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The Notion of Collective Dignity among Hubula in Palim Valley, Papua

Yulia Sugandi

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Contents

Abstract

The central focus of this dissertation is the conceptual construction and valorization of the collective social identity of the Hubula, the indigenous people living in the Palim valley of Papua (also known as the Dani). It explores how this identity is expressed in ritual actions, and in the production and exchange of cultural artifacts, and looks at the way in which the Indonesian State and the Roman Catholic Church have impacted upon and transformed it. The ethnographic data presented documents the resilience of the Hubula in their encounter with modern institutions, including the impact of an encroaching market economy on the local forms of livelihood and resources, and pressure to more fully integrate into the Indonesian state which involves the subordination of the Hubula's own forms authority and leadership to the political institutions of the Indonesian State. The dissertation points out the importance of including the ontological basis of Hubula social structure in the cultures of intervention and cultural policies in order to come to a dignified social change.

Zusammenfassung

Der zentrale Fokus dieser Dissertation liegt auf der konzeptionellen Konstruktion und Aufwertung der kollektiven sozialen Identität der Hubula, dem indigenen Volk im Palim-Tal Papuas, auch bekannt als das Volk der Dani. Sie untersucht, wie diese Identität in rituellen Handlungen sowie in der Herstellung und dem Austausch von kulturellen Gegenständen ausgedrückt wird und betrachtet die Art und Weise, in der der indonesische Staat sowie die römisch-katholische Kirche hierauf Einfluss genommen und zu einer Transformation beigetragen haben. Die präsentierten ethnographischen Daten dokumentieren die Resilienz der Hubula in ihrer Begegnung mit modernen Institutionen, einschließlich der Auswirkungen einer eindringenden Marktwirtschaft auf die lokalen Existenzformen und Ressourcen, sowie des Drucks, sich noch vollständiger in den indonesischen Staat zu integrieren, was eine Unterordnung der eigenen Autoritäts- und Leitungsformen der Hubula unter die Institutionen des indonesischen Staates mit sich bringt. Die Dissertation zeigt die Bedeutung einer Einbeziehung der ontologischen Grundlagen der Sozialstruktur der Hubula in die intervenierenden Kulturen und die Kulturpolitik auf, um zu einem würdevollen sozialen Wandel zu kommen.

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This thesis is dedicated to Hubula and others who strive for a voice in their own futures

Chapter 1
The Theoretical Considerations: Culturally Constructed Economics

> There is a great lie at the heart of modern political economy. We live in self-proclaimed democracies where all are equally free as a universal principle. Yet we must justify granting some people inferior rights; otherwise functional economic inequalities would be threatened. (Hann and Hart 2012: 117)

'The ideal economic man' and development according to formal economics

It is undeniable that economy is one of the essential elements of people's existence. The concept of economy describes how people organize production, consumption, and the circulation of wealth in order to reproduce, whereas the concept of economics refers to a mode of analysis concerned with ideas about the economy (Gregory and Altman 1989: 1-3). Economics defines 'the economic man' as a rational human who exercises choice in order to maximize his profits or total utility in a setting of scarce means. Thus, according to formal economics, the 'ideal economic man' is a profit-oriented individual who is detached from social relations. The rewards or costs of such economizing efforts are calculated through economic analysis, employing universal models. Various contexts with different patterns of livelihood are analysed using these universal models (cf. Gudeman 1986: vii, 29). The study of economics has combined mathematics and logic to create an analytical framework that is much like the theories of natural sciences. 'Comparative statistics have become the leading method in which one statistic equilibrium is compared to another. The assumption of ceteris paribus, meaning „all other things being equal", made the method of comparative statistics possible. In a given two-dimensional space, a number of parameters may change but are held constant for the purpose of the analysis. Formulating testable hypotheses from such a theoretical setting became the main focus of the economic analysis" (Evrensel 1995: 131). These statistical economic models are the main parameters of economic analysis, so that data derived from different socio cultural contexts are made to fit the axioms contained in each of the models. Otherwise, the models could be considered as incorrect. This approach implies the uniformity of being the 'economic man' in any given context, disregarding differing values and

cultural background.

The above formal economic approach is adopted in development policies that focus on the standard mode of living. The idea of 'development' in its modern sense first gained official prominence when it was used in 1949 by United States president Harry S. Truman as part of the rationale for post-war reconstruction of 'underdeveloped' areas of the world, based on the provision of international financial assistance and the transfer of modern technology. As a transitive verb, 'to develop' refers to activities required to bring about change or progress, and is often linked strongly to economic growth. As an adjective, 'developed' implies a standard against which different levels of progress may be compared. It therefore takes on a subjective, judgemental element in the ways in which societies or communities are compared and then positioned at different 'stages' of an evolutionary development schema.

After 1945, in Europe and North America, development was increasingly presented in terms of economic growth and modernity (Lewis 2005: 473-474). Development has been defined as economic growth, modernization, distributive justice, and socio-economic transformation (Mobugunje 1989: 35-50). Development approaches have been dominated by economic and technical thinking. According to Cernea (1996), there are three models of development that are considered as reductionist models of social change: (1) the *econocentric* model of projects (one-sidedly focusing on influencing the economic and financial variables, regarding them as the only ones that matter); (2) the *technocentric* model, which deals with the technological variables of development more or less 'in vitro', disembedded and disembodied from their contextual social fabric; and (3) the *commodocentric* model, which are programs that focus on the commodity, the 'thing', more than on the social actors that produce it.

Cernea (1996: 15-16) argued that development anthropology and sociology must militantly reject such reductionist models or exaggerations, and provide integrated and actionable alternatives. Development is not about commodities. It is not even about new technologies or information highways. It is about people, their institutions, their knowledge, and their forms of social organization.

Modern development and Westernisation against cultural rights

These development models that direct progress through the universal economic models are within the frame of political economy. Robotham (2005: 41, 51) described political economy as characterized by an analytical approach, which treats the economy from the point of view of production rather than from that of distribution, exchange, consumption, or the market. The dominant idea in political economy is the idea of progress derived from the Enlightenment in the form of historical and dialectical materialism; social and cultural reality is not 'constructed' but 'discovered' while in 'social formation' it is social being (economics, politics) that determines social consciousness (culture and ideology), not social consciousness that determines social being.

Most development practices are powered by market forces and models. Ultimately, development is not about capital accumulation, but rather has to do with innovation in the relationships of society (Gudeman 2001: 158). Commercial civilization is a culture of consumption, and commercial ideological systems stress belief in continual economic growth and progress, and characteristically measure 'standard of living' in terms of level of material consumption (Bodley 2002). In this light, material growth is prioritised over the social relations of subjects or development actors.

'Such imposed materialistic progress places development in a non-neutral position. Development strategy is primarily guided by Western economic theory, and the „means" consisting of Western capital combined with Western technology and know how. Progress, of course, is measured in economic terms, and industrialized societies are the model to which weaker economies should aspire. Development, in this view, is essentially a unilineal evolutionary process that can be accelerated through the adoption of Western technology, models and methods. The end point of the process would result in societies that, although perhaps outwardly different in terms of national dress, cuisine, or language, would operate and think largely along Western lines' (Nollan 2002: 45).

Herzfeld (2001) even argued that development takes the specific form of imposing a single, technologically efficient vision of modernity on much of the Third World, which was defined by its subjection to that vision. In short, development was both a symbol and one of the most potent instruments of western hegemony, outwardly defined as assimilation, but practically intended as domi-

nance (Herzfeld 2001: 152). Thus, the progress of any society is defined uniformly by the Western paradigm, disregarding the diversity of cultural backgrounds. Culture, to many development theorists, simply does not matter (Hoben and Heffner, 1991: 25).

However, throughout the world, problems have arisen in the execution of projects, due to inadequate attention being paid to, and a consequent lack of fit with local culture (Kottak 1997: 435). The universal models applied in development policies create gaps in perception between the state and the people. The local community's construction of reality is not always in line with modern parameters of development. For instance, in some research on indigenous peoples in the Pacific it was found that development came from the perspective of the people concerned: realising their own culture on a bigger and better scale than ever before. As a leader of the Kewa of the Southern Highlands told the anthropologist: 'You know what we mean by „development" (Kewa: *'ada' ma 'rekato'*, to raise or awaken the village): building a „house line" (*neada*), a men's house (*tapada*), killing pigs (*gawementa*). This we have done.' This perceptual gap came about due to our relating spiritual relations to the matter-of-fact, while they relate the matter-of-fact to the spiritual (Sahlins 2005: 24-26).

The effects of development on communities still need to be highlighted. Generally speaking, in Southeast Asia cultural complexity is reconceptualised into technical problems for action through planning and management procedures. This places the dominant discourse on development within the terms of a bureaucratic discourse that aims to benefit the donor country instead of the communities in question. The development process is becoming more detached from local communities because it is driven by development agencies and experts that apply the language of the development industry and the donor country rather than understanding the local language and values (cf. Van Esterik 1995: 256-257). This condition is not in line with The Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, adopted by the UN on 8 August 2006, which provides opportunities for indigenous peoples to freely determine how to progress, based on their cultural values and system.

Figure 01: A carnival in the town Wamena, commemorating Indonesia's Independence Day. The poster states 'We village children would like to affluence' (Ind. *kami anak kampung ingin maju*).

Homo economicus and development according to social anthropology

Social anthropologists define *homo economicus* differently from the way that formal economists do. Gregory has argued that the universality of the economics approach means that the theory of 'goods', by definition has no objective empirical basis for distinguishing between different economic systems. Economic activity is a social act whose meaning must be understood with reference to the social relationships between people in historically specific settings (Gregory 1982: 8, 115). Klamer (1996: 46-47) stated 'that all economic analysis is about the effects of changes in the constraints. Rationally this means choosing the optimal option given the preferences and constraints. This would direct our thinking to people actively valuing things and events of the world as they appear to them. Such an activity is fundamentally social and cultural. The function of culture, as many anthropologists have said, is to structure reality, to make coordinated action possible - we need culture in order to know what we do, and how to relate to others'. Economies and economics are based on people's construction of reality.

Following this thought, Gudeman (1986) argued that the central processes of

making a living are culturally modelled, which differ from the economic models, as cultural models are more typical of cultural praxis that comprises the beliefs and practices that constitute a person's world (Gudeman 1986: vii, 28, 4). 'Most economists' models accord a central position to the isolated, individual decision maker, who is connected to others only by the constraints he/she imposes on what can serve as 'means' in his/her utility function. Community identity is made up of connections forged through shared practices and conceptions, such as kinship, friendship, and residence. All these connections situate the person in a composite of relationships, and have a repository of features from others that help define personal identity in relation to that which is shared' (Gudeman 2005: 103).

Economics as a cultural process exposes the local meanings of objects used by people in a certain mode of life. This inherently frees people to model their own economies. Anthropologists elicit and interpret the uniqueness of each, and then locally constructed economic models can be revealed through ethnographic analysis. Gregory and Altman (1989) view social anthropology through ethnography: it is concerned first and foremost with the collection and analysis of primary data; it means direct observation of living people at a selected time and place, as well as the collection of data on their immediate history. Social anthropologists must be theoretically informed, but must also surrender themselves to the experience of fieldwork if new ideas are to be developed. The best ideas have a built-in planned obsolescence; they begin to age at the moment of conception, and are at a rate determined by daily changes in local and world conditions. Anyone engaging in ethnographic fieldwork must surely give this point paramountcy, because it is the *raison d'être* of primary data analysis (Gregory and Altman 1989: 2, 41).

Social anthropologists emphasize culture in their analysis. Kassam (2002) argued that culture represents a fundamental force of social and economic change. The difference in agenda between formal economics and social anthropologists[1] in viewing an inclusive development process is defined by the anthropologists'

[1] Anthropology is a 'systematic field of study or body of knowledge that aims, through experiment, observation, and deduction, to produce reliable explanations of phenomena, with reference to the material and physical world' (*Webster New World Encyclopedia* 1993: 937). Clyde Kluckhohn (1944) called anthropology 'the science of human similarities and differences. Anthropology provides a scientific basis for dealing with the crucial dilemma of the world today: how can people of different appearance, mutually unintelligible languages, and dissimilar ways of life get along peaceably together?' Actually, anthropology may well be the most humanistic of academic fields because of its fundamental respect for human diversity. Anthropologists value local knowledge, diverse worldviews, and alternative philosophies (Kottak 1997:11).

accommodating culture as one of the main elements in it. Anthropologists are concerned about the impact of social change, not only on livelihoods, but on perceptions of the world. Anthropologists are expected to reveal the opulence of multifarious cultures and accentuate local values and knowledge. According to Kottak (1997), realistic development promotes change but not excessive innovation. This means that change should originally be embedded in local structures. Many changes are possible if the aim is to preserve local systems while making them work better. Successful projects respect, or at least do not attack local cultural patterns. Effective development draws on indigenous cultural practices and social structures. Furthermore, Kottak argued that different value systems must be considered during planning, as in a comparative study of sixty-eight development projects from all around the world it was found that culturally compatible economic development projects were twice as successful financially as ones that were incompatible (Kottak 1997: 434-437).

'The valorisation of collective identity from culturally constructed economics is closely linked to the concept of indigenous knowledge, which in the context of development may relate to any knowledge held more or less collectively by a population, informing an understanding of the world. It may pertain to any domain, e.g. natural resource management in current development. It is community based, embedded in, and conditioned by local tradition. It is a culturally informed understanding inculcated into individuals from birth, structuring how they interact with their environment.' (Sillitoe 2002: 9)

The role of such indigenous knowledge as a necessary part of the development process is known as ethnodevelopment. Cosmological order is one of the domains that must be explored within this frame, as posed by Posey; if ethnodevelopment is to be distinguished as an internally, rather than an externally defined praxis, it is vital that its practitioners uphold and retain the 'sacred balance' and 'cosmic connectedness' upon which indigenous knowledge as a whole is found (Kassam 2002: 66-78). Indigenous knowledge can be elicited from local narratives and local practices.

Figure 02: Jibama, the biggest market in Wamena. Female Papuan highlanders display their produce, such as vegetables and fruit, on the ground, while the permanent kiosks selling sundries are managed by non-Papuans.

Figure 03: The family of Damianus Wetapo of the village Hepuba gather at Wamena airport to see off Yerry Wetapo [in the black jacket], the first member of the family to receive a scholarship to study in Java. Education is still a luxury for the majority of the Hubula in the Palim Valley.

Modern non-neutral development policies of the Indonesian state

On the national level, the state mainly plays a role as a responsible development agent. In the context of Indonesia, national development is described by the government as a series of sustainable efforts that cover all aspects of life, of the people, society, and the state, in order to implement the national mission as stated in paragraph four of the preamble of the constitution: to protect the whole nation of Indonesia, to progress in public welfare, and brighten the life of the nation, to participate in maintaining the world order (Indonesian state regulation or UU RI No.17/2007 on national long term development planning or *Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Panjang Nasional* 2005-2025).

In addition to Indonesian as the official language, SIL International has identified at least 742 languages spoken in Indonesia: 737 of these are living languages, 2 are second languages without native speakers, and 3 are extinct (Gordon 2005). Although Indonesia is a highly diverse country that is enriched by hundreds of local cultural values and practices, its culture and uniqueness are not mentioned explicitly as key words in the above-mentioned preamble on development. Based on a 2007 evaluation of regional development, conducted by the national development planning agency together with 28 Indonesian universities, the problems related to development are: economic, social, infrastructure, natural resources, and environmental as well as other special concerns (Indonesian State Secretary 2008: Chapter 3).[2] Put local values into practice is considered to be one of the significant foundations of social ethics aiming to strengthen national identity.

Nevertheless, in the same document promoting modernisation is stipulated in the cultural section to be part of the Indonesian government's development policies, and the principles of formal economics, based on the modern paradigm, are applied when 'developing' rural areas. Until March 2006, the majority of poor people, which comprised 63,41% of the population of Indonesia lived in rural areas (Official Statistic News 2006).[3] The aim of revitalising rural development in

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[2] National documents, Indonesian State Secretary, 15 August 2008: *Bab 3: Pengembangan kebudayaan yang berlandaskan pada nilai-nilai luhur, Lampiran pidato kenegaraan Presiden Republik Indonesia serta keterangan pemerintah atas RUU tentang APBN tahun 2009 beserta nota keuangannya di depan rapat paripurna DPR RI, 15 Agustus 2008, Sekneg RI.*

[3] Official Statistic News, No.47/IX/ 1 September 2006, *Tingkat kemiskinan di Indonesia tahun 2005-2006*, http://www.bps.go.id/releases/files/kemiskinan-01sep06.pdf. The World Bank categorizes 'poor' as earning less than two US Dollars per day. Of these families 40% are

Indonesia as defined by the national development planning agency (*Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional* or Bappenas) is to improve the people's livelihood and welfare through increased income, enduring help in coping with increased urbanisation, upgrading agricultural production, and reducing social upheavals.[4] The Indonesian State Secretariat (2008: chapter 25)[5] affirmed that in order to increase welfare and reduce poverty, rural development is directed toward accelerating the alleviation of poverty, economic development, affirming social institutions and culture, and making use of 'appropriate technology' (*teknologi tepat guna*).

In the province of Papua, the enactment of UU[6] No.21/year 2001 concerning Special Autonomy (*Otonomi Khusus* or Otsus) for the province aimed to improve public services, accelerate development, and empower the population of the province, particularly indigenous Papuans. This policy is expected to improve community living standards in Papua, minimize economic disparities between Papua and other provinces in Indonesia, as well as provide opportunities for indigenous Papuans to benefit from progress made in Papua, both as actors in and beneficiaries of the development process. Under the above-mentioned regulation, the government committed itself to protect indigenous Papuans' rights, which ultimately meant that local cultures and values are to be taken into account in the formulation of development policies for Papua, and that indigenous Papuans be empowered accordingly. This calls for a sustainable long-term program that enables indigenous Papuans to define and share the progress made in their land.

The full government's commitment through the Special Autonomy regulation for Papua is as follows: (1) to respect human rights, religious values, democracy, legal and cultural values existing within the *adat*[7] community; (2) to honour the

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not able to send their children to secondary school. See also: http://www.tempointeraktif.com/hg/ekbis/2006/12/18/brk,20061218-89656,id.html

4 Official website of national institute on development planning, *Revitalisasi Pembangunan Perdesaan untuk Mendukung Penanggulangan Kemiskinan,* http://www.bappenas.go.id/modules.php?op=modload&name=News&file=article&sid=314

5 National documents, Indonesian Sate Secretariat,15 August 2008.*Bab 25: Pembangunan perdesaan, Lampiran pidato kenegaraan Presiden Republik Indonesia serta keterangan pemerintah atas RUU tentang APBN tahun 2009 beserta nota keuangannya di depan rapat paripurna DPR RI, 15 Agustus 2008, Sekneg RI.*

6 *Undang-undang*: laws, ordinances.

7 This refers to customs or culture practises of each ethnic group, and comprises knowledge, behaviour, rules, laws, and systems to explain and regulate both individual and collective life in *adat* communities.

variety and diversity of social and cultural life in the Papuan community; (3) to protect and respect ethics and morals; (4) to protect the fundamental and human rights of the indigenous inhabitants; (5) to ensure the supremacy of law; (6) to maintain democracy; (7) to respect pluralism; and (8) to resolve problems related to the violation of human rights against indigenous inhabitants of Papua (Sugandi 2008).

Nevertheless, local economic and socio-cultural grievances still persist in the post-Special Autonomy era. A lack of respect for Papua's unique culture, in addition to economic injustice, and an unfair distribution of state revenues, are some of the major obstacles to bringing about a genuine reconciliation. The modern development paradigm, with its focus on growth and modern lifestyles, has been introduced as a rigid standard against which the level of civilization of a local community is measured. Such a rigid modern paradigm sees the indigenous people as targets rather than as active actors in development. Current developments, including the 'proliferation of administrative regions' (Ind. *kebijakan pemekaran wilayah*), show that state political structures do not always correspond to the cultural mapping of Papua. For instance, the Kurima District, located in Wamena, which used to be part of the Jayawijaya Regency, following division became part of the Yahukimo Regency. This division is not compatible with the local cultural map, in which Kurima is part of Hubula in the Palim Valley in the Jayawijaya Regency. These grievances add to the feeling of indigenous Papuans, including the Hubula, that they are being treated as 'objects' rather than 'subjects' in the process of social change. The homogenising approach of 'Westernisation' used in modern development generally, makes a perception of 'progress' in society the major indicator. The island of Java is seen as the main barometer of 'modern progress' in Indonesia. Thus, rather than being neutral, the development policies applied in Wamena (Papua) import knowledge and skills from Java, leading to 'Javanisation.' Based on their analysis of rural development in Wamena in 1996, the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (*Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia* or LIPI) made some recommendations that underline modernisation. Wamena was considered to be 'backward' area that needed to progress in terms of modern technology and economics. Instead of focusing on indigenous logic and making a deep study of cultural values and practices, modern media events, such as cultural festivals, were viewed as a solution to the problem of maintaining Hubula identity. Although the government's approach to revitalising rural development should ideally be neutral and applicable in any context in Indonesia, the development program applied in

Wamena prioritised Javanese technology, including an emphasis on growing rice (Susanto-Sunario 1996).

The transformation of tradition and collective identity building in the process of social change

Development may be seen as an encounter between local tradition and modernization brought in from outside. Sahlins (2005: 34-35) stated that 'tradition' is not static in this way and opposed to 'modernity'. In recent times, 'traditional' has most apparently referred to a mode of cultural change that is characteristic of the expanding periphery of the capitalist global order. In this sense, local tradition has continuously interacted with the process of globalisation and its modern values and practices. Further insight comes from Gregory's (1982: 115-116) research in Papua New Guinea (PNG): the paradox is that the so-called gift economy and commodity economy are growing together. More generally, he writes,

> 'the indigenous economy has not died out with the advent of political and economic development but has „effloresced." The way we perceive the 'traditional' is as something authentically belonging only to the past, an unchanging legacy, which in the present has the status of a cultural 'survival'. But tradition is not the dead hand of the past. On the contrary, it is precisely the way the people always cope with circumstances not of their making and beyond their control, whether these are acts of nature or of other people. Hence, tradition has changed in the past, and, by encompassing the goods and relations of the market in its own terms, it will continue to do so'.

The above transformation of 'tradition' plays a significant role in shaping the collective identity of a community in the processs of social change. Some academics stress that the circulation of concepts of development and modernity in Third World settings are used and transformed in the process of negotiating identities (Herzfeld 2001: 160). Gudeman (2001: 159) affirms that the sharing of 'the substance of the goods' within the economy process determines the identity and values of the community. Thus, it is necessary to understand the above process of transformation in order to explore culturally compatible processes of social change that truly accommodate local needs, knowledge, and values. This is especially true in an area such as the Palim Valley in Papua that has had modern development imposed upon it.

Ethnographic field research in the Palim Valley has heavily focused on eliciting the indigenous logic in the peoples' mode of life, aiming to explore the abovementioned processes of transformation, and understanding the locally constructed economics that underlie the Hubula's collective identity. Gregory and Altman

(1989: 2) argue that the people an ethnographer studies are not an invisible isolate, but a very small part of the global population. The transformational processes of collective identity of the Hubula in the Palim Valley are intertwined with other external institutions. The Hubula's forms of social life, their mythical, ritual, and cosmological foundations, and their intricate systems of ceremonial exchange are subject to various forms of intervention. My central themes in this dissertation are concerned with how the Hubula conceptually construct and valorise their collective social identity; how they express this in ritual action and in the production and exchange of cultural artefacts; how the representatives of the Indonesian government, the market economy, and the Roman Catholic church have impacted upon local forms of livelihood and their resources, as well as transforming this collective identity.

Chapter 2
Sociography

Tanah Papua tanah yang kaya. Surga kecil jatuh ke bumi
Seluas tanah sebanyak batu. Adalah harta harapan
Tanah Papua tanah leluhur. Di sana aku lahir
Bersama angin bersama daun. Aku dibesarkan
Hitam kulit keriting rambut. Aku Papua

The land of Papua is a rich land. A small paradise dropped to earth.
As broad as the land, as many as the rocks are the treasures of hope.
The land of Papua, ancestral land. There I was born
Along with the wind and the leaves. I was raised
Black of skin and [with] curly hair. I am a Papuan
(Sahilatua 2011)[8]

The land, people and countryside

The total area of Papua is 421,981 km^2[9] and topographically consists of a mountainous area in the centre and large areas of swampy coast land. The province is bordered by the Halmahera Sea and the Pacific Ocean to the north, the Arafura Sea and Australia to the south, Papua New Guinea to the east, and the Seram Sea, the Banda Sea and Maluku to the west. The total population of Papua is about 2,576,822 people, only about 1% of the population of Indonesia. 70% of the Papuans live in villages and remote mountainous areas in the centre. The indigenous population, with a rich cultural heritage, is estimated to be around 66% of the total population (Sugandi 2008).

Jayawijaya regency occupies about 15,440 square kilometres, or 12,6% of the total area of Papua, which lies between a longitude of 137-141 degrees east and a latitude of 03-05 degrees south. Jayawijaya is covered by 1.484.700 hectares of forests. It has a high level of humidity, a tropical, wet climate with temperatures that range between 12 and 28 degrees Celsius, and a rainfall of about 1.500 to 7.000 millimetres per year, with an average of 192 days of rain per year. It is a mountainous area with heights up to 5,000 metres above sea level and is sur-

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8 Cited from the popular song *Aku Papua* written by Franky Sahilatua and sung by the Papuan singer, Edo Kondologit. The song speaks of Papuan identity and the impoverishment in its rich land.
http://www.tempo.co/read/news/2011/11/02/125364445/Suara-Kemiskinan-Papua-dan-Curhat-Edo-Kondolangit

9 This is 3,5 times the size of Java.

rounded by three peaks: the Trikora (4,750 metres), the Yalmn (4, 595 metres) and the Mandala (4,700 metres). Since 1909 the natural wealth and variety of this mountainous area has attracted many western explorers.[10] 80% of the land is located on mountain slopes and is potentially subject to landslides, but it is fertile and is used for agriculture. The Palim Valley is about 45 kilometres long and 15 kilometres wide along the Palim River, the main river flowing between the hills. Nowadays, the natural beauty of the Palim Valley with its many hiking trails has made it a favoured international tourist destination.

According to the census of 2000; the highest population density is in the highland area of Jayawijaya Regency with 320,890 people (Government of Jayawijaya Regency, Regional Planning: 2006), but until 2005 it had the lowest Human Development Index (HDI) [47,6] in Papua, while the highest Human Development Index was found in Jayapura, the capital city of Papua [72.1] (Government of Papua Province, Centre of Statistic Agency: 2008).

My research area, the *kampung*[11] (settlement) Hepuba, is located in the southern part of the Palim Valley and is surrounded by forest and savanna, as well as both forested and limestone hills. Using public transport along the main road from Wamena (cars and motorcycles), Hepuba can be reached in about 25 minutes. Essential goods like gasoline are flown into Wamena from Jayapura on army Hercules planes. Local transportation consists of medium sized public vehicles (*taksi*)[12] that seat twelve or more persons and their baggage, usually natural products and animals. These *taksi* are always very full, and one should expect to wait for some time until one is fully loaded. A one-way trip with one of these vehicles from Wamena to Hepuba costs 5,000 *Rupiahs*.[13] Making the same trip by public motorcycle (*ojek*) costs 20,000 *Rupiahs* per person. This last fare is considered high by the Hubula, who are mainly farmers. Throughout Jayawijaya, only paper money is accepted, the smallest being the 1,000 *Rupiah* note. Coins, with

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10 Some of the earlier explorers were M.A. Lorentz (1909), Franssen-Herderschee (1913), De Bruyn (1911-1912), Kremer (1920, 1921), Richard Archbold (1938-1939). See Lieshout (2008).

11 A *kampung* here is a settlement or sub-village. The word, however, often refers to a village as well.

12 Although the local term is taxi *(taksi)*, this should not be confused with the common understanding of what a taxi is. Rather than catering to one or a small group of passengers, these vehicles accommodate many people who are not necessarily traveling as a group. It is not, however, a kind of mini bus. See figure 07.

13 The currency used in Papua is the Indonesian *Rupiah*. In 2013 one Euro was equivalent to about 14,000 *Rupiahs*.

values of 100, 500, and 1,000 *Rupiahs* are not accepted.

The village Hepuba is rich in natural resources. It is located near the Palim Valley's main river, which provides the people with crayfish. There are also several other small rivers, clear streams that run through the village, and are used for various necessities. In addition, there is a spring in Hepuba that supplies urban visitors with fresh water, especially during the dry season. Fresh water is essential as all of Jayawijaya relies solely on rainwater for its daily needs. Some shops in the centre of Wamena sell bottled drinking water, but this is very expensive, as it must be flown in from Jayapura.

In addition to various vegetables, Hepuba's fertile soil is planted with sweet potatoes (*Ipoema batatas hipere* or *hepuru*) and taro (*Alocasia sp hom*), which are indigenous highlanders' staple foods. In 2006, the Jayawijaya regency produced 127,519 tonnes of sweet potatoes, nearly 43% of the total production (290, 430 tonnes) in Papua, with 12,794 hectares of a total acreage of 29,168 hectares being dedicated to sweet potatoes.[14] Sweet potatoes are considered the highlanders' „fuel" (cf. Butt 1998). According to Peters (2001) archaeological and paleontological evidence suggests people have lived in the New Guinea highlands for as long as 30,000 years, and that they have practiced agriculture for about 2,000 years, raising and breeding Asian pigs for half that time. Sweet potatoes, however, were introduced from South America only in the past 300 years or so (Peters 2001: 4).

With the influx of Indonesian migrants after Papua (then Irian Jaya) was ceded to Indonesia in 1967, rice became the preferred staple, this being seen as a luxury food. Although the Dutch had introduced rice in Papua, the Indonesian authorities did so again. As Aditjondro (1982: 63-67) points out, this led to cultural conflicts because rice is not a Papua staple. These included an attempt in 1982 to resettle half a million rice-farmers from Java and Bali, in order to change the province into the nation's rice barn. By 2007, one kilogram of the lowest quality rice was three times as expensive as a kilogram of the best quality sweet potatoes. The fast growth of rice fields in the 1990s, which constrained and replaced the sweet potato gardens, alarmed Hubula's elders, to whom sweet potatoes were not only a staple food but also an important element in rituals.

Moreover, the expansion of the rice fields was considered a threat to the people's pigs (*wam*), which are valued as highly as sweet potatoes (Deritana *et al.* 2000:

[14] Official website of the Provincial Government of Papua: http://www.papua.go.id/

10-11).[15] This was in addition to the significant decrease in the number of pigs in Papua in general, and particularly in the highlands, which was caused by hog cholera epidemic that had begun in 2004 - 2005.[16]

In 2006 the population of inhabitants of Asolokobal district numbered 10,875 persons, comprising 3,519 family units with an average of 3,09 persons per family (Institute on Regional Planning, Jayawijaya Regency: 2006). In the past couple of years physical mobility in Hubula has increased, including in Hepuba. There are various reasons that the Hubula migrate, the most important of which is a desire to find better paying employment in the informal sector. To achieve this the people of Hubula, mostly from villages surrounding the Palim Valley, migrate to Wamena, the nearest and largest town in the Jayawijaya regency. Other destinations are the Puncak Jaya regency (where the cost of living is higher than in Wamena) or the mining area (e.g. Freeport in Timika) and Papua's capital Jayapura, where they work as labourers or craftsmen. Especially in Jayapura, many Hubula women become small-scale vegetable and fruit sellers, displaying their wares on the sidewalk or in the road next to the market.

A second reason, especially for the young, is enrolment in schools or universities elsewhere in Indonesia, mostly in Java. Nevertheless, there has been a significant increase in the number of students in Wamena, reaching 400 in April 2008 (*Suara Pembaharuan*, 21 April 2008). This increased physical mobility in Hepuba, covering both urbanization and migration, does not always show clearly in the secondary statistical data, so that one cannot really rely on official demographic data.

The Hubula in Hepuba are mostly farmers, whose women market the produce, usually first thing in the morning. These women carry their wares on their heads in traditional net bags (*su* or *noken*), and walk to the nearest market in Wamena where the public transportation terminal serving Hepuba is located. This market is called the Missionary market (*pasar Misi*) as it is located near the Catholic diocese and missionary area. While there is electricity in the market, it has not reached nearby Hepuba, and people rely on flashlights, kerosene lanterns, or a wood-burning fur-

[15] A second point of friction between the Papuans and the immigrants was an attempt to get the former to give up their pigs, as these animals are considered taboo (*haram*) by the Muslim immigrants (Aditjondro 1982: 63-67).

[16] This epidemic killed thousands of pigs throughout Papua, especially in the highlands (*Jakarta Post*, 20 July 2004 and 10 February 2006). Hog cholera is still feared today as hundreds of kilos of pork had to be incinerated as they were suspected of being infected with the dangerous hog cholera virus (*Cenderawasih* Pos, 25 September 2008).

nace. Like other villagers in the Palim Valley, some Hubula in Hepuba own electronic equipment like battery operated radios and mobile phones whose batteries must be recharged in Wamena.

Unlike the neighbouring villages Megapura and Hitigima, which have natural sites open to the public, and where one can hike, Hepuba is not considered a tourist destination, and there are no tourist facilities there. Despite the fact that there has been no investment in ecotourism, a Christian based non-governmental organization has invested in informal education through a program called the 'traditional hut for learning' (Ind. *honai belajar*), which offers an irregular after-school program for children and teenagers. This program only covers cultural performances, including such things as dances, songs, and traditional children's games.

The Hubula who live in Hepuba are members of the Roman Catholic Church. This is unique as Hepuba is located between the villages Megapura and Hitigima, which have completely different religious affiliations. The first is a multicultural village of Papuans and non-Papuans with various religious affiliations, including Protestants, Catholics, and Moslems: Megapura even has a mosque. In Hitigima there are very few Catholic or Moslem Hubula, its residents mainly adhering to the Kingmi church, which strictly prohibits indigenous practices and beliefs.

These differing religious affiliations came about due to historical factors. Megapura was one of the areas chosen for the resettlement of Indonesian migrants. It was considered more accessible, being closest to Wamena. In the village Hitigima, on the other hand, missionaries from CAMA (Christian and Missionary Alliance) in 1954 started the Kingmi church, while Franciscan missionaries founded the first Catholic Church in Wesaima in the Palim Valley in 1958 and subsequently came to Hepuba (Lieshout 2008). Hepuba is one of nine Catholic parishes (Ind. *paroki*) in the Jayawijaya regency. Each of the parishes manages a number of 'small religious groups' *(*Ind. *kring)* that comprise some 'family units' (*ukul oak*). In addition to a Catholic priest in the parish of Hepuba, there are some church helpers called 'conveyors of the news' (*wenewolok*) who are recruited from the local community, and are trained by the Church to manage the *kring*.

Figure 04: The southern Palim Valley seen from the top of the hill. The Palim River can be seen in the distance.

Figure 05: The Palim River provides fresh water lobsters that are popular with tourists, and are an expensive dish in restaurants in Wamena.

Figure 06: *Mamak* Betty Asso of the village Hepuba returning from the garden carrying vegetables and sweet potatoes in a traditional net bag (*su* or *noken*) on her head. She often walks the hilly road from Hepuba to the nearest market in Wamena (about 8 kilometres) to sell her wares.

Figure 07: Passengers in a public vehicle that daily transports people and goods between the 'missionary' market in Wamena and Hepuba. One should expect to be cramped and to have to wait a while until the old smoky car is fully loaded. Nevertheless, this mode of travel is still considered a luxury.

The linguistic situation

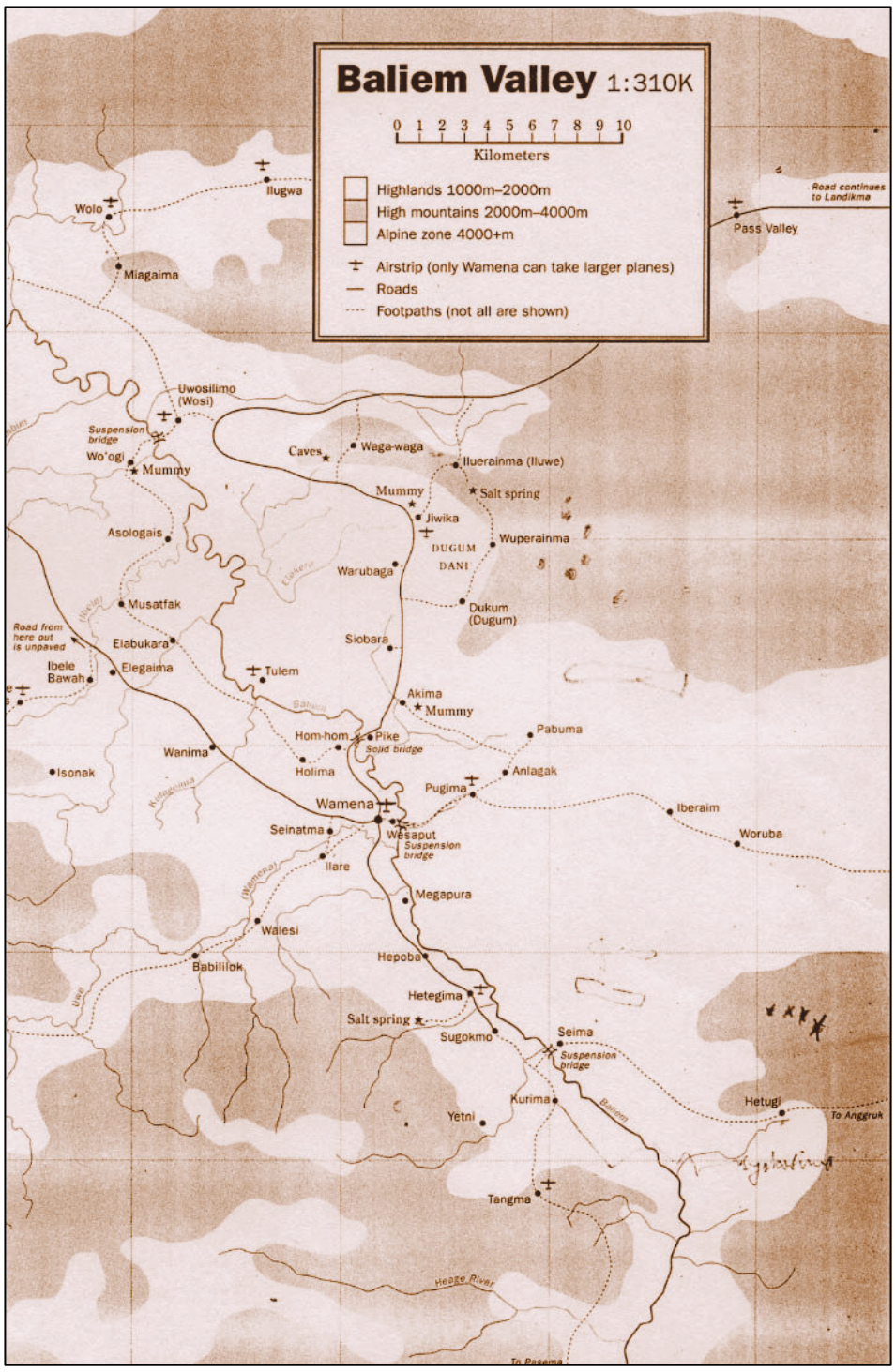
As was mentioned earlier, there are 271 languages listed for Papua of which 269 are living languages, and two are second languages without native speakers (Gordon 2005). As described by Gordon (2005), the Palim Valley is divided into three language families; upper Grand Valley Dani, middle Grand Valley Dani, and lower Grand Valley Dani. In Hepuba lower Grand Valley Dani is spoken, though there are influences of lower Grand Valley Hitigima. Based on the language classification mapping, lower Grand Valley Dani is spoken from Kurima in the southern part of the Palim Valley to Tulem, which literally means the centre. Mid Grand Valley Dani is found in the central Palim Valley and the surrounding Tulem area. Upper Grand Valley Dani, on the other hand, is spoken in the area beyond Tulem. Toward the border of upper Grand Valley Dani, Bolakme is spoken while the language in Bokondini, a village after Bolakme, is already classified as Western Dani.

This language classification, separating Grand Valley Dani from Kurima to Bolakme, parallels the Hubula's territorial designation as 'people of the valley' (Ind. *orang lembah*), who are considered as part of 'the people of Palim' (*akhuni Palim meke*). The language spoken in Hepuba, as in other areas in the Palim Valley, has been influenced by exposure to other languages, brought in by various outside agents such as representatives of the Dutch government, missionaries, and Indonesian migrants. The Dutch government and missionaries were present in the Palim Valley in the 1950s, while the influx of Indonesian migrants came after the 1960s.[17] The parental and grand-parental generations of Hubula find it difficult to communicate in *bahasa* Indonesia, the Indonesian national language. In addition to speaking Hubula in daily life, all *adat* (customary) rituals are conducted in that language. Indonesian is used in schools, for public services, in government offices, and in non-governmental organizations and multi-ethnic situations.

The choice of language is determined by the pattern of interaction between the Hubula and other ethnic groups. For instance, Hubula speak Hubula amongst themselves, ignoring the context of e.g. a government office. While trading in the market Hubula use Indonesian when speaking with other ethnic groups, but speak Hubula when dealing with other Hubula speakers. The mass in the church is deliv-

[17] Some new terms of address and kinship terms that have gained currency due to the above encounters are described in the chapter on kinship.

ered in Indonesian as well, except when Frans Lieshout[18] officiates. He delivers his sermons in Hubula.



Source: tourist map, Palim Valley

[18] Frans Lieshout is a senior Dutch Catholic missionary who has lived in Papua since 1964 and has been an Indonesian citizen since 1980.

Figure 08: Demonstration in Wamena on 10 December 2007 in support of newly formed regencies that resulted from the proliferation of administrative regions. The banner reads 'Thanks to the head of Jayawijaya region for his struggle for 4 new regencies-Yalimo'. The main argument in support of the proliferation of administrative regions in Papua is increased access to public services.

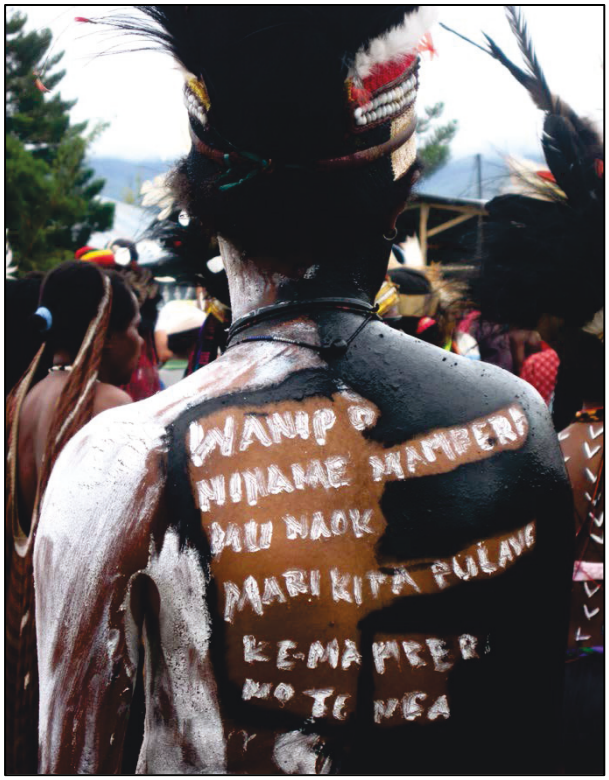


Figure 09: A highland woman expressed her support for the newly formed regency, Memberamo Tengah, which used to be part of the Jayawiya regency. The proliferation of administrative regions has increased the fragmentation among ethnic groups as *putra daerah*, local people belonging to a single ethnic group, are prioritised in obtaining local governmental bureaucratic positions.

Figure 10: The official opening of Asolokobal's new district office on 20 June 2007. Over 20 pigs were sacrificed, which is considered a small number for such an important public event. The scarcity of pigs has hampered Hubula's rituals or even caused their discontinuation.

The state political structure

State Regulation (*Undang-undang*) No.21/year 2001 concerning 'Special Autonomy' (*Otonomi Khusus* or Otsus) for the Province Papua inherently supports regional autonomy or decentralization of local government in Papua in the management of resources in the course of development. Since then, the above regulation has led to a proliferation of administrative regions or 'regional division policies' (Ind. *kebijakan pemekaran daerah*), initiated by both the national government in the capital Jakarta, and by the local government in Papua, which divided Papua into two Provinces: Papua and Irian Jaya Barat. Moreover, this policy of dividing regions has triggered similar actions at lower levels, leading to the creation of new regencies and districts, and to increased competition for local resources and political positions.

Furthermore, demographic data provided by local governments is unreliable as it is sometimes keyed to obtaining development funds rather than to demographic reality. This poses a challenge to researchers trying to obtain solid basic secondary data. Thus, the following demographic data should be constantly updated. Before 2002, the Jayawijaya regency, where this study was carried out, covered almost all

of Central Mountainous Papua (*Pegunungan Tengah Papua*). Then, as a result of the split-up of Jayawijaya, new regencies were founded: Tolikara, Yahukimo, and Pegunungan Bintang. Based on data provided by the regional government of Jayawijaya, this regency, with Wamena as its capital, was in 2006 made up of 376 villages in 39 districts. Since June 2008, more new regencies were created by carving up both the Jayawijaya and Puncak Jaya regencies: Dogiyai, Kabupaten Puncak, Yalimo, Lani Jaya, Mamberamo Tengah and Nduga (*Cenderawasih Pos*, 20 June 2008).

In the 2005 census Jayawijaya was the most densely populated area in Papua and had the highest level of poverty.[19] The total population of Jayawijaya is 320,890 persons, 75% of whom are farmers living in the villages. This population is made up of 82,236 family units from various ethnic backgrounds, including Western Dani, Hubula, Yali, Nduga and non-Papuan ethnic groups from elsewhere in Indonesia (Institute on regional Planning Jayawijaya Regency 2006).

The inconsistency of data provided by different governmental institutions is another problem when collecting secondary data. For instance, various sources list different ethnic groups as living in the Jayawijaya regency. Thus the official website of the Provincial Government of Papua lists the Nduga, Walak and Hugula,[20] while the central office of statistics (*Badan Pusat Statistik*) does not mention either the Hubula or Hugula as a single ethnic group, but does consider Dani and Ndani to be an ethnic cluster, and Nduga, Ndugwa and Dauwa as another.[21]

The village Hepuba is located in the Asolokobal district, which was founded in 2006. This district is located in the southern part of the Palim Valley and covers 246 square kilometres. Asolokobal's district head was appointed in 2007 when the district office was built and officially opened. Similar to elsewhere in Papua, the new district head is a former schoolteacher.

The office of district head is a key position. In most of the cases, it is the jumping off position for a promotion to head of a department or a higher post. The proliferation of administrative regions led many schoolteachers to quit their jobs in order to become district heads. These functionaries are selected based on applications submitted to the government office in the Jayawijaya regency. Several staff members, who are also government employees, assist the head of a district.

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19 http://www.papua.go.id/bps/
20 http://www.papua.go.id/
21 http://www.papua.go.id/

The head of the Asolokobal district resides in Wamena together with other district heads in housing provided by regional government. Thus, this district head daily commutes between Wamena and Asolokobal to do his job. The district office was built by the regional government, which also covers all of its operational costs. Near it stands a new public health centre (Ind. *pusat kesehatan masyarakat* or Puskesmas). This health centre is occasionally visited by a doctor without an official position, usually a new graduate whose job status has not been officially confirmed (Ind. *Pegawai Tidak Tetap* or PTT).

Because Asolokobal is a new district it does not yet have a military post (Ind. *komandan rayon militer* or koramil) or a police station (Ind. *kepolisian sektor* or polsek), which are usually included among a district's decision makers, members of the 'leading committee of the district' (Ind. *Musyawarah Pimpinan Kecamatan* or Muspika). The security forces are not only part of the decision making body, but gather information that is considered necessary for the security of the local community (cf. Sebastian 2006: 94). These officers are called 'non-commissioned village guidance officers' (Ind. *Bintara Pembina Desa* or Babinsa) and 'non-commissioned community guidance officers' (Ind. *Bintara Pembina Masyarakat* or Babinmas). Both these positions are part of the intelligence apparatus, a section of the state security forces; the first belongs to the army, whereas the second is part of the police structure.

