are enormous amounts of forms, especially in the verb. As the language was never fixed before, the individual pronunciation fluctuates far more than when a language is fixed, can be read, is taught in school and so on. Then one has to consider all the influences which come into a language from outside, from other dialects, from imported and new goods, from contact with coastal people and from contact with white people, etc. New words and new names for new items are constantly taken up (as they are in all living languages.).

The Kamanuku often do not feel the necessity to group words and ideas, at least not in the way as we are used to doing, but they have more the inclination to differentiate. Therefore in many cases there is no collective word, where we have one and vice versa. But they have names for every single item, which we often express with a group or collective name. To mention only one example: I do not know any collective name for: Grass, insects, spiders, lizards etc. But there are dozens of names, namely a special name for each species etc. and every one knows these names. On the other hand they may have collective names only and no names for the special kinds for example for butterflies and moths.

For this observation there is a very simple reason or explanation namely: All things which serve as food, which are raised, planted or hunted, are very essential to them, therefore each of the different kinds has its proper name. On the other hand, such items as are not used for human consumption, are not differentiated, such as butterflies etc. It does not matter whether they are big or small, plain or shining in many colours etc.

But not only in the nouns, but also in the verbs there are many differentiations. Concepts which we express only with a single verb may be expressed by the natives in a dozen or more verbs. Take for example the word for "carry". It is essential for the native to express in which way the item is carried, with or on which part of the body, on the head, on the shoulder, on the neck, on the arms, on the chest, on the hands, at a pole, at a handle etc. For each way to carry they have an extra verb. Or take the verb "to try". This says very little in itself, but the native cannot just say "try" but has to explain each time with an extra verb in which way one tries something, by feeling, by hearing, by touching, by tasting, by smelling, by putting the feet on etc.

The nouns are unchangeable, except when a suffix is added and in some cases there may be then an assimilation with the suffix. A declination of the noun is unknown. But one may add not only suffixes but put postpositions after the noun (as we put prepositions before the noun) which then put the noun in some relationship to other words. Such suffixes and/or postpositions, are for example the possessive pronoun and postpositions like in, on, with (committative and instrumental) etc. The word stem or root of the noun is never changed.

The adjectives are placed after the noun. In exceptional cases they can be put before the noun. Then the two words become more or less an expression for one new concept. Also several nouns may be put together which then also give a new concept such as: nemam (father-mother - parent; yurgu - dira - house lip - floor.

The pronoun has for the singular 3 persons or 3 forms, namely one for the first person (I) for the second person (you) and for the third person (he, she, it) but for the plural only the first person has a special form, for the second and third person the forms of the singular are used. Only in the verbform used in the sentence it becomes clear which person is meant. All the other forms of the pronoun we abstain from explaining, as that is more than the framework of this monograph allows us to do, eg: possessive, demonstrative, interrogative pronouns etc.

The common sequence in a sentence is: Subject, object, predicate. The adjective is put behind the noun, the adverb before the verb; or, if it is an adverbial phrase, often at the beginning of the sentence, seldom at the end. If there is more than one object in a sentence, say a dative object and an accusative object the dative object precedes the accusative object. Numerals are treated as adjectives. The "prepositions" would be better called "postpositions" as they stand not before but after the noun. But there are not so many as very often clauses, which are "introduced" in English by a preposition, are expressed verbally.

The key to the language is the verb. If one is master of the verb he is master of the language. The verb has many forms. There is singular, dual and plural, for dual and plural each, only forms for the first and second person have been developed, in other words for the second and third person the same forms are in use. They think, perhaps, we (first person) and the others, which includes you and they. Inclusive and exclusive verb forms do not exist. (but in the first person dual and plural of the pronoun).

As clearcut tenses only two groups of forms are developed, for the action or happening which is fact, has been finished, the present or past form and for the one which has not been done, not happened but which most likely will happen, the future. There is a group of forms for the remote future, but they are not very often used.