Although there is as yet no military or police office in the Asolokobal district, there is a medium-sized military post at the border between the Asolokobal district and Wamena. The reason for this military post is the increased emphasis on security after the big riots in 2001 in Wamena, known as the tragedy of Wamena. There are also a military post and police station on the other side of the border with Kurima, where an incident took place in 2007 concerning the persecution of a local Papuan by a member of the military. Thus, the Asolokobal district is located between two areas with a high emphasis on security.

There are two public schools in the Asolokobal district: an elementary school and a secondary school. In addition to these formal schools, literacy courses (Ind. *kursus melek huruf*) are offered at the elementary school in Hepuba, which are attended by a few adult Hubula women. Youths wishing to pursue a higher education, including secondary school, must go to Wamena.

Hepuba is one of nine villages in the Asolokobal district. Each village is led by an elected village head (Ind. *kepala desa*), who is chosen every five years and is a member of government without a structural position (Ind. *jabatan non-struktural*).

This implies that the position of village head is not a clearly defined part of the government hierarchy. It also means that such position does not offer preferment. The village head's wages and those of his or her staff are paid by the government. The village forum (Ind. *Badan Permusyawaratan Desa* or Bamusda), which is made up of representatives from neighbourhood groupings (Ind. *Rukun Tetangga/Rukun Warga* or RW/RT) and community leaders involved in monitoring of the village program, does not exist in Hepuba. In the context of Papua, the village has an important role in the workings of the village strategic development program *Respek* (Ind. *Rencana Strategis Pembangunan Kampung*), which is targeted directly at Papuans at the grass roots level. Under this program, villages throughout Papua are allocated a sizable amount of money through grant schemes to be used for specific purposes. The regional government hires facilitators to help the village heads together with the villagers in designing a development program for the village. This program must be approved by all the villagers and be signed by two additional representatives from both the village's customary (Ind. *adat*) and religious communities.

Chapter 3
Entering the Field Site

Eyuu…Leget misalaga yire

„Goodness…Our fences have been taken apart"

The journey to the research

I have been familiar with local grievances related to socio cultural economic differences both between Papuans and non-Papuans and among Papuans themselves since the beginning of my acquaintance with the province of Papua in the early 2000s. There are over 250 small scale 'traditional' societies distributed across the island that have so far not seen any significant change in their human security level (Sugandi 2008).[22] Although there is Freeport Indonesia's Grasberg copper and gold mine,[23] and Papua has the fourth highest GDP per capita in Indonesia, amounting to more than 11 million *Rupiahs*, mostly from industries exploiting its natural resources, Papua has a high index of poverty. Data provided for direct cash subsidies paid to economically disadvantaged people (Ind. *Subsidi Langsung Tunai* or SLT) in March 2006 indicated that 45.43% or almost half of the population on the entire island of Papua can be classified as poor (Sugandi 2008). The Government regulation (Ind. *Undang-Undang* or UU) No. 21/2001 on Special Autonomy (Ind. *Otonomi Khusus* or Otsus) for Papua highlighted some vital considerations on how to cope with Papua's problems, including protecting of the rights of the indigenous people, and the reduction of existing horizontal inequalities between Papua and the rest of Indonesia. This policy was expected to improve community living standards in Papua, and minimize the disparity between Papua and other provinces within Indonesia. It was also hoped that it would create opportunities for the indigenous population to benefit from progress in Papua, both as actors and as beneficiaries of the development process. Despite the fact

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22 The low human security level means that these traditional societies have low access to basic rights as described in the elements of human security. UNDP identifies nine dimensions of human security, which are a reflection of both the various causes of human insecurity and the human development agenda. These are 1) economic security, 2) financial security, 3) food security, 4) health security, 5) environmental security, 6) personal security, 7) gender security, 8) community security and 9) political security.

23 This is the largest business enterprise in Papua with estimated gross revenues approximating 1.7 billion US dollars per year.

that Special Autonomy was intended to improve public services and ensure access to basic rights, local people still maintain that e.g. the quality of public health services is below the required standard, or has even decreased. No significant change has taken place in the field of human resources. According to the Indonesian Human Development Report of 2004, at 74.4% Papua has the lowest level of adult literacy (Sugandi 2008). Papuans continue to have the least access to basic provision. According to the 2000 census, 30% of the population lives in the Papua's urban centres. Of these 55% are non-Papuans and 45% are Papuans. Conversely, 70% of the population of Papua lives in villages or remote areas, of which 95% are Papuans (Sugandi 2008).

Knowing that I worked in one of the richest areas with the lowest human development index and the highest poverty index in Indonesia, I wanted to further explore the processes of rural social change. I therefore left my job as Programme Analyst with UNDP Papua and began my PhD research.

Grievances and Papuan highlanders

Relations between agents of the Indonesian government and Papuan societies have a long history of conflict. As early as the Indonesian Proclamation of Independence in 1945, the Dutch government separated the Papua region from the Dutch East Indies in order to prepare Papua and its population for a government of their own, not connected with the Dutch. During the execution of the 10-year development plan, drawn up by the Dutch in 1950, UNTEA (United Nations Temporary Administration) was in charge of the transition. On 1 December 1961, as a preparatory move toward independence, the Dutch government designated the elected leaders of local communities in Papua to be 50% of the *Nieuw Guinea Raad* (legislative council), the Morning Star flag was raised alongside the Dutch flag, and the Papuan national anthem, *Hai Tanahku Papua*, came into general use.

Yet the 'New York Agreement' of 1962[24] did not involve any Papuans, and was designed as a frame of reference for the transfer of *Nederlands Nieuw Guinea* (Papua) from Dutch authority to Indonesia. In 1964, the Dutch-educated Papuan elite demanded Papuan independence, not only from the Netherlands but also from Indonesia. A vote of 'free choice', sanctioned by the United Nations, was carried out in 1969. Rather than allowing a free vote on the matter, the UN procedure involved more than 1,000 selected tribal leaders, out of an estimated population of 800,000, as proof that local consultations had taken place.

An intense jungle guerrilla campaign ensued, setting back the development and enforcement of the central government's administration apparatus in Papua. One of the main sources of conflict in Papua, therefore, is a fundamental difference of opinion between representatives of the Indonesian state and autochthonous Papuans about the process of the integration of Papua into Indonesia (Setyanto *et al.* 2002: 6).

These grievances have caused the indigenous population to be sceptical about Indonesia's policies, especially in some of the deprived highland areas where I did my research. There is a local saying that portrays the highlands of Papua as one of the province's highlights: 'if you haven't seen Wamena, you haven't been to Papua'.

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[24] This was meeting between representatives of the Indonesian and Dutch governments, facilitated by the American state department, in which the fate of West New Guinea was decided. The whole negotiation prior to the meeting took place in Middleburg and Washington whereas the agreement itself was signed at UN Secretariat in New York.The Papuans were not present throughout the negotiation and agreement, having expressed their preferences in a referendum. See Drooglever 2005 : 465-480.

The mountain people of Papua (*orang pegunungan* Papua) or indigenous highlanders are often said to be hardliners who have stubbornly resisted the Indonesian government. Many areas in these highlands are labelled as 'red zones' (Ind. *daerah merah*), which means that the security forces assume there to be OPM (*Organisasi Papua Merdeka*; Free Papua Organisation) bases. For this reason access to the area by outsiders is restricted, including researchers and journalists. Butt (1998) describes the challenge of gaining access to the area, requiring overcoming many administrative obstacles. These restrictions also applied to international anthropologists wanting to do research there.

This stigmatisation of the mountain Papuans is enhanced by the classic negative stereotypes. They are said to be isolated and alien (Koentjaraningrat *et al.* 1993), primitive (Soepangat 1986: 144-145), Stone Age people (Dekker and Neely 1996), and cannibals (Hitt 1962). This is not only the perception of representatives of the Indonesian government, but also that of Papuans living in other parts of the province. Papua's size and the difficulty of travelling in the highlands do nothing to lessen these stereotypes.

The intercultural understanding between Papua's coastal areas and the highlands is marked by a lack of comprehension. Children in coastal areas were astonished when viewing pictures of highlanders wearing their traditional attire, such as a penis gourd for adult men, and topless women wearing only traditional skirts. There were some surprised reactions as Coastal Papuan children did not recognise the highlanders as Papuans, and asked who these folks were, and why they did not dress properly and exposed their bodies in this way. 'Are they primitives?', they asked. These reactions highlight the cultural gap between them, and lie at the base of the misperceptions and misunderstandings that characterize their relations.

In Papua there are 350 ethnic groups, each with its own system of values. This means that there are hundreds of different culture complexes in use. Failure to understand this plurality of norms and values can lead to conflict (Setyanto *et al.* 2002: 36-37). Generally, ethnicity is still a dominant factor in Papua. Social communication is limited, and people are reluctant to interact with people from a different ethnic background or religion and misperceptions have led to violent incidents.

The position of Dani in the process of social change

One well-known group in the Papua highlands are the Dani, who also suffer from a negative image, outsiders claiming them to be cannibals (Meiselas 2003: 38-39),[25] warlike (Meiselas 2003: 62; cf. Schoorl 2001: 66), and unable to live peacefully and harmoniously (Schoorl 2001: 79-83). This stigmatisation of the Dani is based on others' perception of them as inferior, which in turn has led to their marginalisation and the imposition of technical approaches by development agencies, valuing modern technology over the Dani's knowledge and values in the bringing about social change. Inherently a purely 'technicist' approach neglects the Dani's cultural rights. In extreme cases, as e.g. Sahlins (1990: 79) has argued, the development agencies use their feelings of superiority and technology to humiliate the indigenous peoples undergoing social change. Words like culture, backwardness, development, progress, and modernization were on everyone's lips, along with a humiliating undertone. Developers consider such humiliations to be an important step in economic development, and a necessary precondition to an economic 'take off'. Humiliation breaks the cycle of development reproduction and expansion by convincing people of their culture's worthlessness and instils in them a 'global inferiority complex' that leads them to actively to want to change (Sahlins 1992a: 24).[26]

This framework of denigration has forced the Dani into the processes of social change, as can be seen from the following description of Dani's encounter with outsiders. After the Second World War a letter from the *Minister Van Overzeese Rijksdelen* No.A/67 Vert NG dated 9 June 1952 was sent to the *Gouvernement van Nederlands Nieuw Guinea*, recommending an overview of ways that Papua might be further developed. Because of this, a new government post was created in Jayawi-

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25 One source for the Dani's negative image was Mickelson, an American missionary who went there in 1966. He reported that the Dani were cannibals.

26 'The role of disgrace is critical, for in order to desire the benefits of 'progress', its material comforts and wonders, all indigenous sense of worth, both of the people's self-worth and the value of their objects have to be depreciated. Culture ceases to produce continuity through change by noting that it turns on the notion of humiliation. People will not stop perceiving the world that confronts them through their received categories and bending it to their own values until they come to see those categories and values- that is, their cultures- as something shameful and debased. To quote a turn of phrase that almost every chapter of the volume discusses: before people give up their culture, they must first learn to hate what they already have, what they have already considered their well-being. Beyond that, they have to despise what they are, to hold their own existence in contempt- and what, then, to be someone else' (Sahlins 1992a: 24 cited by Robbins et al. 2005: 4, 10-11).

jaya on 10 December 1956 (Rumbiak 1986: 2). During the colonial period, representatives of the Dutch government used local community leaders, whom they involved strategically in their interventions. For instance, in order to pacify Dani warfare, Dutch government representatives in Jayawijaya organized peace festivals that involved local community leaders, especially ones who were part of the confederation of tribes. Moreover, local community leaders were involved in decision-making processes related to marriage and the resolution of conflicts.

In the 1950s and early 1960s, the Catholic Franciscans put their efforts into general development projects, and tolerated greater integration of traditional Dani practices and Christianity than did their Christian and Missionary Alliance (CAMA) counterparts. The latter's programs were paternalistic and emphasised the interests of the missionary rather than the Dani's ideas. The major part of the benefits accrued to the mission (Meiselas 2003: 75, 240-246).

The Fransiscans realized the importance of alleviating poverty and upgrading the well-being of the Dani. In addition to a programme to improve livelihoods, the Fransiscans also allowed room for the Dani's system of belief and culture. The Fransiscans intervened using the technique of enculturation, thereby respecting the local culture and allowing the Dani to continue their traditional practices and keep their sacred objects (Lieshout 2008). This situation changed, however, with the arrival of the Indonesian government in 1967.

In 1971-1973, the Indonesian government implemented operation *Koteka*,[27] in which elements of the armed forces and the civil government were engaged in activities designed to 'civilize' the Papuans. It was basically a military campaign aimed at coercing highland Papuans to abandon aspects of their indigenous culture, attend school, modernize economically, and adopt a more mainstream Indonesian identity. Officials tried to force the Dani to exchange their penis gourds for Indonesian style clothes. As part of the campaign, administrators gave Dani schoolchildren shorts, skirts, and photographs of President Suharto (Lieshout 2008: 124). In 1972 representatives of the Indonesian government in Jayawijaya Regency issued Regulation No.145/PENG/DIS.ASO./1972, which instructed the Dani to leave their traditional way of life and become adherents of a recognised religion, to be chosen from the five major religions recognized by the Indonesian government. These included Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, and the Protestant and Catholic Churches. This move was opposed in 1973 by the Catho-

[27] *Koteka* is the Indonesian word for penis gourd.

lic Church in their public statement No. 01/D.G.K./PERNY./1973, which urged respect for and the preservation of local cultures[28] and led to tensions between the Indonesian government and the Catholic Church.

On the village level, in deciding to form villages in accordance with Regulation No.5/1979, especially in the Jayawijaya Regency, representatives of the Indonesian government did not involve Dani leaders. Neither did they do so when making decisions concerning development policies in their respective areas (Rumbiak 1986: 5-8). They also failed to introduce development programs that would meet the needs of the Dani. The Dani resented being treated as inferiors and being manipulated by outsiders (Godschalk 1988:5-8). Even in the establishment of the permanent market in Wamena, the Dani were kept in a relatively subordinate position, which tended to increase their growing awareness of significant class differences (Naylor 1974: 237-238). The Dani's frustration was related to their economically weak position, threats to their culture, recognition of an increasing discrepancy in the development of the coastal and highland areas, and their feelings of hopelessness in the face of a rapidly changing world (Farhadian 2005: 37). Empty government rhetoric about development left the Dani sceptical of the promises made by the Indonesian administrators and the ascription of anidentity forced upon them. By the late 1970s it was clear that the highland development projects had failed to meet their goals, leaving in their wake Dani disillusionment about the promises of a New Society (Farhadian 2005: 42).

In a later period the conflict between the Indonesian government and the Dani was transformed into a conflict among community members. On 6 October 2000 Indonesian police and troops, armed with assaults rifles, went in to forcefully take down several morning star flags flying in Wamena. Hundreds of Dani, carrying bows and arrows, came out to stop them. In the riots that followed, 37 people were killed, 89 wounded, 13,641 were internally displaced,[29] and 105 people were arrested by the police. Twenty-two of the last group faced legal proceedings (*Tim Kemanusiaan Wamena* 2001: 35). The casualties also included Indonesian migrants (newcomers; Ind. *pendatang*), not because the indigenous populations hated them, but as a consequence of their disappointment with Indonesia and their desire to

[28] Information from Pater Leishout's private archive.

[29] IDP or Internally Displaced People is a formal term to describe people who are internally displaced in a state by force. This includes people who must migrate to other areas in their own country because of the conflict.

be separated from it (Mesailas 2003: 188).[30]

The conflict polarized the indigenous population and the Indonesian migrants. This polarization was rooted in the insecurity and grievances caused by the domination of Javanese culture, the violations of human rights, and the failure of economic development (Mesailas 2003: 188).[31]

Figure 11: A Hubula woman smoking a 'real cigarette' (*palih* or *rokok asli*) made of rolled pure tobacco leaves. Two of her fingers have been chopped off as a sign of mourning for her dead relatives. The Indonesian government now forbids this tradition. Smoking is common among the Hubula and cigarettes are a social lubricant that can symbolize acceptance or inclusion.

30 Anonymous participant in the Wamena violence in the interview with Leslie Butt in 2000.

31 Agus Aluay, interview with Brigham Montrose Golden in 2003. Similarly, in the collective violence in Molluccas, non Molluccan immigrants were seen as representatives of the New Order, which, according to Platenkamp (2001: 6-7) was rooted in an inadequate effort at integration, and the state's development policies that did not accommodate particular cultural ideologies.

The Hubula of the Palim Valley

The Palim Valley, located in the Jayawijaya regency, is the largest valley in the central mountain range of the Papua highlands. Since their earliest arrival, various outsiders have given names to areas of the highlands, including the Palim Valley and its inhabitants. Such naming by outsiders inherently reflects a power relationship in which the outsiders express a sense of superiority and ownership by making a claim to an area, or naming it without considering the local inhabitants. Outsiders have named it the Grand Valley or the Baliem or Balim Valley, instead of the Palim Valley, which is the local name for it.

This power relationship also applies to naming the local inhabitants. For instance, the Lorentz expedition, who in 1909 were the first outsiders known to have had direct contact with the people of the southern part of the Palim river, called the inhabitants the Pesegem, and named the nearby lake Lake Habbema after lieutenant Habbema, one of the members of the expedition. The local name of the lake is Yugi Nopa. The mountain was similarly named Wilhelmina Peak (Dutch: Wilhelmina Top), after the then queen of the Netherlands. Later representatives of the Indonesian government named the same mountain Trikora Peak, while its local name is Hiri-Akup. A yet later exploration, the Archbold expedition of 1938, saw the beautiful landscape of Palim from its plane and named it *Grote Vallei* (Grand Valley). Later again, during the Second World War, Elsmore, saw it from his fighter plane and named it Shangri-la (Lieshout 2008).

All along, however, the inhabitants of the Palim Valley have been known as Dani, labelled as such by international,[32] national and Papuan anthropologists. Some also include people from beyond the Palim Valley among the Dani (Koentjaringrat *et al.* 1993; Walker and Mansoben 1990; Hayward 1980). The people of the Palim Valley who originally came from the area between Bolakme in the up north and Kurima in the south say of themselves as „we are the people of Palim" or *akhuni Palim meke* (Koentjaraningrat *et al.* 1993: 270; Butt 1998: 9) or call themselves Hubula (Lieshout 2008; Alua[33] 2006). The Hubula, on the other hand, refer to the Dani from beyond Bolakme and Kurima as Palika. In my work I will use the term Hubula since this is what the local peoples call themselves. I shall also use the local term Palim Valley rather than Baliem or Balim Valley.

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[32] Heider (1970), Peters (1975) and Butt (1998) all refer to the local inhabitants as Dani.

[33] The late Mr. Alua was an academic from the Palim valley.

Accessibility and inequality

One morning in the middle of March 2007, I took the early morning flight from Sentani airport in Jayapura to Wamena to start my field research. Since the road that had been built between these places in the 1990s has not been properly maintained and is now impassable, the only way to reach Wamena is by plane. The flight to Wamena from Jayapura takes about 45 minutes by small plane. There are some alternative flights, but these are rather unsafe, as they do not follow proper safety procedures. One can either take a daily scheduled commercial flight with small planes that often have engine problems, or fly on a large passenger and cargo plane, such as the Indonesian army's Hercules planes, one of which was made in 1965 and the other in the 1980s. These Hercules planes fly not only between Jayapura and Wamena, but also to Merauke in southern Papua, Biak on the coast, and even to some places elsewhere in Indonesia. The other option is to fly on a cargo plane, which is the same type of plane that the army uses but is in commercial use. While for reasons of safety they are prohibited from carrying passengers, they continue to do so anyway. In addition, the Mission Aviation Fellowship (MAF) and CAMA have their Cessnas and Heli-mission that prioritise missionaries and workers affiliated with the church, sick people, and basic needs over other passengers. These missionary planes, which mostly fly to other areas in the surrounding highlands, do not maintain a regular schedule, though one can check on available flights on the scheduling board near the airport. Their pilots come from a variety of countries.

Wamena's dependence on the accessibility of planes, also to reach other areas in the highlands, has given rise to the humorous comment that this dependency is used as an excuse to justify the high cost of living in the highlands. This became clear when I first arrived in Wamena in the early 2000s, and was surprised by the high prices in the market, and the unavailability of some goods. The sellers repeatedly claimed that 'The goods were flown in by plane, which makes them expensive', and 'The plane has not arrived yet so we do not have that item yet'.[34] In this case, the plane in the highlands is associated with over flow, an influx of alien goods that are expected to improve their living conditions.

[34] Ind. '*barang-barang naik pesawat, jadi mahal*' and '*pesawat belum datang, jadi kami belum punya barang itu*'.

Figure 12: This sign reads 'It is forbidden to eat (chew) *pinang*' and is intended to keep Sentani airport in Jayapura clean. *Pinang*, a most popular chew in Papua, consists of areca nut, lime, and betel leaf. Chewing it produces red spittle.

Figure 13: Inside a Hercules plane passengers sit on the cargo. Papuan highlanders rely on planes to transport goods, and connect them with the outside world. This reliance justifies the high cost of living in the highlands. The planes are also associated with goods from the outside that are expected to improve people's lives.

When the plane touched down in Wamena it was dry and sunny. Many Hubula porters offered to carry my belongings. When I collected my luggage, a policeman and an unknown person wearing a cap, sunglasses, and a leather jacket, whom I saw every time I visited Wamena, asked me why I had come here and where I was staying. Walking out of the airport I noted that things had not really changed since my first visit to Wamena in the early 2000s: the socio-economic gap between the indigenous population and the Indonesian migrants was quite evident.

Some areas of town are really filthy, with the ground covered with red spots from people's spittle after chewing *pinang*, a chew made up from area nut, lime, and betel leaf. Although this chew is popular with the indigenous population, Indonesian migrants ran the kiosks that sold large amounts of areca nut. Highlander women, on the other hand, could only afford to lay their wares on mats on the ground along the road. Apart from street cars and motorcycles used for public transport (*ojek*), a lot of highlanders operated three wheeled pedicabs (Ind. becak) that carry passengers. The *becak*, however, are owned by migrants from elsewhere in Indonesia.

Local businesses, owned by migrants were located along the road. These included tourist shops that sold traditional Papuan crafts, a supermarket, many new restaurants, drugstores, and shops selling sundries. In front of these shops barefoot highland women sold fresh vegetables from traditional net bags (*su* or *noken*) that they carried on their heads. Highland children offered to watch over customers' bikes while they shopped, and some old highlander men either begged for small change, or offered Papuan traditional crafts for sale. Similarly in the local market migrants ran the kiosks selling sundries, stationary, clothes, and the like, while highlanders mostly sold livestock and agricultural produce such as fresh vegetables and fruit. In Jibama, the biggest market in Wamena, they also sold pigs and some handicrafts.

The expectations

On arriving I reported to the socio-cultural desk at the regency office, and gave them the letter statement from my research supervisor in Germany. I spent the first month acclimatising in order to clarify my position to both the representatives of the Indonesian state government and members of the community. On meeting one of my contact persons for the first time, I had to make it very clear that I would not able to pay for any information shared. This was crucial because I

did not want to create a cycle of dependency. I had to do this because previous researchers had paid an average of 50 Euros per day. I also had to make it clear that I was a third party neutral in a conflict sensitive area such as Papua, by severing my previous affiliations with both the Peace Brigades International and UNDP Papua. This was also necessary to overcome people's expectations of non-governmental external parties, including peace building institutes, international development agencies, and missionaries. These are all considered 'salvation agencies' (Ind. *badan-badan penyelamat*) that will improve the people's condition. It was important for me not to become trapped into giving advice or offering solutions to local problems.

The fear

A proper research strategy that balances the quality of the anthropological research against personal safety and security is required when doing research in a conflict zone such as Papua, in which social violence occurs. As a Javanese[35] woman doing research in Papua, I had to overcome some challenges. First, there was my personal cultural background. Doing intensive research on the indigenous population forced me to question my own cultural identity and assumptions that had been shaped since childhood, and in which the Javanese occupied a central positions and the „others", including Papuans, a peripheral one. Second, there were the historical grievances that were the cause of a low degree of social cohesion between the government and indigenous population. I was seen as a 'the straight hair person' (Papuan Malay/Ind.: *orang rambut lurus*), a label given to people from outside of Papua. This categorization phenotypically differentiates the inhabitants of Papua, who have dark and curly hair, from others coming from elsewhere. During his fieldwork among the Western Dani, Ploeg (1969: 5, 59) was categorized as a 'white person', affiliated with an abundance of western goods and the Christian faith. My physical appearance as 'a straight hair person' and my identity as a Javanese woman affiliated me with representatives of the Indonesian government against a background of 32 years of the Soeharto regime, which privileged the Javanese politically and economically over other Indonesians. This inherently implied a resistance to cooperate on the part of indigenous people,

[35] I am originally a Sundanese (an ethnic group from West Java), but often being addressed as somebody from Java island (Javanese).

since my ethnic background was a possible medium on which the Papuans could project their disappointment with the Indonesian state. Gaining their trust took much effort.

Figure 14:

'Groups of human beings' (Ind. kelompok manusia)				
'White skinned people' (Ind *orang kulit putih*)	'Straight haired people' (Ind. *orang rambut lurus*)	'Eastern people' (Ind. *orang timur*)	'Curly haired people' (Ind. *orang rambut keriting*)	'Black skinned people' (Ind. *orang kulit hitam*)
Europeans, Australians and Americans with pale skin.	People who have straight hair and/or are from outside of Papua including western and central Indonesia (e.g. Java, Sumatera, Sulawesi, etc).	People who have wavy hair and/or are from the eastern part of Indonesia (e.g. Flores) and Timor Leste.	People who have curly hair and/or are inhabitants of Papua.	People who have dark skin and/or are from Africa.
Historically associated with explorers, the Dutch colonial government, and missionaries who came from Europe, Australia, and the USA.	Associated with the Indonesian government.			This term was introduced when international football players from Africa were hired by the local football club in Wamena.

In the period before the year 2000, an accelerated rate of transmigration[36] led to an increase in of social, economic, and ethnic tensions and conflicts. These were caused by the usual increase of armed guards (Soepangat 1986: 98-99). Riots in October 2000 had had a negative impact, including the breakdown of the educational system after teachers were killed or had left Wamena. In response the Indonesian government increased security by sending in additional troops and police (*Tim Kemanusiaan Wamena* 2001). For instance, there were noticeably more troops and military posts in Wouma, the alleged hot spot during the October 2000

[36] The government's program of moving people from islands with a high population density to islands with a lower one.

riots. Other surrounding highlands areas saw an increase in armed personnel as well. Moreover, there was an influx of various intelligence services that are part of the national security department.[37] Everyone non-Indonesian must have a special police permit allowing them to visit the highlands of Papua, including Wamena.

An atmosphere of insecurity and scrutiny prevailed. Ethnic Hubula district government officers and some Hubula elders kept reminding me of the importance of keeping secret their traditional beliefs, especially things that were sacred and taboo (*wesa*). Both the district officers and the elders said time and again: 'Goodness…Our fences have been taken apart' (*eyuu…leget misalaga yire*). By this they meant that their customs or culture[38] had been damaged. This included, for instance, breaking the secrecy of things that are sacred and taboo by making them public without the consent of the elders of the village. The district officers gave examples of publications revealing their non-public, secret, and sacred narratives and/or objects, which had made them feel „stripped, naked" (Ind. *ditelanjangi bulat-bulat*) and dishonoured. They consequently felt insecure since such revelations could anger the ancestors, and have a negative impact on their fertility. I assured them that I would confirm all I learned during my fieldwork with the informants involved, including the elders.

The insecurity

The first spontaneous reaction came from one of my contact persons who accompanied me during my socialization visit to the head of socio-cultural affairs at the regency government office, who happened to be a Hubula. Although my contact person kept silent, I noticed his disappointment and anger when listening to the arguments of the head of socio-cultural affairs: 'Some of the Hubula's traditional rituals such as the big pig festival (*wam ebe ako*) are out of date and inefficient because they take up a lot of time and money, [and] should therefore be eliminated'.[39] After the meeting was over, my contact person, a former Catholic

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37 These included *the Badan Intelijen Nasional* or BIN, *Badan Intelijen Strategis* or BAIS, *Komandan Pasukan Khusus* or Kopassus, *Intel Komando Distrik Militer* or Kodim, and *Intel Kepolisian Resort Kabupaten* or Polres.

38 This is a property of all ethnic groups and comprises knowledge, behaviour, rules, laws, and systems that explain and regulate individuals and community life. It is contained in the *adat*, and is maintained through respect toward stories about the lives of the ancestors that are passed orally from one generation to the next (*wene yisikama, bisukama*).

39 *Beberapa kebiasaan adat istiadat kita [Hubula] seperti wam ebe ako sudah ketinggalan jaman dan tidak efisien karena makan banyak waktu dan uang yang oleh karena itu harus dihapus*.

priest and graduate from the Theological Institute[40] and one of my bridges to the Hubula in the village, said 'Being children of Papuan *adat* is the most significant identity, exceeding other statuses like being a Hubula, a member of the Catholic Church, one's job, and being a modern educated person'.[41]

For this reason, the opinions expressed by the head of socio-cultural affairs had disappointed and angered him. He continued by sharing concerns that I also often heard from many other Hubula, especially elders, regarding the taking apart of 'fences'. 'That', he said, 'was an example of behaviour that threatens our existence as Hubula, which is rooted in a disrespect for and the breaking of our *adat* [custom] regulations to the point that our fences have been taken apart'.[42] Early on, younger Hubula often expressed feelings of insecurity, saying 'We are at a crossroads, an uncomfortable position that confuses us, making us choose a direction to go in … A part of us is still with our *adat* [while] the other part has been dragged into modern life with many other options…we need some sort of direction [to tell us] which way we should go'.[43]

The above early findings concerning the Hubula's insecurity became the basic framework for my PhD project, in which I try to further understand the Hubula's notion of 'fences that have been taken apart'. I approach this by investigating the construction and valorisation of Hubula collective social identity through: (1) local traditional perspectives; expression in ritual actions, and the production and exchange of cultural artefacts, and (2) the various forms of intervention in local tradition; the impact and transformation brought by institutions like the Church, the market economy, and the Indonesian government. This required me to build many contacts, primarily with the Hubula, but also with the Catholic Church, and with representatives of the Indonesian government. I set up a personal base in Wamena by renting a room in an old Catholic monastery, where I could put all my electronic equipment. I bought myself a bicycle and cycled around the valley from one village to another, usually leaving my bicycle at a house that was accessible

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40 He wrote his thesis, in Indonesian, on sacred objects, ritual, and the Catholic Church in the Palim Valley.

41 *Anak adat Papua itu identitas yang paling utama, melampaui status lain seperti jemaat gereja Katolik, pekerjaan dan orang moderen berpendidikan.*

42 *Itu adalah salah satu contoh perilaku yang membahayakan keberadaan kita sebagai Hubula yang berakar dari tidak menghormati dan melanggar aturan adat sehingga pagar kita terbongkar.*

43 *Kami berada di perempatan jalan, suatu posisi yang tidak nyaman yang bikin kita bingung, di mana kita harus memilih ke arah mana kita pergi…sebagian dari kita masih berada dengan adat sebagian lainnya sudah diseret kehidupan modern dengan banyak pilihan…Kami perlu semacam arahan ke mana kita seharusnya pergi.*

from the road, and then walking to the surrounding areas.

After a while, I decided to make the village Hepuba my main research area. My reasons for this choice were that Hepuba was located in the district Assolokobal, about a 45-minute bicycle ride from the centre of Wamena. This nearness had made Hepuba an area that had experienced intensive contact with development, modernization, and the market economy. Unlike the villages nearest to it,[44] all the Hubula in Hepuba were Catholic, and there were no members of other ethnic groups there. This made Hepuba a good sample area to explore the interplay between Catholic Church and the Hubula.

The adaptation and acceptance

I was warmly welcomed in Hepuba by one 'family' (*ukul oak*). One of the contact persons whom I had met earlier was from Hepuba, and brought me into contact with the Hubula there. Over time, my visits to Hepuba became more and more regular and became more or less permanent. I was asked to teach English to the youths, and every now and then I showed the photos and documentary films about Hubula on my battery powered laptop in order to elicit the emic[45] perspectives, and obtain permission to use this material.

Some essentials I brought whenever visiting or staying in the villages around the Palim Valley were salt and cooking oil. I also always brought cigarettes (*palih* or *hanom*) as most Catholic Hubula, young and old, male and female, smoke them. The younger generation, usually able to speak Indonesian, smoke regular cigarettes bought at kiosks or from a Hubula 'mother' (*mamak*) who sells them. Cigarettes were an important medium of communication and a social lubricant that created a relaxed, comfortable, and trusting environment. Slowly trust developed among us and I noticed a change of my status from 'outside of our [Hubula's] fences' (*leget itigma*) into 'inside of our fences' (*leget akmake*) that coincided with my learning the local parameters of 'being good or noble' (*hano motok*), and avoiding being not good' (*kepu*), which is associated with 'being disrespectful or deviating from the

[44] Megapura on the way to Wamena, and Hitigima, further south, which, having some Indonesian migrants, were multi-cultural as well as having adherents of the Islamic, Catholic and various Protestant faiths.

[45] An emic account of behaviour is a description of behaviour or a belief in terms meaningful (consciously or unconsciously) to the actor; that is, an emic account is culture-specific. Its opposite, an etic account, is a description of a behaviour or belief by an observer, in terms that can be applied to other cultures; that is, it is culturally neutral.

adat' (*were okot* or Ind. *tidak tahu adat*). This acceptance could be also seen in invitations to share meals at 'the family's hearth' (*hunila*), and being offered cigarettes by the elders. Perceptions of my gender changed from being an 'adult woman' (*he*), when sharing with Hubula women and children, into being an 'adult man' (*waya*) when entering the men's world, by sharing with male Hubula adults matters concerning sacred narratives that are related to the *adat*.

The level of intimacy could also be seen in body language. At first I regularly shook hands, but then gradually learned the Hubula's way of putting their palms on each other's elbows as a sign of warmth, friendliness, and acceptance. The ultimate trust expressed by the same sex, in my case with other female Hubula adults, is by pulling at one's genitals, and addressing me with wholehearted expressions of the deep love and respect like *halama negen* (lit. 'I eat your faeces'), and *heket negen* (lit. 'I eat your vagina').[46] In addition, the most intimate statement made to me by both male and female Hubula was 'you are in my heart' (*netaiken*). I embraced and enjoyed the Hubula's warmth, friendliness, and simplicity. After 75% of my field research period, I was adopted by some Hubula families and thus gained two families' names; Wetapo from a Hubula family in Hepuba, and Logo from a Hubula family in Waga Waga in the northern part of the Palim Valley. This condition transformed my status from a total outsider into a partial participant in some exchange rituals.

[46] Similar bodily gestures and expressions might be made by male Hubula adults to other men: *halowasi nak* (lit. „I smell/eat your feces") and *hoaliken nak* (lit. „I eat your testicles").

Chapter 4
The Compound as 'Path'

Jagat pir warego – pir waregooo
Jagat mar warego – mar waregooo
Jagat ane piro – piro eti sa wagaooo?
Eti yak Um-umme wagaooo
Hinane hikanire – hakanireee
Hanom yogetniree – wogetnireee

Jagat (a kind sugarcane) grass that is plaited neatly
The bundle of *jagat* beautifully arranged in a stack
The friction of *jagat*, who is possibly coming?
It is him, Um-umme who is coming
He, who is greeted in the warmth of fraternity
Let's embrace him with enjoyable smoking
Let's offer the delicious sweet potatoes[47]

The 'path': Hubula as the 'body'

In his discussion of a diagram of social relations in Belau on the island Palau, Parmentier (1987) uses the word path to refer to ways of doing things, including method, technique, pattern, or strategy. 'The strategies used in warfare, techniques used in fishing, oratorical skills, and patterns of exchange are all called paths. Paths, however, also include established linkages, relationships, and associations among persons, groups and political units, which were created by some precedent-setting action in the past. Implied as well is the possibility and perhaps obligation to follow the path in exchange for marriage, cooperation, and competition' (Parmentier 1987: 109).

Applying this idea to Hubula, we see that the ancestors' path, based on their experiences of life, forms the historical background to the objects and places the people hold to be sacred and taboo. These lessons of life, which are passed orally from one generation to the next, are usually labelled customary laws (Ind. *adat*). A Hubula should be familiar with the historical background of these sacred or taboo objects and places. The degree to which the Hubula respect and follow this ancestral path is evident from the way they hold their *adat* to be a central value, describing it as *wene yisukama, bisukama*,[48] which enjoins them to take the ancestors' stories, including prescriptions and prohibitions, as their main frame of reference.

[47] Lyrics from Hubula traditional singing and dancing (*etai*).
[48] *Wene*: news; *yisukama*: speaker; *bisukama*: the places.

Oral history plays an important role in shaping the main codes of conduct that form the Hubula as persons. According to Bromley (1993: 66), Hubula myths serve as models for behaviour, and they see their history and myth as frames of reference for future action (cf. Itlay *et al.*1993: 21). Therefore, to understand the structure of Hubula society, we must realize that the basic path for action is laid out by the ancestors' stories.

This includes moiety, myth, and traditional warfare. There are two moieties in the Palim Valley, *wita* and *waya*. The Hubula refer to a moiety as 'the body' (*ewe* or *ebe*). They classify the *wita* moiety as 'a woman' (*he*), and the *waya* moiety as 'a man' (*ap*). The relationship between *wita* and *waya* is locally likened to the unity of husband and wife (*agun-age*), mother and father (*agosa-opase*), male and female (*kulok-holi*), the prime or source - mother's child (*isa-eak*), and son or daughter - mother's brother (*eak-ami*).

Each moiety is made up of many lineages called 'skull' (*ukul oak*), membership in which is determined patrilineally. Heider (1970) and Widjojo (1996) called the *ukul oak* a sib, whereas Hayward (1980) and Peters (1975) labelled it a clan. The Hubula sometimes refer to it as a *klen* or *fam*. Some lineages, including Wetipo, Hisage, and Molama, belong to either moiety *wita* or *waya*. It is not clear why these *ukul oak* can belong to either moiety. The following list is an example of lineages that belong to each of the moieties. Each decent unit has its own animal totem[49] that defines its uniqueness.

Figure 15: Hubula moieties and their totems (cf. Heider 1970)

Descent unit in the *wita*	Totem:	Descent unit in the *waya* moiety*:*	Totem:
Lani	Dlami (mosquito)	Haluk	Budlil (species of bird)
Wamu	Sio (species of bird)	Himan	Keije (species of bird)
Walilo	Jual (species of bird)	Hubi	Waluem (duck species)
Bapiga	Lokowawal (species of bird) and Puthue (spe-	Lokobal	Lokop (kind of rat) and Domamal (species of

[49] There are two categories of totems: those of putative totemic forebears of named unilineal descent groups, and totems for which no descent is claimed, but that are adopted by named descent groups as heraldic badges or emblems because of a supposed association with them in the past (Lawrence and Meggitt 1965: 8).

Descent unit in the *wita*	Totem:	Descent unit in the *waya* moiety:	Totem:
Elokpere	Jege (dog)	Matuan	Yokoik (kind of pigeon)
Holik	Wido (kind of rat)	Yusuk	Gopa (kind of rat)
Isawa	Esubuti (species of bird)	Eloksak	Uene (kind of duck)
Jokopi	Mapul (kind of rat)	Hilapok	Balu (big snake), Hoina (big lobster) and
Widikbo	Bugale (kind of rat)	Jeli	Wetene (species of bird)
Wilil	Esokpeti (species of bird)	Jukusu	Gopa (kind of rat)
Wuga	Ewiwodlo (species of bird) and Wuga (species	Loka	Pusa (species of bird)
		Meage	Buna (big lizard)
		Oagai	Black stork

Every Hubula belongs either to the *wita* or the *waya* moiety, both of which are found in all villages. Although it rarely happens, a Hubula can change his or her lineage affiliation, as long as no change of moiety is involved. A reason to change affiliation with an *ukul oak* might be internal migration (Widjojo 1996:15-16) or adoption.

Moiety exogamy determines the category of persons from which a spouse is chosen, as marriage is prescribed between the two moieties. Marriage within the same moiety is considered incestuous (*pawi*), and the Hubula say: *erop okot, pawi ero alo yoma koma mekea* (one should know who one's siblings are in order to prevent incest). The importance of moiety exogamy in upholding customary law is reflected in the local adage that 'the partnership between *wita* and *waya* is only proper' (*in agosalak inom*), since it aims to reach 'a good life following a proper marriage between *wita* and *waya*, so as to be united and ready for war with one's enemies' (*elokhe wogosikenemhe*).[50]

[50] Peters (1975) found some exceptional cases in which marriage within the same moiety took place during warfare (*wim*), in order to accumulate the power. On the other hand, Butt

This framework, therefore, emphasizes the importance the Hubula attach to the unity of the two moieties, since together these form the whole of the 'body' (*ebe*). As a society the Hubula see themselves as a unitary body, the functioning of which relies on the interdependency of the decent units in the moieties. Incest is believed to cause imbalances in life and disharmonious relations with the ancestors (*ninopu ninopa*). This in turn leads to a decline in fertility as evidenced by the birth of 'improper children' who are sickly or slow to develop physically, as well as a general decline in health, the state of the pigs, hunger, and infertility of the land. A unity between the moieties, on the other hand, leads to a balanced cosmos and a desired level of fertility (Ind. *kesuburan hidup*).

While the moieties pursue a balanced division of the body that is Hubula society, Hubula mythology narrates the way that the many parts of this body derive from Naruekul, a key mythological figure, who is believed to have been the first human being (Ind. *manusia pertama*). The Hubula's origin myth is sacred and taboo (*wesa*) and normally one should not talk about an apical ancestor for fear (*nayuk*) of offending. Rather, one should respectfully sit and listen to the ancestral myths, as told by the Hubula elders. The Hubula consider a respectful attitude to be the way of honouring Naruekul. According to the myth, Hubula society used to be a peaceful and harmonious one in which no one exercised power. Then Naruekul suddenly appeared in some sacred and taboo places: Seima (today part of the Kurima District), Maima (nowadays part of the Asso Lokobal district) and Halu Aima (now part of the Pugima district). Naruekul often travelled to different villages and as a result was well known to many people. Having fairer skin and being taller, his looked a bit different from the rest of the Hubula. This made the Hubula afraid that Naruekul would begin to control their lives, leading some of them to secretly plan to kill him. Not much later Naruekul was indeed killed and his body was cut into pieces that were distributed among the groups that had taken part in the killing. Some groups, however, received nothing. Those that did hid what they got, and kept it as their property in their residence or compound.

One day, Naruekul appeared to some Hubula who were walking near where he was killed. The Hubula shook with fear and confusion. Naruekul made himself known to these people, and assured them that he really was alive, even though the Hubula had killed him. Afterwards Naruekul told them that the parts of his body

(1998: 99-100) reports that although people of the same moiety never married, extramarital sexual relations within a moiety occurred.

that some groups had taken should be kept collectively and be shared amongst them instead of being held as private property. These body parts were to be called *kaneke*.[51] *Kaneke* would forever after be a source of the inspiration and life to the Hubula and their descendents. Finally, the Hubula would be fragmented, and formed into their own *kaneke* as the result of fighting amongst themselves. A *kaneke* that derives directly from a part of Naruekul's body is called *suken*. Soon after he gave these instructions a strong wind blew Naruekul into the sky.

The people who witnessed these things were afraid, and wondered what had happened. The news about Naruekul's appearance spread, and the Hubula realized that the being that they had killed and cut into pieces was not an ordinary human being, but the creator of the universe (w*alhowak*). They decided that from then on they and their descendants must closely adhere to Naruekul's message, including keeping and maintaining *kaneke* or *suken* as an inseparable part of themselves.[52]

The Naruekul myth of origin forms the cosmological setting of Hubula social structure because it is perceived to be the ontological root of their existence and the main thing that differentiates them from other ethnic groups. They believe themselves to be bound together through the distributed parts of Naruekul's body, and their collective unity is evident from the importance of maintaining each of these body parts for the sake of society as a whole, especially through rituals of exchange. The objects through which Naruekul's body is manifested became the standards of exchange and the source of fertility.

The collective ownership of the sacred stones as the symbolic manifestation of the myth of origin (*suken*) is one of the elements on which Hubula social relations are based. Some lineages (*ukul oak*) own *suken* derived from parts of Naruekul's body, which are believed to be very important in the maintenance of

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[51] Some informants said *kaneke* means fruit or issue of the heart (Ind. *buah hati*). Other said it was fruit or issue of the body (Ind. *buah tubuh*), or the basis or centre of attention (*hat eken*).

[52] Objects that are believed to be manifestations of Naruekul include *kaneke* or *suken*, sacred stones taken from Naruekul's bones and inherited from the ancestors. Other objects deriving from Naruekul's bones are *ye*, smooth and flat stones used as bride price and to settle debts. In addition some plants are also believed to have their origin in Naruekul's body. These include first of all a number of varieties of sweet potatoes: *hipere nesok-okut*, sweet potatoes driving from Naruekul's heels, *hipere ekenpalek*, sweet potatoes that come from his blood, *hipere ab ella*, sweet potatoes deriving from the nerves around his forehead, and *hipere wimoak*, a part of the bamboo that was used to kill him and cut him up, which has become sweet potatoes. Other plants include *el tellu*, red sugarcane coming from Naruekul's blood, *saikh*, locally known as *buah merah* (red fruit), which also derives from Naruekul's blood, *haki toh*, a kind of banana coming from his heart. Finally there is *mulikin*, the sun, which is his fat that shone to the sky when he was killed and butchered.

the fertility of life, as well as having the power to heal and counter infertility. The power of *suken* varies. Some have healing energy for only a limited period, or only within a particular lineage while the healing energy of others only works beyond the boundaries of the lineage that owns them. The lineage that first obtained a particular *suken* is called its 'mother' or 'prime' (*isa*). In some cases, the 'mother' may distribute part of a *suken* to other lineages, which are called 'child' (*eak*). Based on its closeness to the myth of origin, the status of the 'mother' or source is higher and more respected than that of the 'child'. Relations among lineages that are based on shared *suken* are called a *suken* relationship (Ind. *hubungan suken*), and are hierarchically represented in exchange rituals. *Suken* based rituals are exclusive as the Hubula will only get involved in a ritual related to *suken*, if they have a previous relationship with the *sukem's* 'mother', and were involved in such rituals in previous generations. Keeping and maintaining *suken* brings charisma, as Hubula feel greater unease (*nayuk*) toward *suken* that is believed to be a manifestation of Naruekul.

The distribution of 'the body' at the household level

Hubula keep the parts of 'the body' that derive from their moiety, the myth of origin, and warfare in their homes. Members of the lineages (*ukul oak*) reside virilocally in the compound, and are called *silimo* (lit. wooden place), which is explained as 'the yard where the sunlight shines'. Usually three genealogically or affinally related generations live together in a compound. In addition there are those that share rituals or a history of warfare, who are treated as kin and are allowed to reside in the compound.

Various models of *silimo* have been described by Heider (1970), Peters (1975), Butt (1998), and Alua *et al.* (2006). The following is a model found the southern part of the Palim Valley. There is no particular rule about which way a compound should be oriented geographically, except that it must not face the location of the eternal enemy (see below). In general, residential structures (*uma*) in the compound consist of a centrally located round house (*honai*) that stands between two rectangular houses (*hunila*).

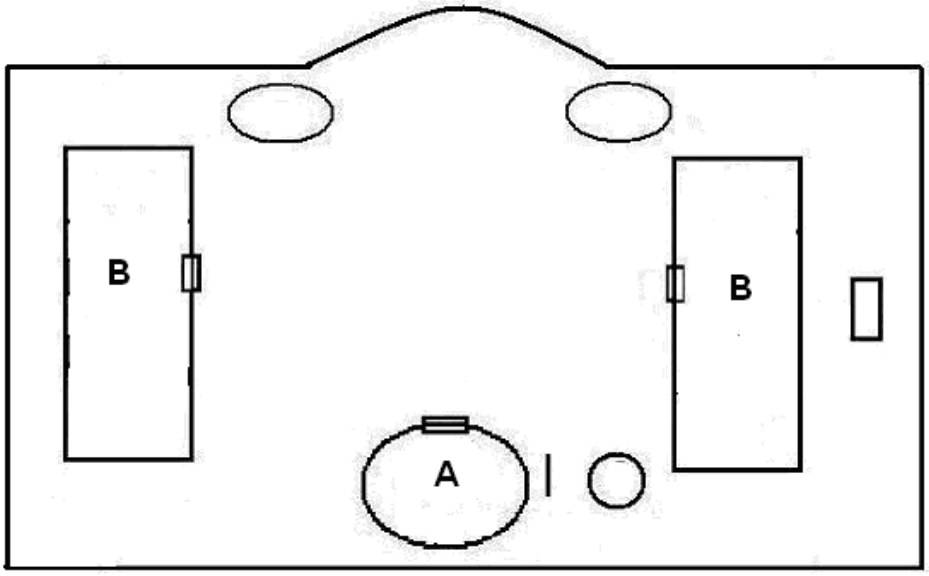

Figure 16: The main residential structures (*uma*) in the compound (*silimo*)
A: *Honai* or *kanekela* (*honai* where sacred objects are kept)
B: *Hunila* (kitchen)

Figure 17: The composition of the kitchen (*hunila*)
B.a: The place where the body resides (*ebe ai*)
B.b: The kitchen (*lesema* or *hunila*)
B.c: The pigsty (*wam dabula*)

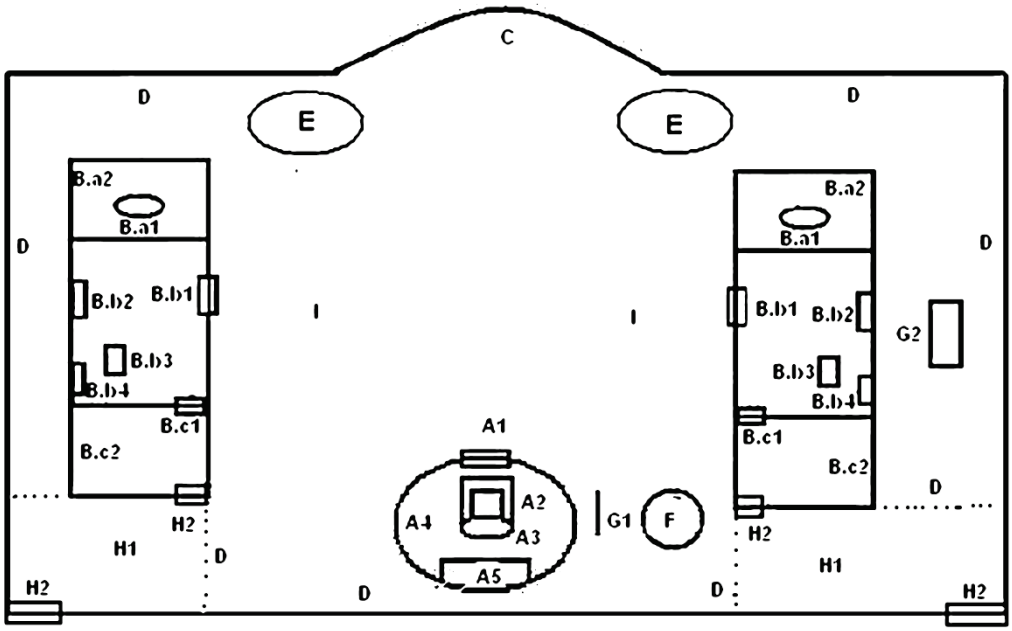

Figure 18: Sketch of the compound or 'the yard where the sunlight shines on it' (*silimo*)

A1: The door (*holak ape*) where 'the respected old man resides' (*honai*)
A2: The poles (*heseke*)
A3: The fireplace (*wulikin*) to warm up the compartment
A4: The attic (*honai opo*) or sleeping area where all men can sleep (*honai*). Only adult and initiated men are allowed to sleep at *kanekela*
A5: The back of *kanekela* (*pelai opolike*) where the wooden box in which sacred objects are kept (*kakok*) is located
B.a1: The fireplace (*wulikin*) on the ground floor to warm up the house
B.a2: The attic (*pileleke mitago*) where women and uninitiated boys sleep
B.b1: The door (*holak ape*) to the kitchen (*hunila*)
B.b2: The traditional net bags (*su*)
B.b3: The fireplace (*wulikin*) to cook for the lineage members
B.b4: The pig's jaws from public ceremonies (e.g. the grand opening for schools, church, etc)
B.c1: The door into the pigsty (*wam dabula*)
B.c2: The pigsty (*wam dabula*)
C: The front gate or 'the place where the spirits reside' (*mokarai*)
D: The wooden fences (*leget*); the dotted ones are fences for pigs
E: The cooking pit (*bakse*) for public ceremonies where men and women can cook together
F: The cooking pit (*bakse* or Ind. *kolam*) for *kanekela* purposes (e.g. all rituals for the maintenance of sacred objects) for which only men are allowed to cook
G1: The wooden stick at the ancestors' gate called 'the snake's fences' (*walo leget*)
G2: The wooden hut where bones and ashes from cremated bodies are stored called 'the snake's fence' (*walo leget*) or 'the bones fence' (*oak leget*)
H1: The pigs' yard (*lalekenma*)
H2: The door into the pigs' yard (*lalekenma*) and out of the compound
I: The yard (*hakiloma*)

Visitors to the compound are welcomed by an open wooden front gate without a door called 'the place where the spirits reside' (*mokarai* or *mokat ai*). Anyone entering the compound through the front gate is automatically under the protection of the lineage members that live in there, and may not be threatened, even if she or he is an enemy: human blood should not be shed in the compound area. The front gate provides protection to anybody who enters through it. Wooden fences (*leget*) surround the compound. Fences are a symbolically significant part of being a Hubula. Initiated men, who understand and obey the customary law as defined by the ancestors, and take good care of sacred objects, are said to have good and honorable characters (*hano*). They are therefore considered part of the Hubula or as 'being inside the fences' (*leget atmake*). On the contrary, a man or woman who deviates from the customary laws (*were okot*; Ind. *tidak tahu adat*) is said to have a bad character (*kepu*), and is excluded from being Hubula: he or she is put 'outside the fences' (*leget itigma*).

In addition to wooden fences (*leget*), there are some other fences in the compound called *waloleget* (lit. the snake's fence): one next to the round house (*honai*) and another behind the rectangular houses (*hunila).* The first of these *waloleget* is a special small wooden stick, the top of which is covered with special algae taken from the mountain. This fence is kept at the gate provided for the ancestors (*ninopu ninopa*) near the round house and offers protection against evil spirits. Women should not walk by here. The second kind of 'snake's fence' are also called 'the bone fences' (*oak leget*) and are located at the back of the rectangular house. They take the form of a small open wooden hut with four pillars where ashes (*wul*) and bones (*oak*) from cremated lineage members are stored. The gate and fences welcome both the ancestors and the living, regardless of who they are.

In the yard there is a cooking pit that serves as an earth-oven (*bakse*), and is used to prepare traditional roasted meals, usually pork, sweet potatoes, and green vegetables. These are put in the pit in layers and wedged in by hot stones. This way cooking is called *kit talogo isasin* (cooking with roasted stones; Papuan Malay. *bakar batu*). Each compound usually has two or more cooking pits, depending on how many lineage members reside there. There are two ways to cook, the first of which is open and either men or women or both can prepare the food. The pit that is used for this is located in the front yard, near the gate.

The second type of cooking is dedicated to the maintenance of the sacred objects kept in the *kanekela* or *honai adat* (see below). Women may not be involved with either the cooking of this meal or its consumption, and it is prepared and

eaten by initiated men who are responsible for the rituals. The cooking pit for this second type is located next to the *kanekela*.[53] Thus, the two modes of cooking define gendered domains: women and uninitiated boys fall within the public domain, while initiated men are part of an exclusive domain that is linked to the world of spirits and ancestors.

Honai and the world of spirits

In the compound (*silimo*), in a straight line with the front gate (*mokarai*) is the *honai*, the traditional circular hut. This location enables men present in the *honai* to see anyone entering or leaving the compound. Some Hubula interpret *honai* literally as the place of the first human being or respected old man.

A *honai* is a kind of men's house. The *honai* is windowless and has a 50 cm high door (*holak ape*), which requires anybody taller than 50 cm to bow when entering. Its roof is made of selected reeds or coarse grass (*siluk* or *warlike*), bound together in the shape of a giant umbrella (*lil* or *warkhal*). The *honai*'s round wall is made from small and or medium size logs that are also lashed together with hard knots. Nails may not be used. The *honai's* dirt floor, which is called 'the soil' (*agat owa* or *agarowa*) and is covered by cut grass (*yeleka*), is used as a place to relax and share stories. Stairs (*lel ape*) lead up to the attic (*honai opo*) where men can sleep. Men may also keep some items of jewellery there, belts (*yeraken*) or neckties (*walimoken*) made of cowry shells, as well as exchange objects, including the ritual limestone that is a manifestation of the alliance between the Hubula and their ancestors (*ye*).

[53] I occasionally saw uninitiated men participating in this second type of cooking, even though this was against the *adat*. When I asked the elders why I was allowed to be present and involved, they said that I was considered an adult male (*waya*) for the time.

Figure 19: Emanuel Himan and Lakogo Himan standing in front of their *honai*.

Figure 20: Adult and initiated men relaxing after enjoying roasted pork prepared to maintain the sacred objects. Hubula women may neither cook nor eat this meal. The circle of sugar-cane leaves, symbolic of the unity of the Hubula and their ancestors (*yagareka*), is placed near the fireplace (*wulikin*) to hold pieces of meat from the sacrificial pig that are distributed to the *kanekela* leaders (*yaman*, *metek*, and *apisan*). *Nesok ai* in the form of a bundle of grass is fastened to one of the pillars as a symbol of the bond between the Hubula, their ancestors, and the land.

The *honai* may be just a place for adult men to sleep, but it may also function as a customary hut (*kanekela*; Papuan Malay *honai adat*) in which the Hubula keep their sacred objects, including manifestations of the first human being mentioned in the origin myth (*suken*). In the southern part of the Palim Valley it is practically identical to the *kanekela*, because there each compound has such a hut, which may only be entered by initiated men. In the northern part of the Valley a *kanekela* may belong to several compounds so that while still restricted to men, those entering *honai* need not necessarily be initiated. The sacred objects are placed in a traditional net bag (*su*), as a token of appreciation to, and the physical expression of the spirits of ancestors that were killed in war. These sacred objects are placed in a wooden box (*kakok*). Other objects, tied in a bundle, are called *apwarek* (dead adult men),[54] and are the proof and manifestation of the spirits of the defeated enemies killed in warfare. In the southern part of the Palim Valley, the *kanekela* where the *apwarek* are kept is called the house of war (*wim aila*). Although any man or woman of the same lineage can become a sponsor of a man's initiation ritual (*ap ecesa*), only initiated adult men (*waya*) may enter and sleep in the *kanekela* where the sacred objects are kept. Safekeeping and caring for the sacred objects in the *kanekela* is the core of the Hubula's beliefs about the world of spirits (*mokatma*), which, as the elders explained, is seen as an integral part of the material world: 'the world of spirits can only be separated from the material world by a thin piece of leaf' (*homeka selok selok*).[55] The protective roles of initiated males are significant because of the ongoing cosmic war that is believed to take place between the sacred objects. *Kaneke* that were derived from the spirits of 'the great war leaders' (*ap wim metek meke*) are called 'sharp teeth that are ready to pounce' (*aik mali*). Ancestral spirits have the power to protect their descendants from their enemies' spirits, depending upon the ancestor's role in the rituals of war. The more important one's ancestor's position in the warfare, the stronger his/her power. *Apwarek* is considered important in order to domesticate the evil spirits of the enemies (*namokatnen ninakhe*) so that they do not bring sickness or infertility.

Initiated adult Hubula men are responsible for the maintenance of the sacred objects kept in the *kanekela*. These are used in rituals aimed at nourishing or improving the fertility of the members of the lineage. Within a *kanekela* knowledge

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54 Although Heider (1970) did not use the term *apwarek* in his writing, he described them as 'trophies of war'.

55 Aso-Lokobal *et al.* (1993: 46-47) describe that Hubula view *kaneke* as *hierophani* or manifestation of realistic power that goes beyond space and time.

of the historical background of these sacred objects is passed from one generation of initiates to the next. It is taboo (*wesa*) for women to know these things.[56] Each *kanekela* has its own sacred objects with their own history, which play a critical role the narratives of the history of war. This knowledge is top secret, especially to other *kanekela*. Virilocality ensures a closed circulation of this knowledge among lineage members. The secrecy surrounding the ancestral stories draws a clear boundary between initiated men and the women and children (*wene yisikama, bisukama*): local wisdom proclaims that 'broken branches will not fall far from their tree, but will fall beneath the tree' (*oeki siaga etma piagarek*), which refers to a father's (*opase*) duty to pass on the ancestral stories and the historical background of the sacred objects in their *kanekela* to their initiated sons (*waya*). Doing so helps them become well-loved and respected individuals or *netaiken* (lit. you are in my heart). These sacred narratives are told on the floor (*agat owa*) of the *kanekela*. Certain parts of the pigs roasted for this ritual by initiated men are also collectively consumed there.

Each *kanekela* is led by three groups of *kanekela* leaders that stem from the history of warfare: the guardian (*yaman*), the regulator (*metek*), and the ruler (*apisan*). These positions are based on the order in which the first ancestors were killed in the history of war. The first ancestor became the eldest (*yaman*), the second to die became *metek*, and the third *apisan*. If there were a fourth casualty, he or she was categorized as *yaman*.[57] And so on.

The importance of these three *kanekela* leaders, and the power of the spirits are symbolized by the *honai's* main pillars (*heseke*): the near front main pillar (*heseke kemake*) represents the guardian, the central main pillar (*heseke tulem*) represents the regulator, and the front main pillar (*heseke tikmo*) represents the ruler. The back main pillar (*heseke tikmo*) represents the unknown or mysterious living symbols. These four pillars surround a fireplace (*wulikin*) in the centre of the *honai*, which is used to heat it. A bundle of grass tied to one of the pillars symbolises the bond between the Hubula, their ancestors, and the land. The last is called 'the ground on which to firmly place both one's legs' (*nesok ai*).

To the Hubula these four main pillars signify 'guidance in life' which is 'hung upon them' (*wene hesekewa kolik wela garek*), and they play an important role in deci-

[56] Wassmann (2001: 44, 57) stated that this concentrates the esoteric knowledge in the hands of a few men. The corollary is that the fieldworker must depend precisely on these influential men.

[57] See chapter 8 for a discussion of Hubula numbers.

sion-making. Discussions about matters of customary law must therefore take place inside the *honai* rather than outside this hut or in the kitchen (*wenekak umanen at egarek, honinen at egarek, hunilanen egarekdek*). This last phrase emphasises that the ancestors, represented by the sacred objects in the *kanekela*, must be respected and witness the collective decisions process. These ancestors are not merely manifested as historical sacred objects, but are also actively involved in the lives of their descendants. The pillars inside the *honai* accentuate the collective unity between the Hubula as a group, and between them and their ancestors.

Figure 21: Adult Hubula women (*he*) preparing meals to be cooked in the cooking pit (*baksе*) on a public occasion. The stones are heated on the firewood and are then placed inside the cooking pit to roast the meal. The front gate (*mokarai*) and wooden fences (*leget*) can be seen in the background.

Figure 22: There is always enough food for anyone who is present in the kitchen (*hunila*) during meal times. Deli Asso distributes it and makes sure that everybody receives the same amount. Hubula women have authority in the kitchen, as this is associated with the maintenance, care, and nurturing of life

Figure 23: The door (*holak ape*) of the kitchen *(hunila)*. that is the same size as that of the men's house (*honai*) which requires visitors taller than 50 cm to bow when entering.

Figure 24: The bone fences (*oakleget*) where the ashes and bone from cremated bodies of deceased lineage members are stored.

Figure 25: *Isoak*, the spirit tube

Hunila: nurturing and sharing

The men's house (*honai*) stands between two windowless long rectangular houses called *hunila* (kitchen). Like the men's house, these *hunila* have doors 50 cm in height (*holak ape*). Like the men's house also, course grass is used to thatch the roof (*warlike*), while cut grass (*yeleke*) covers the floor (*agarowa*). The number of these kitchens depends on the number of lineages residing in the compound and/or the number of wives (*age*).[58] The rectangular wall of a *hunila* is made of small or medium sized logs lashed together, or of a combination of logs and a type of woven rattan (*lokop*).

The inside of the structure is divided into three main parts: the place where the body resides (*ebe ai*), the kitchen (*hunila* or *lesema*), and the pigsty (*wam dabula*). The first part of the *hunila*, the *ebe ai*, is located at the end near the front gate, and on its dirt floor the fireplace (*wulikin*) is located that warms the women's and uninitiated boy's sleeping area in the attic (*pileleke mitago*). This *ebe ai* is associated with femaleness and reproduction. It is where the husband has sexual intercourse with his wife.[59]

The kitchen (*hunila* or *lesema*) is in the central part of the structure, and lends its name to the building as whole. This kitchen is considered to be the hearth. Different from the men's house with its sacred objects and associated secrecy, the kitchen is a welcoming and open place where food is readily shared. It is where anyone can meet and share regardless of age, gender, or lineage membership. Here things are displayed publicly. Jaws hang on the wall from pigs killed as a contribution to public occasions, like official ceremonies for the school, church, or government office, or the building of roads. These pigs' jaws are the pride of the lineage as they prove the residents' ability to participate in public areas beyond their *kanekela*.

Net bags (*su*) are also displayed in the kitchen. These are thought to have female characteristics like protection, nurturing, warmth and care. It is common to see Hubula women knitting net bags when not otherwise occupied: 'it is better not to have idle hands'. These net bags, either ones received from others or made by the women themselves, are used as contributions in upcoming rituals or to pay for

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[58] The number of kitchens varies, among other things depending on how well the various wives get along.

[59] These sexual relations are prohibited if the wife has just given birth, and may only resume when the baby is able to talk and walk.

such things as school fees. Since these net bags are required in exchanges of sacred stones (*ye*) in the men's house, the Hubula women who make them are actively involved in the maintenance of life, and are symbolically present at the exchanges.

Hubula women do the cooking and provide meals for all the members of the lineage that live in the same compound. In this way, the kitchen signifies the authority of Hubula women in the public domain within the general frame of nurturing. Each kitchen provides meals for all the children and women who sleep both in the first part of the rectangular house (*ebe ai*), as well as for the men who sleep in the men's house (*honai*). As each of the lineages has its own totem, which inherently means that some foods are taboo, the women must be careful to take this into consideration. Boiled or roasted sweet potatoes (*hipere*) are served in the morning and in the afternoon. A warm meal of sweet potatoes and a side dish is served once a day.

Lineage members always gather seated in a circle (*ekipalharek*), also when sharing meals. Sharing meals is an essential element of Hubula life. It is the time when the every-day stories of life are shared among the lineage members. Whoever visits the kitchen during meal times must be offered some food, including those from outside the compound. Everybody present in the kitchen receives an equal share of the food, regardless of the amount available. Such sharing is an important Hubula's value. As the elders say, 'a good kind hearted man is one who goes off by himself when throwing his faeces, but shares the things he enjoys with everyone' (*all usigiluk asokneat lagarek, ilimeke timeke nagalukhe akuniat inom motok.Ape nagalukhe hano, etaiken hano, etaiken werek*) and 'stoking before eating sweet potatoes' (*hipiri hitu mokaliligen, nekarek*), which means one should not eat hidden in the dark where other people can not see one. One should first light the fire first to be able to see others, and share with those who have no food.

The fireplace (*wulikin*) in the kitchen is believed to bring warmth, closeness, and lively conversation. Meals are not the only thing shared in the kitchen. This is also the place where joyful and sad events are talked about, and important occasions in the cycle of life are celebrated: babies are welcomed there as are new brides and the deceased are laid out there before being cremated. Even though this last action concerns death, there is no direct involvement with the world of spirits (*mokat*). Although the bones and ashes of the cremated body are stored in 'the bone fences' (*oak leget*), located next to the kitchen, a man ritually transfers the spirit of the deceased from the bones into a 'spirit tube' made of a dried pumpkin

(*isoak*). This spirit tube is then hung in 'the place of the spirits' (*wakunmo*) located outside the compound, usually somewhere high up and hidden, e.g. on a mountain. This affirms the boundary that distinguishes the kitchen from the men's house: the present life and the afterlife or the world of spirits.

The pigsty (*wam dabula*) is located at the end of the *hunila*, near the men's house. The pigs kept there by members of the lineage can be used for a variety of things, including public events (the jaws of these pigs end up on he kitchen wall), personal, like paying school fees, and rituals. Pigs used in rituals are called 'customary pigs' (*wam wusa ako henek* or *wam henek*; Papuan Malay *babi adat*). Such a customary pig might be dedicated to ancestors who were killed in warfare, and are present in the form of the sacred objects kept in the *kanekela*.

The women that take care of the customary pigs, the mothers (*agosa*), call it their child (*eak*), while lineage members of the next generation minus one call it their grandparent (Papuan Malay: *tete*). After being fed in the morning, the pigs are released from their sty to outside of the compound while their caretaker works in the garden. In the afternoon, she calls them home by name. The pigs usually recognize their caretaker's voice and return to their sty. This intimate relation between the highland mother (*mamak*) and her pigs has led to the rumour, popular among international tourists, that the *mamak* breastfeeds her piglets.

Pigs are considered inseparable from humans, and the Hubula do not demure when non-Papuans call them 'children of pigs' (Ind. *anak babi*). Pigs are an important part of the bride price, and the medium through which the continuity of the customary law is assured. The esteem in which the pig is held is clear from the way in which they are killed, being shot with a bow and arrow.

Although all lineage members, male and female, have authority over pigs used for public and personal non-*kanekela* purposes, only adult initiated male members may make decisions concerning 'customary pigs' (*wam wusa ako henek*). The use of customary pigs must conform to the agreed upon collective purpose of all lineage members. Should there be an unanticipated urgent need, the key leaders of the *kanekela*, represented by the poles in the men's house, that have equal rights to the customary pigs, should first be consulted.

The customary pigs represent the unity of the living and their ancestors. Different from the representation of the ancestors in the men's house in the form of artefacts, in the pigsty in the rectangular house they are present through live customary pigs that form a bridge (*kuwalek*) between the world of the living and the realm of the ancestors. The ancestors are thought to visit, support, and protect

their descendants through the customary pigs.

Many stories about ancestral visits are told by those responsible for the customary pigs. These pigs are believed to be able to communicate better with their carers and to understand and react to their keeper's instructions. This differentiates them from other domesticated pigs. Moreover, their behaviour sometimes resembles that of humans. Its body language and the sounds it makes may be recognised as resembling those of an ancestor. The explanation is that the customary pig is possessed by the ancestor's spirit that wanted to visit his or her descendants. The customary pig is believed to sometimes give an important sign to protect the ancestor's descendants from danger, or to influence collective decisions.

The treatment and use of customary pigs determines whether the ancestors will protect their descendants or be a threat to them. Because of the importance of these pigs, Hubula women, particularly the main keeper of the customary pig, are said to be honorable (*hano*) when caring for the garden and the pigs. This emphasizes the significance of Hubula women in maintaining the cycle of life by nurturing the pigs, the medium of the Hubula's relationship with their ancestors.

Conclusion

The significance of ancestors' stories or the 'path' for the Hubula is the channelled onto a smaller frame at the household level.Some researchers correlate relatedness with residence.Carsten (1997 : 297-292), writing about Langkawi in Malaysia, rejected a universal definition of kinship terms of procreation, because kinship is also about a relatedness that people feel and act out.Relatedness, she maintains, derives both from procreation and from living and eating together.Houses, far from being mere material objects, are the people that live in them, and the activities that give them life.Boundaries between houses, people, and these processes of life merge here.The house provides space and meaning for the relatedness of its inhabitants.Furthermore, in his research in Tobelo, Platenkamp (1988: 47-60) elicited a model of a configuration of values, not only among its inhabitants, but also bound up cosmologically with the ancestors.

Both these cases reveal the importance of the houses as a reflection of social structure.The Hubula firmly adhere to the principle of togetherness through shared residency.As a local saying has it, 'living together is good' or 'the good life is to live together' (*inebe ineluk opakimo lapukhogo hano welaikharek*).Living together here includes three significant elements: the people, the land (*agat*),and the ances-

tors.These three elements are believed to 'derive from the same path' (*ke opakike waugumeke*).The ancestors' stories of the 'path' as a cosmological setting encompass Hubula social structure.

The relationship between the Hubula and the ancestors' stories appears in various forms seen in the compound, both as artefacts or sacred objects, and as living beings.These diverse manifestations are the basis for gender roles among the inhabitants of the compound.Hubula women play important roles that are closely related to public sharing, provision, and nurturing in the cycle of life, including procreation, taking care of the soul before it is seprated from the body, and maintaining a living connection to the ancestors.The importance of women inside the *hunila* is evident from the fact that the kitchen is the hearth and the centre of the compound.On the other hand, the collective identity of the compound is presented by the men's house where the protective objects are kept (*kanekela*).Through their efforts to maintain the 'path' its inhabitants value the compound as a whole.

Chapter 5
The Land

Ye, wam, he, eka, agatma werek

The limestone, pigs, adult women, and money are all found in and on the land

The foundation of the Hubula's socio-cultural ecology

The Hubula organise the land and its natural objects on the basis of territorial functions, which are divided into two categories: the jungle and/or forest (*okama*) and the settlement (*uma*). The settlement is where the Hubula plant, farm, and reside. The forest, on the other hand, are made up of several zones, which, progressing from the nucleus (centre) to the outer layer, are differentiated by their altitude and ecology (cf. *Yayasan Bina Adat Walesi* 2003). The first of these zones is the most central *ikeba* or *tomoba* one. It is located at the highest altitude, and is surrounded by steep cliffs. Here grow ferns, wild orchids, small banyan trees, and plateau moss. This zone is not exploited as it is a sacred and taboo place (*wesama* or *usaken*, Ind. *tempat keramat*) associated with the ancestors. The next zone, *pilibit ekama*, is jungle with various kinds of densely growing trees that are exploited by adult Hubula men who fell trees there for the building of houses, or nowadays to be sold in the city for cash. This exploitation, done manually using axes, may not be excessive, and should be geared to household consumption. In the third zone, *habise ekama*, various medicinal plants are found. Here men hunt boar, polecats, and other kinds of wild animals and birds using spears and bows and arrows.[60] Again, hunting should not be done to excess. Nowadays, hunting is not the Hubula's main source of livelihood. The next zone, *tuke kama*, is rich in edible plants, including ferns (*diplazium esculentum*) and the tall and hard species of *pandanus* (screw pine). In this zone, men hunt polecats, field rats (*talpidae*), and tree rats (*rattus tiomanicus*). In the fifth zone, *weramo kama*, many of the short variety of screw pines grow In some part of this zone gardens (*wen*) are made. The Hubula exploit the natural products of this zone for their daily needs: firewood, wood for fences, natural string, and such are gathered here by men and women, young and old.

[60] The Hubula have a variety of spearheads, depending on the animal being hunted.

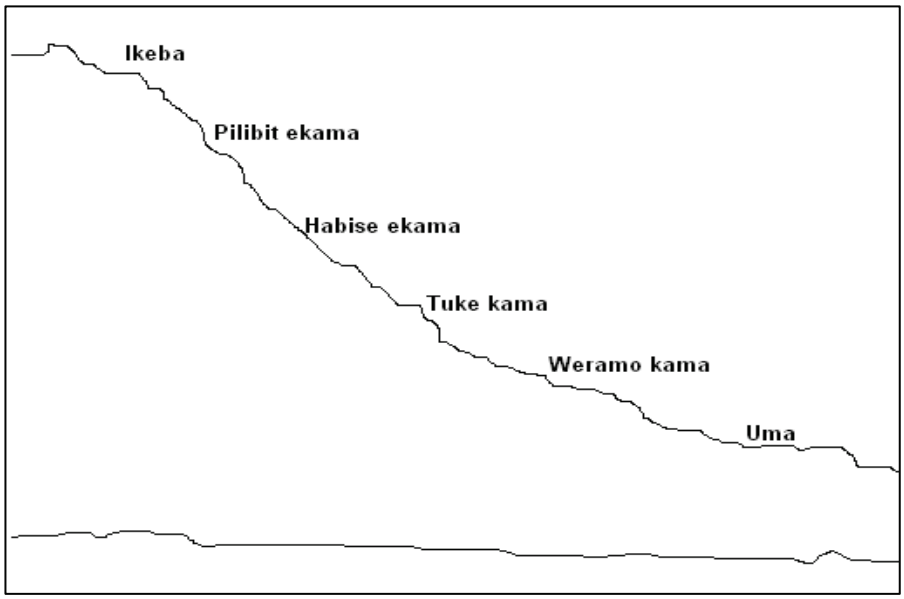

Figure 26: Hubula's functional territorial zones (*Yayasan Bina Adat Walesi* 2003).

The Hubula respect their relationship with the land, natural resources, and animals in their utilization of the environment. They consider plants and animals to be like humans and to have similar rights to occupy the land (*ika oka sue hageo aroma ewe apuni*).[61] Originally, Hubula hunted animals to meet their household needs rather than to be sold for profit in the market. Animals were also only hunted in the permitted zones. In the above ecological chart of the land, the ancestors are located at the highest altitude, which is not exploited. As one descends the slope, it becomes more open to exploitation and gender roles.

In addition to the ancestors, some immortal spirits live in the 'world of the spirits' (*mokatma*) or the 'other world' (Ind. *dunia lain*). These are also part of the land. These spirits are *hulkepu* or *hunkepu*, and *oai yare*. *Hulkepu* are the tutelary guardian spirits of the land (Ind. *penunggu tanah*) that are believed to have existed since the creation of the world. They reside at the highest altitude, in the *ikeba* zone. They appear as harmless gnome figures, carrying loaded small traditional net bags (*su* or *noken*).[62] If one meets one of them and is able to remove something from the creature's net bag, one will become wealthy. Another kind of spirit, the *oai yare*, takes the form of a skinny and extremely tall dark creature that plants, maintains, and protects the trees.

There also is the *hesile*, a spirit that usually resides in unused or unproductive

[61] *Ika oka*: all the plants, *sue*: the bird, *hageo*: the polecat, *aroma*: all of them, *ewe:* personal, *apuni:* human being.

[62] Though some say they can also take on the form and size of normal human beings.

land (Ind. *lahan tidur*). It is believed to be a female *jinn* (genie), a spirit of bad character able to transform itself into many shapes, human and animal that is fond of possessing people. The habitat of the ancestors and the spirits are located in the ecologically non-productive zone, which should, in any case, be left undisturbed.

Figure 27: Left: hunting spears to hunt boar or other animals. Right: various types of arrowheads, the size depending on the size of the game.

The concept of ownership and guardianship of the land

There is closeness not only amongst the Hubula, the spirits, and the animals and plants, inhabitants of the land, but also between the Hubula and the land itself. They conceive of their relationship with the land and the sky within a framework of kinship, referring to the land (*agat*) as grandmother (*ninagona*) or mother (*ninagosa*): 'the sky is our father, and the land is our mother' (*pogot ninopase nen agat ninagosa*). Anyone who sells land commercially is considered to be violating the ancestral stories (*wene yisikama bisukama,* Ind. *adat*),[63] and to be disrespectful towards his or her mother. Land, therefore, is in principle inalienable and the Hubula are an inseparable part of it.

The Hubula's territory is part of their identity, describing themselves as 'the

[63] *Adat* is defined generally as custom or tradition (Bakker 2008: 3). On the other hand, although nowadays the Hubula use the term *adat*, it actually refers more to as the taboo and sacred determined by the ancestral stories of which should be obeyed and not be deviated from.

people of Palim', which stretches from Bolakme until Kurima (see chapter 3). They do not have a concept of land that does not belong to anyone (Ind. *tanah tidak bertuan*), and say that all of nature in the Palim Valley, mountains, hills, rivers, land, forests, and rocks, belongs to *akenak werek* (lit. my land exists), the collective representation of the ancestors. Although some Hubula have adopted the Indonesian term *tuan tanah* (lit. the lord of the land, e.g. a single individual), which they use interchangeably with *akenak werek,* they use the logic inherent in *akenak werek* in defining *tuan tanah*.

This seems slightly different from the pattern Wessing (n.d.) observed for Southeast Asia generally. There the land is understood to ultimately belong to the tutelary nature spirits, with whom the founders of a community [here the ancestors] negotiated a leasehold that is contingent on the people's continued observation of the terms of the contract. Even rulers' hold on legitimacy in the land was traditionally contingent, both on their relationship with the elders of communities, and their relationship with their tutelary spirits, and the rulers own observation of his obligation toward the tutelary spirit of state.

In the context of Hubula in Palim Valley, the idea of *akenak werek* encompasses all of Hubula territory, including the ecological zones discussed above. The following myth describes the history of the ancestral exploitation of the land, and the birth of *akenak werek*:

> Once upon a time, someone from the *wita* moiety and another from *waya* moiety came from the south. They occupied a piece of land and laid a claim to it by lighting a fire and smoking. Afterwards they made a garden and then other people founded a settlement and cultivated the land. At the time of their arrival they slaughtered a pig and sprinkled its blood on the land, staying 'this land is my land'. Then, after a long time, one lineage grew in numbers, and resided in that location.[64]

From this myth we learn that the south of the Palim Valley is viewed as the highlanders' place of origin. The Western Dani believe that their ancestors originally came from the south-eastern part of the Palim Valley. All the ethnic groups living in the western highlands, except the Dem ethnic group, trace their origins to the Palim Valley (Ploeg 2008: 205-206). The status of *akenak werek* has its roots in the beginning of the emergence of the moieties *wita* and *waya*, which occupied and

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[64] *Pada saat itu ada satu dari wita dan waya datang dari arah selatan dan menempati satu lokasi dan mengklaim bahwa itu tanahnya dengan cara menyalakan api dan merokok. Selanjutnya membuat kebun, dan selanjutnya orang lain membuat perkampungan dan membuka lahan. Pada saat pertama ditempat, mereka potong babi dan percikkan tanah dan bilang bahwa tanah ini saya yang punya. Selanjutnya setelah lama satu klen berkembang menjadi lebih banyak dan tinggal di lokasi tersebut.*

lived in their territories. The ancestors mentioned in the myth have the status of *akenak werek*, and have absolute rights of exploitation over territories specified in ancestral narratives. These narratives, therefore, claim ancestral ownership, and derivatively guardianship by a descendant (Ind. *tanah ulayat*).

The *akenak werek*'s territorial borders are marked by mythologically significant trees, stones, rivers, mountains, or hills. These territorial borders may not be moved because they derive from ancestral stories that form the original context that gave birth to the status of *akenak werek*. Each territorial border has its own narrative about the ancestors. According to the Hubula elders, 'every place, every spot, every angle in the Palim Valley has its own ancestral stories that need to be preserved'. These narratives are visible throughout the land, and its natural surroundings in the Palim Valley.

The sacrifice of the pig plays an important role among the Hubula.[65] Land is legitimised through the sprinkling of pig's blood (*wam mep*) as part of a 'causing to be present' of the ancestors (*yerebo*). Any Hubula ritual that includes an affirmation of the status of land requires a 'causing to be present'.[66] Hubula elders explain *yerebo* as a kind of stand-in for a being that is not physically present (Ind. *duplikat pengganti diri yang tidak hadir secara nyata*). In this light, the sprinkling of pig's blood is viewed as the act of 'making present' and localizing the ancestors on the land. The initial sprinkling of pig's blood denotes the sacrificial gift that initiated the exchange relationship with the ancestors, which produced the counter gift of access to fertility, the land, and its productivity.

The territory of *akenak werek* is shared among the members of the lineage, and is inherited from generation to generation. Inheritance is permanent and irrevocable, and cannot be transferred or substituted. Lineage members preserve the ancestral stories and see themselves as guardians of the ancestral domain (Ind. *penjaga tanah ulayat*). The *kanekela* represents the *akenak werek* through the sacred objects kept there, manifestations of the myth of origin and the ancestors. The

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65 Heider (1970 : 142) desribed the myth origins of the pig: „in the beginning, there was *wamake* (literally means pig tail) whose body was that of a pig but whose head was of the Wilil sib (lineage).When he died, a male and a female pig came from his body. These pigs produced pigs for all people." Hubula define *wamake* or pig tails mentioned by Heider that are believed to have supernatural powers and are worn by people and sewn on various ritual objects, such as *tipat*.

66 Some Hubula translate *yerebo* into Indonesian as *bukti* (proof), but I prefer 'causing to be present' because the essence of the word *yerebo* refers to the presence, authority, and legitimacy of the ancestors.

leaders of the *kanekela* are a collective representation of *akenak werek*, so that only initiated adult male Hubula who are members of this *kanekela* can be a guardians of the land.

The domination of the ancestors' seats

The artefacts in the men's house or a religious shrine are said to be sacred and taboo (*wesa*),[67] and people stand in awe of their capacity to represent both local identity and supernatural force. Such artefacts mark the special powers and social identity of a place (Lindstrom 1994: 72). In addition to the sacred objects that are kept in the *kanekela*, the Hubula also recognize the untouchable status of sacred and taboo places and their natural objects (*wesama* or *usaken*), as well as springs (*elesi*), which are valuable because of their importance as a source of water. While it is allowed to take water from a spring, it is not permitted to exploit the area around it in any way, e.g. by felling trees (*o musin*), setting up compounds (*o halin*), or cultivating gardens (*wen waganin*; Ind. *buka kebun*) there.

The awe in which sacred and taboo places are held is based on the myth of origin, and the narratives about the lives of the ancestors. This status represents the Hubula's appreciation of their ancestors or *akenak werek*. Some places, for instance Lake *Maima*, are said to be where Naruekul, the first human being and the key figure in the myth of origin, appeared. (see chapter 4). *Akenak werek* are believed to reside in or sit on (*sombar*; Ind. *tempat singgah*) the sacred and taboo places (*wesama,* Ind. *tempat keramat*), or in sacred and taboo objects (*wesa*) such as stones, trees, hills, mountains, rivers, lakes, or ponds. The ancestors' seats are objects that are connected with various stories, both about casual activities (e.g. places where the ancestor smoked and sat) and more significant ones such as warfare or the place where he or she was killed.

Thus, *akenak werek* occupy significant places and objects that are tied to the ancestral tales. Each lineage, which is represented by its *kanekela*, has its own unique narratives that determine the status of the land and its natural objects. The space for living, that is the land and the natural resources associated with it, is distributed between the Hubula and their cosmological entities, in which the highest priority is given to sacred and taboo places and objects. Seen this way, the Hubula define the land and its natural resources as an ancestral domain.

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[67] Taboo is a pan-Pacific concept describing things that are set apart or sacred.

The untouchability of these areas must be respected. In order to do so, and maintain and guard the purity and sacredness of the ancestors' seats, Hubula children begin to be told the stories of the ancestors at a very early age. Although some the above tabooed areas are not marked, the *akenak werek* do put up signs (*silo,* Ind. *tanda larangan*) to indicate that an area is sacred and taboo and protected. The *akenak werek* and the people who use the land also place such signs to prevent or stop their territories from being disturbed (see figure 28). An object that is labelled in this way must be considered to be something that 'can be looked at, but should not be either touched or taken' (*yi silo begama iluk hilikenat lakhano*).

The ancestors hold the ultimate power that influences the living space and well being of those that live on the Hubula's land. This is the fundamental argument that makes the land and its natural resources in the Palim Valley an ancestral domain. The Hubula's relations with their ancestors are projected onto the topography of the land, and are reflected in the way they manage it. Any exploitation of a land zone should be done with permission from the *kanekela*, the guardian of the land. For instance, exploitation of natural resources at a high altitude, such as the *pilibit ekama* zone, should be done respectfully, with permission from the *akenak werek*, the owners of the land. This respect is shown (and permission is gained) by placing some leaves, preferably rubbed with pig's fat (*wam amok*), under a tree and saying 'I have given something' (*an neki higi ati*) as a symbolic payment (Ind. *tanda bayar*). Evans-Pritchard (1956) points to the element of redemption in Nuer sacrificial ritual as a way to gain the protection of the ancestors. The Hubula, however, endeavour to gain both their ancestors' protection and to prevent their anger.

The Hubula say that the land should be managed in accordance with the ancestral stories by respecting the division into zones and conducting rituals. They believe that disturbing the jungle by felling trees or taking wood without the permission of, and a blessing from the *akenak werek* and the guardian of the land could upset the spirits and the ancestors. As a result disturbed and angry spirits and ancestors might invade the settlement. Such an invasion by disturbed *akenak werek* (Ind. *gangguan tuan tanah*) is thought to threaten fertility and bring disaster. Since disturbing untouchable areas or objects, or the ancestors' seats is thought to result in illness and even death, anyone doing so will be expelled from their lineage and from membership in the *kanekela*.

Figure 28: The ellipse shows a branch stuck into the ground with leaves twisted around it as a tabooing sign (*silo*). It was made by Weni Asso to warn people not to disturb her garden. She put up this sign after finding that many of the vegetables growing in her garden had been stolen, and was disappointed that the sign did not stop the thieves. She thought that this was because the younger generation has started to lose its fear (*nayuk*) of things sacred and taboo (*wesa*).

Figure 29: A female traditional healer (*ubule*) conducting a healing ritual for a patient suspected of being disturbed by angry *akenak werek*

As an example, Yohannes, the son of the leader of the village Waga-waga, in the northern part of the Palim Valley, had since 2003 been suffering from a serious case of malaria. By 2007 he had stopped medical treatment, and had turned to an alternative treatment by a traditional healer (*ubule*). After analysing Yohannes' condition using customary ritual, the healer's diagnosed the illness as caused by a disturbance of the *akenak werek*. Yohannes's father thought that his son might have done something to upset the *akenak werek*, e.g. causing some minor damage to nature or disturbing the living space of the *akenak werek* while walking or playing near an ancestor's seat. Because Yohannes's father did not want to further upset the *akenak werek*, this explanation was carefully stated, away from Yohannes, especially when mentioning the *akenak werek*. The respect for and fear of the *akenak werek's* power over fertility and salvation was expressed. Yohannes' treatment, including western medicine, was believed to have failed because the relationship with the ancestors was disturbed.

Thus, the well being of the Hubula and other living beings such as pigs and plants depends on a cosmological balance, particularly the relationship with the ancestors. To prevent further negative consequences of a violation of the rules of conduct vis-à-vis the ancestors' seats, a ritual of recovery (*oka enawar*; Ind. *upacara pemulihan*) must be performed. This serves as a comprehensive reconciliation and consists of the sacrifice of two customary pigs, and the sprinkling of their blood on the ancestors' seats.

Warfare as a mechanism of *kanekela* leadership and land distribution

The structure of the *kanekela* leaders as the representatives of the guardians of the land (*akenak werek*) came about due to warfare. It is important to understand the historical background of how the establishment and membership of the *kanekela* is related to the history of warfare. It will be recalled that the key figure of the origin myth (*Naruekul*) predicted that the Hubula would fight amongst themselves. This prediction came true, and led to both fragmentation and alliances among them. The smallest unit of the union comprises of the joining of two different moieties, called moiety partnerships (*isaeak*; Ind. *pasangan klen*). These have important roles in both peace and war. These moiety partnerships inherently include people from other lineages who live in the compound and/or have affinal relations with the members of the primary lineage. The involvement of both

members of the moiety partnership is essential in the conduct of rituals, including those of marriage and death, as well as uniting the partnered moieties against enemies during warfare. Both members of the moiety partnerships were involved in the process of warfare, from the first initiatives to post-warfare management, including division of territory and/or the establishment of borders.

On a larger scale, several compounds may join together to form confederations of varying sizes. The border between one confederation and another is called *karoba*. Although in some cases *karoba* might trigger conflict or even warfare, land issues are the weakest reason for going to war. More usual reasons are pigs, and women, and land (Heider 1970: 100-101). War within a confederation is called 'war inside the house' (*win uma wim*).

Several confederations can unite to form an alliance. Some confederations might unite with another confederation in an alliance that opposes the 'eternal enemy' (*silimeke*). Such warfare is referred to as the 'old or eternal warfare' (*wim aloka*; Ind. *perang tua* or *perang abadi*). Membership in an alliance is flexible, and a confederation might decide to leave an alliance and join another one, even an eternal enemy in order to gain support against the enemy during the war within the same confederation (cf. Alua 2006: 79).

Internal migration among the Hubula in the Palim Valley was the result of the dynamics of warfare. Catholic missionaries in the Palim Valley in the 1950s witnessed the migration of some people who had been evicted from their land due to the impact of warfare (Lieshout 2008). Such internal migration did not eliminate the status of the *akenak werek*, however. Each occasion of warfare affirms the group formation (us and the others), but not automatically the territorial borders. For instance, the *Wio*, a Hubula lineage that live around Wamena city, that temporarily migrated to the southern part of Palim, did not lose their status and rights as the *akenak werek* of their land. Some other lineage might occupy their land for a longer or shorter period, but could never be its *akenak werek*.

Warfare is managed by *kanekela* leaders, both in its execution and in the structure of its outcome. This management requires that each war have warlords (Ind. *tuan perang*) who are made up of a war leader (*ap wim tugure meke*) and one or more commanders (*ap wim metek meke*). One outcome of warfare is that those killed can be recruited to the positions of *yaman*, *metek*, and *apisan*, depending on their exploits during the battle. One effect of this recruitment is that war reproduces the essential leadership structure of the *kanekela* as symbolized by its pillars (see chapter 4).

The following example based on the traditional warfare that took place before pacification period, describes the above structure of *kanekela* leadership through the formation of a sacred object, *kaneke*, which is kept in the *kanekela*. The lineage Asso (from the moiety partnership Lokobal Wetapo in Hepuba) killed Miss Sisiake from the lineage Hesegem (member of the moiety partnership Elokpere Meage in Kurima). The Hesegem group took revenge by killing Asso member Apua. This led the Asso groups and the Hesegem group to become 'eternal enemies' (*silimek*e). The Asso lineage made Sisiake its 'first *kaneke'* (*tugi mugu*),[68] while the Hesegem lineage did so with Apua. The *tugi mugu* was a token of appreciation that was given to the ancestors who were killed in the initial fighting. These played a crucial role as the foundation of the sacred objects, in addition to the mythological ones (*suken*) that derived from Naruekul.

In later developments, the sequence of the ancestors who were killed in warfare created the order of the *kanekela* leaders[69] as represented by the pillars in the *kanekela*. In the example above the Asso lineage showed their respect toward Apua as *kaneke yaman*, while the Hesegem group did the same with Sisiake.

As the war continued the next *kaneke* was made *metek*, and the third one *apisan*. The narratives that include the historical background, the merit, and the age of each *kaneke* contribute to the collective decision on its status. Competition takes place to determine whether a *kaneke* is given the core position of the *yaman/metek/apisan*, or is made an associate (*omarab*) of one of them, e.g. an associate of the *yaman* (cf. Widjojo 1996: 29-30). The *kanekela* leaderships are formed based on these three groups. Naturally, the leadership positions will then be transferred to the lineage members of each of the *kanekela* leaders. Based on common agreement, the other members from each of these groups can join and help to balance out the composition of a *yaman/metek/apisan* that does not have enough members in their own lineage. In the last case, these three *kanekela* leadership groups are the representatives of *akenak werek* of the land. The descendants do not have power over the land, but preserve the ancestral stories about it, even though they are the authorized representatives of the *akenak werek*.

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[68] This shows that the spirit that is represented in the sacred object can be female, although only men may ritually care for these objects.

[69] The *yaman*, *metek*, and *apisan*, mentioned earlier.

Figure 30: The irrigation of a garden located on the flat land.

Figure 31: A garden located on a steep hill.

Figure 32: Hubula women preparing meals for their family members and friends who join in collective work in the garden. The host is the wife of the working group member that invited the others to work in her share of the garden.

Figure 33: A working group (Ind. *kelompok kerja*) cooperating in an early phase of gardening, such as loosening the soil in a new garden. This work is rotated based on an invitation from a member who seeks the additional support.

In addition to the *kanekela* leaders as the guardians of the land, the ancestral stories, particularly the history of warfare, form the root (*ero*) that produces the relations that determine access to and management of the land and its natural resources. Hubula who are bound by the fixed relationships between *kanekela* members (Ind. *hubungan tetap honai adat*) are entitled to certain privileges, including access to land, the right to reside in the compound, to be present at and involved in the rituals, and the like. Participants in this fixed relationship are treated similarly to the way that kin is, except that there is no *adat* prohibition on marrying them.[70] The narratives of warfare are the foundation of the social structure, including this fixed relationship between *kanekela*. The following example shows how the shared history of warfare gives birth to such fixed relations.