The verb-stems, or verb-roots undergo with the suffixes (there are no prefixes in the verb) quite a number of assimilations, sometimes to the extent, that the stem or root of the word is hardly recognisable anymore. To illustrate that, I want to mention just one or two verbstems with the assimilation they undergo, when the suffix is added, namely the verb ere-(stem) to do, and the word piri-(stem) to hear, to perceive. They are conjugated as follows:

ere- to do

	Sing.	dual	plural
1. pers.	erika	ouglka	ounga
2. "	etnga	embirika	erekwa
3. "	orukwa	"	"

piri- to hear, perceive

1. pers.	pirika	puqlka	punga
2. "	pitnga	pirimbirika	pirikwa
3. "	purukwa	"	"

The negation of the verb or action is made by putting the stem "kir" at the verbstem (or root) and before the other endings. This syllable undergoes the same assimilations as other suffixes. Also other syllables can be put behind the stem as suffixes, to express stress, or words or suffixes which normally are expressed by adverbs. Also the dative object has to be expressed in the verb (by a suffix or interfix) or better, it must be repeated in the verb, if it is present in the sentence, but if it only a pronoun then it is expressed only in the verb. The accusative object is not expressed in the verb.

Besides the tense forms there is an abundance of other forms, which have the tense character, but besides that, have, what I would call a modus of the action. These forms are used exactly as the forms with only tense character, only that they have, beside the tense character something else. All are conjugated in the present (past) and the future forms. Such modi are, for example: Imperative, emphatic meaning, irrealis, eventualis possibility etc. If one counts all these possibilities then one gets hundreds of verb endings. As a rule the verb is fairly regular, but in the forms of the present most of the forms undergo some assimilations (retrospect assimilation). So we get with each different suffix different assimilations.

The future, the second main tense is formed by adding the syllable na- (nagl-) or by the verbs which are ending with an "r" and/or "gl" the syllable ra(ragl) is suffigated to the stem and then the corresponding endings are suffigated.

The dative object, which has to be repeated in the verb is very closely related to the pronoun. Both are formed by putting the verb ending behind the pronoun and then it gets the meaning as object in the verb: to me, to you, etc. and in the so-called objectsverb the meaning is: give me (to me), give to you etc. So we have in a single word: Subject, object, predicate, tense and person. (Narukwa - he gave it to me; tongwa he gave it to him).

Then the Kuman language has also the well known forms for verbs, which are not endverbs, but need a continuation in the sentence. With these forms nearly all our clauses, final clauses, relative clauses and many of our prepositions are expressed. The main verb is always the endverb and the tense, sometimes also the person and the number of person is only given in the endverb. By this means the language has developed a versatility which is astonishing. By that there can also be formed very long and complicated sentences or sentence periods which may be difficult to understand for our thinking because one has to think differently (he must know who or what is the subject of the following sentence before he can finish the first one and put the right ending at the previous clause or sentence.) If one masters this construction then they come in very handy. Whether the following verb has the same subject or not, has to be kept in mind, for the endings without tense (and or person) has to be chosen accordingly. There are two forms of this kind: one for the past and one for the future. The form for the same subject have no indication for the person or number of person, but the ones for the verb endings, when the subject changes, have.

I just want to mention that each verb also may be lengthened by adding different suffixes(as: Very,very much,truely etc.) and many verbs will then get very long.Verbs with 8 or 10 syllables are vey common,even up to 20 syllables can easely be made.I could give some examples, but I better leave that.If one likes to look for them one may find some in volume III under legends and fairy tales. Or he may find such forms in the Grammar and/or dictionary.

I want also to mention, that in a living language people often like to express themselves picturesquely.

So it may happen, that one can understand each single word which has been said, and still does not get the meaning of the sentence at all. To mention only one single example: Ambu kámbe nongwa.Literally that means: The woman ate a banana. But the real meaning is; The widow remarried.

That are only a few very short remarks, but they may give an indication of the complexity and at the same time the richness of the language.