Moiety partners Asso Lokobal had as 'eternal enemy' moiety partners Hesegem Elokpama. In this war the *kanekela* of Asso Lokobal was the warlord (Ind. *tuan perang*), which planned the strategy[71] against the Hesegem Elokpama combination. One member of another moiety partnership, Lani Himan, who was allied with the Asso Lokobal partnership, was killed. In order to express their highest respect and appreciation to the ancestors (*kaneke* or *hoe neluk*) for the person who was killed (*ware kaput*), the Asso Lokobal partnership initiated a ritual celebration. This sacred object (*kaneke)* was named after the victim and kept in the Asso Lokobal's *kanekela*. It can also be said that the Asso Lokobal housed the manifestation of the spirit, and integrated it into their *kanekela* by naming it after the member of the Lani Himan who was killed. Based on this spiritual bond, there was a relationship between the *kanekela* of the Asso Lokobal and the Lani Himan. This relationship was fixed, and firmly bound all the members of their lineages together. This meant that the Asso Lokobal and the Lani Himan groups would be mutually involved in the rituals in their *kanekela*.

Later the Asso Lokobal once again became a warlord and planned a war against the Hesegem Elokpama in order to avenge the death of the Lani Himan. The moiety partners Asso Wetipo, Lani Wetapo, Lani Lokobal, and Wuka Wetapo allied themselves with the Asso Lokobal in this war against the Hesegem Elokpama. The Asso Wetipo and the Wuka Wetapo killed two members of the Hesegem Elokpama, while some members of the Lani Wetapo and the Lani Lokobal were injured. The Asso Wetipo and the Wuka Wetapo gave the Asso Lokobal the sacred

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70 Although it is considered better if such a marriage does not take place.

71 Strategy = *suap*; lit. *su* (net bag) and *ap* (adult male)

objects looted as 'the representation' and manifestation of the spirits of the enemies killed in the war (*apwarek*). After showing them to the public, the Asso Lokobal kept these manifestations of the spirits of the defeated enemies in their 'house of war' (*wim aila*).[72] Unlike with the Lani Himan, the Asso Lokobal did not have fixed relationships of the *kanekela* with the Asso Wetipo, the Lani Wetapo, the Lani Lokobal, and the Wuka Wetapo. This meant that they were also not obliged to be involved in each other's customary rituals.

A fixed relationship between *kanekela*, as discussed earlier, is based on a sacred object given in token of appreciation (*kaneke*) for the sacrifice of the life of a member of the other lineage. The cosmological relations between the Hubula and their ancestors is based on shared sacred objects that encompass relations, both among the various groups of Hubula, and between Hubula and their land or natural resources. The following is an example of the distribution and redistribution of the land and its products based on the shared history of warfare. Damianus Wetapo and his lineage members in Hepuba reside on and use ancestral land belonging to Lami Wetapo's lineage from a village called Air Garam, about 5 KM from Hepuba. Although Damianus and Lami have the same family name (Wetapo), they are not related. Lami Wetapo's lineage authorized Damianus' lineage to live on and use their ancestral land because of a fixed relationship between their *kanekela* through a shared history of warfare. Damianus' ancestors had been warlords against their eternal enemy from Kurima. Lami's ancestors had allied themselves with Damianus's ancestors in this fight. In the course of the fight Damianus' and Lami's ancestors managed to kill one of each other's enemies: Lami's ancestors killed Pum and Damianus' killed Owogait. This condition resulted in the fixed relationship between the *kanekela* of Damianus' and Lami's lineages. Since Damianus' ancestors were the warlords they became 'our father' (*ninopaselak*) or the oldest, and Lami's became 'the father's son' (*inapuri*), the younger member in the fixed relationship between the *kanekela*.

Lami's current lineage members inherited the land in Hepuba from their ancestors. Nevertheless, as an appreciation toward 'their father' and since the Lamis live in Hitigima while Damianus' family lives in Hepuba, Lami's family authorized Damianus' family to reside on and use about five hectares of their ancestral land. Such an authorization, which is oral and informal and does not involve any kind

[72] Different from the northern part of the Palim Valley, where the house of war belongs to a confederation, in the southern part it is located within the *kanekela*.

of ritual, gives Damianus' family usufruct rights (*yawukuritmo,* Ind. *hak pakai*): they are allowed to live on and use the land, but are not allowed to present *yerebo* for the land since they are not the land's guardians or representatives of *akenak werek*.

Once Damianus' family was given this authorization, Lami's family could no longer interfere with the land and its products. In 2001, Lami's family visited Damianus, who was about to open a new garden, bordering on their land in Hepuba. Damianus' family then asked Lami's family to break a piece of wood as a sign of their permission to open the new garden. After Lami returned home, members of his family frequently fell ill, and the 'mother' of his pig died. The cause of these calamities was said to be his giving Damianus' family permission to open the new garden. Lami's family came and apologized to Damianus' family. Lami's family then reconfirmed that Damianus' family was authorized to use the land and promised that they would stop involving themselves in issues related to it. Damianus' family have no obligation to Lami's concerning the land's management and production.

Later Damianus' family allowed a part of this land to be used by Nico Asso Lokobal's lineage because, when he was still a child, Damianus Wetapo's parents had been killed in warfare. Since his only brother, Wiligima Wetapo, was also only a child they were both taken care of by Nico Asso Lokobal's lineage. Damianus' *kanekela* and some part of their land were also taken care of by Lokobal's family. After Wiligima was grown up and began to play a part in his *kanekela*, Lokobal told him about the history of warfare, including its sacred objects such as *kaneke.* Wiligima then authorized Lokobal's family to continue using the land they had been using in thanks for looking after Wetapo's family, the land, and the *kanekela.*

The basis for collective solidarity and access to land, then, lies in the sacrifice of ancestors in warfare. The conferment of the usufruct rights (*yawukuritmo*) embodies social relationships. This case study shows the significance of social obligations with roots in the history of warfare as the social parameters of distribution and redistribution of the land and its natural products.

The cosmological legitimatisation of the land

The fertility of people, plants, land, and pigs is predicated on the relationship with the ancestors, a relationship in which the *kanekela* as the representative of *akenak werek* plays a significant part. The world of spirits has much influence on fertility through the care of the sacred objects (*kaneke*, *apwarek*, and *suken*), as well

as the place where the spirits reside (*wakunmo*) because 'everything can be planned and done when relations with the ancestors are harmonious' (*inaloke hanorogo palek inesok ililiwere kagol hanek*, *iliseget*, *jigeset kagotarek*). The spirit of the ancestors, manifested in sacred objects like *kaneke*, are expected to guard their descendants' land, and ward off disturbances caused by bad spirits, including those of their enemies. Other sacred objects, representing the enemy's spirits (*apwarek*), are kept in order to control and suppress these spirits, and stop them from disturbing fertility. The ritual allies ancestors and descendants in a cosmic war against enemy spirits.

Figure 34: Pigs' jaws hanging in the kitchen (*hunila*) of the Lakogo Himan moiety partnership as proof of pigs sacrificed during official public ceremonies. These proofs express the partnership's pride in having contributed to the public good.

Figure 35: A bundle of sacrificed pig's tails from the grand opening ceremony of a government office. These tails are hung and displayed in the government office.

Figure 36: The interrelation between the *kanekela* leaders and 'the representation' (*yerebo*)

	The guardian (*yaman*)	The regulator (*metek*)	The ruler (*apisan*)
Association	'The old man' or 'the woman who sits quietly at the back'. Believed to be the source that holds the power coming from the cosmological beings or the world of spirits and ancestors.	The one that actualises the power and life energy from the guardian (*yaman*) as well as the spokesperson announcing the collective decisions of the members of the *kanekela*.	Distributes ancestral power to the *yaman* and the *metek*. Sitting in the front, the *apisan* functions as the guide for this power.
Roles in sacrificing the customary pig	Holds the back part of the customary pig when it is shot with the arrow. Cuts off the ears and tail of the dead customary pig and brings these to the *kanekela*.	After receiving permission from the guardian (*yaman*), shoots, cuts, and distributes the parts of the customary pig and sprinkles its blood on the land (*wam mep wasusak*).	Holds the front part of the customary pig when it is shot with the arrow.

Customary pig's blood is sprinkled at the start of any Hubula ritual. The Hubula emphasize the significance of this sprinkling of blood on the land as legitimising the ritual. On the other hand, the ancestors are mythically localised through the sacrifice of the pig and the sprinkling of its blood as the 'representation' (*yerebo*) described in the myth about *akenak werek*. As described by Hubula elders, a proper application of the 'representation' is expected to first of all unite the living and the dead. Second, it builds and maintains relations and/or alliances that support Hubula collective life. It furthermore reviews and reflects on past and present conditions in order to deal with the future, and create and maintain harmony with the land, other people, and the ancestors. Finally, it guards the safety and fertility of the Hubula and their environment, and affirms the cohesion and unity between the Hubula and their myth of origin. The 'representation' prescribes unchangeable actors, sacrifices and offerings. It designates which parts of the pig are to be sacrificed and which persons are responsible for the sacrifice. The 'representation' as a manifestation of the ancestors' presence may only be eaten by the leaders of the *kanekela*. The Hubula's principle „the 'representation'

should not be left out or eaten by those that have no right to it"[73] emphasizes that the 'representation' should be properly distributed, including the givers and receivers. The wrong distribution and misuse of the 'representation' could bring about infertility and threaten Hubula collective life, as this would break the line that binds relationships in the compound.[74]

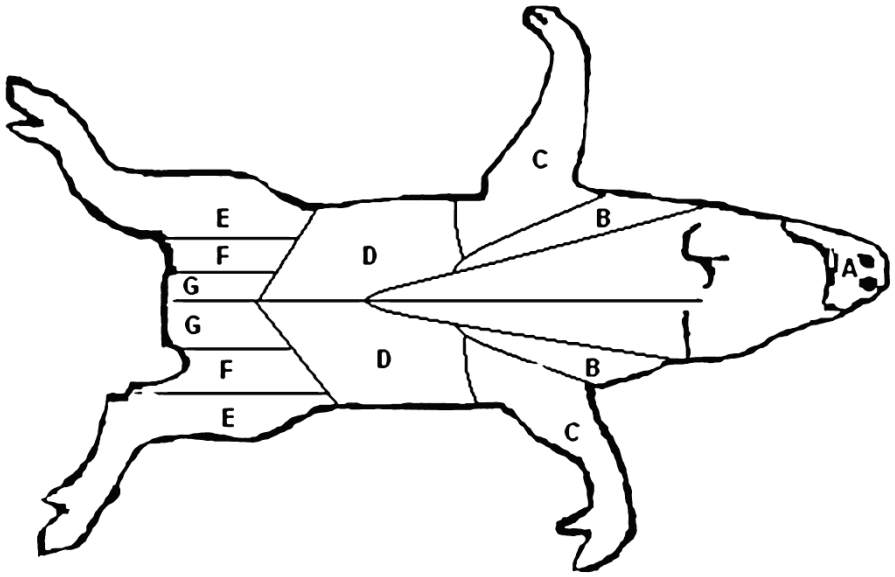

Figure 37: The distribution of the sacrificed customary pig (cf. Broekhuijse 1967, and Aso-Lokobal, unpublished article on *yerebo*)

	Parts of the customary pig:	Term of address as the 'representation' (*yerebo*):	The receiver:
A	*Apisan/ukul*	*Warek apisan/wakun apisan*	*Apisan*
B	*Omolo*	*Agawo*	*Metek*
C	*Eki*	*Agawo*	*Metek*
D	*Oat*	*Wein ela*	*Metek*
E	*Ae*	*Yerebo*[75]	*Metek*
F	*Aloak*	*Yerebo*	*Yaman*
G	*Owak oak*	*Yerebo*	*Metek*

[73] *Yerebo yugun nalusep*, Lit. *yerebo*: the 'representation', *yugun*: indiscriminate, *nalusep*: do not delete.

[74] *Yerebo lingitogon halok*, *hele pulelasunogo*. Lit. *yerebo*: the 'representation', *lingitogon*: just the land without having customary ritual, *halok*: because we do so, *hele*: the tie, *pulelasunogo*: widespread.

[75] *Yerebo* refers to both the sacred gift in general and to certain parts of the customary pig's meat.

	Parts of the customary pig:	Term of address as the 'representation' (*yerebo*):	The receiver:
The lung	*Erage*	*Mutuke*	*Metek*
The heart	*Etaiken*	*Mutuke*	*Metek*
The blood		*Wam mep*	The ancestors through

N.B.

The above customary pig's meat is called *iluguneke*. In addition to the fact that the 'guardian' (*yaman*) always gets *aloak* in any ritual, the distribution of the rest depends on the type of ritual conducted. For instance, *oat* is given to the 'regulator' (*metek*) and *apisan* is given to the 'ruler' (*apisan*) during the ritual of the big pig's festival (*wam mawe*).

Figure 38: A customary pig (*wam wusa ako henek*) marked by its slashed ears.

Figure 39: *Yaman* is cutting of the ears and tails of dead customary pigs to be taken to the *kanekela*.

After the customary pig is killed, the 'guardian' cuts off its ears and tail. This is done before the pig is cooked in the earth oven. The ears are put aside to be kept or cooked as well. The tail is to be made into *tipat* to be worn by the person on whom the ritual is focused. It represents protection, unity with the ancestors or the subject's soul, or the closure of the ritual, uniting the spirit and the person. For instance, a sick person might wear the pig's tail (*tipat*) after the healing ritual, or a bride might wear it at her wedding (*he yokal*). As the pig's tail is only worn by those in need of it, other participants in the same ritual might wear a coarse grass necklace as their *tipat*.

Ensuring the proper arrangement and distribution to those who have the right to receive the 'representation' is more crucial than the gift itself. Through the 'representation' the leaders of the *kanekela* are important mediums that transfer ancestral power. The transformation proceeds linearly, starting with 'the guardian' (*yaman*) who receives the power from the ancestor, it flows via the 'regulator' (*metek*), to the 'ruler' (*apisan*) who distributes it (see figure 36). The guardian's acceptance and consumption of his share of the 'representation' is an essential part of the transformation of ancestral power that brings fertility to the Hubula. Whoever receives the 'representation', e.g. the *kanekela* leaders as *akenak werek*, has a moral obligation to raise a customary pig (*wam henek*) to be sacrificed for the ritual in their *kanekela*. Therefore, receiving the 'representation' is part of a dialectical process of sacrifice, and the distribution of the 'representation' shows the complete involvement of the ancestors. The full cycle runs from the ancestors back to the ancestors: both the sacrifier, the beneficiary of the sacrifice, and the sacrificer, the executor of the sacrifice, are a collectivity rather than a single person. Although the same group of people, the *kanekela* leaders, represent both the sacrifiers and the sacrificers, the beneficiaries are the Hubula as a whole, including those not physically present at the ritual such as women, children, and uninitiated boys. The preparation, distribution, and consumption of the 'representation' should be done correctly, as should the seating arrangement of the leadership groups during the distribution. The Hubula's relationship with their ancestors is one of subordination and dependency. Doing things wrong will make the ancestors unhappy or angry, and threaten the Hubula's collective fertility.

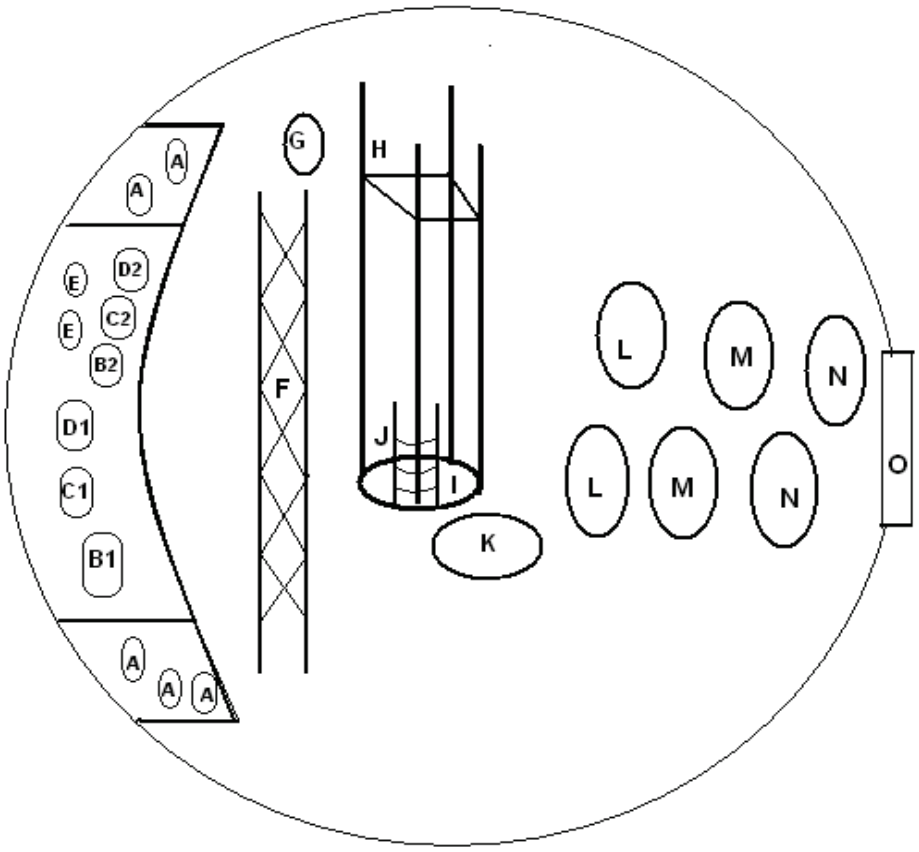

Figure 40 (cf. Aso-Lokobal, unpublished article on *kaneke* and *yerebo*): Sketch of the inside of the customary hut (*kanekela*) during the distribution of the 'representation' pig's meat (*yerebo*).

A-E: The sacred objects are kept in a wooden box (*kakok*).
A: The limestone (*ye*) and/or the manifestation of the myth of origin (*suken*).
B, C, D (B1, B2, C1, C2,D1, D2):The tokens of appreciation to and the manifestations of the spirits of the ancestors that sacrificed themselves or who were killed in warfare against the enemies (*kaneke*). The composition and configuration of B-D varies, based on the history of the warfare.
B1, C1, D1: *Kaneke* from the first round of warfare.
B2, C2, D2: *Kaneke* from the second round of warfare.
B1, B2: *Kaneke yaman.*
C1, C2: *Kaneke metek.*
D1, D2: *Kaneke apisan.*
E: The token of appreciation called the 'associates' (*omarab*) referring to those who were killed during the warfare but are not included as part of either the guardian, the regulator, or the ruler (*yaman*, *metek* or *apisan*). Instead, each is associated with one of them (e.g. the associate of *yaman*).
F: the 'representation' and manifestation of the spirits of the defeated enemies killed in warfare (*apwarek*).
G: Necklaces made of wood fibre, symbolising the final phase of the rituals (*tipat* or *yakik*) are distributed to those attending the ritual when it is finished.
H: The pillars (*heseke*).
I: The fireplace (*wulikin*).
J: A bundle of grass is tied to one of the pillars and symbolises the bond between the

Hubula, their ancestors, and the land (*nesok ai*).
K: The 'circle'(*yagareka*) in the form of a rim of sugarcane leaves that symbolises the unity between the Hubula and their ancestors to accommodate the sacred gift before being distributed.
L, M, N: The seating arrangement during the distribution of the sacred gift, which refers to the position of *kaneke* and is primarily defined by the guardian (*yaman*).
L: The place of the guardian (*yaman*).
M: The place of the regulator (*metek*).
N: The place of the ruler (*apisan*).
O: The door (*holak ape*) of the kanekela.

The following sketch from my fieldwork illustrates the significance of customary pigs in determining fertility and dignity. Ohena[76] had two new-born pigs, donated by some people in the village, one of which was given to family members while the other one was designated to be a customary pig (*wam henek*). Ohena is one of the leaders of the *kanekela*, *metek,* who receives the 'representation', so that he had to provide a customary pig for the *kanekela*'s ritual. The customary pig kept for his *kanekela* was raised by Ohena's wife, and was named *wam kepu*.[77] In other words, that customary pig was dedicated to one of Ohena's ancestors whose name was preserved in the sacred object (*kaneke*) out of respect for the sacrifice of his life. Raising the *wam kepu* pig had a positive effect, and brought Ohena's family happiness, fulfillment, good spirits, and contentment. The shared tasks of feeding the pig and cleaning its sty gave Ohena's family a feeling of togetherness and made them feel at ease in their home: their customary pig *wam kepu* made them feel the presence of their ancestors (*ninopu ninopa*).

However, after caring for the pig for three years, urgent family needs arose that spoilt the atmosphere: school fees had to be paid, and Ohena's wife needed surgery. There was some disagreement about selling *wam kepu*, but in the end there was no other way. At that time a Regional People's Representative (Ind. *Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah* or DPRD), running for the office of *Bupati* (regent), needed to sacrifice a pig for his campaign. Thus, the Ohena sold their customary pig. The buyer agreed to pay 6,5 million *Rupiah*, but only handed over 2,5 million *Rupiah*. As of 2008 the rest had still not been paid.

The Ohenas did not have a substitute pig (*agawok*), and so were left without a customary pig. They felt this to be a great loss, and were remorseful about having sold it, feeling as if they had sold their grandfather (*tete*) or the one looking out for

[76] It is not his real name. Lit. means cloud.
[77] *Wam*: pig and *kepu*, the ancestor who was killed in war who is manifested in that sacred object or *kaneke*.

the family. Moreover, they felt as if they had lost the source of their well being as well. They were embarrassed when neighbors and relatives asked after their customary pig, and were deemed to have negative or ignoble characters (*kepu*) because they were not raising a customary pig. Their actions were also judged to deviate from the ancestral stories (*were okot*, Ind. *tidak tahu adat*) as by selling their customary pig they had used it for something other than the rituals involving the sacred objects (*kaneke*) in their *kanekela*.

The Ohenas began to blame their continuing illnesses and family problems on the sale of their pig. Things worsened when Elege[78], one of Ohena's uninitiated sons, ate the 'representation'. Although this was meant to socialize their son into the culture, they were again said to be less than honorable. Elege's infertility, slow growth and skinny body also came to be blamed on the consumption of the 'representation'. The village elders told the Ohenas that Elege' soul (*nyawe agun,* Ind. *arwah*) had left his body (*inewe*) because the ancestors were upset.

The Ohena's sale of their *wam henek* and their allowing their uninitiated son eat the 'representation' excluded them from the inner circle (*leget itigma*; Ind. *keluar lingkaran*). In order to regain their fertility and again become part of the inner circle (*leget akmake*), they had to re-harmonize their relationship with the ancestors. This could be done by providing three pigs: a substitute customary pig, a small pig for their error with the 'representation', and a third for the ritual to bring one's spirit back in one's body and/or strengthen the relationship among the members of the *kanekela* (*nesok ai*). Since the Ohenas have been unable to provide a pig they continue to feel embarrassed, restless, and off balance, because their relationship with the ancestors remains disharmonious, and thus their lives are infertile and in turmoil.

Stewart and Strathern (2008) write that sacrifices in New Guinea accommodate two paradigms that emphasize both the sharing of food and the killing of sacrificial animals. In this they draw on Robertson Smith's ideas about the creation of solidarity between the ancestors and their descendants through the communal consumption of sacrificial animals (general exchange), and on Hubert and Mauss' transformation of the sacrificed self to the sacrifice of an object (cf. Stewart and Strathern 2008: xvii-xviii). However, in the Palim Valley, the Hubula go through a complete cycle, starting with the rearing and killing of a customary pig and ending with its distribution. This illustrates the interdependency between the Hubula's

[78] It is not his real name. Lit. means a boy.

well being and social cohesion with the sacrifice of the customary pig. The ancestors' support in every day life is felt throughout the period that the pig is reared. The transformation of the ritual customary pig into an economic commodity caused the ancestors to be disturbed and cease their support, ending in the social exclusion of the Ohenas.

Maintaining a relationship with the ancestors in the agricultural cycle

The Hubula saying 'hold tight the good life with our hands' (*niniki hano rogo fago dogosak*) reflects a vision of life based on the 'mother' or land that produces sweet potatoes (*hipere*), which makes it possible to keep pigs (*wam*) that in turn can be used as a bride price. This bride then gives birth to children that safeguard the ancestral stories and take care of the land. The elements that make up this cycle are interconnected, inseparable, and interdependent, and a threat to any of them affects all of them. The importance of the land is clear: as the Hubula point out, without it there are no sweet potatoes or even space in which to safeguard the ancestral stories. Without it there would also be no pigs or Hubula, or life.

The Hubula's rites of passage require the participation of men who are members of the *kanekela*, as well as the sacrificial customary pig (*wam wusa ako henek*) and its blood, and a certain type of sweet potato (*hipere ai werek*; Ind. *petatas asli*). Traditional sweet potatoes,[79] such as *helalekue lama, arugulek, musaneken, hulok, hoboak,* and *bogoreken*[80] are the necessary elements used in the ritual.[81]

Strathern emphasizes the central role of pigs among the Maring of Papua New Guinea in both production and the exchanges that lead to ancestral support (Strathern 1983: 79). The Hubula, on the other hand, view the interdependency between the land, Hubula, sweet potatoes, and the pig as a symbolic representa-

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79 Bureaucratic governmental administration, transmigration from other Indonesian provinces, Islamic and Christian religions, new crops and livestock, and commercial goods and markets were only introduced into the Baliem Valley in the latter half of the 20th Century (Peters 2001: 3).

80 There are some other traditional sweet potatoes that are used to feed the pigs, including *opem*, *ouluk*, *duak*, *musan*, *mikmak*. The differences between new and old (traditional) sweet potato cultivars include the persistent stem after harvest. Stems of old sweet potato cultivars do not dry out quickly after harvest and keep on producing new shoots until they are utilized as new planting material or fed to the pigs. The stems of new cultivars usually do not produce new shoots after harvest (Widyastuti, *et.al.* 2002: 152, 154-155).

81 The significance of traditional sweet potatoes is clear from the origin myth (see chapter 4).

tion of the cosmic totality. The land is framed in the landscape rather than being considered independently, and the landscape is at once a topographic map, a cosmological exegesis, a 'clanscape', and a ritual and political entity (Barnard and Spencer 2002: 323). Landscapes are never passive. People engage with them, rework them, and appropriate and contest them. Landscapes are part of the way in which identities are created and disputed, whether of individuals, groups, or a nation-state. Operating at the juncture of history and politics, social relations, and cultural perceptions, the landscape is a concept of high tension (Barnard and Spencer 2002: 324). The landscape in which the Hubula live and work can be seen as follows:

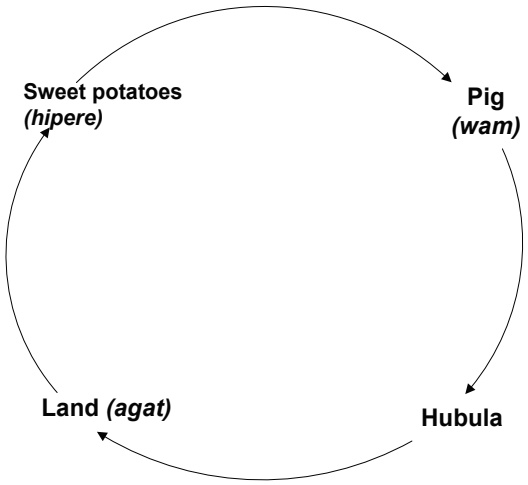

Figure 41: The Hubula's cycle of building a sustainable good life

One reason that people cultivate gardens is to settle a social debt (see chapter 6).[82] In order to acquire pigs to pay their debt, a lineage must cultivate a garden and sell its produce, usually vegetables and sweet potatoes.[83] Although a new garden might be opened at any time, this mostly takes place at the end of the dry season when the leaves and felled trees are dry enough to be burned to create space for the new garden. In this period before the rains it is also easier to hoe the soil. The making of a new garden does not depend on the type of crops to be grown, but rather on the relation between the land and person who plans to do it: is this person a guardian of the land and a representatives of the *akenak werek*, or

[82] The obviously also grow them to eat, as they lack other provisions (*ono waga*).

[83] The sweet potatoes that are sold in the market are mostly new types that were introduced by Indonesian migrants, rather than the traditional local ones that are seen as manifestations of the myth of origin, and are used in the rituals (see chapter 4). Most new cultivars in the Baliem Valley were introduced by bible school students who came from elsewhere (Schneider *et al.* 1993: 41).

is he or she someone who has usufruct rights there (*yawukuritmo*). In the first case the 'representation' (*yerebo*) is required in a land ritual, as will be discussed below.

If the person opening the garden has usufruct rights, the initiator and his working groups must manage the whole gardening process. In the case of ancestrally exploited land (*tanah ulayat*), on the other hand, the guardian of the land is responsible for the success of the garden and the associated rituals. The guardian should therefore pay attention to the sacred aspects of the land and its taboos (*wesa*) so that prosperity and the safety of the workers will be assured, and they will be safeguarded from ancestral anger.

These taboos are meant to ensure good weather and fertility in order to get the best harvest. These taboos vary with the zone that is exploited. Examples are a prohibition on drinking plain water (replacing it with sugarcane essence), only eating roasted sweet potatoes, and refraining from sexual intercourse. It is feared that violating the taboos can bring disaster due to imbalances in the cosmos and nature (Ind. *hukum alam*). Unhappy ancestors might cause someone to fall ill or die (Ind. *pengorbanan nyawa*).

The interconnectedness between the Hubula, the land, and the ancestors shows quite clearly in the agricultural cycle. First, the guardian of the land or the initiator of the new garden must coordinate with the members of the *kanekela* in a preparatory meeting, which is organized and led by the regulator (*metek*) with the permission of the guardian (*yaman*). A garden located on usufruct-rights land (*yawukuritmo*) does not require the guardian's permission, unless it is land that was exploited by the ancestors. In either case the members of the moiety partnership (*isaeak*) should be involved.

The *kanekela* members and the moiety counter-part members having collectively decided to make a garden, and, where necessary, having received the permission of the guardian of the land, a second preparatory meeting is organized with the working group members. Although the working group members may be of either sex, only men attend the preparatory meetings. Willing moiety partnership members receive priority here, though others may be recruited if the moiety partnership members live too far away from the new garden. During this second preparatory meeting detailed plans for the new garden are made, and its results are presented (*welekak*) to all the members of the lineage involved.

The next phase is the ritual grand opening of the garden, the 'compound party' (*opwene*; Papuan Malay: *pesta pilamo*), to which all members of the moiety partnership and family members are invited. Here traditional foods cooked with

heated stones are served (*kit talogo isasin*), with or without pork. The aim of this party is to seek the ancestors' blessing so that the work in the new garden will be successful. Such a compound party is more common in the northern part of the Palim Valley.

In the southern part of the Palim Valley, the regulator (*metek*) officially opens the new garden. On the agreed upon day, all the related lineage members come to the new garden and start making the garden, after the representative of the regulator has cut the grass as the official opening sign. The men clear the plot, felling trees and/or cutting the grass (*wen yamu tagalarek*). This takes about a week, depending on the size of the garden. After the plot is cleared, the grass is burned (*wen sakne*), after which the garden is left to dry for about one or two weeks.

Next the regulator divides the land, at which every working group member is present. Each is given a plot, which is added to the land he/she had inherited (*wen suputarek*). The size of the various shares depends on various factors. These include first the participation of the deceased parents or husbands in previous working groups. If the new garden is located in the ancestrally exploited domain, descendants or widows continue to work in the area worked by them. New working group members are recruited by the guardian of the land. Also taken into consideration is the active involvement of the working group members in the preparation of the garden, the size of the land, and the number of dependents in each of the working groups.

After the land has been divided the men of the working group erect wooden fences around the garden (*leget halarek*). The individual plots, however, are not fenced. While the men do this, the women prepare meals, e.g. boiled or grilled sweet potatoes. This might take up to a month. When the fences are ready, all the members of the working group together clear the land of roots (*omaken henetarek*). This is hard work and may take between a week and a month, depending on the size of the garden and the numbers of the trees that could interfere with the plants' growth.

When this is done the ground is hoed in preparation for cultivation (*wen wanarek*). This can take up to a month. Each person works his or her own share of the garden, though they may assist each other or invite outsiders to come and help. The women invite other members of the working group, men or women, to help prepare meals for the workers. Children may also join in after school. Occasionally a number of women in the northern part of the Palim Valley may be invited to work in someone's garden to raise funds for e.g. the church. These women are not

part of a working group and their compensation is donated to the charity.

When making a new garden in ancestrally exploited land, the guardian of the land next performs the ritual *agat wesa*[84] by sprinkling pig's blood (*wam mep*) on the land and placing some piles of *lukaka* leaf at the entrance to the garden.[85] While doing this he repeatedly utters the word *harane*, which means praising, honouring, seeking ancestral support. The *kanekela* leaders are the main actors here. A pig is sacrificed at the *kanekela* and is presented as the 'representation' (*yerebo*), after which its meat is distributed to the *kanekela* leaders. This is followed by 'cooking leaf' (*oka isago*) to confirm the territorial border of the ancestral exploited land, and to strengthen the unity of the lineage members and the ancestors. The regulator (*metek*) is in charge of the placing the 'cooked leaf', which is handed to him by the guardian (*yaman*). The spots on which it is placed were determined by the ancestors. During the above one-day ritual, no work is done in the garden, allowing the land to rest peacefully (Ind. *mengistirahatkan tanah dengan tenang*). In addition to the pig that was just sacrificed, the guardian of the land also provides a customary pig (*wam wusa ako henek*) that is kept for the forthcoming big pig festival (*wam ece*).[86] This customary pig may not be sold and serves to keep up the working group members' spirits: they correlate the pig's growth with the fertility of the garden.

The next day the men begin to dig ditches around the garden and each of the allotments (*leget yopan*). This takes about a month. The ditches regulate the water and prevent the garden from flooding. When the ditches are ready seedlings of e.g. sweet potatoes are planted. In the case of the ancestrally exploited land, the wife of the guardian (*yaman*) starts the planting. On usufruct land this can be the initiator of the garden. Women mainly do the planting, though men can help. The farmers hope that their crop will be a good one (*hano atno*).

If there is no agreement on what will be grown in the garden, each of member of the working group is free to grow anything he or she wants. The care of their plot is fully in their own hands. However, a working group has the right to decide together what will be grown. During the planting period, the initiator coordinates with the *kanekela* leaders, especially with the chief of fertility or *ap tugure* of the

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84 From *agat* (land) and *wesa* (sacred or taboo).

85 This is not done in the southern Palim Valley.

86 The *kanekela* leader is in charge of the fertility of the pigs and decides when the pig festival will be held. This pig was also used in the large big pig festival held every four years, in which the fertility of the pigs and the land was celebrated. Since the pig cholera of 2004-2005, this festival has fallen into disuse.

guardian. This *ap tugure* knows the history of *kaneke*, and is in charge of maintaining or improving the fertility of the members of the *kanekela*. This coordination aims to control and monitor the growth of the garden. They, the initiator and the *kanekela* leaders, admonish those who do not work their allotment.

Sweet potatoes are mainly cultivated by women. This includes fertilizing, weeding, and preventing the pigs from breaking into the garden. Pig's dung is a good natural fertilizer, as are the grasses used in the pigsty and the ashes from the wood stove in the kitchen. The main factors thought to influence the crop are nature and the relationship with the ancestors. When needed, the *up wene hagatare* ritual is conducted by sacrificing a pig in the *kanekela* and presenting the 'representation' (*yerebo*). This ritual follows the same steps as other rituals that present the 'representation', and involves the same actors and the uttering of the same phrase (*harane*) praising, honouring, and seeking ancestral support. The essence of this ritual is to attract fertility. It is also used to cure the sick. If the plants are attacked by pests or plant diseases that threaten the crop, the chief of fertility (*ap tugure*, one of the *yaman*) explores the root causes of the problem by sacrificing a pig in the *kanekela*.

During the next phase, up to several months in length, depending on what is grown, nobody is allowed to enter the garden (*hipere silo*). This allows the plants to mature. The day of the harvest is determined by *akenak werek*. In coordination with the chief of fertility (*ap tugure*), the regulator (*metek*), with the permission from the guardian, ends the forbidden period (*hipere silo henetarek*), and begins the distribution process. Before the harvest, the women clean the garden by cutting or taking care of the leaves or plants (*oka henatarek*) in their own allotment. All the working group members, men and women of any age, gather and harvest together. Some sweet potatoes are distributed from the first harvest in the ancestrally exploited land. The regulator takes some moss and splashes some water on the sweet potatoes as the 'representation' (*yerebo)*. The aim of this 'representation' is clear from the words spoken in conjunction with this action: 'both pigs and human beings are healthy and alive' (*wam apuni nyoba muliatno*).

A pile of sweet potatoes is laid on the ground in the garden and is left to rot. These are a sacred gift to the 'mother' (*hipere silo hualasin*).[87] Another pile of sweet potatoes that serve as the 'representation' (*yerebo*) is presented to the ancestors in the *kanekela*. Some of these potatoes are also fed to the customary pig. The regula-

[87] This is more common in the northern part of the Palim Valley.

tor (*metek*) first gives some sweet potatoes to the wife of the guardian (*yaman*). After this the regulator places sweet potatoes in a net bag. These are given publicly to women's working groups, usually the mothers, and to significant organizations like the church. Such public distributions aim to motivate and instil a sense of competition in members of other gardens, making them work harder toward their own harvest. The female working group members are in charge of selling (*oka*) the sweet potatoes in the market. The mothers keep the money they earn doing this. Except for the presentation of the first harvest to the land and females, which symbolize fertility, all the activities conducted in the *kanekela*, from the collective decision making to the rituals exclude female participation.

The whole agricultural cycle shows the on-going involvement of the leaders of the *kanekela*, who represent the ancestors. The Hubula's relationship with their ancestors is of paramount importance for fertility. Any problem arising during the growing period is solved by improving this relationship through the sacrifice of a pig. According to the Hubula, the landscape is constructed and maintained through a series of rituals that involve the ancestors. The sacrifice of pigs during the agricultural cycle symbolizes the ancestors' rights over the land. The *akenak werek* hold the ultimate rights to the produce of the land, as can be seen from the return gifts presented to them: the sprinkling of the pig's blood as the 'representation' in the beginning, the rearing of the customary pig for the pig festival throughout the farming period, and the sweet potatoes from the first harvest that are left to rot on the land. These return gifts to the ancestors emphasize their ownership and power, which influences the whole agricultural cycle. The relation between the Hubula and their ancestors, therefore, is the primary main cultural parameter that defines the landscape in the Palim Valley.

Conclusion

A holistic view of the land, that is imbued by spiritual precepts and is linked to the path of the ancestors' journeys or ancestral stories is also be found elsewhere. Schlee argues that the Australian Aborigines' ceremonial places show the relationship between the Aborigines and their land are linked to clan histories and individual biographies. Totemic ancestors, to whom particular songs, stories and ceremonies are attributed, inhabit these ceremonial places. These ceremonial places are linked by the paths of ancestors' journeys (Schlee 1992: 124). Data from eastern Indonesia also shows the significant role of ancestral stories and myths in

shaping the complex ecological relationship between the land and the people. In her research in Sahu in the North Moluccas (Indonesia), Visser (1989) highlighted the link between a myth about the relationship between the ruler and people, and their relationship to the land: social relationships based on land are part of the people's world view. The immigrant ideology in Sahu, which describes their ancestors' journeys from overseas, is incorporated into the social structure by an attachment to land through marriage. A similar complexity is found in Platenkamp's (1988) research on the role of immigration in Tobelo social organization, which derives from the interconnectedness of a myth about the people and the 'owners' of the water and the land, and the establishment of *ma dutu* relationships, which pertain to all hierarchically ordered entities in the universe that are the source of autochtonous identity. The acquisition of the land grows out of the interconnectedness of myth and the establishment of *ma dutu* relationships.

As for the Hubula, the ancestral stories are emic representations of the topography of the Palim Valley as well as an eco-cosmology of the relationship between the Hubula and the land. The ancestors described in the narratives are the *akenak werek* while their descendants with their moiety partnership are the guardians who maintain the land. The history of warfare gives rise to the social relations that give access the land and to the *kanekela* leaders that represent the guardians of the land. Through ancestral stories the ancestors are embodied comprehensively in the sacred objects, the land and the natural resources, so that the management of these should conform to the ancestral stories. This entails prioritising the ancestors by conducting rituals and respecting the sacred and taboo objects and territories. The relation between the Hubula and their ancestors is crucial in maintaining the fertility of the Hubula, the vegetation, the pigs, and the land. This is clear from the agricultural rituals that confirm this cosmological relation. The economy is a small part of a much longer cycle in which all that is produced on the land returns to the ancestors. For this reason the relationship between the Hubula and their land is not one of ownership, but of identity. Referring to Wessing's (n.d.) analysis of the relationship between the authochtonous people and tutelary spirit-owners, the *kanekela* leaders (*yaman*, *metek* and *apisan*) are the ritual unit, the ancestral bridge between civilization and the spirit domain, which is created through pig sacrifice. For the Hubula, sacrificing pigs brings into being the very essence of life for all the creatures in the ancestral land of the Palim Valley.

This chapter has focused on the Hubula's ethno-ecology that describes the

ecological relationship, the linkages between the creatures on the land, from their point of view. The balance of life or fertility, which is rooted in relations with the ancestors and the spirits, is the foundation of Hubula's socio-cultural ecology. The relationship between the Hubula and the ancestors and spirits is projected on their ecological relationships, and is used as a parameter in the economy of the land and the natural resources. The use of the land and its natural resources is based on ecological and cosmological principles that prioritise harmonious relationship over economic gain. An example of this is the prohibition on excessively exploiting the natural resources. The goals of maintaining such relations are protection and prevention. Harmonious relations with the ancestors and the spirits result in their protection, support, and continued fertility; disharmonious relationship with them lead to misfortune and infertility. The ancestors can protect or threaten the Hubula's well being.[88] The land belongs to them, and the Hubula's fertility and access to the land depends on their relations with them. See this way, the Hubula's subordinate position vis-à-vis their ancestral owners of the land affirms De Coppet's (1981) and Williams' (1986) argument that people associate with mythical land, not as owners or citizens but as organic or spiritual components of the soil and its inner powers, in which the mythical 'land owns its people' rather than vice versa.[89]

[88] Elsewhere the aim of the sacrifice is gaining the spirit's protection. As described for northern Thailand by Rhum (1994: 76-79), the sacrifice aims to ask the spirits to protect the people from illness and misfortune, and bless them with good fortune and rain.

[89] Abramson (2000: 8-9) citing De Coppet (1981) and Williams (1986). In Eastern Indonesia the people also belong to the land or the 'owners' of the natural domains. Cf Visser (1989: 12, 28) and Platenkamp (1988: 112, 115).

Chapter 6
Marriage

Inya ukul ukul
Ya kulik at nagare o i
Nya i tom tom
Ma melek at nagare o i
Yi yi i o ya ya o a i

Mountain people are suited to living in the mountains
Valley people are suited to living in the valley
They live and grow
Live peacefully and happily[90]

Hubula ritual is interconnected with their history of warfare, sacred objects, *kanekela* leaders, and pig sacrifice. The history of warfare in the Palim Valley produced *kaneke* (sacred objects) which are formed into a ritual unit (*kanekela*) and *kanekela* leaders (*yaman*, *metek* and *apisan*) who are in charge of legitimising Hubula ritual through the sacrifice of pigs (see chapter 5). The Hubula pattern of ritual relations is built upon pig sacrifice. In this chapter these ritual relationships are analysed through the medium of a marriage.

Expectations of marriage: fertility

When choosing a marriage partner, the Hubula look for certain qualities in the person. Of potential brides[91] it is said that, „we marry women for the fat in their hands, not merely for of their beauty. We do not fancy a woman who is beautiful but does not have the fat" (*humi inyeki apusu walok, inyebe hano merere inyekimo apusu halok weak, ninyait*). This 'fat' (*inyeki apusu*) is a reference to valued social abilities that are thought to give such women a noble (*hano*) character, and which come about through their contributions to ritual exchanges that aim to maintain relations with the ancestors. The first of these attributes is related to the woman's ability to give birth to children: „men cannot direct their sperm through the a knot hole in the wood, stone, or soil, but [must do so] through 'the pride' (the vagina) of the wife" (*ap inyapusu, helep eleke, agat agola wusaparek lek, humi nyeketma hegarek*).

The second attribute refers to the yield of their labour (Ind. *hasil karya*), a

[90] Lyrics from traditional singing and dancing of Hubula (*etai*).See also Hisage et. al : 2007.
[91] These expectations of female marriage partners are mostly held by men and older women.

woman's economic contribution, such as her ability to knit traditional bags (*noken* or *su*) for exchange, and her efforts in caring for significant elements of the ritual exchanges such as pigs, the land, and sweet potatoes .As described in chapter 5, pigs, land, and sweet potatoes are significantly related to the Hubula origin myth and the representation of the ancestors, as well as being indispensable in maintaining relation with them. Hubula women support these relationships through cultivating gardens, rearing pigs, and making net bags: „many things can be done when there is a woman" (*humi were haloke yabu kok akusak*).

Although wives do not have access to the world of the spirits and the ancestors that is described in the narratives of the *kanekela*, they are still expected to keep secret the history of warfare and the formation of their her husbands' *kanekela*. Sharing such narratives with persons not belonging to their husband's *kanekela* would be perceived as „pulling out the roots from their trees", something that might affect the fertility of the people, the pigs, and the land. The infertility caused by such an indiscretion would not be limited to the woman's household, but would be borne collectively by the all the members of the *kanekela*. Thus, a woman's ability to keep the history of warfare secret determines the Hubula's collective fertility.

Grooms are also judged on certain qualities, one of which is the number of pigs that he owns, regardless of his age: the more pigs (*ako apik*),[92] the more qualified the groom. Other ideal attributes are leadership qualities (*ap kain*)[93] and his ability to protect and provide. He must be a hard worker, be courageous (*ap ayuk lek*)[94] and ready to go to war (*ap wim meke*),[95] be responsible (*ap ayabu hano*;[96] Ind. *bertanggung jawab*), able to mediate in conflicts (*wene elu*),[97] and be able to participate in collective actions and decisions (*eki kok*).[98]

Pawi: sexual prohibitions and disorder

The relationship between the ancestors and the fertility of people, land and pigs are subject to *pawi*, a word best glossed with disorder, though in the context

92 *Ako* (my pig) and *apik* (many).
93 *Ap* (adult man) and *kain* (leader).
94 Lit. adult man afraid be not.
95 Lit. adult man who owns the war.
96 Lit. adult man who does good work.
97 Lit. understanding the problem.
98 Lit. big hands.

of incest it is sometimes also understood to refer to matters of dirt or filth. *Pawi* as disorder occurs, for instance when there are deviations in the way that the roles of *kanekela*'s leaders in ritual are carried out: each traditional leader has a specific ritual role, and deviations from this are feared to bring infertility.

In our discussion of marriage and sexuality, *pawi* is used to characterize acts like incest, which is believed to cause imbalance and disharmonious relations with the ancestors (*ninopu ninopa*), which then leads to infertility. The usage of the word is a bit ambiguous here. Some say that incest (*pawi*) results in the ancestors' anger at disorderly behaviour, while others maintain that the ancestors' anger triggers disorder (*pawi*). In either case incest is a violation of the rules of exchange, which triggers the ancestors' anger, creates confusion and leads to social disorder. Proper relations with the ancestors are thought to both prevent incest and to aid in overcoming its effects.

There are three parameters that define prohibited sexual relations for the Hubula. The first, *sike pawi* or *tugi pawi*,[99] prohibits sexual intercourse among persons who 1) belong to the same moiety derived from the same 'body' or *ebe* (see chapter 4); 2) Between both war parties sharing an 'eternal enemy' (*silimeke*) with another confederation, and enemies that are part of one's own war confederation (*uma wim*); and 3) members of the same *kanekela*. This last effectively means that members of the traditional leadership groups may not have sexual relations with each other's wives. Apart from the matter of moiety, the sexual prohibitions in this first parameter are rooted in the history of warfare.

The second parameter that defines incest, *ero pawi*,[100] prohibits sexual relations between people who are related through marriage or adoption. Polygamy and adoption are common in the Palim Valley, resulting in kinship-like relationships. The third parameter is consanguinity as can be seen in the following diagram. The above exclusion is also applied to other relations among Hubula that are treated as kin such as adoption and polygamy.

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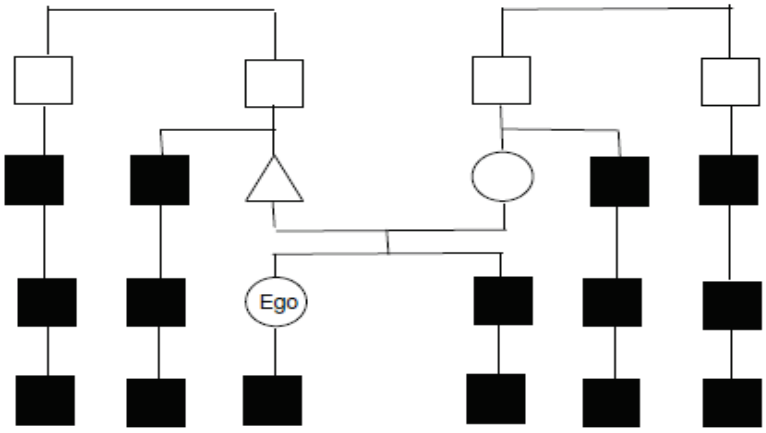
99 *Sike* (a bow) and *pawi* (dirt). *Tugi* (fight) here refers to the first *kaneke*.

100 *Ero* (basis).

Figure 42: Consanguines that are excluded from marriage (by type of relationship)



The decision to marry: collective social debt

In the past, before the pacification parents chose a husband for their daughter. This has changed and the daughter must now be consulted, if for no other reason than that otherwise she might run away with another man (*himi tapo hulu parek*). If the parents are deceased or have abandoned their children, these are taken care of by their mother's brother and/or sister, who then also have the authority to make decisions concerning eventual marriage partners.

In making these decisions the parents take into consideration among other things a 'social debt' with other parties. Examples of a 'social debt' can be elicited from the history of the warfare.[101] When wars were still fought in the Palim Valley, marriage was one medium through which reconciliation between the enemies could be brought about: „women resolve peacefully the warfare" (*wim werekma humi nen loarik*).[102] Apart from marriages of reconciliation, marriages are also proposed based on social debts that has its roots in a solidarity resulting from warfare. For instance, a member of lineage [A] was killed in a war with lineage [C]. At that time, [A] supported lineage [B], which acted as war leader against [C]. Based on the social debt that grew out of this alliance, group [A] proposed to marry its children to those of [B]. [B] gave [A]'s proposal priority in return for [A]'s solidarity during the war and to strengthen the alliance, although this also meant that [B] paid off its social debt to [A]. However, the marriage could only take place if [A]

[101] See chapter 5 in which the history of warfare that created the social debt as the foundation of the access toward the land is discussed.

[102] This applies only to enemies resulting from a war within a confederation (*uma wim*), and not to the eternal enemies (*silimeke*) derived from a war with another confederation (*sele wim*).

and [B] are from different moieties.

Marriage is also considered to be a way to maintain or strengthen an alliance. When warfare still occurred in the Palim Valley, a proposal from an ally would influence the parents decisions about their children's marriages. Nowadays, in the absence of warfare, the fixed relations between *kanekela* (Ind. *hubungan tetap honai adat*) remain part of the parents' considerations, even though they also listen to the personal preferences of the bride or groom.

However, an individual decision to get married becomes a collective one because certain key people need to be consulted and involved in the wedding ritual. The groom's father's moiety partner[103] must be informed about the proposed wedding and be invited to attend. Apart from this moiety partner, there are also others whose opinion and involvement are necessary. The groom and/or his parents must first of all consult with the person who supported the groom's initiation ritual (*ap ecesa*)[104] and contributed sacrificial pigs to it. This gives him the right to be involved in the man's subsequent rites of passage, and his permission must be obtained before proceeding.

Having gotten his permission, the groom's parents invite him and a number of other people to consider the prospective bride and enlist their aid in the preparations for the wedding. These include first members of the groom's *kanekela*, including the traditional leaders and other lineages that have fixed customary relation based on the history of warfare. Also included are members of the groom's own lineage, including his sibling(s), and persons living in his compound.

These people jointly do the work involved in the wedding, and provide the necessary gifts as things proceed from proposal, the setting of the brideprice, the acceptance of the bride in the groom's compound, and finally the wedding ritual itself. These gifts add to the groom's lustre and increase the dignity of those who act as host or are in charge of the ritual (*wene ero* or *wene hule*, Ind. *tuan penyelenggara acara*).

For a marriageable woman similar discussions take place concerning a possible marriage partner about who is entitled to receive a share of the wedding gifts. The ones who have „the rights to speak" (*weneka inyom usak*), and are entitled to take part in these discussions, include the woman's parents, her siblings, her father's siblings, and her father's siblings' children. In addition, the person who supported

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[103] Each moiety is partnered with another moiety, see chapter 4.

[104] Lit. you are an adult man.

her mother's wedding ritual also should be involved. This person, who contributed a pig to be sacrificed during the woman's mother's wedding has the right to be involved in the rite passage of the woman and her sisters. This person's approval of the wedding plans, including the bride price, is essential if a wedding is to proceed.

All the parties in the discussion at the woman's compound are entitled to receive part of the brideprice, except for those who stand in a parental role vis-à-vis the prospective bride. This includes her parents and her parents' married siblings. In this light, the relation between the bride and the above mentioned parties is more important than her relationship with her parents in boosting fertility through exchange of pigs during the wedding ritual.

On both bride's and the groom's sides the choice of who is to be involved in these decisions is based on previous ritual roles that these persons have performed relative to the one being married. The relations that are involved in the gift exchanges are first the member(s) of the bride's father's *kanekela*. They donate pigs to be sacrificed in that *kanekela*. These are reciprocated later, when the bride's daughter marries.

Second are the member(s) of the groom's father's kanekela, or the groom's father's sibling(s). These donate pigs to be sacrificed in the *kanekela* of the husband's father during the groom's initiation ritual. These pigs are reciprocated during the groom's wedding. The involvement of these reciprocated pigs shows that the marriage reactivates pre-existing relationships in order to generate new ones, and is part of the cycle of fertility.

The bride's parents are not entitled to part of the bride price, as it is said that this „would make them older." Actually, neither the bride's nor the groom's parents are entitled to receive any of the gifts. Violation of this rule is thought ignoble (*kepu*) and the perpetrator would fall ill. The reasoning is that the bride price makes things grow, and distributing it wrongly would block the circulation of the gifts and thus block fertility.

Married female family members who receive part of the bride price should share it with their husbands so that the husbands will contribute to the wedding. The larger the gift that one receives, the greater one's responsibility to continue the cycle of giving. Receiving a pig, for instance, gives a person much responsibility for the success of the wedding, and it happens that because of this a person refuses to accept a pig. Such a direct refusal is inherently disrespectful, and it is better to state honestly that one is unable to accept the responsibilities.

In addition to their rights, all adults who receive part of the bride price must

provide gifts for two main parties that also have 'rights to receive' (Papuan Malay: *hak dapat*). The first party are the bride's mother's older and younger brothers and sisters (*amilak* or *oom-oom*). The second group are the one(s) who set up the bride's mother's 'limestone foundation' (*dasar ye*) during the *himi nyoko* ritual, which ritual a gift of limestone (*ye*) making the wife a part of her husband's lineage (see below). Persons who contribute to these activities, for instance by giving pigs, automatically have the right to be involved in the marriage of that wife's daughter(s), and are entitled to a share of the wedding gifts.

Figure 43: The relations contribute to relative valuations of the groom and the bride by preparing gifts of pigs, traditional net bags, and the like that are exchanged during the wedding.

The relations contributing pigs and/or netbags to exchanges during the wedding at the groom's compound	The relations contributing pigs and/or netbags to exchanges during the wedding at the bride's compound
The supporters of the groom' initiation ritual (*ap ecesa*): the groom's elder siblings, the groom's parents' siblings, a lineage or *kanekela* members, including one who is socially indebted to the groom's parents by e.g. having received pigs from the groom's parents to be sacrificed during the ritual.	The supporters of the bride's mother's wedding ritual: the bride's elder siblings, the bride's parents' siblings, the bride's father's *kanekela* and descent unit members, including one who is socially indebted to the bride's parents by e.g. having received pigs from the bride's parents to be sacrificed during the ritual.
The groom's parents	The parents or the ones who hold parenting roles vis-à-vis the bride such as the bride's parents' married siblings.
The groom's patrilineal relatives: the groom's father's siblings, the groom's father's siblings' children	The bride's patrilineal relatives: the bride's father's siblings and the bride's father's siblings' children.
The groom's lineage members: adult or initiated siblings of the groom and ones who share the same compound such as widows whose late husband was a member of the groom's *kanekela*.	
The groom's *kanekela*'s members: traditional group leaders (*yaman*, *metek*, and *apisan*) and other lineages that have fixed relation based on the history of warfare.	

Figure 44: The mother, the bride, children and female guests singing spontaneous laments (*lee wuni*) in the kitchen. The singers express their sadness about the deaths of their relatives and the fact that they cannot provide enough pigs to be sacrificed during the wedding.

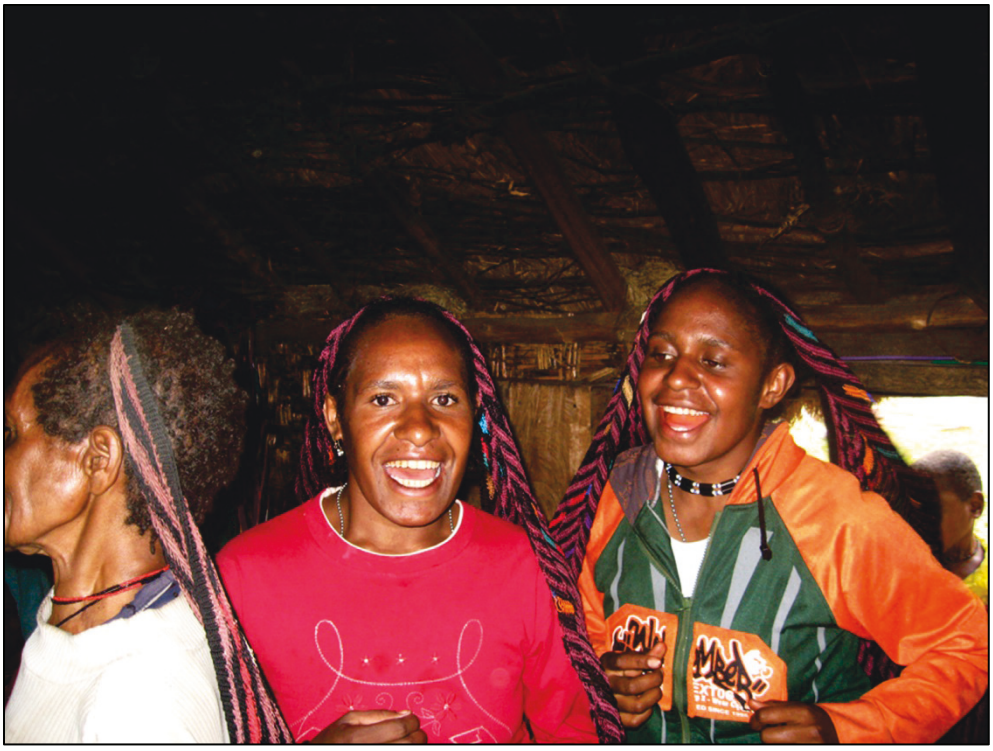

Figure 45: Women and children sing and dance happily as they gather in the kitchen awaiting the distribution of the pork.

Figure 46: The groom, the groom's father, the moiety partners, his lineage, and *kanekela* members discussing the gifts received and their distribution. The discussion took almost three hours as it was an important medium through which to build up the dignity of the *kanekela* and the lineage.

Figure 47: The pigs that were sacrificed during the wedding and were placed on the ground in accordance with their purpose. From left to right: two small pigs that were killed first (*wam oken*: the first pigs), that had their tails cut off. These were hung on the brides' neck. The next two small pigs are dedicated to the mother's siblings. Half of the large pig was dedicated to the bride's lineage members and the other half was for the guests. The pigs' snouts faced the direction of the host's *kanekela*'s eternal enemy (*silimeke*). This protects the lineage members and the newlyweds from their influence.

Before the Wedding: collective efforts and representation

The proposal

Before making a marriage proposal (*he ecep*),[105] the groom and his lineage members must inform the person who supported the groom's initiation ritual (*ap ecesa*) and obtain his permission. This person will be involved in the whole wedding, and leaving him out would endanger the couple's fertility.

Having obtained the *ap ecesa's* consent, the groom's parents approach the parents of the potential bride.[106] If their proposal is accepted, the woman's parents may say, 'there is a cigarette, but it is raw. Please smoke, if you care to' (*hanom yee humini / hanom ket meke nekhe werekhumini*).[107] If, on the other hand, their proposal is rejected, the reaction might be, 'please leave, there is no cigarettes available' (*hanomdek o lani*) (cf. Peters 1975: 21).

After the proposal has been accepted and the bride price has been agreed upon, the bride is taken to where the wedding will be performed (*he ugu wanarek*).[108] Although residence in the southern part of the Palim Valley is virilocal, the wedding may be performed at both the bride's and the groom's compounds: first at the groom's and later at the bride's, though the latter is not obligatory. For the part at the groom's compound, representatives of the grooms' family come to collect the bride. These representatives must be women and men may skip this part of the proceedings.[109] In one wedding, for instance, she was collected by the groom's father's brother's son's wife and the groom's father's brother's son's daughter. These were both members of the groom's patrilineal descent unit, which was alright because the groom's father and the groom's father's brother's shared both the same compound and the same *kanekela*.

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105 *He* (an adult woman) and *ecep* (knee).

106 If a couple have been living together, a proposal is unnecessary.

107 Cigarettes are a social lubricant that can also symbolize acceptance or inclusion. See chapter 3.

108 *He* (woman), *ugu* (using), and *wanarek* (taking).

109 If the second part takes place, both men and women return her to her parent's compound.

Welcoming the bride at the groom's compound

When the bride arrives at the groom's compound, the groom's lineage members receive her at the compound's hearth (*he yokal ma*). Two small pigs, *wam tuli*,[110] are prepared, symbolically welcoming the bride in the groom's compound. Anyone may donate this acceptance and welcoming pig. A donor who gives a pig in his own name might be its owner or have acquired it from someone indebted to him. In one wedding, for instance, the welcoming pigs were contributed by the groom's mother and the groom's father's older sister's daughter, the last having obtained it from her mother's brother. The welcoming-pigs are usually small or medium sized, large ones being reserved for the sacrifices that are part of the wedding. They are sacrificed by the groom's *kanekela*'s leaders after the bride arrives in order to make 'the representation' of the ancestors (*yerebo*). Some of the meat from these pigs is then presented to the bride with the words 'please accept and eat this pork' (*hakote nan*), symbolically welcoming the bride in both the groom's compound and including her into his ancestral unit. After this the rest of the meat is distributed and eaten by all who are present in the compound at the time.

The multiple functions of traditional net bags (*su*)

In addition to pigs, traditional net bags (*su*) are part of the objects exchanged throughout the wedding ritual. These traditional net bags can either be small tobacco net (*hanom su*), a head net (*ukul su*), or a regular traditional net bag (cf. Heider 1970: 249). The first two types used to be used by Hubula men, but these days they are no longer found in the Palim Valley. Hubula men now wear clothes with pockets in which cigarettes can be kept. The hair net is also no longer used to restrain the men's curly hair because in the interest of modernization the Indonesian government instructed them to cut their hair. [111] Traditional net bags, however, are still an important part of Hubula weddings and exchanges.[112]

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110 *Wam* (pig) and *tuli* (symbol of acceptance).

111 Official statement of local government of Republic of Indonesia, District Jayawijaya, No. 145/PENG/DIS.ASO./1972.

112 Regular traditional net bags (*su*) are used to store keep *suken*, the sacred limestone objects related to the myth origin in the *kanekela*. While exchanged in rituals, they are also used in daily life, to carry anything from babies to plants and sweet potatoes. Before the modern market encroached, these bags were made of wood fibres, and were coloured with variously red clay, a blue-flower base, or a yellow-to-orange root (Heider 1970: 249). While 'authentic' (Ind. *asli*) traditional net bags might still be found in the market or tourist shops

Figure 48: Newborn babies carried in traditional net bags.

The first bride price and the exchange of traditional net bags

After the marriage proposal has been accepted and the bride is brought to the groom's compound, the first part of the bride price, a living pig, is taken to the bride's compound to compensate them for the woman's „foot print" (*he esok owa*).[113] This first share of the bride price, which is given before the wedding, is distributed to the bride's mother's older and younger siblings, including adopted ones and half brothers and sisters. This is called 'paying off of a debt' (Ind. *pelunasan hutang*) which is literally expressed as *he oak ako* (an adult Hubula woman's pelvis) or *ap oak ako* (an adult Hubula man's pelvis).

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they are outnumbered by new models made of colourful nylon thread, which is lighter and easier to use in making bags. They are, however, ten times more expensive than 'authentic' ones. A good quality Hubula's traditional net bag is defined as one that has neat, dense and strong braid as well as able to stretch or grow properly to accommodate various objects (sweet potatoes, plants, etc) and babies safely. The ability to present good quality traditional net bags contributes to the expected attribute of a Hubula woman. The colour of a new model bags accentuates 'original' ones. As dark and bright colours can be found in the decorations of both male and female Hubula, they do not seem to be polarised. Andrew and Marilyn Strathern (1971: 158-159) describe colour decorations with overt and latent gender associations in which men are associated with both dark and bright decorations and women only with bright ones.

113 *He* (adult woman), *esok* (leg) and *owa* (body).

The reciprocal nature of this gift fits Heider's (1970) characterization of a circulation of goods in the ritual exchange, what Mauss (1967: 6ff) called a prestation, which involves a delayed exchange and has a major effect on social solidarity due to the obligations implied by unreciprocated gifts. Heider spoke of the circulation of goods within a local area primarily in terms of ritual exchanges at funerals, and only secondarily included more casual gifts and loans between friends.

However, in the pre-wedding ritual I found another type of exchange in which reciprocity does not seem to be a factor. At the same time that the above exchange of gifts takes place, the female members from the bride's and the groom's sides gather in the kitchen of the groom's compound. These are Hubula women whose husbands or fathers belongs to the groom's *kanekela*, and the groom's and bride's sister(s), mothers, mother's sister(s), mother's sister's daughter(s), father's sister, father's sister's, and father's sister's daughter(s). These women bring traditional net bags and exchange these among themselves (*su korok*). This is said to be a 'paying-off exchange' (*lopolaga*), meaning that recipients of the gifts are not entitled to give one in return (cf. Heider 1970:27).

The wedding: cosmological inclusion

The welcoming of the guests

The actual wedding is called *he yokal*, in which *he* designates an adult woman and *yokal* refers to the traditional skirt worn by married Hubula women.[114] Traditionally the wedding was the medium through which the *salih* (unmarried girls' skirt) was transformed into a married woman's skirt (*yokal*). In the morning, the guests are welcomed by the father of the groom, the groom, and their lineage members. In the southern Palim Valley, the presence of the groom at the ritual in the groom's compound depends on his relationship with the bride. If he has already been living with her before the wedding he is present. If, on the other hand, he has never lived with her, he is absent on the wedding day due to feelings of embarrassment (*ekali*).

[114] An unmarried Hubula woman traditionally wore a *salih*. These days, however, most women wear modern skirts that do not distinguish between single and married women, and traditional *salih* and *yokal* are worn primarily as tourist attractions.

In the past it was almost impossible for them to have lived together premaritally because there was a strong taboo (*wesa*) on such things in the Palim Valley. These days, however, changed social and economic circumstances have made such things more possible.[115] A groom who is present on the wedding day welcomes the guests together with his father and accepts their gifts of pigs and money. These gifts are further distributed at a later stage. Gifts of vegetables are brought by female guests and are taken outside, back of the kitchen.

The contributors or guests present their gifts as they arrive in the groom's compound. As with the welcoming pigs, someone that contributes the pig to the wedding may have obtained it from someone who was indebted socially to her or his lineage. The following case is illustrative of the cycle of social debt through the contribution of pigs during a wedding:

Selvy Himan, ego in the diagram the daughter of Emanuel Himan who is the member of the groom's father's *kanekela*, and whose family shares the groom's compound, contributed two small pigs to the wedding. This created a 'social debt' between Selvy Himan, the donor, and the lineage members of the married couple, including their future children. The two contributed pigs were collected from a) Nance Asso, the daughter of Selvy Himan's mother's brother, whose wedding had been supported by Selvy Himan's mother,[116] and b) from Awilem Lokobal, the daughter of Selvy Himan's father's sister, whose mother's wedding ritual had been supported by Selvy Himan's father.[117] Selvy Himan took advantage of the social debt created by her parents through their previous contribution on others' weddings to create her own social debt relationship with the new couple.[118] In other words, a lineage's social debt becomes the foundation for future social debts.

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115 In one first case the bride and groom had been living together in Jayapura when working in a palm plantation. These plantations attract young villagers.

116 See figure 49 [1] and [2].

117 See figure 50 [1] and [2].

118 See figures 49 [3] and 50 [3].

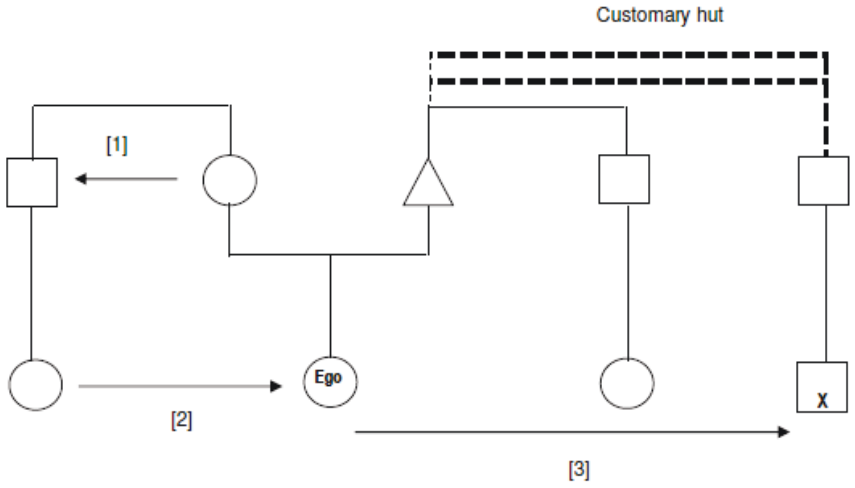

Figure 49: The chronological order of the first pig collected by Selvy Himan (Ego) contributed to the newly wedded couple (x)
[1] The exchange before 2008
[2] Pre-wedding ritual in 2008
[3] The wedding in 2008

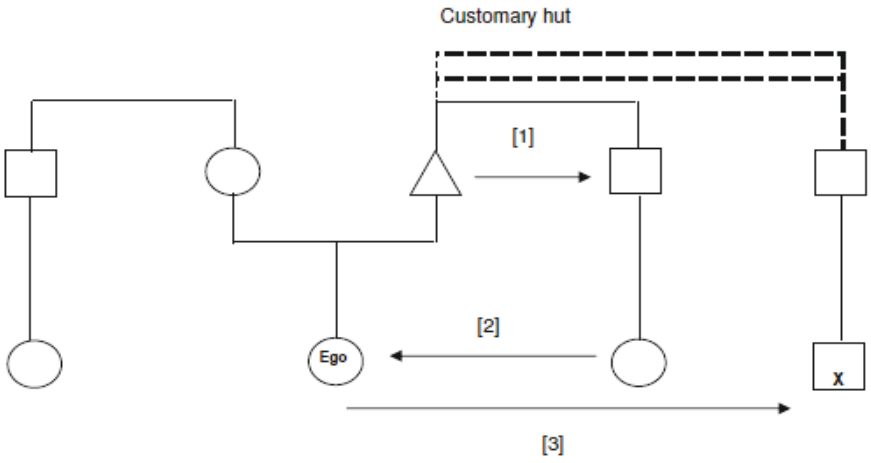

Figure 50: The chronological order of the second pig collected by Selvy Himan (Ego) contributed to the newly wedded couple (x)
[1] The exchange before 2008
[2] Pre-wedding ritual in 2008
[3] The wedding in 2008

The way that guests are welcomed and addressed differs based on their relations with the host (Papuan Malay: *tuan acara*). The welcoming address consists of three syllables: 'n' (my), a term of address, and 'welcome' (*wah*). Thus, a guest who is classified as the sister of the host will be welcomed with *neruwah*: welcome (*wah*) my sister (*neroup*). In addition the welcoming address might also refer to relations based on membership in the customary *kanekela*.

Figure 51: The welcoming address of the wedding ritual's guests

The welcoming address:	Denotation:	Classificatory application:
Neruwah	My sister who does not have any child yet	-
Neakwah	My sibling's child (by father) My sister who already has a child	-
Nakorwah	My brother	Fellow member of a *kanekela*
Noewah	My older brother	The one who holds a senior position in the *kanekela*, the one who set up the first *kaneke*, or the *yaman*.
Naputwah	My younger brother	The one who holds a junior position in the *kanekela* or the *apisan*.
Namiwah	My mother's brother or sister My mother's sibling's child	-

Remembering deceased relatives

On the wedding day Hubula women express themselves through traditional dancing and singing called *etai*. This takes place in the kitchen or the hearth (*hunila*). This dancing and singing is restricted to women, though uninitiated boys may occasionally attend. The Hubula dance and sing at various events and rituals, believing that 'everything, including plants and animals, has a heart and a soul' and 'there is a song for everything, including animals and plants' (*iliwene yiwene*, *ika oka*, *sue bagait arima etai werek*)[119]. 'Everything' in the above sentence refers to both ritual and Hubula daily life.

While the guests are being welcomed in the front yard, the mothers of the bride and groom, and the women and children sing laments (*lee wuni*) in the kitchen. The emphasis here is on their being women and not whether they are from the bride's or the groom's side. Together these women lament a lack of fertility, crying and expressing their sorrow at their inability to provide enough provisions and

[119] See also Hisage et.al (2007) about different types of *etai*.

pigs for the wedding. In doing this they disregard the number of pigs that were received: no matter how many pigs were given, there could never be enough of them to sacrifice. This lament continues until the host has accepted all the guests' gifts.

The women say that the lament should be sung while crying and with feelings of deep sadness in order to avoid giving an impression of arrogance. In the laments the names of deceased relatives are mentioned, remembering their merit when alive and positing that had they been alive that would have been more pigs for the wedding. Conditions are considered to have deteriorated since the time of the ancestors, which is the fundamental ontology created by the lament that projects hope for the future onto the past.

The groom's mother usually starts the lament with spontaneous lyrics expressing her sorrow. Other women, seated in a circle in the groom's kitchen, collectively confirm her words by voicing a certain rhythm. Some women, especially the groom's mother's relatives, might support the host by continuing to express sorrow with their own spontaneous lyrics. This is again confirmed by the other women. A lament might state that:

> We are the elders who live by ourselves in the village because our children have gone far away to study. If only you were here (referring to deceased family members), our difficulties and burden would have not been [so] heavy. However, because you have gone away, our children and other family members are far from the village so that we are having troubles. Men open the garden while women plant the seeds. Unfortunately, the children are gone to school, other family members live in other village, you (a deceased man's name) who usually opened the garden have already passed away. On whom can we now rely? I am sad because of we do not know on whom we can rely. [120]

The discussion, the preparation and the distribution of the gift

After the guests have arrived, adult men from the host group, including the groom, the father of the groom, and his lineage and *kanekela* members, and the moiety partner(s) (*isaeak*) of the groom's decent unit gather in front of the man's hut (*honai*). Based on a list noting who gave what gifts, they discuss their distribution between the groom's mother's siblings. Since the fertility of the host of the wedding is generated through the exchange of pigs, their proper distribution is considered crucial. An improper distribution might lead to a conflict with the re-

[120] *Elege re, waligi re, sekola oo swesika ooo... laukama. Elege re, waligi re, sekola oo swesika ooo... laukama, umamekeree ninetaiken wariko welagorek. Yabu wanure, wen wanure, abenaro, elege naenaro, humire, aipalek wolok, negarego.*

cipient (the mother's sibling) and the ancestors. To avoid this much acre is taken and the meeting can take several hours.

After a collective decision is reached about the distribution of the gifts, the *kanekela* leaders (*yaman*, *metek* and *apisan*) start to sacrifice the pigs to legitimise the ritual.[121] After being killed the dead pigs are placed on the ground. In order these are the pig killed for the bride, followed by the pigs needed to 'feed' (Papuan Malay. *kasih makan*) the groom's mother's siblings, and the attendants present, including the representatives of the bride. The pigs' snouts are directed against 'the eyes of the war' (*wim eloko*, or Ind. *mata perang*) or toward the location of 'the eternal enemy' (*silimeke*) of the groom's *kanekela*, as described in the history of warfare. This protects the hosts of the wedding, including the groom and the bride, from possible violence by 'the eternal enemy'.

Wim eloko is the direction or the tip[122] where 'the eternal enemy' is located and is the cause of warfare. At the same time, it is also creates the basis of the fertility, manifested as a sacred object (*kaneke*) that is based on the history of warfare (see chapter 4), which is kept in the *kanekela*, and is the centre of Hubula ritual. In this light, *kaneke* is also considered to be *wim eloko*.

The first pig sacrificed for the wedding is called *wam oken*.[123] Its tail is cut off and will be hung on the bride's neck at the close of the ritual as a sign of unity with the ancestors (*tipat*).[124] Afterwards, the person holding the position of *metek* in the *kanekela* leads the distribution of the gifts to the mother's siblings (*oom-oom*). The pig that is given to the *oom-oom* is called *wam hutik*.[125] A group of men starts preparing the earth oven by burning wood in the public cooking pit (*bakse*). The preparation of the pigs proceeds as follows. The pigs' hair is removed by burning, after which they are butchered. Then hot stones are layered in the cooking pit, and women arrange the food in it: grass, stones, sweet potatoes, stones, vegetables, stones, pork, and grass. Then all this is covered with canvas.

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121 Each of these groups has its own part here. For detail of the sacrifice, see chapter 5).

122 In the Trobiand Islands 'the eyes' (*mata*) are seen as a basis or cause. This also applies to the tip or point of something. There is a pervasive association with potential reproductive growth, emergence and becoming (Barnes 1977: 307).

123 The same term is also applied for the sacrificed pig in the initiation ritual *(ap waya)*.

124 *Tipat* (protection).

125 *Wam* (pig) and *hutik* (translucent).

Transforming the status of the bride

In the meantime women prepare part of the first pig that is killed (*wam oken*), namely its liver (*etaiken*), meat, and fat (*amu wako*) for the bride. While this is done the bride is in the kitchen with the women. The distribution of the traditional net bags starts with selecting the best ones (*su here*).[126] These, but no more than five, are put on the bride's head by the groom's sister, the groom's mother's sister, and the wife or daughter of the groom's father's *kanekela* members. The mothers of the bride and groom, who are present in the kitchen and throughout the wedding, have no part in the selection and distribution of these bags.

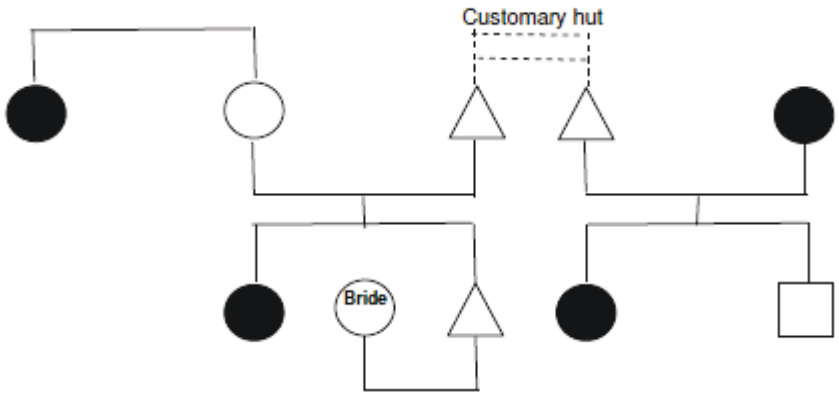

Figure 54: Relations involved in the selection of traditional net bags to be placed on the bride's head.

[126] *Su* (traditional knitted bag) and *here* (where the woman is located).

Figure 52: The pig's liver and fat (*wam amuako*) and part of the pig's flesh (*wam ino*) are first given to the bride. Then the rest is distributed to all women present. Which woman is chosen to rub pig's fat on the bride's body depends on their husbands' position in the *kanekela* leadership group.

Figure 53: The half a pig (*wam apepalek*), money, and a traditional bag are given to the bride's siblings and/or family who are present at the wedding at the groom's compound.

The roles that Hubula women play are based on their husbands' position in the *kanekela*. The women who are in charge of selecting traditional net bags judged good enough to be given at a wedding are married into lineages affiliated with *metek*. The woman who is in charge of placing the bags on the bride's head is married into a lineage affiliated with *yaman*. The reason these bags a placed on the bride's head is to symbolically 'protect the body' (*su inoat werek*) and 'conceal the skin and the protection' (*inyoat lawerogo*) the *kanekela* gives against disturbances. The invocation spoken when the bags are put on the bride's head is „I am putting the protective sign" (*nowat silo higi*), with which the bride is integrated into the groom's *kanekela*. She thereby gains the groom's ancestors' protection.[127]

The placing of the net bags on the bride's head is seen as a point of transition, integrating her into the groom's ancestral unit and instilling in her the expected socially defined qualities of a wife. Similar to other Melanesian societies in Papua New Guinea, the Hubula consider traditional bags to be 'beyond womankind and femininity' (cf. Mackenzie 1991: 142, 146-147) because they associate these bags with continuous growth, nurture, and motherhood.

After the bride has been officially made part of the groom's ancestral unit, the gloomy atmosphere of the lament is transformed as the women in the kitchen start to dance and sing cheerfully (*wuni yokalma*), either standing or jumping *in-situ* (*hologotiik*). At the same time, adult Hubula men are singing in the *kanekela*. In the meantime, some parts of pig's flesh (*wam ino*), the grilled liver and fat (*wam amuako werago*) are cooked separately outside in the cooking pit or the earth oven, and are then brought into the kitchen. These parts are first given to the bride, then to the dancing and singing (*etai*) women. Some parts are saved in traditional bags for those who continue to dance and sing in the kitchen throughout the night. Afterwards, women who are married into lineages affiliated with *kanekela* members spread fat (*wam amuako*) from sacrificed pigs on parts of the bride's body. This action transfers the fertility symbolized by the pigs into the bride's body.

[127] Newborn babies are also covered with traditional net bags. They are placed in one right after birth, and are kept there for three to four months. This is something the child's father owes to his ancestors. These months are a time to consolidate the making of the person: a transitional stage and a time to gain strength and size in order to express its already well-defined sociality (Butt 1998: 134-142).

Figure 55: The fat spread on the bride's body

Part of the bride's body:	Hubula affliated *yaman/metek/apisan* women in charge:	Invocation:
Head and face	*Apisan* (wives of men representing *apisan* ancestors killed in the warfare)	-
Shoulder	*Metek* (wives of men representing *metek* ancestors killed in the warfare)	Be fertile (*howa lupuki inyo*), you will be a mother (*hebe he atno*), be submissive and diligent (*hut somatano*)
Hand	*Metek* (ditto)	May the fat in your hand grow (*hekimo apusu kok atno*)
Chest	*Metek* (ditto)	May your heart be good (*hetaiken hewelatno*)
Stomach	*Metek* (ditto)	May your whole body radiate/may your life radiate goodness for others (*hesel miak inyo*)
Feet	*Yaman* (wives of men representing *yaman* ancestors killed in the warfare)	-

The fat rubbed on the bride's body and the associated invocations show that the bride's body and person are constructed out of previous relationships. She maintains fertility by supporting her husband's *kanekela*'s ritual and livelihood, which can be seen (a) from her the roles she is expected to play as 'the foundation' (*hipit*), 'one's vein' (*inomaken*), 'one's soul' (*inamukareke*), 'one's spirit' (*inyamoreke*), and 'one's sweet potatoes' leaves' (*napereka*); (b) being a good mother for her children as described 'the close relation between mother and child' (*ilak hutik*),[128] (c) being generous and wise as expressed 'the one whose heart is wise' (*etaiken hebelek*), and 'the one whose heart is damp' (*etaiken apusu werek*); (d) having 'good' quality of hands by actively helping others, knitting traditional bags and other hand made products as well as taking care of the garden and pigs properly as mentioned in the following attributes as 'the one whose hands are not dirty' (*eki huliagap dek*), 'the one who has lively hands' (*eko holeak*), 'the one whose hands are not dirty' (*eki huliagap dek*), 'the one who has big hands' (*eki kok*), 'the one who has moving hands' (*eki awolok werek*), and' the one who has warm hands' (*eki agaken werek*). In addition, the bride is also expected to be submissive as described in the saying „my

[128] Lit. milk – a personal relation.

sister should bow when planting the sweet potatoes" (*nerop hipiri ai huruak sumarogo yatno*).[129]

After the fat has been rubbed on her body, women married into lineages affiliated with *metek* cut off the bride's *salih* (skirt marking the unmarried state) and dress her in a *yokal*, the married woman's skirt.

Before pacification, the cutting of the *salih* was followed by the invocation *wuuu…waroko sawelakigi* (we have cut down, killed that which now becomes the foundation under our feet). This invocation refers to the first *kaneke* of the groom's *kanekela*, which came from the first enemy that was killed in the warfare. The foundation mentioned in the invocation is affirmed by making the bride part of her husband's alliance unit. However, since Hubula women nowadays wear modern skirts, the ritual changing of the skirt has fallen into disuse. Both of the changing from wearing *salih* into *yokal* and the rubbing of fat on the bride are symbolic of her change of her marital status.

The closing of the wedding ritual

Soon after the food in the cooking pit is ready, the groom's *kanekela*'s members (*yaman*, *metek*, and *apisan*) begin to distribute the gifts of sacrificed pigs. While the guests in the yard are eating the animals' meat, the *metek* brings the first pig that was sacrificed (*wam oken*) and was cooked complete with its tail, to the kitchen. This pig is presented to the bride and its tail is hung on her neck as a symbol of her union with the ancestors (*tipat*). While the *metek* hangs the tail on her neck, the *yaman* holds her feet. This symbolizes her incorporation into the groom's *kanekela*, and indicates the formal acceptance of the bride into her husband's lineage. It also aims to prevent (*silo*) bad influences from disturbing the couple's married life.

There is also a gift that is given to the person who supported the groom's initiation ritual (*ap ecesa*). This consists of a pig's jaw, a piece of pork, a pig's lung, a piece of skin from the buttocks of the pig, and a bone from the back part of its skull. In addition, a set of gifts is presented to the female members of the bride's group, namely her mother's sister, mother's sister's daughter, and the like, who are present at the wedding, This present consists of half a pig (*wam apepalek*)[130] that is laid on the ground on a traditional net bag, and has an envelope of money placed

[129] In this context, the phrase my sister is a common form of address to any woman and is not limited to a kinship relation.

[130] Lit. the pig with a torn mouth.

on the top of it. This gift represents the acceptance of the bride, and the gratitude of the groom's lineage to the bride's. Although the above gifts are considered to have 'paid off the exchange' (*lopolaga*), for which no reciprocity is required, the husband or father of the recipient still feels indebted to the groom. This 'social debt' is paid of by a willingness to aid in a ritual that affects the groom or the bride. For instance, a recipient of such a gift from the bride's lineage will contribute to e.g. the death ritual of the groom's mother, for instance by contributing pigs.

Figure 56: Hubula women selecting the best traditional net bags to be put on the bride's head. These women who are in charge have a kinship or *kanekela* relationship with the groom

Figure 57: The arrangement and distribution of the counter gift in form of traditional net bags and money, which takes place a few days after the wedding. All the parties who contributed pig(s) to the wedding are entitled to receive a counter gift. The selection of good quality traditional net bags shows a proper appreciation of the persons making the gift.

Figure 58: Left: the traditional skirt (*salih*) for an unmarried woman. Right: the traditional skirt for a married woman (*yokal*). These traditional skirts are worn during the annual Palim Valley festival, part of Indonesia's Independence Day celebrations. Such skirts are now worn only at festivals or as tourist attractions.

Post wedding ritual: building the new relational cycle

The wedding ritual (*he yokal*) cosmologically integrated the bride into her new compound. This is followed by rituals to bring the married couple together. The groom, who has not been together with his bride up to now, is invited to enter and join her at the hearth (*hunila*) in the groom's compound for the first time (*nyecep* or *humi inyetep*).[131] Increased migration from the Palim Valley to especially Jayapura, the capital of Papua, in order to seek work at the palm oil plantation, has given rise to new patterns of relationship. Young couples there tend to live together before getting married, obviating the necessity of the *nyecep* ritual. The attendees who are present in the kitchen encourage the groom to overcome his embarrassment (*ekali*) and join his bride in dancing and singing. The bride should also be relaxed and warm and feel comfortable at joining the groom. Sometimes a husband might be reluctant and be too embarrassed to join his bride at the hearth, or the bride tries to run away out of fear. Sometimes also women who live in the same compound invite the bride a few days after the wedding to take a stroll around the compound, in order to introduce her to her new home and environment (*yumi humi*).[132] It is hoped that in this way the bride will be at peace with her new surroundings.

The 'paying off of a debt' (*okoh*) is made clear in the ritual *su palek* or *su putarek*, which involves giving a counter gift in form of traditional net bags to those who contributed pig(s) during the wedding. The size of the return gift varies with the size of the pig that was contributed: the bigger the pig, the more net bags are given. The women who select these net bags are married into lineages affiliated with the *metek*. The rest of the bride price can be given during the wedding. It does happen, however, that the bride price in the form of living pigs (*wam eso koba*)[133] is delivered to the bride's parents' compound after the wedding. When these things are done depends on whether the groom's lineage members are ready, and on the agreement reached between the two lineages. This is the last part of the bride price.

An unpaid bride price can lead to conflict since a wife whose bride price has not been paid and/or who feels dissatisfied has the right to return to her parents, or go and find another husband. Feelings of dissatisfaction may come about due

131 *Nyecep* (one's knee). *Humi* (woman) and *inyetep* (fingers).
132 Lit. mother woman.
133 Lit. on the pig's legs.

to her being ignored or not receiving enough attention from her husband, and domestic violence. She may also simply not fancy her husband anymore.[134]

A runaway wife is called *himi tapo hulu parek*. Disputes about runaway wives, like many other problems concerning women and property, are usually solved in the village court, mediated by the village head (Ind. *kepala kampung*), nowadays aided by a security officer (Ind. *aparat keamanan*) when necessary. A runaway wife should have a convincing argument to justify her actions (cf. Butt 1998: 105-110). The village office is sometimes crowded with villagers looking to solve their problems. A strong feeling of collectivism in solving problems often transforms a personal or individual problem into a public one. The process of solving problems in the village office yard provides the villagers with a spectacle. The term problem (Ind. *masalah*) is whispered from mouth to mouth or even shouted, and soon attracts a crowd of villagers. The prospective new husband, sometimes supported by the runaway wife and her lineage members, should deliver 'the adult woman's indemnification' (*he itoko*), which consists of returning the original bride price.[135]

After the bride price is fully paid, a ritual involving the limestone (*ye*) may be performed, accepting the wife in her husband's lineage[136] (*himi nyoko* or *he okoh*). This ritual aims to strengthen thee marriage bond through the formal acceptance of the wife into the husband's lineage. This ritual, which is performed in the name of the newly married wife, may be organized by her husband, the husband's brothers, adult men from the husband's lineage and *kanekela* members. Exchange objects, such as limestone (*ye*), traditional net bags (*su*) and a cowry-shell band (*yeraken*) are collected from the *himi nyoko* to be given to the wife's siblings. The

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134 During warfare, the life of a runaway wife is in danger. She might also be killed when choosing a new husband from 'the eternal enemy' (*silimeke*, see chapter 4) from another alliance. A runaway wife can also negotiate of the amount of the indemnification by making arguments for a 'paid-off exchange' (*lopolaga*). This implies a sacrifice (Ind. *pengorbanan*) or contribution in form of pigs, traditional net bags, etc. made by the wife and/or her lineage members toward a ritual of her husband's lineage members during their marriage. In this case the amount that must be paid by the runaway wife and her lineage members is the bride price minus these contributions. Other women see those who successfully negotiate the process of being a runaway bride in order to be with a person she chose for herself as brave and as a 'woman who is not afraid of men' (*heyi ap ayuk lek*).

135 The term indemnification (*itoko*) is in combination with a reference to the object or action that causes the loss. Thus one may hear of a pig indemnification (*wam itoko*), a sweet potato indemnification (*hipere itoko*), or a fight indemnification (*tugi itoko*).

136 Hubula refer to lineage members as 'the group' (Ind. *kelompok).* For example, a husband's lineage members are called *kelompok suami.*

limestone is distributed only to the wife's brothers, and those who receive it must provide one or more pigs as a counter gift (*ye hogeke*).[137] One of these is then sacrificed as 'the representation' of the ancestors (*yerebo*, see chapter 5). The rest of the pigs are eaten by the members of the husband's lineage. Some of these might not be able to join in the *himi nyoko* because of a lack of pigs.

Recipients of the limestone might initiate another *himi nyoko* so that it will be circulated. The more often the limestone is circulated, the better. Anybody who contributes limestone in a *himi nyoko* ritual is seen as one who lays a 'foundation of the limestone' (*dasar ye*), and has the right to receive part of the bride price in form of pig(s) at the weddings of the wife's future daughters.

The *himi nyoko* ritual may be performed before or after the wife has her first baby. The limestone that is contributed during *himi nyoko* before the childbirth is called *he eket oba*,[138] while that which is contributed after the first child is born is called *nyukul palek* (passing by the head).[139] This last means that the children will carry their father's family name. The significance of the role of the layer of the foundation of the limestone is that this is inherently the basis of fertility (*inyoba muli rogo*, Ind. *kesuburan hidup*).[140] Disrespecting or neglecting this person's rights to the bride price could threaten fertility, which would be evident from sickness among the people and animals and infertility of the land and vegetation. On the other hand, these same rights often lead the layer of the foundation to urge his daughters to marry young in order to receive the pig(s) involved in the bride price.

Conclusion

Marriage among the Hubula of the Palim Valley cannot be separated from the history of warfare. As was mentioned earlier (see chapter 5), the aim of Hubula warfare is not the acquisition of territory or power. In addition to moieties, some things resulting from this warfare are social debt and solidarity, including fixing the relations between *kanekela* that were allies in the same war and are treated like kin . The structure of the leadership of the *kanekela* that plays major roles in ritual as well as being the source of fertility (*kaneke* and *apwarek*), are the base of the rules and prohibitions governing marriage among the Hubula. The expected attributes

137 Lit. the giving of limestone.
138 Lit. the woman's vagina and body.
139 Lit. cutting the head.
140 Lit. the black body for good.

of the potential bride and groom are related to their and their supporters' capacity to maintain relations with the ancestors through exchanges in order to support the cycle of fertility. The more that people are involved in these exchanges the better. The whole wedding is a collective process, from the preparations to the post-wedding rituals. This is clear from the fact that marriage that is perceived as the union between ancestral units instead of two individuals. The involvement of the various people in the wedding shows that marriage for the Hubula not only creates new relationships between ancestral units, but also reactivates relationships that came about through previous rituals, such as the groom's initiation and the bride's mother's wedding.

The women's lament during the wedding reflects the Hubula's views on time, in which hopes for the future are projected onto the past. The present structural deficiencies, when compared to the time of the ancestors, shows how dependent the Hubula are on their ancestors. They cannot consider the future without reference to the past and expectations of new relationships and based on past ones.

Various identities of the actors interdigitate and become visible in the course of the wedding. Each group has its own ritual space. Each phase of the ritual requires the presence of a particular group, which may be based on sex, traditional leadership, lineage membership, or kinship as described in figure 23. The transformation of the bride through the rubbing of pig's fat on her body takes place in the kitchen. While Butt (1998: 112) maintains that women's roles are limited to exchanging net bags, we see that Hubula women play important ritual roles in the kitchen are, lamenting, dancing and singing, and rubbing pig's fat on the bride's body. Different from Mackenzie's (1991: 143) study in Hagen, the net bag does not involve notions of clan continuity or social regeneration. In the Palim Valley these ideas are conveyed through pigs and shells, as can also be seen in the transformation of the bride by putting net bags on her.