14. The Stone Cult

The stone cult, as it is practised in many tribes of the Chimbu area, especially in the tribes east and south of the Kamanuku, was not practised by the Kamanuku, at least not as far as I am informed. They had the bolum house instead. But the Kamanuku of course knew of this cult. I want to say a few words about these stones and the cult, even if the Kamanuku did not venerate them.

That "stones" were found in all the areas of the highlands of New Guinea, from Kainantu to Mt. Hagen, is well known. They consist of weapons of various kinds, as diverse clubs and cudgels, of mortars and pestels, well decorated and engraved ornaments, kinds of dishes, all of stones, of bird heads at the upper end of pestels, snakes engraved on mortars etc.

Without doubt, at some time people must have made and used them, but the origin of these stones is veiled in mystery and darkness. That they are an indication of a time long ago, perhaps of a time when none of the presently existing people were living in this area, should be without question.

In itself the findings in this area is nothing extraordinary as similar stones are found in other areas too, Finshhafen, Huong-golf peninsula, Azera etc. etc. The difference is that such stones are found in far greater numbers in the highlands than elsewhere and secondly that these stones are worked very skillfully and the ornaments are partly a real piece of art.

Of course there are different opinions about the origin of these stones, but the most one can suggest is not more than hypothetical. - We have also found quite a number of such stones in digging the land, as many other people have before and after us. Even today such stones are still found here and there, for example when roads are build and much ground is moved. At some time, perhaps long ago, these stone have been made and have been used. But did a different population live here at that time? If so then why are no other traces of that found in this area? That clubs were used as weapon, should

also be clear, but for what use were the mortars and pestels? The Kamanuku did not appreciate these stones at all. If such ones were found and one asked them where they came from and who used them, they only shrugged their shoulders.

More than 20 years ago I once collected some of these Stones. Today one sees only a few of them here and there. The stones I collected are in the Museum for Voelkerkunde in Wamburg, Germany. If pictures are wanted of them they can perhaps be supplied by that museum.

Why I mention these stones at all, especially as they are not kept by the Kamanuku, is, that in the area east and south of the Kamanuku (Sinesina, Dom Diga) these stones are used, and a cult has been developed with them and around them. Today this cult does not flourish anymore, But still I want to make a few brief remarks in regard to these stones.

I learned to know about these stones only at the time, when people wanted to become Christians. At that time they intended to destroy these stones or throw them away, I collected a number of them.

I had seen and found such stones before, but I did not know at first that they were venerated, Now I learned that all these stones were kept in special houses and venerated. All these stones used in this secret cult were either male or female stones. Had the stones a concave rounding, then they were female, the convex roundings indicated males. Some of them were in form of a penis. Some of these stones were just crude stones found in the rivers, perhaps of a peculiar shape, but were natural stones, washed to their shapes by the water in the rivers. Others were very skillfully worked. Clubs one found in different sizes and shape, some like disks, others like pineapple or star clubs etc.

I have tried at different times and occasions to find out if the people had any notion where the stones came from, but the only answers were: "We don't know". But the people always asserted, that no human being could have made them, but that they were supernatural, in other words that they were made by the spirits and had been brought down to the earth in some way or the other.

The people who had the stone cult believed that these stones were loaded with, or full of, magic power. They built small houses for these stones and mostly such small houses were constantly guarded by old and very old people. These small houses were built at such places or in the vicinity thereof, where the pig festivals were celebrated. At one end of such a place, they could be found. Women and children were not permitted to enter such houses, also common people had no right of entrance, and **strangers** were not permitted to go into the houses.

In times of sickness and in times of war people went to these stones and asked for help. They were then greased with pig fat and painted with various paints. In sickness they expected that the magic power which rested in these stones, would help them to get better. If they wanted to go to a fight, they brought their arrows and touched the stones with the points of the arrows. By doing that they thought some of the magic power would be transferred into the arrows, so they would hit and cause wounds, that the enemy would die. The stones were treated with great reverence. Each group, or at least each tribe, had some of such stones.

With that I like to close this monograph.

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