Figure 59: The exchanges during the wedding ritual at the groom's compound:

No.	Party or parties:	Gift:	Party or parties:	Gift:	Party or parties:
	→	→	→	→	
1	The host or parties who are in charge in the wedding ritual (*wene ero* or *wene hule*, Ind. *tuan penyelenggara acara*): the groom's parents, the groom's farther's siblings, the groom's father's siblings' children, the groom's *kanekela* members, the groom's lineage members, the moiety partners of the groom's lineage, the ones who share the compound with the groom, such as widows whose late husband was the member of the groom's *kanekela*, the supporter of the groom's initiation ritual	*Wam eso koba* Living pig(s) as the bride price	The bride's siblings, the father's siblings, the one(s) who layed the foundation of the limestone (*dasar ye)* of the bride's mother.	*Wam amuako su* Traditional net bags, the number depends on the size of the pig, and, optionally, money substituting for cowry shells and limestone.	Accepted by the groom's parents on behalf of the host or the parties in charge of the wedding (*wene ero* or *wene hule)* to be used later as 'the payment' (*okoh*, Ind *pembayaran dari yang menyumbang*; *wam eso koba*

No.	Party or parties:	Gift:	Party or parties:	Gift:	Party or parties:
1	Ditto →	*Wam tuli** Pig's meat symbolizing the bride's acceptance in the groom's compound	The ancestors (in form of *yerebo*), the bride sharing with the others who are in the groom's compound during her acceptance there.	-	-
	Ditto →	*Wam oken** The first pig sacrificed during the wedding	The bride (in form of *tipat* made of the pig's tail and some of its parts). The rest of the meat is shared with those present in the kitchen during the wedding.	-	-
	Ditto →	*Wam owa aben** *(wam umum)* Pig's meat during the wedding	The wedding guests		

No.	Party or parties:	Gift:	Party or parties:	Gift:	Party or parties:
1	Ditto	*Wam hutik* Pig's meat during the wedding ritual	The groom's mother's siblings and the groom's mother's siblings' children (*oom-oom* or *amilak*)	For persons receiving large shares such as a pig's leg and/or back: traditional net bags and money, substituting for cowry shells and limestone. Those receiving smaller shares: pig's meat and/or bones and money, substituting for cowry shells and limestone.	Accepted by the groom's parents on behalf of the host or the parties in charge in the wedding (*wene ero* or *wene hule*) to be used later as 'the payment' (*okoh*; Ind. *pembayaran)*
	Ditto	*Inyowak ako* Live pig	The groom's mother's siblings and the groom's mother's siblings' children (*oom-oom*)	*Wam amuako su* Traditional net bags. Their number depends on the size of the pig. Also optionally money, substituting for cowry shells and limestone.	Accepted by the groom's parents on behalf of the host or the parties in charge in the wedding (*wene ero* or *wene hule*) to be used later as 'the payment' (*okoh*; Ind.*pembayaran*)

No.	Party or parties:	Gift:	Party or parties:	Gift:	Party or parties:
1	Ditto	* Pig's jaw, piece of pig's meat, pig's lung, piece of pig's skin from the pig's buttocks and a bone from the back part of the pig's skull.	The person who supported the groom's initiation ritual (*ap ecesa*)	-	-
	Ditto	*Wam apepalek* Meat of half of a pig during the wedding ritual	The female members of the bride's lineage (*homalugi*) (except the bride's mother) such as the bride's mother's sisters, the bride's mother's sisters' daughters, and the bride's sisters, the women who live in the bride's compound (e.g. widows of the member of the bride's father's *kanekela*)	-	The groom's surrounding ritual

No.	Party or parties:	Gift:	Party or parties:	Gift:	Party or parties:
1	Ditto	*Su owa werek* Lit. traditional net bag obtained and worn by them. Collected traditional net bag (including from *wam amuako su* and the reciprocal gifts from *wam hutik*).	Received by the groom's mother on behalf of the host or the parties in charge in the wedding (*wene ero* or *wene hule*) to be managed by the female *metek* leadership group member(s) of the groom's *kanekela*	*Su agep warek* The five best traditional net bags put on the bride's head during the wedding	The bride
	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	*Su palek* (*su putarek*) Traditional net bag as 'the payment'	The ones who contribute pigs for the bride price (*wam eso koba*), the bride's acceptance (*wam tuli*), the first pig sacrificed during the wedding (*wam oken*), the pig for the general public (*wam umum*), the pig for the groom's mother's siblings and the groom's mother's siblings' children (*wam hutik*), the pig for the female members of the bride's lineage (*wam apepalek*).

No.	Party or parties:	Gift:	Party or parties:	Gift:	Party or parties:
	→	→	→	→	
2	Those present of the wedding as well as the host or the parties in charge in the wedding (*wene ero* or *wene hule*)	*Les sumbangan* Collected money (*eka*) including from *wam amuako su* and the received return gift of *wam hutik*. Note: in an earlier period when the money was not widely used, the male guests brought pig(s) while the women brought traditional net bag(s) as wedding gifts.	Accepted by the groom's parents on behalf of the host or the parties in charge in the wedding (*wene ero or wene hule*)	Alternative gift added to the main gift (pig or traditional net bag) which is equivalent to the price of the pig or traditional net bag	The ones who contribute or receive a pig as bride price (*wam eso koba*), the bride's acceptance (*wam tuli*), the first pig sacrificed for the wedding (*wam oken*), the pig for the general public (*wam umum*), the pig for the groom's mother's siblings and the groom's mother's siblings' children (*wam hutik*), the pig for the female members of the bride's lineage (*wam apepalek*).
	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	→ The gift, possibly in form of a pig(s) on behalf of a baptised groom	The Catholic parish (Ind. *paroki*) to support the parish's program

No.	Party or parties:	Gift:	Party or parties:	Gift:	Party or parties:
3	The female members of the groom's lineage or *homalugi* (except the groom's mother) such as the groom's mother's sisters, the groom's mother's sisters' daughters and the groom's sisters, the women who share the groom's compound (e.g. the widow of a member of the groom's *kanekela*)	*Su korok* Mutual exchange of traditional bags.	The female members of the bride's lineage or *homalugi* (except the bride's mother) such as the bride's mother's sisters, the bride's mother's sisters' daughters and the bride's sisters, the women who share the bride's compound (e.g. the widow of a member of the bride's father's *kanekela*)	-	-
4	The husband, the men of the husband's lineage, the husband's *kanekela* members	*Himi nyoko* The limestone (*ye*) as the acceptance of and 'payment' for the wife (*nyoko)* meant to strengthen the relation between the wife and the husband's lineage and ancestors	The wife's brothers, the wife's siblings' sons, the wife's mother's brothers and their sons	*Ye hobeke* Living pig as the payment (*okoh*) to the husband's lineage	Accepted by the husband to be given to the particular party or parties who contributed the limestone

* in the above table denotes "the paid off exchange' (*lopolaga*), which entails no obligation to give a counter gift.

Chapter 7
The alienation of the land

Pogot ninopase nen agat ninagosa

The sky is our father and the land is our mother

In chapter 5 it was pointed out that, as described in the narratives, the Hubula's ancestors laid claim to the whole region in which their descendants now live. These ancestors are the true owners of the land, the hills, rivers, stones, and forests, and all that these produce. Their descendants in their moiety partnerships are the guardians, who maintain the land. The Hubula show respect for their land through rituals that are performed throughout the agricultural cycle. These rituals confirm their valuation of their relationship with their ancestors over a mere economic interest: the land is not property and should not be treated as commodity. The identity relationship between the Hubula and their land is based on the idea of the inalienability of the land.

Legal sense of ownership of the land

However, the encounter between the Hubula and modern institutions like the state, missionary groups, and the modern market has left its mark on this relationship, affecting both land rights and the way that land is used in the Palim Valley. The legal status of the Hubula's ancestral land as defined first in Dutch agrarian law and later in Indonesian law does not recognize this notion of guardianship. As described in the Basic Agrarian Act of 1870 (the „BAA") promulgated by the Dutch, forests are 'waste land' or 'no man's land' and are at the disposal of the State. This Act permitted foreigners to acquire mortgageable land rights from the government for periods of time long enough to make the investment practical, and to lease land from the indigenous people.

The Act had a significant impact on the relationship between the indigenous people and their ancestral land: as land owned under customary (*adat*) law had never been registered with the colonial officials, the state assumed legal rights to all the ancestral land that the indigenous people had farmed for generations (Rossabi 1999: 2). In the Palim Valley, the Dutch government granted long lease contracts for some areas of land to non-Hubula outsiders.

These policies were continued under the Indonesian state's *Hukum Pokok Agaria* 1960 (the Basic Agrarian Law 1960). Although the Upper House of the Indonesian parliament resolved[141] to provide for communal titling of customary lands, this resolution has never been implemented. On the contrary, Law 41/1999 on Forests considers customary forest as just one part of the National Forest Estate, which only recognises as private forests ones held under individual title. Currently the provincial government of Papua is developing a Special Provincial Law (Ind. *Peraturan Daerah Khusus* or *Perdasus*) on sustainable forest management in cooperation with Papuan *adat* communities (Sumule 2007). Although the above Basic Agrarian Law explicitly describes that the relation between people and their ancestral land is not a relation of property, it does recognize the individual ownership.

Article 4 of government regulation No.5/1960 pertaining to the basic agrarian principles (*Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia* No.5/1960 *tentang Peraturan Dasar Pokok-pokok Agraria*, *Pasal* 2 *ayat* 4) states that the State has the right to control the land. When necessary, and if this is not against the national interest, the State can grant customary or indigenous communities a proxy to their ancestral land.[142] In Papua, the national interest, in the form of the economic benefits gained from the extraction of natural resources, overrode the interests and concerns of the Papuans.

Bodley (2002) has argued about the relationship between progress and the exploitation of resources that 'indigenous peoples would not be asked to surrender their resources and independence if industrial societies learned to control their own culture of consumption'. Yosepha Alomang, a Papuan woman who won national and international human rights and environmental awards for her long standing struggle against mining in Papuan ancestral land by the giant Freeport-McMoran concern, affirmed that '...Papuans are Indonesia's source of consumption. In Indonesian thought Papuans are creatures without feelings, experience, customs and culture and without manners...Because they think of us this way, Indonesians do what they want on our land. They can do whatever they want to get

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141 Resolution of the Indonesian Upper House TAP MPR IX/1999.

142 Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia No.5/1960 tentang Peraturan Dasar Pokok-pokok Agraria, Pasal 2 ayat 4: *„Hak menguasai dari Negara tersebut diatas pelaksanaannya dapat dikuasakan kepada daerah-daerah Swatantra dan masyarakat-masyarakat hukum adat, sekedar diperlukan dan tidak bertentangan dengan kepentingan nasional, menurut ketentuan-ketentuan Peraturan Pemerintah."*

whatever they desire. They rule, force their interests on us, kill, and grab our land...Thus, all that I have done in our Land has been to grab back our land, to expel the evil and win back our human dignity and prestige as people with customs and law'.[143]

The Palim Valley has no extensive natural resources such as are found in Timika, where Freeport-McMoran is located. Nevertheless, the status of the ancestral land there is challenged by the space required for the development program. The National Bureau of Land Affairs (*Badan Pertanahan Nasional* or BPN) in Wamena confirmed that a statement of release from the traditional leader(s) must accompany any land certificate in Papua in order to avoid later conflicts about the land's ownership. The legal verification of the status of ancestral land is based on oral testimony from the customary leaders and elders, and much ancestral land has not been registered at the government office as the common perception is that customary law was here before the government arrived. Resolution TAP MPR No XVII/MPR/1998 of the Indonesian Upper House about human rights article 41 states that: the cultural identity of traditional communities, including their rights over the ancestral land, is protected in accordance with the times.[144] In reality, traditional rights over the ancestral land are often subordinated to certificates of legal ownership.

The inclusion of the legal form of the land

The inclusion of legal forms inherently means that the government has the authority to regulate ancestral land. Basing itself on the 'no man's land' argument, the Dutch government in the Palim Valley claimed such land for their development program. In December 1956, Frits Veldkamp, the first head of the local Dutch administration (*Hoofd van Plaatselijk Bestuur* or HPB) arrived in the Palim Valley together with fifteen other people, mostly staff from coastal Papua.

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143 *...Orang Papua itu orang Indonesia punya makanan. Dalam pikiran orang Indonesia, orang Papua mahkluk yang tidak punya perasaan, pengalaman, adat dan budaya dan tidak punya akal...Karena pikiran mereka terhadap kami begitu, orang Indonesia bisa berbuat apa saja di tanah kami. Mereka dapat melakukan apa saja untuk mendapat apa saja yang mereka inginkan. Mereka memerintah, memaksa kepentingan mereka, membunuh dan merampas tanah...Sehingga semua yang saya lakukan selama ini di Tanah kami adalah untuk merebut kembali tanah kami, mengusir kejahatan dan merebut harkat dan martabat kami sebagai manusia; yang punya adat dan hukum.*

144 TAP MPR No XVII/MPR/1998 about human rights (Ind. *hak asasi* manusia or HAM), article 41: *Identitas budaya masyarakat tradisional, termasuk hak atas tanah ulayat dilindungi, selaras dengan perkembangan zaman.*

Veldkamp's task was to make contact with the Hubula and learn their language and culture in order that their need might be evaluated. Such assignments were seen as a strategic way to extend the government's program at the grass roots level. Although previous outsiders had judged the Hubula negatively, and considered them a 'stone age people' who loved war and cowry shells, Veldkamp believed that law and order could not be forced on a people. He therefore tried his best not to interfere in sensitive local affairs, including warfare (*wim*) before properly understanding it (Veldkamp, personal communication).

The first development was the creation of an airstrip to connect the Palim Valley with the outside world. It was expected that the airstrip would initiate a flow of goods in to and out of the area. For the location of this airstrip Veldkamp chose what he thought was an area of 'no man's land' (*yukmo*) because of its function as a battle ground (*wim mo*). Despite challenges to the security of the workers, the airstrip was completed (Veldkamp, personal communication).

Later the Indonesian government defined Hubula ancestral land as state property. This can be seen from the way in which the National Bureau of Land Affairs (BPN) in Wamena city handles land affairs. The local BPN is part of the central government and thus is not included in Papua's special autonomy budget. BPN staff members consider land belonging to the indigenous peoples as either (a) customary land (*tanah adat*), land distributed and given to a specific person or member of a lineage (*klen*), so that it is 'owned' by someone who represents the community, or (b) collective customary land (*tanah ulayat*), which is land that belongs to lineage members collectively. *Tanah adat* can be certified and gain legal status, but there is no place in the system for the certification of *tanah ulayat*.

The Hubula's land is *tanah ulayat*. According to the BPN, the main problem with indigenous land in Wamena is, among other things, the Hubula's unawareness of the law, and their lack of understanding of the need to register their land. According to the BPN, if the Hubula were to register their land, they, the BPN, would be able to help settle disputes between various parties that, under *adat* law, have equal claims to it. The BPN, however, does not realize that the Hubula do not communally own the land, but rather that the lineage as a whole is its guardian.

The case in Sinakma: application of the legal form

The registration of ancestral land can have a negative impact. Stewart and Strathern (1999: 190) describe the resistance in Mount Hagen to the idea of registering customary land, perceiving that reducing land tenure to individual title would make it possible for land to be alienated. A case from Sinakma, in the Palim Valley, is illustrative. It concerns a conflict that resulted from the application of the government's legal forms, leading to the improper alienation of Hubula ancestral land to an external party, as well as ever further transfers to other parties. Based on an original Dutch document concerning this land,[145] Gerald Wayne Rose, a representative of the American Protestant mission of the Christian and Missionary Alliance (CAMA), submitted a request dated 30 March 1962 to the Director of Internal Affairs. This request aimed to obtain, either as property or on a 35-year lease with the right to build a 'house plus outbuildings', a specific piece of land as illustrated by the attached building plan. The request stated that the plot in question was at present not occupied by anyone, that the area had been abandoned after the warfare of 1938-1939, and that it had been 'no man's land' thereafter. It further claimed that the piece of land concerned had been 'purchased from Natives in presence of HPB Wamena'. The Commissar of the Division Central Highlands (comparable to a Resident [*bupati*] or the regional head government) had no objections to the request. An official report dated 14 September 1962 described a meeting between HPB Wamena and his assistant, a government surgeon, and 'persons of Dani descent' who consented to the transfer of the piece of land to CAMA, for an agreed upon, though not specified payment. The land registry office made an official site-map of the parcel concerned. This decision of the Director of Internal Affairs granted CAMA the rights of *erfpacht* (long-term lease) on the parcel for a period of 75 years with the stipulation that the land could only be used for agriculture. The annual rent was one Dutch guilder per hectare for 146 hectares.

[145] Translated into English by Veldkamp.

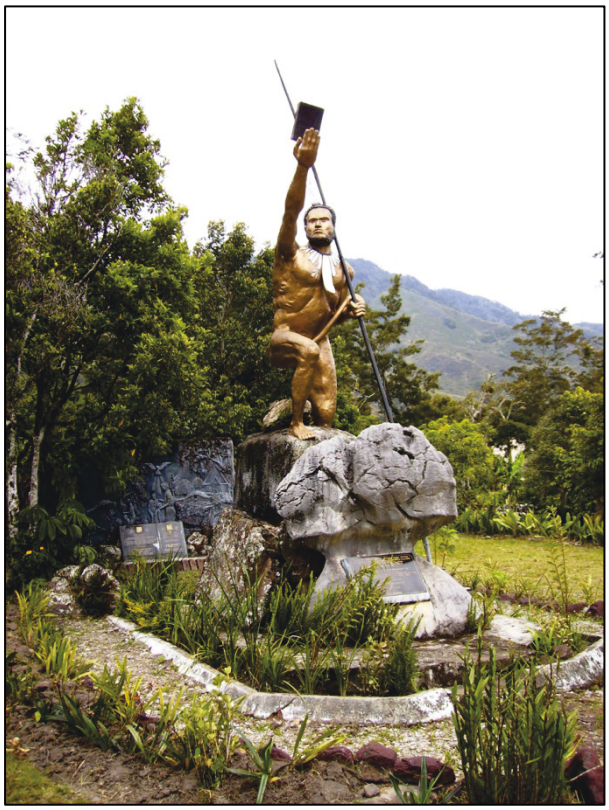

Figure 60: A monument built in 1991 to commemorate the entry of the Bible in the Palim Valley. The monument portrays Ukumiarek, who is thought to be the first Hubula leader to receive the Bible.

Figure 61: The anniversary of the arrival of the Bible in the Palim Valley was celebrated on 20 April 2007 in the village Minimo. The same anniversary was celebrated in Hitigima, where the monument is located. There were debates about the proper location for this celebration.

In 1963 the Dutch transferred New Guinea to the Indonesian government so that the above land automatically became the Indonesian state's land (Ind. *tanah negara*). Article 33 section 3 of the Indonesian constitution states that 'the land, waters and natural wealth contained within them are controlled by the State and shall be utilised to increase the prosperity of the People'.[146] This means that no foreign individuals or foreign legal entities are allowed to legally own or use land in Indonesia.

CAMA's representative, however, had been granted *erfpacht* rights (Ind. *hak erfak*) by the Dutch government, which was valid for 75 years, to 146 hectare of land that had been released by the Hubula,[147] allowing that land to be used for farming and animal husbandry.[148] *Erfak* rights are rights derived from renting state land for a long term at a low price. The above *erfpacht* was interpreted by the national land institution in the Palim Valley as giving the lessee the right to build and own buildings on someone else's land (*hak guna bangunan* or HGB). Such a title is granted for a maximum of thirty years, and can be extended for another twenty years. HGB title is granted to Indonesian citizens or to legal entities, including foreign companies, and can also be used as collateral, or be transferred to a third party. Based on a Dutch document dated 14 September 1962,[149] the controller of the Grand Valley in Wamena, an administrative staff member, and a delegate of the governor's office representing the Dutch Government, stated that the Dani people had made a appearance and had formally declared that they had released the land[150] and had been reimbursed by the Christian and Missionary Alliance (CAMA). This note from the Hubula to CAMA's representative did not mention which lineage had received cowry shells in compensation for the land, and only mentioned the Dani as an ethnic group. The National Bureau of Land Affairs later translated their acceptance of cowry shell into Indonesian as the purchase price.

CAMA's representative gave the land to the government official in charge of animal husbandry (*Dinas Peternakan*) as there were still lots of cattle and gardens to be tended. In 1992, the head of the regional government (*bupati*) wrote a letter

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146 *Bumi, air dan kekayaan alam yang terkandung di dalamnya dikuasai oleh negara dan dipergunakan untuk sebesar-besar kemakmuran rakyat.*

147 Verdict case No. 058-059-060-063/PUU-II/2004, No. 008/PUU-III/2005 The Constitutional Court of Republic of Indonesia, page 221.

148 Document No.XIX/Erfp/1962.

149 Translated into Indonesian by the National Bureau of Land Affairs or BPN.

150 The map situated on number 19/1962.

that the regional government[151] wanted to use the land in Sinakma, in. part as the operational location of the state electric company[152] to supply the city of Wamena with electrical power. Subsequently the government official in charge of animal husbandry gave the land to the electric company. These last two transfers of ownership of the land were nowhere noted down.

Locating the electric company on this plot of land led to a long running conflict, because the Hubula lineage Elokpere claimed it as their ancestral land. In 2007 the matter was brought before the regional court where the Elokpere group won its case. However, they lost on appeal and again at the level of the Supreme Court. As a result, the land is still controlled by the Indonesian government.

In the same year (2007) Wandik Wenda of the Tiom area of Western Dani claimed to have rights to the land, based on a note from a Hubula lineage releasing the land. In addition he had a memo from the regional head (*Bupati*), allowing him to build a church on a part of the land. However, the lineage Yilipele also claimed to have rights to the ancestral land in question. The resulting tension boiled over into overt conflict between members of the lineages Yilipele and Wenda, which led to seven people being injured. The BPN offered to mediate the dispute on the condition that the lineages in question must first declare the land to be state land (Ind. *tanah negara*), which would enable the BPN to intercede in the conflict and distribute it. Unfortunately, mediation has not yet taken place because of a lack of coordination with the regional government. The lineages in question have also not made the required statement, leaving the conflict unresolved.

The introduction of Christianity and the commodification of the land

Before the Hubula were introduced to money, it was possible to transfer ancestral land to outsiders in exchange for things like for instance agricultural tools or cowry shells. Apart from the exchange objects that circulate among the Hubula, there were also things that they used in their encounters with non-Hubula. Land was paid for with cowry shells that were given to some lineage leaders. The Dutch government's representative imported cowry shells from the Wissel Lake and coastal Papua. Cowry shells were also used to pay Hubula who worked construct-

151 *Pemerintah daerah* or Pemda.
152 *Perusahaan Listrik Negara* or PLN.

ing the airstrip in the Palim Valley. They were paid one cowry shell per person per day.[153] These shells were not used to barter in the market, but were kept as items of personal decoration.

Money hardly played a role among the Hubula at that time. The 'purchase' of land seemed to go smoothly because the Hubula focus was on the exchange of violence in warfare rather than on an exchange of commodities. Besides, land could not be alienated in any case, and the Hubula continued to be its guardians, no matter what goods they had received. Unlike e.g. the Me who live in Paniai, the other mountainous area of Papua, the Hubula were not yet ready to engage in trade. The Me used to grade cowries into subcategories and regarded both cowries and nassa shell[154] necklaces as money (Ploeg 2004: 295-296).[155] The Hubula, on the other hand, value small size nassa shells (*walimoken*) and cowry shells according to their function. Both can be used for personal decoration though they become more valuable when they are ritually transformed into exchange objects such as cowry shell bands (*yeraken*) or amulets (cf. Heider 1970; Naylor 1974).[156] Unlike the Dutch, the Hubula did not consider cowry shells to be an economic medium of exchange, with which they were compensated for their ancestral land and paid for their labour. Later, however, these exchanges came to focus on the modern paradigm that produced individualism and commodification. The Hubula's early contact with Protestant missionaries showed that they strongly favoured their customary law over the values and practices promoted by the missionaries. In this they differed from highlanders like the Western Dani and the Yali, who readily abandoned their traditional culture, equated the use of western goods and customs with the adoption of Christianity, and followed the missionaries' instructions to burn their traditional weapons and magically and religiously significant objects (cf. Ploeg 1969: 5-7, 58-65). Despite the fact that the Western Dani were still of two minds about European customs like not sharing food, and wailed in mourning for their burnt weapons (Ploeg 1969: 5-7, 58-65), they were willing to accept

153 Film about the work of the first representative of the Dutch Government in the Palim Valley 10 December 1956-1957. Copy right Veldkamp, the first HPB in the Palim Valley.

154 Family of Nassariidae.

155 In 1961, a conflict arose between the Hubula and traders from Paniai, who insisted on being paid with valuable Palim Valley cowries (Lieshout 2009: 128-131).

156 Heider (1970: 289) calls the shell band *jetak* (*yerak*) and the cowry shell *jetak-egen* (*yeraken*). However, the Hubula in my research area called the cowry shell band *yeraken*. Naylor (1974: 130) noted that shell bands were never anything like money in a sense that one could 'buy' something with them.

Christianity and all that it entailed.

A German Protestant minister, who visited the Palim Valley in 1961, and then went on to open the first missionary post among the Yali ethnic group in Anggruk,[157] reported on the strong cargo cult that flourished among the Yali and was the reason for their adoption of Christianity (Silak 2006). The Yali, seeing that the living conditions of theWestern Dani (*Palika*) in Bokondini, who had adopted Christianity, were far better and more modern than their own, linked Christianity with modernization and the improvement of their lives – a cargo cult interpretation of causality. Thus, they had high expectations of more pigs and good harvests if they converted to Christianity. The Protestant mission, therefore, offered not only religion, but also improved living conditions, one indicator of which was that converted Yali began to pay more attention to hygiene. This also motivated the Yali to massively burn their sacred traditional objects (*usasum*, similar to the Hubula's *kaneke*). Nevertheless, there was some resistance, and some Protestant missionaries were killed when they aggressively ordered the burning of these sacred objects (cf. Corbey 2003). It was then admitted that the local community was not really ready to let their sacred objects go and replace them with Christianity (Zoellner, personal communication).

Things were different in the Palim Valley. The above-mentioned Protestant missionary said that at the time the Hubula were quite different from the Western Dani and the Yali, because the Hubula were a stubborn people (Papuan Malay: *kepala batu*), who valued their customs over religion (Zoellner, personal communication). Administrator Veldkamp confirmed that despite their being cautious when dealing with strangers, the Hubula were a proud, self confident people who were not easily attracted to outside elements and values (Veldkamp, personal communication).

The first Christian mission in the Palim Valley, the Christian and Missionary Alliance (CAMA), arrived on 20 April 1954 at the village of Minimo. A lack of familiarity with the Hubula, and a reluctance to accommodate the Hubula in their missionary work posed some challenges. As the perceived 'no man's land' in Minimo, where they chose to reside, was apparently another battleground, the mission bypassed Hepuba and decided to build its post in the village Hitigima.

The Dutch Catholic mission reached Wesaima in the Palim Valley on 5 Febru-

[157] Nowadays included in Yahukimo regency, which abuts the southern part of the Palim Valley.

ary 1958 (Lieshout 2009) and early on also experienced resistance from the Hubula: their schools were burnt down in 1961, during the same period that the Protestants were burning sacred objects. Nevertheless, the mission continued to build schools and an administrative office.

One of these was the school in the village Kibaima in the northern Palim Valley, which caused a conflict over the ancestral land. The school was initiated by the Dutch Pastor Frans van Maanen, who traded the land with a local Hubula for an axe (*pisue*), a jack knife (*karok*), and a large conch shell (*nassa cymbium* or *mikak*). This Hubula did not consult his *kanekela* members, but individually decided to do this. In spite of collective complaints and even threats from some lineages about his building a school on sacred land, dedicated to the spirits of the ancestors,[158] Van Maanen felt that the church had a legal right to use the land because it had been paid for. In this he assumed that ancestral land could be individually owned. He therefore disregarded the complaints and continued to build his school, assisted by some local Hubula men and Agustinus Kabes, a coastal Papuan teacher from Werfra, Fak Fak. His ignorance angered the Hubula who had been deprived of their ancestral land, leading to an ambush and the death of Agustinus Kabes.

The ancestral land that was used by the Catholic mission was usually not properly measured when it was handed over by the Hubula. Before the introduction of money the Catholic Church used steel axes and big seashells (*mikak*) to compensate the people for land. The number of axes and seashells to be 'paid' were determined consensually by the Church and the customary leaders. The land still belonged to the local community, but the elders agreed to the missionary's use of it and allowed the building of schools and houses, and the planting of gardens. The Hubula used the shells they received for bodily decoration, while the axes were useful in daily life. In the market, the Catholic missionary traded for produce using salt and beads (Lieshout 2009: 123, 131, 134). A good quality *nassa cymbium* was worth a good steel axe. Some missionaries also bartered cowry shells for produce and wood for construction (Lieshout, personal communication). The big seashells were imported from Mimika and Agats in southern Papua, and small ones were brought in from Sarmi, coastal Papua.

Land transfers were mostly documented orally. The number of goods transferred as part of the transaction, and the boundaries of the land involved were told to members of the lineage, including the younger ones, who were the lords

[158] It was known as 'the place for the bone' (*wakun oak*).

of the earth (*akenak werek,* see chapter 5). Although there was no formal ritual involved in each handover, the Catholic Church shared a meal with the Hubula as part of the transfer.

The status of Hubula land that was handed over to the Catholic mission varies. During the Dutch period, it was never processed legally, except the plot on which the missionary centre (Ind. *kompleks misi*) in Wamena stood. The government granted this area to the Church after buying it from the Hubula community.[159] Since the late 1960s, under the Indonesian administration, a number of areas have been legally certified. Other areas have been formally released but have not yet been certified. Although the Catholic mission does not see the compensation they give for land as an economic payment, some economic transactions have taken place as part of a transfer of land from the Hubula to the Church. One example is the land in Senepup, which had earlier been bought by the Catholic Church to be used for the farming, and is now used for a convent and a Catholic secondary school. In addition, there have also been some cases where a non-economic transaction was transformed into an economic one, mainly because other parties started conducting economic transactions with the Hubula during the 1980s and 1990s. This has resulted in conflicts as after payment had been made, other 'owners' also made claims for compensation.

The Indonesian State valorisation of land

Besides 'purchasing' land using steel axes and shells for payment, the Dutch government and the missionaries also felt they had rights to land because they had 'paid' for it by introducing development programs. The Indonesian government has used different approaches to the relationship between development and indigenous concepts of ownership of the land. The head of department of the regional development planning[160] in Wamena confirms that the land issue is a most complicated matter due to the incompatibility between the government's ideas about the status of land and those held by the Hubula. Yet the central government sees development as the solution to land issues. There are now also some Hubula who see ancestral land as an alienable commodity, though others continue

[159] The government paid for the ancestral land in question with cash. This could be seen quite clearly in an unofficial video recording made by a member of the LIPI team using a mobile phone.

[160] *Badan Pembangunan Daerah* or Bapeda.

to maintain that requiring compensation for ancestral land is a transgression of customary law. In 1988 the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI)[161] opened an office in Wamena to deal with the many Hubula customary leaders (Ind. *kepala suku*) who demanded compensation for the ancestral land that had been used for Wamena's airport. The central government decided to compensate them with a development program. According to the LIPI researchers interviewed, LIPI, under the supervision of the national development planning agency,[162] administered this program, the aim of which was to get the residents of Wamena to acknowledge the existence and authority of Indonesia as a unitary republic.[163] No anthropologist was involved in designing this program. Instead, the LIPI researchers involved in it were mostly technical people with experience in agriculture, housing, technical training, museums, and infrastructure, who were more concerned with workable results than with cultural processes. This meant that they applied the paradigms of their own fields of expertise when trying to improve the living conditions in Wamena. Development was seen as economic change and growth, and modernization was the solution to local problems, without reference to traditional values. Moreover, it became clear during the interview with LIPI researchers that the program of modernization that had been introduced was considered a proper compensation for Hubula ancestral land that had been used for development, including the airport (cf. Alua 1987). Thus, introducing the Hubula to modern commodities was thought to be of greater value than their relationship with their ancestors through their land. At the time the LIPI researchers questioned the achievements of the missionaries, whom they perceived to have been more focused on converting people to their religion than on improving their lives. They pointed out that after twenty years of working in Wamena (1960s - 1980s), the missionaries never taught the people to bathe and to dress 'properly' rather than wearing their traditional penis gourd (*holim*).

This patronizing attitude on the part of LIPI did not produce the desired results. Senior LIPI researchers, who pioneered the opening of the LIPI office in Wamena, in 2007 returned to Wamena for the first time to do a one week evaluation of the part of their development program that covered the use of 'appropriate technology' (Ind. *teknologi tepat guna*). They concluded that the transfer

161 *Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia,* or LIPI.
162 *Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional* or Bappenas.
163 *Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia* or NKRI.

of technology from LIPI to the Hubula had not been successful, and that economic growth and welfare had not reached the expected levels, while local skills remained undeveloped. They saw the obstacles to reaching the expected results as being related to both the Hubula's and LIPI's human resources. On the one hand, LIPI considered the Hubula unable to deal with the knowledge they provided, while on the other hand, LIPI itself lacked the qualified personnel willing to work in Wamena. Some researchers thought the Hubula to be ungrateful, seeing themselves as mediators who had introduced the Hubula to proper living conditions. During a recent evaluation by the LIPI team it was noted that of the nine small shops that had been supported by LIPI, only one was left, managed by a traditional leader. This man, however, feels that LIPI should pay him for keeping LIPI's name alive by running his shop. In other words, the Hubula consider LIPI's development program as belonging to the government instead of to themselves.

The treatment of ancestral land as alienable continues. In order to execute its development program, the regional government (Pemda) pays money for ancestral land, sometimes setting the price unilaterally and not using existing formal mechanisms. For instance, the regional government has a fixed budget from which to compensate 40 traditional leaders for land used as the army base.[164] The money that was handed over was considered to be the regional government's payment for the land. This was an improper transfer since it did not involve a committee made up of representatives of the regional government, the National Bureau of Land Affairs (BPN), and community leaders. According to regulation No.21/2001 article 43(4),[165] such a committee should work together and discuss plans concerning ancestral lands.

The development and modernization of Wamena proceeds at the expense of the ancestral land around the city. The Hubula lineages that live in Wamena are called the Wio. This group is often involved in land issues because, due to its central location, their ancestral land has been used for various purposes, including the state's development program, missions, and business. Wamena is a growing city

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164 Fieldwork interview with National Bureau of Land Affairs (BPN) staff.

165 UU 21/2001, article 43 (4*):* „The provision of the ancestral and individual land of the customary people for any purpose, should be carried out through deliberation with the customary people and the community members in question in order to reach necessary agreement about the land needed as well as the compensation for it" (*'penyediaan tanah ulayat dan tanah perorangan warga masyarakat hukum adat untuk keperluan apapun, dilakukan melalui musyawarah dengan masyarakat hukum adat dan warga yang bersangkutan untuk memperoleh kesepakatan mengenai penyerahan tanah yang diperlukan maupun imbalannya*').

where an ever increasing number of migrants from elsewhere in Indonesia reside and work (see chapter 3). During a meeting with representatives of regional government and the National Bureau of Land Affairs (BPN), the Wio expressed their concerns about losing their ancestral land. The transfer of the land to non-Hubula in exchange for money is felt to have a negative impact on Wio relations with their ancestors, as well as creating internal conflicts within the Wio community. The mayor of Wamena tried to reassure them, saying that the transfer of land would follow proper procedures, and recommended that they not release their ancestral land too easily. The perceived increased commoditization of ancestral land concerns some Hubula leaders. The head of Papuan People's Assembly,[166] who is himself a Hubula, regrets the fact that the Hubula now seem to be more focused on the economical value of their land. He feels that this should be balanced with an appreciation of political, ideological, and religious values, and the Hubula's ecological mapping of the land.

Internal dynamics among the Hubula concerning the valorisation of the land

The problems that often led to conflict among the Hubula in 1960s were not about land rights, but about the use to which it was put; sometimes some group wanted to open a garden on land that another group was planning to use (Heider 1970: 101). Encounters with outsiders, however, have led to the adoption of new practices, including the way the land is used. There is a perceptual gap between the Hubula community and a perceived modern elite that consists mostly of Catholic Theological School graduates and/or government officials. The local people see the land simply as a means to subsistence while the elites have various thoughts about its value and use.

Such a gap also exists between different generations of Hubula. The alienation of ancestral land for money has led to disagreements about who has rights to it. Some recently school graduates claim that their elders have alienated their ancestral land. An example of this is the land on which the hospital in Wamena stands. This land had to be released several times because of claims by lineage members who thought they had rights to it. These Hubula youths disapproved of the deal their elders had made, and did not acknowledge them as their customary repre-

166 *Majelis Rakyat Papua* or MRP.

sentatives. There developed a lack of trust between members of the lineages and their leaders because of a perceived lack of consultation. As was explained in chapter 5, the Hubula's *kanekela* leaders represent the whole lineage or *kanekela* collectively, and are not allowed to take individual decisions without consulting all the *kanekela* leaders. These leaders' participation, including in decisions about ritual, reflects the ancestors' involvement in and approval of the Hubula's way of life. Taking money for ancestral land is believed to lead to the taking of individual decisions without involving other *kanekela* leaders and lineage members. Instead of representing and localizing the ancestors through rituals as described in chapter 5, some *kanekela* leaders now represent themselves as individuals. There was no collective or a cosmological representation when decisions were taken about ceding the land. In addition to dissatisfaction about individual decisions about ancestral land made by some *kanekela* leaders', the elders were unhappy with the compensation that was offered for it. And thus linking ancestral land and money has led to conflict among the Hubula.

Figure 62: The growing market in Wamena also caters for needs such as private clinics and pharmacies. Although the indigenous Papuans' basic rights are guaranteed by the Indonesian state through special autonomy laws, the Hubula, like other ethnic groups in the Palim Valley, must pay to be treated at private clinics. The lack of health services at the village level, as well as a general perception that private clinics and pharmacies offer better service, leads people to patronise these instead.

Figure 63:In addition to the annual Palim Valley festival that is organized by the regional government, some lineages have their own cultural performances. One famous tourist attraction is the Hubula's mummy, located in northern part of the Palim Valley. The tourists pay an entry fee and also pay to photograph the mummy or people wearing traditional dress. Highlanders in many different places in Papua are aware of the ongoing commercialisation and ask for money to have their picture taken.

Figure 64: The 2007 community gathering that was organized by the Wio Hubula in Wamena at which land issues were the main topic of discussion.

The case in Napua

A development project can set up an internal dynamic among the Hubula, which influences their valorisation of their ancestral land. While some Hubula sell their ancestral land for money, others argue that their willingness to lend it to e.g. the church is not for commercial reasons. There are cases, however, in which the use of ancestral land for the public good may be perceived to be profit oriented, and this can lead to conflict. An example of this is the case of ancestral land in Uwe Elesi on which a spring is located. This land was granted to the government with the stipulation that no profit could be made from it. The local government then built an electric power plant there, the electricity from which was to benefit the people of Wamena, who were charged for it. This led to a conflict with the Hubula in Uwe Elesi, who considered this to be a for profit operation and as such to deviate from the agreement.

The involvement of money in relation to ancestral land not only leads to conflicts between the government and the people of the Palim Valley, but also to disputes among the Hubula themselves, as happened with a project of the state's water company.[167] The government's plan was to exploit a spring in the village Napua for the public good by piping its water to Wamena. However, the money that was offered in compensation for the ancestral land to be used led to competing claims about who were its *akenak werek*, the guardians of the ancestral land. Claims to this status were traditionally verified through narratives about the ancestral journey (see chapter 5). Using those narratives, the lineage (*ukul oak*) Elokpere claimed to be the lord of the earth of the land in question, even though they had moved away from there and currently resided in Uwe Elesi. Although other lineages also claimed to have rights to disputed plot of ancestral land, the narratives that formed the path of the 'representation' (*jalur yerebo*) confirmed the Elokpere's position as its *akenak werek*. This was clear from the fact that the Elokpere lineage, as representatives of the ancestors' authority and legitimacy, was the only party that had the right to deliver the 'representation' (*yerebo*). This meant that all others must have the Elokpere's permission to use this land. The local government asked the Elokpere lineage to release its ancestral land in Napua. In return, they were given 250 million Rupiahs in compensation, along with some pigs to be used in performing the necessary rituals.

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[167] *Perusahaan Air minum Negara* or PAM.

Figure 65: Hubula elders distributing the 'representation' *(yerebo)* after handing over their ancestral land to the state water company.

Figure 66: The traditional leader spattering pig's blood over the ancestral land as a ritual legitimsation. This action was also seen as the ultimate proof of the status of the lord of the earth (*akenak werek*) of the land.

Before the water project could commence, the Elokpere performed a ritual in their *kanekela*, including delivering the 'representation' through the sacrifice of a pig and the tightening of a bundle of grass, symbolising the bond between the Hubula and their ancestors and the land. This last affirmed the inseparability of the three.[168] Releasing their ancestral land to the local government inherently meant that the Elokpere unit would lose some aspect of their identity and thus part of their well being. Thus, the affirmation of their inseparability was to ensure and maintain the wholeness of the Elokpere unit. As a legitimisation of the ritual, the pig's blood (*wam mep*) that was part of the 'representation', was spattered around the ancestral land in Napua. This was expected to maintain relations with the ancestors and to smooth the path of the water company project.

Localizing or presenting the ancestors in the ancestral land in Napua also meant that the Elokpere lineage did not claim to be the owners of the land. The ritual sprinkling of pig's blood highlighted the difference between the government's and the Hubula's valuation of a relationship with the land. Although the government considered its payment to finalize the transfer of rights to the land, the ritual affirmed its inseparability from the Hubula and their ancestors. From the Hubula point of view, therefore, the compensation merely transferred the rights to its use (*yawu kuritmo*, see chapter 5) from the Elokpere to the water company.

Conclusion

Silitoe has argued that the relation between land resources and development should be carefully examined in order to prevent the material impoverishment of a population, social problems and conflict. Furthermore, land for Melanesians is not merely an economic asset but a fundamental aspect for their social and political organization, underpinning the continued existence of their local communities (Silitoe 2000: 86-88). In this chapter I examined the incompatibility between Hubula cosmology and the paradigm of modern institutions (the government and the missionaries) in regard to ancestral land. The Hubula's holistic conception of land, including its inseparability from the Hubula themselves, is being replaced by a paradigm introduced by the government and the Church. Everything in the Palim Valley, including the Hubula and the land, is under the authority of the ancestors. For the Hubula the land is the key to social reproduction (see chapter 5),

[168] *Nesok ai*: 'the ground on which to set both of one's legs firmly'.

and, to use Robbins and Akin (1999) term, has been singularised or shielded from commodification. However, the Church claims God as its primary authority, while both the Dutch and Indonesian governments affirm the authority of the State to manage and control the land and its resources. In practice in the Palim Valley, this dichotomy between secular and religious authority has been followed by the commodification and individualisation of ancestral land. The government's and the Church's concepts of ownership are diametrically opposed to the Hubula's ideology of guardianship. The government considers ancestral land for which no legal documents exist to be 'no man's land' and the property of the State. In the name of development, the government has compensated some Hubula that were considered to 'own' of land the government wanted to use. Earlier, the Dutch government had 'paid' compensation for the land and for Hubula labour using decorative objects like cowry shells, which only became valuable when they were converted into ritual exchange objects. Later the Dutch government and the missionaries also used tools like steel axes as 'payment' for land. As the Hubula began to embrace this commodification, individualisation and conflict followed. Some Hubula individually transferred land to non-Hubula, without involving their *kanekela* members. Violent conflicts ensued.

Since the advent of Indonesian suzerainty, the process of commodification has continued with the use of money to compensate or 'pay' for land. As the data from Napua show, despite the monetary compensation offered by the Indonesian government, the ideology of the inseparability of the Hubula and their ancestral land lives on, as does the inherent conflict with the state's ideology. To cowry shells, steel axes, and money the Indonesian government has added development programs as a form of compensation. The Sinakma case was illustrative of ongoing long-term conflict due to the continual transfer of land from the Hubula to various parties, including the missionaries, and the Dutch and Indonesian governments. The progress of the alienation of ancestral land in the Palim Valley affirms Fitzpatrick's argument (2006: 52) that 'individualized land-titling programs fail to provide practical policy solutions to well-documented interactions between legal, normative, and coalitional enforcement arrangements. Economic models need far greater doctrinal clarity with regards to open access'. The continuing conflict over the land in the Palim Valley highlights the urgency of a reconciliation between the concept of alienability (relation of property) imposed by modern institutions and the Hubula concept of inalienability inherent in their relation of identity with the land.

Chapter 8
The commodification of the marriage ritual

Nyewe werege nekma hano, nyeki lopokat wanusak

It is good if everyone is present, each will take responsibility

The marriage establishment and legitimisation

The various encounters between the Hubula and the modern institutions that have been discussed in previous chapters have impacted on and transformed their wedding rituals (*he yokal*) and the exchanges involved in it. Aside from the traditional wedding, there are now several options available, including a civil wedding registered by the state (Ind. *pernikahan catatan sipil*) and a Church wedding. The Hubula, however, still consider the traditional wedding ritual to be the best way to establish a marriage, seeing the other possibilities as something introduced by outsiders. In the traditional wedding the 'representation' of the ancestors (*yerebo*) is the main parameter that solemnises the marriage. The Indonesian State, however, will only register a marriage after it has been legitimised according to religious law.[169] Although precise statistical data are lacking, a Catholic pastor who has lived in the Palim Valley since the early 1960s assumed that most Hubula couples do not get married in the Catholic Church. Their reason is that the Church's doctrine in many respects differs fundamentally from traditional Hubula conceptions of marriage and affinity.[170] In his experience, when they do marry in the Church, its rituals are only an addition to the traditional wedding. Some couples even already have children when they marry in the Church. Especially baptized Catholic Hubula will consider a Church marriage after getting married in the traditional way. In other words, the traditional wedding is obligatory while getting married in the Catholic Church is optional.

On one occasion at which I was present, two couples were married at the same time in the groom's compound in the village Hepuba. The couples were Gerson Himan (20) from Hepuba and Anita Asso (15) from the village Astapu, and Isaias

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169 Regulation No.1 year 1974 article 2, UU Perkawinan No.1/1974 pasal 2 (1): *„Perkawinan adalah sah apabila dilakukan menurut hukum masing-masing agama dan kepercayaannya itu."*

170 For instance, the church does not consider marriage within the same moiety to be incestuous. However, it is often suggested that a couple that wants a church wedding ought best to be from different moieties (moiety exogamy).

Himan (late 20s) from Hepuba and Tina Itlay (28) from the village Wuroba.[171] Some room was allowed in the wedding for the participation of a representative of the Catholic Church: at the opening of the ritual this person, who also happened to be a member of the groom's lineage, led a prayer in the Catholic manner, asking God's blessing on the ritual. This has been a common procedure since the arrival of the Catholic mission in the Palim Valley in early 1960s. After this prayer the leaders of the *kanekela* began to sacrifice the pigs. Although they accommodated the Catholic Church at the beginning of the wedding, the couples decided not to get married in the Church or to register it at the local governmental civil registration office (Ind. *kantor catatan sipil*), reasoning that their marriage had been legalized by the sacrifice of a pig.

Socio cultural versus economic parameter

Chapter 6 discussed the 'social debt' as a socio-cultural element that influences a parents' decision to marry off a daughter. Marriage is seen as a way to redeem a debt and maintain a relationship. Recently, however, there have been cases in which economic considerations influenced the decision to marry. In one rather deviant case, an adult Hubula woman borrowed some money and several pigs, promising to repay them from her bride price. Because she afterwards moved away to Jayapura, the lender complained to the police. The debtor's parents and lineage members were obliged to pay the debt even though they had not been involved in the original transaction, and the bride's parents do not normally share in the bride price. Even disregarding the individual nature of this commodification, this makes it clear that any individual loan against an expected future bride price possibly transforms this loan into collective debt. Yet, bride price is not individual property, and should not be commoditised.

The woman involved here is one of the Hubula who have migrated away from the Palim Valley. Objects of exchange like a bride price have come to be seen as a

[171] Gerson Himan is the son of Lakogo Himan and Wesama Asso, and Anita Asso is the daughter of Somarek Asso and Awiken Wetapo. Both the groom's and the bride's lineage belong to the confederation Assolokobal. Isaias Himan is the son of Lakogo Himan's older brother. He was raised by Lakogo after his parents passed away. Tina is the daughter of Mea Itlay and Herlina Haluk. Lakogo Himan initiated the wedding because he wanted his son to be married. He gathered his lineage members to discuss a possible wife for his son. Although Isaias Himan and Tina Itlay had been living together in Jayapura for three years, Lakogo included them because their relationship had to be legalized in the traditional way.

material resource to support urban life. The city with its promise of better economic opportunities, lures away young Hubula, and leads them to deviate from traditional norms. Conflict brought on by migration also affected the married couples whose wedding I attended. After the wedding Isaias and Tina returned to Jayapura where they worked at a palm oil plantation. The other couple, Gerson and Anita, later followed them there. Their decision led to problems with Gerson's father, Lakogo, who required his son's participation in the *kanekela*'s rituals and his help in the garden. Despite the hardships they faced in Jayapura, such as labouring at the plantation instead of gardening, suffering from the city's hot weather instead of enjoying cool mountain temperatures, and the threat of malaria, Gerson and Anita insisted on moving away from the Palim Valley, impelled by the hope of improving their economic condition.[172]

In addition to conflicts arising out of migration, there is also the possibility of inter-cultural encounters that lead to marriage and deviations from the prohibitions on marriage. Urbanization and increased outside contacts are some of the factors that have led to violations of the prohibition on incest and marriages between members of the same moiety (Van de Pavert 1986: 79). Hubula elders are concerned about increased number of Hubula who are marrying non-Hubula and/or stop being involved in Hubula ritual. Such persons are considered to be 'outside the fences' (*leget itigma*). Marriage with non-Hubula occurs especially when young persons travel outside the Palim Valley for work or study. Hubula women who marry non-Hubula men keep their lineage name (*ebe*), but a non-Hubula husband is not entitled to become a member of the wife's parents' *kanekela*. This means that a non-Hubula husband is not entitled to become a *kanekela* leader, or to take part in the *kanekela* rituals. A Hubula elder whose niece married a coastal Papuan complained, 'we do not know how to accommodate him [the non-Hubula husband] in any moiety group because he does not recognize any moiety.' Children with a non-Hubula father patrilineally inherit their father's family name (Papuan Malay: *fam*) so that they are not be entitled to join the *kanekela* either. Although non-Hubula husbands and children cannot participate in the leadership and rituals of the *kanekela*, they are allowed to contribute gifts such as pigs.

The non-Hubula husband is also expected to pay the bride price. However, in some cases, payment of the bride price is postponed. This causes emotional con-

[172] Unfortunately, this expectation was not met as Anita became ill and died in Jayapura in September 2010.

flicts and concern, especially among the ones who laid the foundation of the limestone (*dasar ye*) for the wife's mother: a delay in delivering the bride price could interfere with fertility and growth. As long as the bride price has not been paid, it is believed that the fertility of the couple, and their future children and lineage members are in danger.

There is some concern regarding the continuation of the ritual cycle in a marriage between a non-Hubula woman and a Hubula man. Although the patrilineal principle allows the Hubula husband to continue to be part of the *kanekela*, it may be questioned whether the children born from the union may do so. Some challenges faced by a Hubula husband and a non-Hubula wife are clear from the following narrative.

A Hubula man from the Waya moiety married a woman whose parents originally came from Kokonau, a coastal area in Papua. The woman had been born and raised in the Palim Valley so that she was familiar with Hubula customs. Since the end of her fifth year of elementary school, however, she had lived in Kokonau where she was to finish primary school and attend secondary school. While there she felt excluded by her father's family because she had been born and raised in the Palim Valley where customs were different. She also began to note some of the cultural differences between Papua's coastal people and the highlanders.[173] Because of their prejudices vis-à-vis the highlanders, the woman's family in Kokonau was concerned when she started a relationship with her future husband. Her father nevertheless supported her and she eventually married her Hubula husband, going through a 'marrying out' ritual (Papuan Malay: *kawin keluar*). This meant that she left her own cultural environment and practices and joined those of her husband.

[173] For instance, in the Palim Valley the mother's brothers and sisters automatically get a share of the sacrificial pigs when one of their nephew(s) or niece(s) passes away, even if those nephew(s) and nice(s) were taken care of by their mother's brothers and sisters during their lives. In Kokonau nephew(s) or niece(s) should take care of their mother's brothers and sisters during their life. However, these mother's brothers and sisters do not get anything when their nephew(s) or niece(s) pass away.

Figure 67: The voluntary contribution (Papuan Malay: *les sumbangan*) in the form of money (hung in the net bag) is organized to support the activities of the Catholic Church. The stage was available for local singers to attract a crowd with the hope many monetary contributions. If much money is collected the dignity of the parish is raised.

Figure 68: Collecting voluntary contributions to support the higher education a young male Hubula in Jayapura. Attaining a high level of education adds to the group's dignity. The father of this young Hubula expects his son to graduate from the university and obtain an important government position and support the family. The contributors to this event are noted and remembered when the boy graduates and gives them a counter gift. Others, whose sons are also studying in Jayapura, do not use such voluntary contributions, preferring not to be involved in a 'social debt'.

Coastal custom dictated that because of this marriage no bride price would be paid for her, except for 'milk money' (Ind. *uang susu*) or 'door price' (Ind. *harga pintu*), a compensation to the bride's family for her marrying out. This differed from Hubula custom, in which she was seen to be 'marrying in' (Ind. *kawin masuk*), leaving her cultural background and assimilating to her spouse's and paying attention to the rights and wishes of the mother's siblings. The terms 'marrying in', 'marrying out', 'milk money' and 'door price', which are familiar to coastal Papuans, are not recognized by the Hubula.

Thus, after being married the woman considered herself to be part of the mountain people. She assimilated herself to her husband's lineage and fulfilled the ritual roles expected of her, such as taking care of the customary pig, and contributing pigs and net bags. In the 1990s the husband's family moved back to the Palim Valley. In the first years of their marriage, the husband was a high-level bureaucrat with a good income that allowed him to be actively involved in rituals and contribute many pigs. His *kanekela* relied heavily on this.

Later, however, he lost his position as a bureaucrat and returned to subsistence farming. In spite of this, in order to maintain his dignity and his relationship with the other members of his lineage, he continued his contributions, leaving him heavily indebted. Unfortunate for him, the reciprocity in the exchange rituals in his *kanekela* broke down. Having become involved in multiple layers of debt, it became difficult for him to provide for his family's basic needs, and he was no longer able to contribute pigs. As a result, the members of his *kanekela* began to drift away so that he lost their support.

At the same time, his wife, tiring of the excessive contributions of pigs began to withdraw from active involvement in ritual exchanges and to put her family's needs, such as school fees and household expenses, first. These days she is only interested in raising pigs as an investment and not in caring for ritual customary pigs, a decision that has led to a distancing between her and her husband's lineages. Since involvement in ritual exchanges is one of the markers of inclusion, she has come to be alienated from her husband's group's rituals.

Money as an exchange object

Cowry shells were one of the goods that the Catholic mission used to pay for things when it first arrived in the Palim Valley in 1960s. These shells were given in compensation for people's services in building the necessary houses, and were ex-

changed for local produce like sweet potatoes and fruit. Definite prices did not exist at the time. However, after Papua was integrated into Indonesia, the Hubula became more familiar with money in the early 1970s. A documentary film made by a Dutch Catholic missionary in 1972 shows how this was introduced to them. The introduction consisted of an explanation of the comparative value of money vis-à-vis other goods, and learning to count in Indonesian, in order to expand the Hubula's understanding of numbers beyond the three they had used before.[174] The film also shows money earning activities, including selling vegetables, net bags, pigs, flash lights, agricultural tools, and soap (Camps 1972a). Meseilas, a photographer who studied them and collected documents and photographs going back to the 1930s, noted that the Hubula did not use the commodities they bought, but traded them for pigs, nets, or other traditional goods. She also observed that there was much manipulation of the price by non-Papuan traders and members of the security forces, the latter setting the prices by threat (Meseilas 2003: 128). Naylor (1974: 263) argued that the Hubula were newly learning to earn money by e.g. growing vegetables for sale, as this had not been required by their way of life in which these vegetables were merely part of their diet.

As things developed, money came to be used not only for trade. It also became part of a new ritual called *les sumbangan* (teaching contribution),[175] which consisted of the collection of funds for public or personal purposes that grew out of encounters with modern institutions such as the Church program and higher education. Such contributions, therefore, can be seen as acts of collective solidarity: *okok*, *helepkok ekin wereg ati inaliget lekarek mea* (one cannot lift big and heavy trees and stones by oneself). Beyond that, these new activities are similar to ritual exchanges in that they produce 'social debt', especially when funds are raised for personal matters like education. Although this new ritual does not involve an immediate counter gift, contributors have the right to participate in the benefits that result from the child's education. This has led some parents to decide not to col-

[174] The Hubula only have three numbers: *pakiat* (one), *pere* (two), and *hinagan* (three). To count beyond that numbers are added together. Thus, *pere nen pere* (two plus two) is four, and *pere nen pere sikirak* (lit. uneven number) is five (two plus two plus one). Hinagan hinagan (three plus three) is six and *pere nen pere hinagan inom* (two plus two plus three) is seven (Lieshout, personal communication). Some Hubula also use the name of a body part. For instance, *egalin* (wrist) means six (Van der Stap 1966: 156).

[175] *Les sumbangan* means a monetary contribution. The term *les* comes from Dutch and means teaching or lesson. The term *les sumbangan* is specifically used in the Palim Valley, and is associated with Indonesian government's 'lessons' about the value of money as shown in Camps' film (1972a).

lect money through *les sumbangan* to pay for their child's education in Java: they were afraid of possible future claims from donors.

The logic of reciprocity in this new ritual applies not only to the donors, but also to the elders and the parents, both those who decided to raise money this way and those who did not. The elders said that they had no objections to letting the younger generation pursue a higher education, even though this meant there would be fewer or even no people to conduct the rituals. Going away to study is perceived as a means to an end. After finishing their studies these young people are expected to return to the Palim Valley, earn good money by working for the government, and be able to buy many pigs for the rituals. The elders, therefore, see modern elements like education and money as a way to support the rituals. Education, as a way to obtain pigs, is included as an attribute of a potential bride or groom that could contribute to the collective fertility of the Hubula.

However, these expectations have not always been met. Munro (2009: 228), who did research among Hubula youths who pursued higher education in Sulawesi, noted that upon their return to the Palim Valley they were reluctant to identify themselves with national social norms due to the humiliation they had experienced while away. Another problem is alienation from Hubula ritual due to personal choices. A Catholic brother, who originally came from the Palim Valley, told me that his lineage was disappointed with him. Upon his return to the Palim Valley he had been expected to contribute pigs for the rituals and to enlarge his lineage by marrying and having children. He had to disappoint his elders, however, because he decided to become a Catholic brother and do not-for-profit work. He believed that he had made the right choice, although he worried about the continuity of his lineage.

The intrusion of money into the Hubula's life has also brought changes to the patterns of exchange in the Palim Valley. Women now prefer to make net bags using colourful string, rather than using the old style wooden fibres with natural colour. These new style net bags are more expensive than the old ones. People now also steal limestone (*ye*) and sell it to tourist shops for money. Since the pig cholera epidemic of 2004-2005, pigs have become both scarce and expensive. Either because they lack pigs and/or prefer money, people nowadays often use money as gifts in ritual exchanges, as was seen in the chapter on marriage.

The new *les sumbangan* ritual highlights a focus on money, which carries through to other rituals as well. This can lead to conflict, as when a young man refused to accept a pig as bride price and asked for money instead, humiliating the

giver and excluding the young man from further exchanges. Pigs, being the main gift, are used in sacrifices that legitimise Hubula rituals, including weddings, (*wam oken*, see chapter 6) and may not be replaced by money. As was discussed earlier, sacrificial pigs as manifestations of the ancestors (*yerebo*) and as such are irreplaceable. Replacing them with money would mean cutting off 'the bridge' (*kuwalek*) between the Hubula and their ancestors, as well as eliminating the ancestors' role in legitimising the ritual.

The scarcity of pigs and their expense are the main reasons to give money in addition to sacrificial pigs. Thus money can be added to pigs or net bags, or the pig that is given to the mother's siblings (*wam hutik*) could be replaced by money, as could the pigs and net bags that are given to the guests (*wam umum,* see chapter 6). In addition to the introduction of money as gift during Hubula weddings, there is also a new form of gift, either money or pigs, that is donated to the religious institution or the community, depending on whether the groom is baptised. The first groom, Isaias Himan, who was baptised, made a donation to the Catholic parish to support its program. The second groom, Gerson Himan, who was not baptised but was sympathetic to the Church (*Katolik meke*),[176] made his donation to a small group of local believers (*kring*) for the benefit of the members of his lineage and community. The relative value of Hubula ritual exchange objects such as net bags and pigs is based on their market price.

[176] A Catholic believer who is not baptized is formally known as *katekumen*. Some people call such a person a Catholic sympathiser (Ind. *simpatisan Katolik*).

Figure 69: The relative value of gifts in 2008

Gift:	Counter gift:	Alternative counter gift:
Pig (*wam*)	Traditional net bag; a small pig (5-6 months old) = 2 net bags a medium or large pig (above 6 months old) = 5 net bags	Traditional net bag and money; 1 net bag (depends on its quality and size) = between 100,000 and 250,000 Rupiahs.
Sacred limestone (*ye*)	Pig	Pig and money
Pig's part as 'the representation' (*yere-bo*)	Providing the customary pig	-
Money	It is considered unusual to give a counter gift. However, some Hubula consider a counter gift based on the money's equivalence in pigs. For instance, if the amount is equivalent to the price of a small pig (between 400,000 and 500,000 Rupiahs), two net bags are prepared as a counter gift. When money is given to the Catholic Church or *kring*, no counter gift is required.	-

N.B.

If the above is delivered within 'the paid off exchange' (*lopolaga*), the giver(s) of the gift is not entitled to receive a counter gift. The alternative counter gift (money) is merely an additional gift added to the counter gift and does not count as a counter gift by itself. For instance, the counter gift for a large pig is five net bags. But, if only three net bags are available, the remainder of the return gift (two net bags) can take the form of money (500,000 Rupiahs). The parents who contribute to the gift (apart from the 'representation') of the ritual dedicated to their children do not keep the counter gift themselves. In stead they use it as a counter gift for other contributors: the modality of the exchange is sharing.

The decreased circulation of Hubula exchange objects

The availability of the exchange objects is one of the parameters of having good character or being noble (*hano*) or ignoble (*kepu*). Apart from the pigs as essential items of exchange in Hubula ritual, other Hubula's ritual objects are first of

all ones that are not circulated. These are sacred objects that are kept in the *kanekela*, and include the manifestation of the myth of origin (*suken*). These can take the form of limestone, the highest token of appreciation of ancestors that were killed in warfare (*kaneke*), or the manifestation of enemy spirits who were killed in the warfare (*apwarek*). In addition to these, there are objects that are circulated, like limestone (*ye*), cowry shell belts (*yeraken*), and net bags (*su* or *noken*).

The sacred limestone that is kept in the *kanekela* is not to be seen by Hubula women and is used in ritual exchanges. As described earlier, *kanekela* membership determines *kanekela* leadership and ritual exchange relations. The above-mentioned sacred objects in the *kanekela* are 'not to be owned' (Ind. *tidak untuk dimiliki*). They are the collective representations of the ritual unit that is bound together by the history of warfare. This principle also applies to the limestone circulated in ritual exchanges, which is perceived as having unlimited usage. The value of this limestone depends on the intensity of its circulation: the more often it is exchanged, the better. This is contrary to Ploeg's (2004: 207) vision in which the relationship between the Hubula and their sacred objects is one of property.[177] Rather, the value of these objects lies in their exchange.

One cannot at a glance tell the difference between the limestone kept in the *kanekela* and that used in exchanges, as they are quite similar. Van de Pavert (1986: 68) concluded that the limestone objects (*ye*) have economic value, are used to make payments, and are not sacred. Heider (1970: 288) differentiated between sacred (*wesa*) limestone kept in the *kanekela*, and profane (*weligat*) limestone used in exchanges.[178]

The sacred limestone objects kept in the *kanekela* are taboo; they are not to be seen or used in ritual exchanges. Yet, the Hubula consider both the objects that are kept in the *kanekela* and those used in exchanges as sacred (*wesa*). In any case, limestone that is used in the exchanges is part of the ritual, and is not to be treated as a profane commodity. Limestone in any size or form[179] is sacred as an object that

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177 Ploeg discussed the ownership of *kaneke*, citing Heider (1970), Broekhuijse (1967), and Hampton (1999).

178 According to the Hubula, the term *wesa* as a descriptive marker of a person or an object denotes not only sacredness but also something forbidden. Thus, during the *agat wesa* ritual that allows the land to rest (Ind. *mengisitirahatkan tanah*), all agricultural activity is taboo. When this period is over, it is permissible (*weligat*, Ind. *diperbolehkan*) to use the land again.

179 The big limestone is called *ye agosa*, the small one is called *ye eken*, the long one is called *ye ai*, while the round one is called *ye holi*. Some limestone is decorated to emphasise its significance or beauty. The decoration may be a married Hubula woman's traditional skirt (*yokal*), a single woman's traditional skirt (*salih*), a bird's feather (*sue isi*), or polecat's fur (*paik esi*).

strengthens relationships, both among the Hubula, and between them and the myth of origin and their ancestors. Seen this way limestone is an inalienable gift and not an alienable commodity.

Limestone is becoming rare in the Palim Valley. The recent expansion of the market in Wamena provides many opportunities for Papuans from other ethnic groups as well as non- Papuans to be involved in its trade. Nevertheless, differences in cultural background lead to different valuations of market commodities. For instance, the Hubula elders are concerned about the way that pigs are traded in the market because these pigs are slaughtered with a knife rather than being shot by bow and arrow. Since the Hubula value pigs as important exchange objects, the elders see slaughter by knife as disrespectful to the pigs.

Due to the scarcity of exchange objects, some elders face difficulties when performing rituals. As one elder said,

> In the 1990s, we wanted to perform a ritual but we did not have any sacred limestone. Fortunately, a non-Papuan friend helped us by buying limestone at the tourist shop in Wamena. This allowed us to perform the ritual. We were lucky to get help because the cost of the limestone was beyond our means.

Along the growing market for limestone, it is also less available to the Hubula. According to the ancestors' stories (*wene yisikama bisukama*), limestone is sacred and forbidden (*wesa*), and may not be sold freely in the market. It is an exchange object that is respected as a heritage from the ancestors. The lack limestone in the *kanekela* is considered ignoble (*kepu*) and indicative of lack of respect toward the ancestors, which could threaten the Hubula's fertility.

The ritual importance of limestone is that it strengthens the bond between the Hubula, their ancestors, and the myth of origin. This bond is the basis of the fertility of the receiver of the limestone. The rituals in which limestone is exchanged include *wam tuma*, the peace ritual the goal of which is improving or strengthening relations between enemies in a 'war within the same house' or in the same confederation (*uma wim*). Second is the *ye honai* ritual to strengthen relations between members of a *kanekela* by contributing limestone during a death ritual or when setting up a new *kanekela*. Third there is *ap waya*, the initiation ritual. Here relations are strengthened between the initiate and his mother's siblings and/or the mother's siblings children. Finally, limestone is dedicated to a new bride to strengthen relations between newlyweds and to incorporate the wife into her husband's lineage and its ancestors.

The scarcity of limestone is exacerbated by the decreasing number of lime-

stone objects in circulation due to the elimination of part of the wedding ceremony in which limestone is exchanged (*himi nyoko*, see chapter 6). This last is particularly true in the southern part of the Palim Valley. The party that supports the limestone exchange ritual plays a significant role in laying the foundation of fertility (*inyoba muli rogo*; Ind. *kesuburan hidup*) of the new couple. Anybody who contributes to this exchange of limestone has the right to receive a pig or a return gift drawn from the bride price of the bride's future daughter. Negating these rights might threaten the fertility of the new couple, affecting the health of people, animals, plants, and the land. On the other hand, the same rights can cause their holder to encourage his daughters to get married young so that he can collect his pigs. Because of this the people in the village Hepuba have agreed together to no longer make *himi nyoko* for someone's wife, as early marriages block young women's opportunities to develop their potential. Nowadays parents invest in their daughters' higher education and will no longer marry off underage girls.[180] Previously, it was felt that a husband who is unable to conduct *himi nyoko* lacks charismatic authority (Ind. *wibawa*) and during arguments his wife might argue that he has no right to her because he has not formally welcomed and accepted her into the family. Sometimes the absence of the *himi nyoko* ritual causes the wife to feel deprived and jealous. In spite of his, the decision to stop the *himi nyoko* ritual was accepted widely in Hepuba.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the dynamics of the Hubula exchange rituals in the Palim Valley. There have been encounters with the modern market and outside institutions like the Catholic Church, education, and money. For the Hubula the sacrifice of pigs is still paramount in the establishment and legitimisation of new relationships such as marriage. Involvement in the ritual is the main parameter by which inclusion in the group is determined and through which boundaries are drawn between groups, regardless of whether one is from inside or outside the Palim Valley, or what one's educational attainments are. In spite of its importance,

[180] This decision was made in the 1990s, after the annual evaluation program called *Hari Hari Persaudaraan* (HHP; brotherhood days) that was organized by the Catholic parish. During the 2-3 day evaluation the Catholic parish asked community members to evaluate and identify factors that were considered to have a negative impact on and to interfere with things like education and economic growth. The results of these annual evaluations were expected to help the Hubula to adapt to social change.

participation in the ritual has been decreasing due to increased migration away from the Palim Valley. The modern market has brought new values and practices, but has also led to the commodification and the disrespectful treatment of ritual exchange objects.

The other element introduced through the modern market is money, which has penetrated Hubula life as both a 'new' exchange object and in the form of the 'new' *les sumbangan* ritual. Apart from the fact that money, through the trend toward commodification that follows in its wake, has caused some deviations from the Hubula's customary law, its use in ritual has not led to its substitution for pigs in sacrifices (cf. Stewart and Strathern 1999:175). Moreover, the 'new' ritual focused on collecting money (*les sumbangan*) still follows the logic of Hubula customary law by continuing to embrace reciprocity or the idea of a social debt. The money from *les sumbangan* is used to fulfil both individual acquisition and social reproduction, such as buying pigs for rituals. It can be said that although the *les sumbangan* money is an investment in education that links the present with the future, the result of this investment can be projected back onto the ancestral path through the sacrifice of pigs. Thus individual action is transformed into collective action, although this might be in the form of individual deviation: the collectivity takes responsibility for individual deviation. The introduction of Catholicism and modern education have created room for individual choice, but in the Palim Valley have also influenced Hubula communal ritual, including the collective decision to stop the *himi nyoko* ritual. Thus, the dynamic context of the Palim Valley is complemented by Hubula dynamic action.

Chapter 9
The reconciliation

Eyu, leget kok leget mesalaga
He yokal nokodek ap holim palek hagatlago
Sa nen howalogo binaniginta?

The living fences that arrange our lives have rotten and gone to pieces
Our life feels naked
Who can rearrange it?

The Palim Valley, land of warfare

Previous chapters described the essential role of Hubula traditional warfare as the core practice through which a number of relationships are defined. First, there is the inseparable relationship between the Hubula and their ancestors, as manifested in sacred objects, which were obtained through warfare and are stored in a *kanekela*. This relationship is the basis of the traditional Hubula belief system. Relations with the spirits of ancestors killed in the course of war must be strengthened ritually. These spirits are manifested in limestone (*kaneke*). The spirits of dead enemies must be pacified. These spirits are present through the physical ownership of a dead enemy's possessions (*apwarek*). Both *kaneke* and *apwarek* are necessary to ensure collective fertility. The second relationship is the inalienable one between the Hubula and their ancestral land. Access to ancestral land and its natural products also has its basis in the history of warfare. Third are the rules regulating marriage, the wedding ritual, and the associated exchange of objects. These are also based on the history of warfare. Basically, all Hubula relations, whether cosmological, socio-cultural and ecological, or the social ones among the people themselves are rooted in the history of warfare. In brief, conflict, in the form of traditional warfare, is intertwined with Hubula notions of fertility as evidenced by the condition of the ancestral land, the productivity of the gardens, and the well being of both people and pigs.

Hubula thought emphasizes origins, causes, or roots (*ero*), asking the question 'which root?' (*ero ke*?) when analysing important matters. The root cause of decreased fertility, for instance, is elicited through the history of warfare. In doing this it is necessary to understand the ancestral path (*wenekak*, lit. the news or story), which is clarified through questions such as 'who set or planned the war? which war hut was used?' (*wim awok sanen ike? wim aila kinen*?). Such questions are

expected to clarify 'one root of fertility' (*erop apusuwake*). Knowing the identity of the warlord (*wene hule*) legitimizes the sacred objects produced by warfare (*kaneke* and *apwarek*). These sacred objects are defined as representations of the world of the spirits or *mokareke* (*mokat*, the spirit of the dead; *eken*, nucleus or seed). In addition to the sacred limestone objects known as *kaneke*, which are the manifestation of one's own familial or ancestral spirits (*oma mokat*), other important sacred object are *apwarek*,[181] the manifestation of spirits from outside the war-alliance (*itikma mokat*). The latter objects, taken from enemies killed during warfare, include such things as their bows and arrows (*sike tok*), their spears (*sege*), but also their jewellery, clothing, and the like. These sacred objects are kept in a *kanekela*, and are ritually cared for. The Hubula's fertility depends on their relationship with them.

Some magical formulae that are invoked during Hubula ritual are based on *harane* (lit. the sound of the king), an appeal to the ancestors who planned strategy in war (*wim awok ikerekmeke*). The clear history of a particular battle (e.g. who the warlord was that planned the fight, and who did the actual killing) determines the authenticity of the invocation (*harane*). The support of the above-mentioned ancestors is balanced with a ritual to pacify the enemy spirits resident in the *apwarek* through invocations such as 'be quiet and close your eyes, sleep and be calm' (*hewe noge ino*), 'wish you to be helpless' (*howa ne lek a no*), and 'be a caterpillar, be a worm' (*kikut a no omali a no*). The whole process, from planning a battle to caring for its sacred objects, must be accompanied with particular rituals. Deviations from the process might create an imbalance in relations with the world of the spirits, and lead to infertility. To the Hubula, the battle and the sacred objects it produces are mechanisms through which the cycle of fertility of the Hubula in the Palim Valley is maintained. Reconciliation after warfare should be based on *apwarek* in order to improve fertility.

However, the situation in the Palim Valley changed in the 1950s due to more intensive encounters with outsiders. Compared to the Western Dani in the Piramid area, the Hubula in the Palim Valley were relatively unresponsive to change (Naylor 1974). Resistance by older people, who were rooted in their community and traditions, was often religious in nature (Peters 1975).

The following table chronologically shows the encounters between Hubula

[181] *Ap*, adult male and *warek*, murder victim. Although *apwarek* literally means adult male murder victim, a dead enemy might be either a man or a woman.

and outsiders like missionaries or religious groups, the government, the military, and other ethnic groups. The Hubula and their traditional warfare were subjected to various campaigns of pacification and 'civilization' by many different external parties. One such effort is portrayed in a short film by Camps (1972b) about the visit by Ibu Tien, the wife of then Indonesian President Suharto, on the occasion of the Koteka Operation (*Operasi Koteka*). She was welcomed with Indonesian flags and big posters that among other things read: 'make the development effort a success' (Ind. *sukseskan pembangunan*). The President's wife and other non-Papuan invitees and military personnel removed the traditional skirt (*salih*) worn by a number of Hubula girls, who were prepared and stood shyly in the field, and exchanged them with modern uniforms consisting of shirts and skirts.

Such imposed modernization, resulting from intensified encounters between the Hubula and outsiders, does not necessarily mean that these changes were accepted. The paternalism and stigmatisation inherent in the actions of the missionaries, the government officials, and other agents of change was one of the causes of resistance by Hubula leaders (Naylor 1974). The pacification of the Palim Valley often relied on a security approach, using guns and a policy of restrictions, which Diamond (2012) justifies as a necessary effort to stop the fighting and bring peace to the area. However, as the following table shows, reality was different, and a cycle of violence followed that triggered another kind of warfare and *apwarek*.

Figure 70: The warfare and the campaign of pacification in Palim Valley

Year/ period:	Actors and issues:
1950s	Modern developments that led to the cessation of the Hubula's traditional mode of warfare were introduced by the Dutch government in the form of economic development and the force of modern arms. Dutch authorities regulated the exploitation of natural resources in their development programs, using cowry shells to reimburse people for their labour.
	The Hubula were introduced to Christianity by American Protestant missionaries from the Christian and Missionary Alliance (CAMA). This encounter produced studies of the Hubula language by linguists and/or missionaries with an eye on translating the bible and introducing the Hubula to the missionaries' concept of spiritual well being.
	The Hubula were introduced to modern life and Catholicism. Catholic missionaries initiated modern physical health and educational programs. Cowry shells and gardening tools replaced traditional symbols of manhood, bodily decoration (jewellery), and implements of war such as warriors' weapons, in order to minimize the dangers of the traditional warfare.

Year/ period	Actors and issues:
1960s	Through the Piramid congress, Protestant missionaries aimed to purify local Christianity from aspects of customary law, and promised to give compensation in the form of certain goods (cargo). Protestant missionaries were accused of doing missionary work in Catholic areas. There was tension between Catholic and Protestant missionaries due to competition over areas of authority. There was also tension between Protestant missionaries and Hubula, who resisted burning their sacred objects.
	Traders from other Papua highland areas sought to obtain cowry shells, and to examine the sacred limestone objects derived from the warfare (*kaneke)* that should not be seen by outsiders, including Papuas from other part of highlands. This triggered open conflict between Hubula and the Papuan traders with casualties on the traders' side.
	Agareken Hubi, who was recruited by the Dutch government, was walking with a Catholic missionary and was killed by a member of his 'eternal enemies'. While dying, he asked the Catholic missionary to baptize him, which made him as the first baptized Hubula.
	The Catholic Church expanded its missionary work through modern education. Cowry shells, and gardening tools were exchanged for ancestral land on which to build schools, many of which were burned down. The problem of alienated ancestral land also led to the killing of a Papuan teacher from Fak Fak in the Bird's Head region, who had been recruited by the Catholic missionary in the Palim Valley. Afterward Dutch security forces killed some Hubula in retaliation.
	The Dutch government used a development and security approach to pacify traditional warfare. The Hubula were introduced to the modern market and the money economy. Tourism, infrastructure, law enforcement, and modern concepts such as schools and market time were introduced in cooperation with anthropologists and linguists that documented the Hubula's culture and language. This forced pacification resulted in a cycle of violence in which Dutch government officials killed unknown numbers of Hubula, and the Hubula killed a Dutch official in return, ending with the retaliatory burning down of three villages by the Dutch government.
	Papua's integration into the Indonesian State in 1969 through the 'act of free choice' based on a vote by certain Papuan representatives produced negative feelings throughout Papua, including the Palim Valley. Resistance to integration into Indonesia resulted in casualties. Violent, forced pacification by the Indonesian military triggered the warfare among the Hubula. The Indonesian currency was introduced. The Indonesian ideology of monotheism as stated in the Indonesian national ideology (*Pancasila*) led to Hubula conversion to Christianity. The Indonesian state's transmigration policies led to an encounter with Islam, trade, and tourism.

Year/ period	Actors and issues:
1970s	The Indonesian discourse about freedom was used by political parties to gain voters during elections in Papua in 1977. The 'separatist' label was used to stigmatise voters who believed the promises of freedom made by the political parties. Various interests used tribal leaders to recruit voters. The military executed ´Operation Extermination' (Ind. *operasi tumpas*) to quell the discourse about freedom, setting various ethnic groups in the highlands against each other.
	A war of pacification was conducted by the military in support of the Indonesian government's development program. The military conducted 'operation *koteka'* (Ind. *operasi koteka*) to encourage people to abandon their indigenous culture and adopt the Indonesian identity. The gap between the Hubula and the Indonesian government grew wider.
	Increased military pressure, and the application of monotheism fragmented communities, based on affiliations with nationalism (pro-Indonesian versus pro-independence) and religious denomination (Christian versus non-Christian) that shaped the new modern alliances in the Palim Valley.
1980s and 1990s	The Indonesian government initiated tourism and centralized development programs. Pacification through mock traditional battles was performed for tourists during the celebration of the Indonesia's independence day. The Javanisation of development was continued, such as the initiation of wet rice agriculture in the Palim Valley.
	Increased encounters with tourists led to the commercialization of cultural objects, including the 'exposure of self' (e.g. letting oneself to be photographed by tourists), and the selling of some cultural objects in exchange for money.
	Grievances accumulated from previous community fragmentation in 1970s produced continued inter-community conflict that resulted in casualties.
	The Indonesian government applied a security approach in handling anything that might lead to questions about the legitimacy of the Indonesian state, and disturb public safety. Restricted access for international researchers and journalists.
2000s	The morning star flag, perceived by the Indonesian government to be a symbol of Papuan resistance was allowed to fly during the period of Abdurahman Wahid's presidency, creating controversy. The security forces forcibly struck down this flag in the Palim Valley in 2000. There were casualties when the Hubula took out their anger and grievances against security forces on the non-Papua migrant population. Many migrants left the Palim Valley in the beginning of 2000s. The security approach continues into the present, with restricted access for international researchers and journalists.
	The Indonesian government's approach was one of improving livelihoods by granting a special 'autonomy status' and accelerating development. There was a proliferation of government administration and money to support economic development.
	Until the present (2013), the Indonesian government continues to apply the security approach, using military violence against Hubula civilians, restricting access for international researchers and journalists, and burning down *kanekela* where sacred objects are kept.

Year/ Period	Actors and issues:
2000s	In addition to migration into the Palim Valley from outside Papua since the early period of its integration into Indonesia, the Hubula have been continuously been pressured by the state and individuals or organizations, including Islamic groups, exposing them to 'civilized' education outside Papua. Some Hubula have converted to Islam.
	There are a growing numbers of businesses in the Palim Valley such as shops, ecotourism, and non-Hubula sellers in the market, which are mostly run by outsiders. The increased numbers of non-Papuan migrants that have opened businesses has led to an increased circulation of cash in the Palim Valley, as well as a widening economic gap between the Hubula and other ethnic groups.

Compiled by author from various sources such as fieldwork data, Lieshout (2009), *Sekretariat Keuskupan untuk Perdamaian dan Keadilan* (2001), Meseilas (2003), Naylor (1974), Visser (2012), and news media on Papua including the tabloid Jubi Papua, al Jazeera, The Sydney Morning Herald, and Engaged Media.

Apwarek obtained from non-traditional modes of warfare

The importance that the Hubula attach to *apwarek* in their effort to improve fertility after warfare is evident from a report on a war among them in the 1990s. This report, which was written by the pacification team, shows that the 1977 conflict in the Palim Valley produced distrust and a widening gap between people belonging to various churches. In early the 1980s there was a spiral of violence that had its origin in a suspicion that one victim of violence had spread propaganda for the Free Papua Movement (Ind. *Organisasi Papua Merdeka* or OPM). Afterward, violence followed violence in retaliation. Hubula elders later doubted that the war had been conducted in conformity with their customary laws. Their reasons were (a) that the conflict had been triggered by such external factors as religious denomination and political affiliation, rather than being based on customary law, (b) the incorrect path and procedure had been followed when placing *apwarek***,** and (c) new weapons such as steel axes, short machetes, and knives had been used.

A peace team was formed to promote reconciliation among the Hubula. This team consisted of researchers from the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI), and representatives of Hubula intellectuals and community leaders. The main aim was to enhance stability and security in order to support the government's development program, with the hope that the paradigm of warfare could be transformed into one of development and progress (Widjojo et al. 1993).

A peace agreement, known as the Yetni peace (Ind. *perdamaian Yetni*) was concluded in 1993. One product of this agreement was a museum in Wesaput, built to house the *apwarek* related to the above conflict that were surrendered to the government. This surrender, which was a significant cultural sacrifice for the Hubula, was compensated with development programs such as infrastructure, affordable public transportation, and 'healthy *honai*'.[182] At the government's insistence, the *apwarek* were to be kept in the museum, and thus, as the Hubula elders saw it, the responsibility for their treatment also fell to the government. It was feared that mistreatment of *apwarek* would lead to disaster, a loss of fertility, wealth, power, and would disturb the continuity of life. Seen this way, the museum was perceived to be part of the bureaucracy and a tool of political legitimacy. Nowadays, the museum is not well maintained and cannot be used for public exhibitions.

The importance of *apwarek* was not only the elicitation of the root of Hubula warfare as the basis of reconciliation, such described above, but also in understanding conflicts between Hubula and non-Hubula. A secretariat called *Sekretariat keuskupan untuk perdamaian dan keadilan* (SKP), which was part of the diocese and aimed to support peace and justice, offered training to the Hubula after a conflict with non-Papuan migrants in 2000. In order to understand the elements that had triggered this conflict, the Hubula reflected on their lives in the compound (*silimo*) before and after the 1950s, when in their perception increased contacts with outsiders had began. Based on the SKP's 2001 report, the Hubula felt that before the 1950s conditions had been good: *apwarek* had been clear, rituals and feasts had been regular, there had been no hunger, provisions had been plentiful, and health had been good. In addition, traditional leadership had been clear, and the people were proud and had a proper sense of community and unity.

This changed after the 1950s. According to the Hubula, as mentioned in the SKP's report, the encounter with religious institutions and the government resulted in the arrival of (a) new rules and laws, (b) the advent of new negative patterns of behaviour, such as partying (*pesek*), gambling, stealing, and drunkenness, and (c) the building of many new buildings, including mosques, schools, churches and ´healthy houses´ (Ind. *rumah sehat*) the Indonesian government encouraged the Hubula to replace their traditional compounds with. In addition, (d) the government appointed many new tribal leaders, and (e) there was a lack of respect for

[182] Regarding these 'healthy *honai*' (Ind. *Honai sehat*), the elders insisted on not moving out of their traditional compounds (*honai)* into modern healthy ones.

traditional leaders as well as (f) inharmonious relations between elders and youths. Other complaints concerned (g) a lack of unity and community feelings, (h) *apwarek* not being in its proper place, (i) an increase in mutual suspicion, (j) abandoned gardens, (k) infertile gardens, (l) an increased in hunger and illness, (m) the burning of sacred objects, and (n) the fact that with the disappearance of *kanekela* leadership, rules and customs, life in the compound had become chaotic.

Regarding their relations with the government, development was experienced as repressive and focused on the military. The Hubula felt that they had become objects, and that the commodification that was part of the development process, in which the adoption of money is the same thing as development, was incompatible with Hubula customary law and dignity.

Neither the government-appointed tribal leaders, who were to act on behalf the community, nor the cultural performances[183] had benefited the Hubula. The encounter with outsiders, which offered them the choice between their own customs and modernity, led to their inability to choose either. Added to this was the fact that since 1969 their expectations had not been fulfilled. On 6 October 2000, after the security forces took down the morning star flag, the Hubula's accumulated grievances turned into open violence against non-Papuan migrants. The Hubula argued that the 1977 and 2000 conflicts remained unresolved. They referred to *apwarek* to clarify who the responsible parties in those conflicts were, and concluded that not they but the government or the military and separatist groups had been responsible.

The SKP, however, asked the Hubula to come up with an alternative answer, because customary values such as *apwarek* were difficult to fit into the current context. Despite this request, the Hubula insisted on using *apwarek* as the main element in resolving the conflict, reasoning that the recovery of fertility was a significant aspect in the management of the conflict. A plan of action was proposed to realize this idea including (a) organizing a meeting among seven *kanekela* that kept *apwarek* related to the 1977 and 2000 conflicts, (b) collecting *apwarek* related to both conflicts, and (c) conducting a ritual to purify and improve fertility. In addition the Hubula also thought that economic improvements could be achieved by having the fertility ritual led by the original fertility chief, rather than by the government appointed tribal leader, and that pigs should be sacrificed in accordance with customary law. Parents, furthermore, should not support youths who did not

[183] E.g. mock warfare (Ind. *perang-perangan*).

work, and the government should draw up plans to employ people. Moreover, Hubula understanding of complex socio-political issues should be built using the fertility ritual, and the government should recognize the role and position of traditional Hubula leaders (Ind. *kepala suku asli*), based on Hubula customary law.

Compensation as part of conflict resolution

Not all processes of reconciliation use *apwarek*, as the introduction of money has also affected the exchanges that are part of conflict resolution. This was, for instance, the case in the conflict over ancestral land in Wamena between the government and the Wio or Mukoko, lineages that are the guardians (*akenak werek*) of ancestral land in Wamena. The government's position was that the Hubula had been compensated for their ancestral land through development programs and material goods such as pigs, cars, etc., that had been requested by the Wio. On the other hand, the Wio insisted that money be made part of *yerebo* in compensation for ancestral land (Alua 1987).

Many other cases also show the intrusion of money in compensation for ancestral land. In one case the exchange took place in a public hall and was attended by government officials and representatives of some Hubula lineages who claimed to be the guardians of the ancestral land. On that occasion the government officials laid bundles of cash on the table, explaining the Rupiah value of each bundle to the audience. The Hubula representatives that were to receive the money were asked to come forward and confirm the correctness of the amount of money that had been mentioned by putting their hands on the bundles. The officials considered this exchange of money to validate the transfer of ancestral land to the government (see chapter 7).

Some conflicts between members of the Hubula community are resolved through village level customary courts (see also Butt 1998). Many other big cases, however, are resolved at the police station. Trust between organizations that represents customary law, such as Papuan Customary Council (Ind. *Dewan Adat Papua* or DAP) and the Indonesian government and security forces is still lacking. A 2007 document reveals that the DAP's vice chairman in the Palim Valley (Ind. *Wakil ketua* DAP) had to sign a guarantee in front of the police intelligence branch (Ind. *Intelkam Polres Jayawijaya*) that the DAP's activities that year were not political and merely served to uphold traditional values and customary laws in the Palim

Valley region.[184] The Indonesian police has a unit called *Forum Kemitraan Polisi Masyarakat* or FKPM, which uses community based policing, including local cultural practices and values, to solve the security problems that have their origin in the local community. In context of the Palim Valley, the FKPM is often used to mediate conflicts among Papuan community members, including conflicts about debts, unpaid bride wealth, land disputes, individual physical incidents, beatings, the theft of pigs, adultery, domestic violence, murder cases, and the like.

The process of resolving these conflicts through the FKPM is as follows. The representatives of the injured party, who are mostly members of their lineage, sometimes supported by members of their *kanekela* or other interest parties,[185] collectively visit the police station and present the case to the FKPM. This is always a large group of people. The FKPM then arranges a time to meet with the accused party at the field in front of the police station. Based on the extent of the damages claimed in the dispute, the representatives of the injured party seek material compensation, which is subject to bargaining by the accused party. The meeting involves a lot of tough negotiating between the two parties until an agreement is reached. The members of the FKPM write this down in a formal statement to be signed by both parties. Once this is done, the conflict is resolved, and the statement serves as an instrument that prevents the accused from being arrested, tried, or even jailed as might have been the case had positive law been used. However, some Hubula chose not to use the FKPM's method of resolving conflicts through a negotiated compensation, reasoning that conflicts should not be used to gain material advantage.

Social relations play an important role in determining the level of compensation. The degree of closeness or relatedness of the parties influences the complexity of the problem. For instance, [A] sued [B] because [A]´s hand was wounded while carrying the wood for [B]. This injury became a major problem because the relationship between [A] and [B] was less than optimal. The worse relations between the parties are, the more complex the conflict, and the greater the amount of compensation that is required. Similar attitudes show in the way that Hubula sell products in the market. Although a price is mostly nonnegotiable, it is influenced by the relationship between the seller and the buyer: the better this

184 Fieldnotes.

185 For example the party whom the injured party was indebted to. Other ethnic groups also use the FKPM to resolve their conflicts.

is, the lower the price.

Figure 71: Hubula women delivering netbags and a shovel as part of the compensation in a conflict mediated by the FKPM. Photo: FKPM, Jayawijaya.

Figure 72: Conflicting parties bringing pigs as compensation in a conflict resolved by the FKPM. Photo: FKPM, Jayawijaya.

The reflection on fertility

The following case study discusses the reconciliation of a matter between the Hubula and the Catholic Church, which did not involve government intervention. It took place during the Catholic Church's jubilee festival, celebrating their 50 years of missionary work in the Palim Valley. The Catholic Church there consists of one deanery with a secretariat headed by a pastor who serves as dean. The deanery covers a convent and nine parishes (Ind. *paroki*).[186] Each parish consists of several small groups of believers called a *kring* (circle, from the Dutch). The Hubula enthusiastically prepared for and participated in this jubilee. Each parish collected contributions from its members, including persons who, while not actually members of the Catholic Church, and not entitled to take communion, consider themselves to be Catholic sympathisers. Material contributions came in the form of pigs, natural products, and money. The parishes competed among themselves to collect the greatest number of contributions as an expression of collective pride.

Many activities were organized as part of the jubilee. One of the essential ones was reflecting on the current condition of Hubula fertility by coming to understand the historical path from the time that the Catholic mission had entered the Palim Valley in 1960s and the year 2007/2008. Based on this analysis the Hubula would determine a strategy to improve their future fertility. The process was as follows. The secretariat of the jubilee (or organizing committee) consisted of community and *kanekela* leaders, intellectuals, government, people's representatives (DPRD), and the Catholic Church. The initial meeting, during which the framework of the reflection was to be defined, took place between the organizing committee and the head of the parish. Local facilitator(s) from each parish were selected as the persons who would guide the deliberations in their parishes, including the smallest groups of believers (*kring*), and submit the results of these to the organizing committee. These facilitators also had to ensure the proper composition of the reflection groups, based on age, sex, and interests, in order to come to effective results. The organizing committee compiled all parishes' findings, and presented them in a seminar.

The reflection was started by analysing the current status of Hubula fertility. Although it had been present locally for 50 years, the Catholic Church had not

[186] These include the parishes Elagaima, Hepuba, Kimbim, Musatfak, Pikhe, Pugima, Wamena, Uwe elesi, and Yiwika.

developed properly and many Hubula Catholics failed to reach their goals. They were unable to become a Brother, Sister, or priest, and not a few had dropped out of school and did not actively participate in Hubula ritual. Many also did not have a significant position in government. Furthermore, many Hubula Catholic leaders had passed away and there increasingly were problems of people and pigs dying: life expectancy was short rather than long (*sugurluk*; lit. again). There were, moreover, problems of HIV/AIDS, the chaotic application of Hubula customary laws, people's preference for the city and the market over working in the gardens, violence in the gardens, and the abandonment of the *kanekela* (*honai adat*): the compound (*silimo*), the gardens, and *kanekela* were being left empty. Many customary leaders also did not perform their roles as upholders of customary laws. There were also problems with youths who, rather than go to school, preferred to hang around bus terminals getting high on glue (Papuan Malay: *aibon)*, gambling, getting drunk, and stealing. There were more students from outside the Palim Valley than there were local ones. Moreover, many Hubula who went to study outside of the Palim Valley came home in coffins (Ind. *peti mati*). Many schools staff members and many teachers did not do their jobs, so that many elementary schools had too few teachers. Finally, many people preferred to settle problems with material compensation rather than resorting to Hubula customary law.

As the Hubula saw it, all these problems had led to a condition of *´eyu leget misalaga yire´* (goodness, our fence is broken), which was a danger to their dignity. The Hubula then proposed three main topics to be examined further in order to improve fertility or fix ´the broken fence´: (a) *apwarek*, (b) Hubula ritual, and (c) the overlapping function of the Catholic church and Hubula customary law. These topics were discussed further by all the Hubula, except for the matter of *apwarek*, which was restricted to initiated members of the *kanekela*.

Managing *apwarek* from non-traditional warfare

The Hubula identified some of the *apwarek* collected during the last several years as deriving from warfare conducted without proper Hubula ritual. The first of these dubious *apwarek* was that of Agustinus Kabes, the teacher from Fak Fak (Bird's Head region), who had been brought to the Palim Valley by the Catholic missionaries. Next there were those from Agareken Hubi, the first baptized Hubula, and Pigai and his two friends**.** Last in the list was the *apwarek* of victims of the social and political conflict in 1977 that were kept in the Assolokobal district by

the big chief (Ind. *kepala suku besar*), Ukumhearik Asso.

The warfare between Kurima and Assolokobal in 1990s was correlated with the conflict in 1977, the *apwarek* of which were still kept in the *kanekela* in the Assolokobal district. All *apwarek* from this conflict were collected and submitted to the head of region (Ind. *bupati*) J.B. Wenas as part of the Yetni peace agreement. The reason for this was that since there had not been any formal, ritual planning of the war during which they were gained, those *apwarek* caused many problems for members who had been involved in the war and kept *apwarek*. The military had planned the war and had asked the community to fight the anti-government group from western Jayawijaya. This created an unclear root (*ero*), causing the Hubula to decide to place the *apwarek* in the museum.

However, the deliberating group realized the inherent danger of this solution, because the *apwarek* in the museum rebelled (Ind. *berontak*). The *apwarek* in the museum came from different groups, and stemmed from warfare with a political background, while Hubula customary law prohibits keeping *apwarek* from conflicting parties together in one place. Some further questions were raised about the current condition of the *apwarek* kept in the museum, especially who was responsible for them and what role was played by the Silo foundation, a now-lapsed local cultural foundation. The Hubula decided that keeping the *apwarek* in the museum was an inappropriate solution, and that another strategic solution had to be found. The discussion focused especially on the best way to destroy *apwarek* with a political background, e.g. by burning, letting them float away in the water, or by giving them to the Church.

In addition, the Hubula also identified the three new causes of war, including the conflicts with non-Papuan migrants after the lowering of morning star flag by the security forces on the 6th of October 2000. No *apwarek* were kept after that event as it related to the issue of freedom for Papua. The other two causes of war were the influx of military power in Wamena, and a deadly fight in front of Bupati´s residence on 15 May 2005. All the victims of these last two events were the connected with political issues of freedom and autonomy, and the Hubula did not recognize either of them as legitimate since they were part of a bureaucratic competition for power.

Revitalisation of Hubula ritual

The second topic of reflection was Hubula ritual, which was discussed by both men and women. The Hubula assign positive and negative values to the conduct of the following three rituals, as well as to the reconstruction of their parameters. The first is the marriage ritual (*he yokal*), which should be based on customary law, and be between different moieties (*wita-waya*). Some parishes suggested that the bride price and the gift to the mother's siblings and the mother's sibling's children should be based on one's capacity to give and on the value of the gifts) received during the wedding. However, the collective agreement in Hepuba was that one net bag (*su*) each was the standard wedding gift to 'feed' (Papuan Malay: *kasih makan oom-oom*) or to be distributed to these recipients. Furthermore, the Hubula in Hepuba say that a pig is equivalent to between one and three net bags.

Other idea that must be revitalized in regard to marriage are that 1) forcing a woman to marry is prohibited; 2) a woman who becomes pregnant without being married should be fined; 3) the bride price should be received by the bride's elders instead of by the *oom oom*; and 4) a baptized bride should deliver *yerebo* to the Church.

Second, women and children are forbidden to participate in the initiation ritual (*ap waya*). Third, contributions to the death ritual (*warekma*) should be based on one's capacity to give, and be distributed by the host (Papuan Malay: *tuan duka*). Hubula who pass away should be cremated regardless of his or her position as e.g. a civil servant or security officer. ´Paying the debt´ (*heamagaton,* Ind. *pelunasan utang piutang*) as part of reciprocal gift giving during a death ritual should not involve money, but should consist of customary sacred objects such as a net bag (*su*), limestone (*ye*), or cowry shell belts (*yeraken*). Some parishes even prohibited paying the debt.

Figure 73: Hubula women carrying wood to be sold. The money raised was contributed in support of the Catholic Church's celebration of its 50-year jubilee.

Figure 74: One of the working groups during the reflection program to discuss ritual in Hepuba. The discussants expressed their views on the benefits and disadvantages of ritual.

Figure 75: The seminar during which the results of the deliberations by all the parishes in the Palim Valley were presented.

The encounter with modern institutions

The Hubula reflected on their roles as representatives of Hubula customary law, the government, and the Church, and proposed an urgent call to harmonise relations among these 'three stones of the fire place' (Ind. *tiga tungku*). Some critical points were raised regarding the leadership of the customary community and the Catholic Church, including mismanagement in the parish, and abuse of authority by customary and Church leaders who force people to acquiesce to their policies and infringe on their rights.

Some parameters were drawn up regarding the relationship between Hubula customary law and the Catholic Church. These included celebrating the first Hubula contacts with the Church. The Church should commemorate these historical events, and invite those who made the first contact to Church event. Further, the misuse of the Church's name and facilities solely on behalf of one's own lineage and/or ethnic group had to be prohibited and the distribution of gifts (*yerebo*) between *adat* and the Church should be clear, and be based on a collective agreement. Church festivals should not be conducted on the same day as Hubula rituals. The relative positions and roles of customary and Church leaders should be clarified because many government-appointed customary leaders, called 'the tribal

leaders with red hats' (Ind. *kepala suku topi merah*), abused their power and authority, and should not be recognised. *Yerebo* from a baptized person (Ind. *orang serani)* should be given to the Church and gifts to the Church can also take the form of money. Polygamists are not entitled to take communion, although their first or legal wife and their children are allowed to do so.

The Hubula also reflected on their encounters with modern institutions, objects, and lifestyles. The parameters were defined as follows: (a) Exchanging goods and pork from pigs sacrificed during death rituals should be prohibited. (b) In addition to the fact that some elders prohibited the use of money in the ritual, villagers in Hepuba agreed to continue collecting it (Papuan Malay: *les sumbangan*) to support students studying elsewhere. In other words, money as an element coming from beyond Hubula is used to pay for an 'outside' activity like education. (c) Social-environmental regulations should be based on customary law, including the type of trees and plants to be grown in the hills or forests, and the protection of springs. (d) Sacred places should be closed to tourists, housing and gardens. (f) There should be a prohibition on perceived new attitudes brought in by external parties, including killing outside the context of traditional warfare, producing local alcoholic drinks, gambling, partying (*pesek*) and disco, as well as useless activities and disturbing the village's security generally.

Youths and intellectuals, who already participated in modern activities like education, contributed their thoughts about globalization from a rational choice point of view. The youths, who had a lesser involvement with Hubula customary law, thought it to be restrictive and burdensome. They saw current problems in the Palim Valley as stemming from the negative impact of money, which had led to corruption, triggered by autonomy and the proliferation of government administrations. They pointed to an emphasis on personal prestige, consumptive and hedonistic behaviour, individualization, self-centeredness, a lack of critical thinking, unequal access to justice for people living in remote areas, and the misuse of technology. As they saw it, the main mode of Hubula participation in modernization was through consumption, spending money on others' economic investment without the Hubula themselves owning productive enterprises.

The intellectuals made similar observations in regard to coping with modernization. They recommended that the smallest religious unit, the *kring* or *kombas (*Ind. *komunitas basis,* basic community) be activated and not used as a social institution. It should focus on prayer rather than deal with the collective preparation of pork (Papuan Malay: *bakar batu*). Hubula intellectuals, mostly graduates from the

Catholic school of Philosophy and Theology in Jayapura (*Sekolah Tinggi Filsafat Teologi Fajar Timur*: STFT), argued that the reciprocity practiced in the death ritual should be eliminated. Contributions made during this ritual should be freely and unreservedly given. The intellectuals also suggested that the family unit should be able to prioritize their needs and better manage their finance. This idea was expected to help the Hubula deal more wisely with money.

Preparing the reconciliation between the customary laws and the Catholic Church

The Hubula, then, reflected on their history since the arrival of Catholic mission in the Palim Valley. The confrontation between the Hubula and the Catholic Church was characterized by much resistance, which included among other things the burning of schools and the killing of the teacher. Agareken Hubi, the first Hubula to be baptized, also met with a violent end. While walking with a Dutch Catholic missionary he was killed by his eternal enemy, asking to be baptized before he died (Lieshout 2009).

Schools were opened, first in Mulima, and then in Simokak, Kibaima, and Yiwika. The schools were burnt down because they were a new thing that was perceived as the threat to the Hubula's traditional way of life. Violent resistance by the Hubula to the Catholic Church during the earlier years was based on their fear that the coming of these new, modern institutions would be dangerous to their well being. This explains the continued resilience of Hubula culture in the face of modern institutions.

However, the Hubula agreed that such resistant should not be applied to the Catholic Church, because it might have a negative impact on Hubula fertility. They realized that resisting the Catholic Church inherently meant rejecting God, which, according to Hubula elders, would cause God to curse the Hubula. The reconciliation between the Hubula and the Church is seen as a breakthrough, hopefully leading to desirable future changes. The Hubula hope that the reconciliation ritual will bring improvements in their lives. Some indicators of its future success might be that Hubula youths who now attend the theological seminary will become priests in the Palim Valley after finishing their studies. Other indicators are related to the imported paradigms of economics and education, reflecting the Hubula's evaluation of their fertility, which had been disturbed prior to the reconciliation.

The victims of the conflict between customary law and the Catholic Church

produced *apwarek* from Hubula and non-Hubula. One example of the killing of Hubula was the case of Agareken Hubi mentioned earlier. This case was settled internally among the Hubula because both of the victim and the perpetrators were Palim Valley Hubula. However, the death of Agustinus Kabes in March 1962 was quite different as the victim was not a Hubula. This killing, furthermore, was more complex because of the direct involvement of the Catholic Church. The background to the killing is as follows. One the schools built by the Catholic Church in earlier period was located on sacred land (*wesa*) in Waga Waga (Kurulu, in the northern part of the Palim Valley[187]). A cowry shell belt (*yeraken*) was offered to the Hubula as a way of asking their permission. Father Frans van Maanen, the Dutch missionary who was in charge at the time, judged the Hubula to have concurred based on their collective effort during the harvest to support the school. The Father was not aware of the resistance by other parties who disagreed with the building of the school. Moreover, the cowry shell belt that had been given to the Hubula was viewed as a payment for permission to use the land for the school. The problem here lay in the different ways that people's relationship with the land was understood, namely one of ownership versus one of guardianship of ancestral land.

Based on a collective agreement about the necessity of reconciliation in order to improve fertility, a team was formed consisting of key Hubula from two groups: one being people with a good understanding of the case, and the other being persons holding positions relating to both Hubula customary law and the Church. Since many of the destroyed schools were in Waga Waga (northern Palim Valley), and the killing of the teacher had also occurred there, a local village chief, with a respected position vis-à-vis both customary law and the Catholic Church, was recruited to be the local facilitator. This chief met several times with the elders in order to elicit the history of the conflict, and come to understand the anatomy of violence that had occurred. The five different *kanekela*, united in one house of war, that had been involved in the incident, detailed the story chronologically. This process was expected to display the root (*ero*) of the problem, so that *apwarek* could be collected. The involvement of these five *kanekela* did not necessarily mean that these were the parties directly involved in the killing of the teacher. They could just be showing their solidarity by keeping the *apwarek* in their

[187] The victim's *apwarek* are kept in the northern part of the Palim Valley, though not necessarily in either Waga waga or Kurulu.

kanekela.

At first one of above-mentioned *kanekela* was offered *apwarek* from Agustinus Kabes to keep. Unfortunately, it was turned down because the cultural background of the victim[188] was unknown to the *honai adat* members. In other words, Agustinus Kabes had been an illegitimate victim since he was not from 'the eternal enemy' (*silimeke*) as required by traditional warfare. It was feared that accepting *apwarek* from an unknown person would harm the collective livelihood of the Hubula. All of five *kanekela* refused to keep the *apwarek* and in the end the *kanekela* responsible for killing Agustinus Kabes kept the *apwarek* themselves.

The process of eliciting the story took a while as doing so publicly was a new experience for the Hubula, who always keep their ancestors' path, such as their history of warfare, secret. Sharing the background of their sacred objects was regarded as 'taking off one's clothes 'or 'peeling off one's skin'. The collective understanding about the fact that the *apwarek* derived from Agustinus Kabes killing were not significant was the reason they could share the story. The long process of eliciting the history of the killing of the teacher resulted in a confession by the parties that had been responsible, and their reconciliation with the Church. After the collective admission of responsibility for the conflict was expressed, Father Frans Lieshout, the representative of the Dutch mission, who had been a good friend of the late Father Frans van Maanen, attended the next round of the meeting. Father Lieshout listened to the Hubula's story and completed it with his understanding of the matter based on what Father Frans van Maanen had told him.

The ritual of reconciliation between Hubula customary law and the Catholic Church

On the agreed upon day, Agustinus Kabes' *apwarek* was given to the Church. Based on the complete story of the case, the jubilee's organizing committee then invited the victim's family members from Fak Fak to attend, and provided pigs for a ritual called as *wam wep warat* (pigs for peace). One pig was contributed by the Catholic Church, which felt responsible for having raised the Hubula's anger, leading to the killing. Two additional pigs were presented by the parties responsible for Agustinus Kabes' death. The monetary 'compensation' to be paid was not defi-

[188] He came from Fak Fak in the coastal area of the Bird's Head region.

nitely set by Agustinus Kabes' family (*eka okoh*). The money was received by the victims' uncle on behalf of his mother. The killers also gave some money to the Church, which was received by the Sisters on the Church's behalf. The perpetrators paid no money to the victim's side because the victim had been brought there by a Catholic missionary. The above 'compensation' was incomplete if it was not legitimised by the Hubula's ancestors. Causing the ancestors to be present in a ritual is the primary requirement for its legitimacy.

On the day of the ritual of reconciliation, which took place in front of deanery office, a temporary *kanekela* (Papuan Malay: *honai adat darurat*) was set up in the garage. It served as a front gate or 'the place where the spirits reside' (*mokarai*),[189] and represented the house of war (*wim aila*) that was involved in the conflict. The traditional leaders from this *kanekela* should be present here. The seating arrangement of these leaders in this hut, as well as the distribution of the *yerebo*, mirrored the arrangements of Hubula rituals in regular *kanekela*. Because the killing of the teacher differed from regular acts of war in which a warlord (Ind. *kepala suku perang*) was in charge, this ritual of reconciliation was led by the fertility chief (Ind. *kepala suku kesuburan*) from the *kanekela* involved in the conflict. A fertility chief always leads in these rituals to restore the relationship and maintain a balanced life.

The a*p metek* (the second *kanekela* leader) from the perpetrators' *kanekela* handed over a spear (*sike*) to the head of the deanery (perceive as the *ap metek* of the Church) as a symbol of peace, and led the sacrifice of a pig by shooting it with an arrow. Because the head of deanery was himself a migrant from Java, with no experience in shooting pigs, he authorized the *metek* to sacrifice the pig on behalf the Church.

There was some discussion about who should act as the *metek* of the Church. The Church was seen to mediate in this conflict between the aggressor from customary community, and the victim's family. One of the main topics of discussion among the elders was the relationship between the ancestors (*ninopu ninopa*), the creator (*walhowak*, see chapter 4) and the Catholic Church. In the Church, the pastor was considered to be the bridge (*kuwalek*) between the Catholic community and their God, whereas customary law considered the pig, given to the *kanekela* leaders, to be a bridge to the ancestors and to 'the creator', the Hubula considering them to be inseparable. The Hubula argued that salvation as defined by Catholic

[189] A similar front gate can also be found in the compound. See chapter 4.

Church was a gift from 'the creator'. After a long discussion concerning who was in charge of the reconciliation ritual, the Church finally handed the spear to customary community. This meant that the Church accepted its reconciliation with the customary community, but left room for the customary community to take the lead in the efforts at recovery (*hanora suok*) producing new relationships.

The Hubula elders were afraid to make mistakes during the ritual. Great care was taken concerning the division of labour, as this was the first time that the Church had been involved. The process of recovery was essential to prevent erroneous actions from having a negative impact on the proceedings.

The discussion about the authority of the ritual was continued. The Hubula were reluctant to accept the returned spear because of the possible positive and negative consequences (Ind. *suka duka*) this might have for the community in Yiwika, where the perpetrators were from. The Hubula customary community then suggested that the spear be returned to the Church, basing themselves on the fact that in addition to being part of customary community, Catholic Hubula also claim to be part of the Church. Thus, the recovery process carried out by the Church inherently entails the involvement of customary community. Since the Church was the main organizer of the ritual of reconciliation, some Hubula, mainly Catholic ones, insisted that it should have been implemented by the Church.

However, not all Hubula who participated in the ritual were Catholic, and it was these non-Catholic ones, who were the primary actors in the ritual, that viewed things more from the perspective of customary law. The earlier argument had focused on the relation with the God while the later one emphasized the relationship with the ancestors. One argument made by all Hubula who participated in the ritual, both Catholics and non-Catholics, was that severed relations with the ancestors (*ninopu ninopa*), which has continued for many years, were the cause of Hubula infertility. There was a long discussion regarding which relationship should be recovered and rebuilt. Some Hubula argued that the one with the ancestors should be primary, so that the customary community had the authority to implement the recovery process. Others, however, maintained that salvation lay with the Church since all aspects of customary law were within the Church. The last were of the opinion that customary law itself, as well as the people who upheld these laws, including the ancestors, were created by Christ (*ninoe*, lit. our brother). Customary law was considered as the footing or basis (Ind. *tumpuan kaki*) while the Church was seen as a beacon of hope (Ind. *tumpuan harapan*).

This was a Hubula attempt to bridge the different paradigms of the Church and customary law. The murdered teacher had been on a mission from the Church, bringing the Hubula a narrative about the history of humanity until the time of Christ in order to help them cope with the challenges of mortal life (Ind. *kehidupan fana*). The teacher was a storyteller or narrator whose aim was to support Hubula life. In the context of their customary law, the Hubula see storytellers as important persons who understand the narratives about the ancestors' path, the origin of humanity, the history of the warfare, and the like, which are the basis for Hubula ritual. Catholic Hubula argued that the Church's storyteller, the teacher, did not intend to reveal the secrets of the Hubula's narratives, but rather to add more stories. Hubula elders feared that the Church's narratives would be substituted for their own. In addition, the fact that Hubula narratives must be kept secret made the Church's open narratives difficult to understand.

While the discussion about who was authorized to shoot the pigs took place, the ritual process continued. The killing of Agustinus Kabes, who had been stabbed 21 times with a spear, was reconstructed. Two persons held a spear with its point embedded in the soil. One of these accepted *apwarek* and one kept this in the *honai adat*. Afterward, those involved, including the Hubula who had accepted the building of the school, the Church *metek*, the *metek* of the perpetrators' *honai adat*, as well as the first Hubula elder who had accepted the Catholic Church or the first baptized Hubula in the Palim Valley, stood in a circle. Also present were representatives of three Hubula victims who had been were killed by the police from Tulem in retaliation for the killing of the teacher. Together these parties pulled the spear out of the ground, while saying „woooo" in unison, thereby symbolically ending the hatred, jealousy, resistance, and enmity.

The participants continued to discuss who was supposed to receive the spear, deciding collectively that it was to be returned to the Church. The 'assumed' *metek* of the Church explained that by handing the spear to the Church, the Hubula surrendered and neutralized their hatred and other negative feelings in order to be given peace by the Church. The spear was returned to Pastor Lieshout, a Dutch priest who had become an Indonesian citizen, rather than to the Javanese pastor who headed the deanery. This was considered to be more appropriate since Pastor Lieshout was seen as a representative of the Dutch mission that had introduced the Bible and had brought the deceased teacher, while the Hubula were the recipients. Seen this way, Pastor Lieshout should have been the one who led the shooting of the pig. The ones who held the pig were Hubula who understood the

historical background of the incident. They played the role of *yaman* and *apisan*, and were baptized in the Catholic Church . The pigs to be sacrificed in the reconciliation ritual were displayed and enumerated to the audience: the first pig from Assologaima for Agareken, the second pig from Kurulu for Agustinus Kabes, and the third pig from the Catholic Church. The presentation of a pig by the Church was highly appreciated by the Hubula.

Pastor Lieshout symbolically shot one pig. However, because he lacked inexperience in these matters, a Hubula member of the deanery staff who came from the northern part of the Palim Valley and was considered one of the Hubula's own (Ind. *anak sendiri*), also shot the pig. The elders carefully analysed the manner in which the pigs died after being shot, as from this the success of the ritual could be concluded. For instance, the pig presented for the death of the teacher was believed to make the sign of the cross as it lay dying. This was then linked to something the late teacher was to have said to the Dutch missionary prior to the incident: „the Church will develop after I have passed away". The sign of the cross symbolized the Catholic missionary work that was developing properly.

The pig that represented Agareken died on the spot without running around, which was interpreted to mean that the impact of the incident was restricted to Assologaima, the local area where it took place. In other words, the incident would not negatively impact the whole Palim Valley. The third pig, the one presented by the Church, ran away after being shot. This was though to mean that the Church did not understand the root cause of the problem that led to the killing of the teacher even though the Church's intentions had been to serve the Hubula. This analysis confirmed the fitness of the Church to facilitate the ritual of reconciliation, so as to bring peace and unite the Hubula in the Palim Valley.

After witnessing the pigs' deaths and interpreting them, the elders felt relieved and satisfied. They believed that the ritual of reconciliation had proceeded according to customary law, and would have a positive impact on Hubula life in the future. The elders among the kanekela leaders collectively analysed the way the pigs died, after which the metek translated the main conclusions into a necessary plan of action.

Fertility is the core of Hubula life. The Hubula resisted the Catholic Church's plan to build the school on sacred land because they feared it would negatively affect their fertility. However, the killing of Agustinus Kabes was believed to have caused an imbalance in fertility, and the ritual of reconciliation was seen as a way to bring about its return in a balanced manner. The next step was the distribution

of the pig's parts, which was is also essential in any Hubula ritual that concerns fertility (see chapter 5). The pig's head was pointed toward the deanery office, while its buttocks were pointed to the Hubula and/or the Catholic community, these being the parties benefiting from the ritual. The head symbolized the monitoring or controlling process, while the buttocks represented the expected fertility. The pigs' tails were kept in the Church, this being the main organizer of the ritual. The pigs' ears were cut off by the deanery staff, which represented the Catholic Church. The pig's ears and tail are 'the defense of life' (Ind. *pertahanan kehidupan*), so that they must be eaten by the deanery staff. Some part of the sacrificed pig is given as *yerebo* to the Church, which, however, unlike the Hubula, does not have specific leaders to eat the *yerebo*. The Church's *yerebo* was therefore shared by the Church's staff members. Some Hubula elders gave the pigs' ears and tails to the deanery office, although it was considered inappropriate to put these there because they were still covered with blood. Instead they were kept temporarily in the emergency *kanekela* that had been set up for the ritual of reconciliation.

The centre of activity was supposed to be the deanery office, but it was agreed to transfer this to the emergency *kanekela* in the garage, as this symbolically linked the Church and customary law. The emergency *kanekela* also meant that the Church was the main organizer of the ritual. This meant that the representation of the five *kanekela* from the northern part of the Palim Valley, who were involved as the main actors in the conflict, were joined under the Church. The *kanekela* leaders should sit in their usual positions inside of the temporary *kanekela* in order to represent the ancestors.

The pig sacrifice was followed by the climax of the ritual of reconciliation. Some necessary ingredients were prepared including a sweet potato,[190] a dry pumpkin that is usually used as penis gourd to contain the blood of the three pigs, the pigs' blood, sweet potato leaves, and a kind of leaf called *werak*. All these ingredients were first placed in the emergency *kanekela*.[191]

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190 Symbolizing the original Hubula sweet potato, related to the myth of origin (see chapter 4).

191 According to Ploeg (2001: 36, 39), one difference between the Hubula and the Great Men model [known from Papua New Guinea] is that obtaining ancestral support is more important to the Hubula than reaching a balance in the numbers of warriors killed in the warfare. This is also clear from the Hubula's use of garden produce in ritual, rather than in competitions for prestige.

Figure 76: The witnesses describe the anatomy of the conflict that took the life of the teacher from Fak Fak.

Figure 77: The contending parties from the northern part of the Palim Valley seated in the temporary *kanekela* in the pastor´s garage at the deanery. This temporary *kanekela* was important as it ensured the presence of the ancestors at the ritual.

Figure 78: Symbols of reconciliation comprising sweet potatoes, sweet potato leaves, and pig's blood. Some parts of the bodies of the sacrificed pigs were also cut as *yerebo*.

Figure 79: The parties in conflict, including Hubula from the northern part of the Palim Valley, representatives of the Dutch mission, and the victim's family from Fak Fak, seated together, awaiting the distribution of the pigs' meat.

In the meantime, the people outside were divided into two groups. One included members of the aggressor group who had been responsible for the murder, and the other was made up of family members of the victim and the Catholic Church. These two groups stood in a line facing each other. The above mentioned items, serving as symbols of reconciliation, were then brought outside and placed in between them. Both groups then enthusiastically stepped on the symbols until they were crushed (*isoak sagal sagal,* Papuan Malay: *kasih pecah*) and the ingredients were mixed. Any feelings of deprivation, such as hatred, hurt, anger, sad, or loss, adhering to either side were expected to disappear as the causal incident, the killing, was symbolically crushed. All the parties involved were ready to embrace the new harmonious relation. The *metek* from the customary community gave the pig's blood contained in the dried pumpkin, together with *werak* leaves, to Pastor Lieshout. His acceptance of these symbols was seen as the Church offering forgiveness and fertility.

The Hubula believe that their customary law is a guide to a balanced life. The law is considered to be a frame of reference for daily life, and the Hubula consider both their customary law and the Catholic Church to be sources of fertility. On the one hand, customary law defines the history of warfare as one of the sources of this fertility. The ancestors' sacrifices during the warfare are manifested as sacred cultural object such as *kaneke* and *apwarek* that inherently entail 'the bloody' element. On the other hand, the Hubula learn that this kind of sacrifice is also found in Christianity, where the death of Jesus saved humanity. The manifestation of Jesus' body and blood through the Eucharist presents them with a similar context.

Pastor Lieshout was then asked to splash the pig's blood on all participants in the ritual, using the *werak* leaves. The pig's blood localized the Hubula's ancestors while the *werak* leaves covered the *apwarek*. The blood was splashed on one closed elbow of each participant. A closed elbow, displaying the crease of skin, means that there is nothing to hide, so that the reconciliation was unreserved. The Hubula expected the ritual of reconciliation to achieve it goal, thereby avoiding the curse resulting from the killing that would negatively impact Hubula fertility.

Conclusion

In the past Hubula warfare has been portrayed as an act of violence that is a function of the Hubula's character, and is the basis of their collective pride (cf.

Heider 1970; Koentjaraningrat 1993). However, this way of seeing it does not consider the fact that though ritualised, the warfare is nevertheless an exchange of violence while at the same time forming the basis of Hubula social structure. This ritualised warfare is an internal mechanism, exclusive to the Hubula of the Palim Valley, through which they attempt to reach the desired level of fertility. The exchange of violence involved in it began with the taking of their enemy's ancestral emblems from the victim killed during battle (*apwarek*). These sacred objects, including *apwarek*, are then ritually cared for or guarded (*dipelihara*) by the sacrifice of pigs. Each ritual is legitimized with pig's blood (*wam mep*), which, as was discussed earlier, localizes the ancestors. Thus, the exchange of violence through Hubula sacred objects gained from warfare, *kaneke* and *apwarek*, is a cosmological intra-ancestral exchange of identities. The clarity of these ancestral identities, as they are manifested in the sacred objects is the basis (*ero*; root) of Hubula social structure, and the essential element in obtaining fertility.

The Hubula's encounter with various institutions has led to a non-traditional form of warfare, in which various warlords (*wene hule*) produce different emblems though not ancestral ones. The legitimacy of Hubula social categories based on ancestral emblems gained during exchanges of violence (*apwarek*) has been denied by the modern institutions, including Protestant Church, which encouraged the burning of traditional sacred objects. Both the Dutch and Indonesian governments as well as the military tried to accomplish pacification, using a two-pronged approach of simultaneously promoting tourism and emphasizing security. For instance, the 1990 *Yetni* peace that was initiated by the Indonesian government through LIPI turned Hubula ancestral emblems into folklore by putting *apwarek* in the museum. Rather than bringing peace, the various campaigns of forced pacification led to cycles of violence with high human costs. Many conflicts can be traced to modern institutions, including the government and the military, through politically motivated killings, and to the Church, through Hubula resistance to missionary work. Seen from the point of view of the Hubula's ideas about origins and causes, both of the government and the Church had different ontological roots. The incompatibility of ancestral and modern identities caused 'the fence to be broken', as was evidenced in decreased fertility, leading the Hubula to exclude the various non-ancestral emblems gained from non-ritualized warfare from their definition of sacred objects.

Platenkamp (2012: 21) describes how indigenous concepts of cosmological sovereignty in the North Moluccas valorised monetary gifts that derived from an-

cestral identities. These monetary gifts were ritually transferred 'in acknowledgement of the debts, owed to the ancestral owners of the fertility and images embodied in the inhabitants of the domains. To these cosmological origins, the external origins of the money issued by the Dutch colonial and the Indonesian State were subordinated'. In the present context, all the beings in the Palim Valley are 'owned' by the ancestors, as is shown by the pig sacrifice through which the ancestral emblems are maintained. In this light, the ancestors are an inseparable part of, and the sole sovereign that rules Hubula fertility. All other form of exchange, such as money, occupy a subordinate position, and are merely a commodity that affirms the state´s sovereignty. Hubula resistance to keeping *apwarek* in the museum at a later stage shows the importance of ancestral rules and law (*adat*). The money used as a medium of compensation in either the resolution of conflicts or development program excludes the dominant role of the ancestors, and the exclusion of ancestral emblem means a progressive separation of the Hubula from their ancestors, which is destroying Hubula social structure. The ritual of reconciliation between the Hubula and the Catholic Church in 2007 clearly highlighted the Hubula's struggle to ensure the inclusion of their ancestral emblem as well as set their cosmological sovereignty.

Chapter 10
Conclusion

„Our societies gradually lose their underlying structure and tend to shatter,
to reduce the individuals that compose them
to the condition of interchangeable and anonymous atoms“
(Levi-Strauss 2013: 74)

This dissertation has examined the values that are the basis of Hubula dignity: their 'state or quality of being worthy of honour or respect' (Websters 2011: 350). Our first acknowledgement of this dignity must be to call the people by the name they prefer, i.e. the Hubula of the Palim Valley. This dissertation has also discussed innovation in Hubula social and cosmological relationships. The actors that set up the initial relationships, mapping the landscape of the Palim Valley, were the ancestors who were involved in the warfare, or the ancestors´ path. Their descendants now maintain these relationships through *adat* ritual, and new relationships developed in the present should aim to strengthen the initial ones.

The reason for this is that the history of warfare is the ontological basis of Hubula social structure. To the Hubula traditional warfare is an exclusive mechanism used to shape intra-ancestral identities in a cosmological exchange. This warfare produced ancestral emblems (*kaneke* and *apwarek*), which lie at the base of social categories that structure several aspects of Hubula society. The first of these is social debt, which grew out of warfare alliances. This social debt in turn determines real and pseudo kinship relationships among *kanekela* members, marriage preferences, and access to ancestral land and its natural products.

The second aspect is the idea the 'eternal enemy' (*silimeke*), the opponent during the warfare through whom permanent 'otherness' is defined. In the nature of things, the boundary with the out-group may not be changed. Finally there is the collective traditional leadership group or the *kanekela* leaders, whose positions are based on the chronology of the history of warfare. Membership in these categories is passed from one generation to the next. This traditional leadership reflects the involvement of the ancestors rather than being a form of personal interference. Both the social debt and the eternal enemy have produced unique patterns of exchange. The establishment new relationships in the present, e.g. through marriage, activates previous relationships that came about during the groom's initiation ritual and the bride's mother's marriage ritual. Thus past exchanges determine exchanges in the present.

The *kanekela* leaders continually try to ritually strengthen the relationships presented by the ancestral emblem and to pacify the eternal enemy. The Hubula are always in a subaltern position vis-à-vis their ancestors, and through their rituals they maintain a never-ending indebtedness to their ancestors for the fertility that derives from them.

A primary characteristic of the Hubula in the Palim Valley is their emphasis on the collectivity, in which both the union with their ancestors and that with the members of their *kanekela* are encompassed. Through their representatives, the *kanekela* leaders, the ancestors are the primary actors that ritually fix present day relationships. Through their involvement individual decisions are transformed into collective ones. This was evident in the description of the wedding, where groups rather than individuals were involved, and intra-ancestral relationships were built.

Individual acts that deviate from tradition or *adat*, such as marriage within the moiety or making mistakes in ritual or the distribution of gifts, are feared because they might disturb the relationship with the ancestors, and lead to decreased collective fertility of the lineage (*ukul oak*), the *kanekela*, or even the confederation. On the other hand, acts that strengthen the relationship with the ancestors increase collective fertility. Thus individual actions are seen to be part of those of a broader community, even fitting within a cosmological framework, acting within which leads to increased fertility that is evidenced through the well being of people, animals, and land.

The ethno-ecology of the Palim Valley illustrates the inseparability of Hubula identity with the land, and the integration of the material world with the immaterial ancestral one. The mythologized land to which the Hubula and other living beings in the Palim Valley belong shows that the ancestors are cosmologically sovereign there, localized in the land by the sprinkling on it of the blood of sacrificial pigs.

In addition to male *kanekela* leaders, ritual social regeneration also takes place via women, through their exchange of net bags. The efficacy of Hubula ritual lies in its performance rather than in its immediate results. The proper progress of a ritual, including the preparations, its performance, and the ritual exchanges are what is important. The pattern of relationships that result from the ritual exchanges is the main variable of Hubula collective achievement.

Pig sacrifice is the Hubula's essential avenue for reflection on the past and foreseeing the future. The *kanekela* leaders interpret all the details of the ritual processes and the symbols manifested in them, thereby bridging their reflections

on the past, their understanding of the present, and their plans for the future. The Hubula's inner perspective on the world is cosmologically framed, because future change must not be detached from an understanding of its relationship with the past and the present. Thus, social change and progress are projected back onto the ancestral path.

Since their encounter with outsiders, the Hubula have witnessed the contestation of power between the state and religious authority in the Palim Valley. The new paradigms offered by the government and the Church includes replacing the Hubula's traditional holistic view with a modern one that denies the identity of the ancestors. This has resulted in various campaigns in the form of development programs to increase economic growth, Christianisation that denies ancestral objects and practices, a local museum that turns ancestral emblems into folklore, and militarisation as part of an effort at pacification. Part of these efforts to modernize the Hubula was the introduction of modern markets, specifically money, which produced new patterns of relationship through commoditization and individualisation, and has alienated the Hubula from their collective and cosmological realities.

The imposition of this modern paradigm has at times been accompanied by violence and cultural oppression. Rather than peace, the various campaigns have brought conflict with high human costs (pace Diamond 2012). This points to the need to give the Hubula space in which to allow them to determine for themselves the proper direction of their well-being. Despite these difficulties the Hubula have actively struggled for the recognition of their collective dignity by maintaining the ontological basis of their social structure. Hubula do not see themselves as the victims of progress (pace Bodley 1975), the course of whose lives have been determined by various agents of modernity. Rather, they have been integrating their concept of fertility with modern values and practices. Selecting or creating new patterns of relationship through ritual and ritual objects by eliminating certain traditional elements (e.g. the *himi nyoko* ritual after the wedding), formulating rituals like *les sumbangan* as a new form of social solidarity, and using aspects of traditional ritual in the reconciliation of the Catholic Church and custom.

It is hoped that this dissertation will contribute to an understanding of how the Hubula have faced modernization with resilience rather than resistance. The poet Hirshfield (2001) expressed the difference between the two as follows: „More and more I have come to admire resilience. Not the simple resistance of a pillow, whose foam returns over and over to the same shape, but the sinuous tenacity of

a tree: finding the light newly blocked on one side, it turns in another."

This inherently offers a view different from that of other researchers, who have analysed the relationship between the Hubula and change in terms of resistance (cf. Peters 1975, Naylor 1974, and Munro 2009). The Hubula realize that their resilience in the face of modernization aims to preserve their inalienable relationship with the land and with their ancestors. For the Hubula, dignified social change must be embedded in these harmonious cosmological relationships, rather than in commodification.

This dissertation has focused on the dynamic status of Hubula ritual in its encounter with outside institutions such as the Dutch colonial and Indonesian states, the Catholic Church, and the modern market. Ritual is indeed the medium through which to understand the Hubula's pattern of relationships as well as the configuration of their system of values. In spite of the fact that the Hubula have faced many campaigns of pacification, they have managed to actively redefine and reformulate their patterns of exchange. While the ontological basis of Hubula social structure has been neglected by those with whom they came into contact, its core values have been remarkably consistent over time, while its boundary and content have proved to be flexible. Migration has been an important element in shaping this border, both in the case of Hubula moving away from the Palim valley, or that of outsiders moving in. Paradigmatically, the Hubula concept of fertility has clashed with modern ideas of progress coming from the outside.

With this in mind, further research is needed into the way that this ritual resilience contributes to the further development of the Hubula's cosmology. Such research would focus on the interaction between the Hubula and the immigrants, the latter including especially Papuan from outside the Palim valley and Indonesians residing in the Palim valley. The patterns of 'cosmological' exchange among these actors, seen against the background of the efforts at pacification, would further highlight the unequal relations between various groups in the Palim valley relative to economic growth (the modern market). Other important factors are state sponsored and voluntary migration (including internal migration within the Papuan highlands), the introduction of new religions (Islam and Christianity), and the cultural biases inherent in development programs. A study of these patterns of exchange would document the following factors that influence their success, including (a) the site of exchanges, (b) the actors involved in them, (c) the objects of exchange and the values they represent, (d) the process involved in the exchanges, and (e) the level of values applied to the exchange. It is expected that

such documentation would lead to an understanding of both the shared and non-negotiable spaces between Hubula and other ethnic groups. The complexity of these patterns of exchange would also show how they correlate with the development of Hubula ritual, placing it in the social geometry created by interaction with other ethnic groups. It is hoped that these findings will shed light on the process of the generation of Hubula cosmology, especially in relation to other, outside cosmologies, as well as lead to a reduction of the human cost inherent in sociocultural change.

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Appendix

Kin terminology

The complexity of Hubula kinship has been commented on by early ethnographers, including Heider (1970: 75-77) and Peters (1975: 39-43), who noted inconsistencies in the use of the kinship terminology, and also some behavioural implications that went beyond kinship relations as such. The kin terms listed below are from the southern part of the Palim Valley, where usage differs slightly from the northern part.

Terms of address are always linked with a possessive pronoun. From example, the headword father (*opase*) is transformed into my father (*nopase*), your father (*hopase*), our father (*ninopase*), their father (*inopase*), or the father of e.g Damianus (Damianus *opase*). Some of Hubula terms of address reflect the sex of the speaker or the person referred to: a daughter or daughter-in-law is addressed by Damianus, their father (in-law), as *naklogo* (m.s.D and m.s.SW), while others address them as *Damianus aklogo.*

Kinterms can also describe the type of relationship between people, such as having the same husband (*ege eperak*), siblings (*oe agot*), and reciprocal relations among siblings' children and siblings' spouses (*inayak lak inom*). All types of relationships define rights and obligation among those involved: *inayak lak inom* specifies an intimate relationship between siblings' children and siblings' spouses, who are expected to support each other in daily life, and have access to each other's property. The additional *lak* added to the term of address (e.g. *inayak lak, agosalak, amilak,* etc) literally means 'the group of' and refers to a plural term that denotes 'all the relations of'. Thus, *nagosalak* denotes all relations of my mother.

To understand Hubula terms of address, we must also consider classificatory kinship. Persons substituting for a parent, e.g. in the case of their death, such as mother's sister, father's elder brother's wife, mother's brother's daughter, father's brother, wife's father's brother, mother's husband, elder brother, and elder sister's husband are addressed as parents.

During my fieldwork, I noticed the familiarity of Hubula using kinship terms in expressing gratitude and greetings such as *nayak* ('my brother', used among males of about the same age) and *neroup* ('my sister', used among females of about the same age), regardless of moiety and lineage affiliation. This use of kin terms, however, does not mean that those so addressed are necessarily included in one's

ritual exchanges, although a person who offers support in a ritual might be treated as kins person with rights to be involved in the ritual exchanges. For instance, anybody who organizes a *he okoh* ritual for someone's wife, or sets up the foundation of *ye* (Ind. *peletak dasar ye*) would be treated as *amilak* (MSb and MSbCh), including the associated entitlement to participate in the ritual exchanges.

Hubula kin terms are also applied to people who are classificatorily related via sacred objects: (a) the address of a classificatory brother and a classificatory child by a classificatory father (*noe aput;* B and m.s.S) among members of the same *kanekela*, the customary hut where sacred objects derived from warfare are kept), and (b) the relation of a classificatory prime mother and her classificatory child (*isa eak;* M and f.s.child) among persons who are related through *suken*, the sacred objects kept in the traditional hut that are rooted in the myth of origin. This means that Hubula who share ancestral myths of origin, and alliances that are based on the shared history of warfare are treated as kin. The tie lies in one's involvement in the exchange rituals. However, this use of terms of address does not affect the rules for marriage, and persons that share these ancestral narratives are allowed to marry as long as they do not belong to the same moiety.

In the course of time the Hubula have come into contact with outside institutions and groups, including the Dutch, other Papuan ethnic groups, the Indonesian state, and migrants. This has led to social changes, including the adoption of various new terms of address. One example of this is the status of classificatory brother (*oe*), which could originally include any adult man able to fulfil the role of protector of members of a lineage. This meaning has now been extended to include Jesus as a new classificatory kinship category, introduced by the Catholic Church. In addition to the cosmological frame that is described by the Hubula through kinship categories in statements such as 'the sky is our father, whereas the land is our mother' (*pogot ninopase nen agat ninagosa*), the Hubula address Jesus as 'our brother' (Yesus *ninoe*). There are two reasons for this: (a) the Hubula see Jesus in his position as the son of God, whom they address as 'father' (*ninopase*), and (b) a brother (*oe*) in the traditional classificatory system is in the nature of a strong protector. This last was evident during warfare: if someone's life were threatened, he could call on his 'brother' for protection.

In addition to situating traditional concepts and terms in new contexts, these encounters have also led to the development of some new, alternative terms that are mostly used by the younger generation. Although members of the older generations also sometimes use these new, classificatory kinship terms, in the rituals

they always revert to authentic Hubula kin terms. These new, alternative terms mostly show the influence of the Indonesian language, and testify to the adoption of new cultural values. Indonesian kin terms do not indicate the sex of the speaker. The reciprocity attached in certain kin terms has been transformed into Indonesian terms.

Hubula Kin terms

Hubula kin term	**Denotation**		**Current alternative terms**	
	Kin type	**Gloss**		
Opu-oupa	PPP(P...) gen ≥ 3	„Ancestors“ or „the dead“	-	*Leluhur* (Indonesian)
Agona (self-recriprocal)	PM, f.s.ChCh	Consanguineal females of gen+2 and all consanguines of gen -2	Female elders, a senior widow who lives in the compound whose lineage members share customary hut with her late husband.	*Nenek* (Indonesian) PM
				Cucu (Indonesian) ChCh
Oupa (self-recriprocal)	PF, m.s.ChCh	Consanguines of gen+2 and all consanguines of gen-2	All classificatory kin including respected male elders. Terms of respect toward elderly male consanguines.	*Tete* (Papuan Malay) *Kakek* (Indonesian) PF
				Cucu (Indonesian) ChCh
Agosa	M,FW (≠M), WeZ, HeZ, eBW	Women of a different moiety classified as elder of gen+1 and gen. 0, older than ego.	The woman who performs the roles of M (in case the mother passed away): MZ,FeBW,MBD The term *mamak* can be use toward all kin that are classed as *agosa*; classificatory kin including grown up women (usually married) or respected women.	*Mamak* (Papuan Malay) M

Opase	F,FB,HFB	All men of gen +1 in their own moiety and a woman's affinal males of a different moiety gen +1.	The man who performs the roles of F (in case the father passed away) such as FB,WFB, MH,eB,eZH All classificatory kinship including any adult man (usually married).	*Bapak* (Indonesian)
				Bapak tua (Papuan Malay) FeB
				Bapak adik (Papuan Malay) FyB
Agosa he	MZ	Women of a different moiety gen +1.	-	*Mamak tua* (Papuan Malay) MeZ, MeBD
				Mamak adik (Papuan Malay) MyZ,FyBW,MyBD
Ami	MB, MBS	Men of a different moiety gen 0 and +1.	-	
Ayak (self-recriprocal)	FBS			
Aput	BCh, HBCh, m.s.S		It covers all glosses of *aput* and *eak,* but both from male and female speakers.	*Anak* (Indonesian)
Eak	f.s.Ch, f.s.ZCh, FZCh, MBD, m.s.ZD ,MZD	Children and cross cousin of opposite moieties.		
Aklogo	m.s.D, m.s.BD	Women of the same moiety gen -1.	-	-
Eru	Z, FBD	Women of the same moiety gen 0.		
Oe	eSb, FeBCh, eZH, HeZ	Real and classificatory elder siblings.		*Kakak* (Indonesian)
Agot	ySb,FyBCh,yZH	Real and classificatory younger siblings.		*Adik* (Indonesian)
Agaige	Half sisters.		Half sisters by the same father or mother.	*Saudara tiri perempuan* (perempuan)
Etouk	Half brothers		Half brothers by the same father or mother.	*Saidara tiri laki-laki* (Indonesian)

Hubula Affinal term

Hubula affinal term	Denotation		Classificatory classification	Current alternative terms
	Kin type	Gloss		
He opase	FZ, HFZ			*Bapak perempuan* (Papuan Malay)
Agami *Eroup*	WF HF	Fathers-in-law, different moiety		*Bapak mertua* (Indonesian)
Agoan	HM WM	Mothers-in-law, different moiety		Ibu mertua (Indonesian)
Agun	H, HB	Male affines of a different moiety of gen 0.	-	*Suami* (Indonesian)
Age	W, m.s.BW, WZ	Female affines of a different moiety of gen 0.	-	*Istri* (Indonesian)
Ege (self-recriprocal)	H2ndW, f.s.BW	Female affines of the opposite moiety of gen 0.	-	*Istri tua* (Indonesian)
				Istri muda (Indonesian) 2nd wife.
Agalho/emal	WP			*Mertua* or *besan* (Indonesian)
Agoleak	HZ, f.s.ZHZ, HeBD, HyBD	Female affines of a different moiety of gen 0 and -1.		*Ipar* (Papuan Malay)
Abutak	WZ	Female affines of a different moiety of gen 0.		*Ipar* (Papuan Malay)
Agalho/emal	m.s.DH	Male affines of a different moiety of gen -1.		*Menantu laki-laki* (Indonesian)
Agobak/emal (reciprocal)	WB, ZH	Male affines of different moiety of gen 0.	-	*Kakak ipar laki-laki* (Indonesian)
				Adik ipar laki-laki (Indonesian)
Aksu or *aksomi* (reciprocal)	WeZ, HeZ, eBW WyZ, HyZ, yBW eZH	Female affines of a different moiety of gen 0.		*Kakak ipar perempuan* (Indonesian)
				Adik ipar perempuan (Indonesian)

Hubula plural terms for real and classificatory kin. They are collective designators for members of ones own and other moieties.

Hubula plural kin terms	Denotation		Classificatory classification	Current alternative terms
	Kin type	Gloss		
Agosalak	MZ, MZS (Lak is a collective designator for 'all' members of a category.)	Women of different moieties gen +1 and men of the same moiety gen 0.		*Ipar* (Papuan Malay)
Amilak	Msb, MSbCh	People of different gen +1.People of the same moiety gen 0	It covers all descriptive kinship of *amilak, ami* and *agosalak*.	*Oom-oom* (Papuan Malay/Dutch?)
Ayak lak (recriprocal)	FBCh, half brothers among male moiety or descent unit members.			*Saudara* (Indonesian)

The Notion of Collective Dignity among Hubula in Palim Valley, Papua

Yulia Sugandi

The central focus of this dissertation is the conceptual construction and valorization of the collective social identity of the Hubula, the indigenous people living in the Palim valley of Papua (also known as the Dani). It explores how this identity is expressed in ritual actions, and in the production and exchange of cultural artifacts, and looks at the way in which the Indonesian State and the Roman Catholic Church have impacted upon and transformed it. The ethnographic data presented documents the resilience of the Hubula in their encounter with modern institutions, including the impact of an encroaching market economy on the local forms of livelihood and resources, and pressure to more fully integrate into the Indonesian state which involves the subordination of the Hubula's own forms authority and leadership to the political institutions of the Indonesian State. The dissertation points out the importance of including the ontological basis of Hubula social structure in the cultures of intervention and cultural policies in order to come to a dignified social change.

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