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ENGA AND EVANGELISATION

THE CHANGING PATTERN OF THE LAITY'S INVOLVEMENT
IN THE CHRISTIAN EVANGELISATION OF ENGA

JAN BIENIEK

Thesis for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
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ABSTRACT

Changing Pattern of the Laity’s Involvement in the Process of Evangelisation in the Diocese of Wabag, Enga Province, Papua New Guinea

It was a unique situation that the laity in Enga became empowered and involved from the very beginning in the processes of Catholic Evangelisation (or missionisation). The lay people of Enga were the first to bring the “Good News” of the Gospel to their clanspeople. In many cases they had already established Prayer Centres in their area even before the missionary was allowed to visit the region. After the government ‘derestricted’ successive parts of Enga to both mission and business activity, the people of Enga were given the opportunity to choose between Christian denominations coming to the region, and to decide which of them they thought best reflected their social, cultural and religious attitudes and aspirations. With the arrival of the missionary, in any case, lay people formed his active ‘entourage’, influencing greatly his movements and decisions. It was at their discretion to offer the land of their choice for the mission station and other projects – schools, hospitals, etc. – associated with the process of Christianisation. After the initial visit of the missionary the laity were running the mission station in the role of catechists, teachers, prayer leaders, and other vital services. With the settlement of the missionary, in addition to the above mentioned activities, they were active agents of evangelisation in their areas, as Church leaders and extraordinary ministers.

The roles and changing pattern of the laity’s involvement in the process of Catholic evangelisation in Enga can be presented in following phases:
Paradoxically, over the last two phases, the involvement of lay people in the Catholic Church in Enga showed signs of diminishing, even while there was an increase in the laity's role in the whole Church across the globe. This could be attributed to:

- the shifting of responsibilities to the missionaries
- a waning of energies after initial enthusiasms
- a declining number of volunteers due to people's expectation of being paid
- employment by the Wabag Diocese of a large number of local people as full-time

  Diocesan workers responsible for various areas of evangelisation

- clericalism, with clergy trying to avert threats to their position
- a growing number of locally ordained ministers not allowing

  the participation of the broader body of the laity, or in another guise
- "neo-clericalism" on the part of certain laity, who often saw themselves as "small priests" protecting the territories of their influence

- Church "professionalism" among lay people, who became professionals in their service, losing the initial vigour and enthusiasm.

A systematic and thorough research into the history and experience of the laity's role and involvement in the evangelisation in the Diocese of Wabag can provide impetus to reinvigorate the original enthusiasms and give new incentives to those promoting the charisms of the laity. The implications of this study regarding the laity lies beyond this particular Papua New Guinea case. Although it is true that each Diocese is an independent unit in the Church's structure, there are many denominators and aspects that are common to all of them and certainly the experience we are mapping and addressing for the Wabag Diocese can serve other Dioceses as well.
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# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AA</td>
<td>Author's Archives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AAS</td>
<td>Acta Apostolicae Sedis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACSMAPNGC</td>
<td>Archives of the Congregation of Saint Michael the Archangel of Papua New Guinea Community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AG</td>
<td>Ad Gentes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AHSCP</td>
<td>Archives of Holy Spirit Centre at Par</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AKCP</td>
<td>Archives of Kasap Catholic Parish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AMHCA</td>
<td>Archives of Mount Hagen Catholic Archdiocese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASMMS</td>
<td>Archives of Saint Michael Mission Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AWCD</td>
<td>Archives of Wabag Catholic Diocese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ChL</td>
<td>Christifideles Laici</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DSBE</td>
<td>Documents of Synod of Bishops of Europe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EN</td>
<td>Evangelii Nuntiandi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FC</td>
<td>Familiaris Consortio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GS</td>
<td>Gaudium et Spes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KKO</td>
<td>Krajowy Komitet Oazowy (Oasis National Committee)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LG</td>
<td>Lumen Gentium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MC</td>
<td>Marialis Cultis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MD</td>
<td>Mulieris Dignitatem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA</td>
<td>Nostra Aetate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NMI</td>
<td>Novo Millennio Ineunte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OR</td>
<td>L'Osservatore Romano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PDV</td>
<td>Pastores Dabo Vobis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RH</td>
<td>Redemptoris Homini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RM</td>
<td>Redemptoris Missio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TMA</td>
<td>Tertio Millennio Adveniente</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Words and phrases are listed alphabetically with English terms in normal script.

**aiputi**
A weakness affecting a group that reduce their ability to fight by destroying their unity and making them especially vulnerable to injury and death during a fight.

**Aitawe**
Creator of the Universe in the Enga mythology.

**akali buingi**
Reparative payments (‘compensation’) for death attributable to actions by others.

**akalianda**

**aupera** – good, virtuous.

**auu pyoo katenge/pitipenge**
“Staying well together”, peace. (guelpela sindaun in Tok Pisin).

**beta pingi**
Reparative payment for injuries (“compensation”).

**blok**
Agriculture allotment. These allotments were either purchased from traditional owners by the national government and then leased to farmers, or obtained by the tenant from traditional owners on a negotiated basis (a combination of traditional ideas of usufruct and modern ideas of rent). Although the government saw them, in part, as a means to relief supposed population pressures, in practice they provide an opportunity for more entrepreneurial men to evade obligations.

**enda laku ingi**
“Courting women”, courtship ceremony.

**enda watapae**
“Bride following”, return payment of bridewealth.

**enda yole**
“Payment for a wife”, bridewealth.

**kainakali**
kaina = middle + akali = man, “man in the middle”, mediator, third party, innocent bystander, victim of two or more other persons’ conflict.
raskol
Primarily, a young member of a criminal gang. Individual criminals, such as pickpockets may also be described as raskols, and the word may also by used adjectivally to describe an unconventional item, e.g. an unregistered, nonroadworthy vehicle might be described as a raskol car.

sandī tee
Initiatory payment of cooked or live pigs inviting a gift in return.

Sangai
Sometimes Sandalu (Layapo); initiation rituals in East Enga.

Sangai Isingi Akali
Initiating specialists in Enga Sangai rituals.

takange
“Father”, head of household.

tata
Patrilineal descent group, named after the founder (or founder’s mother). It is localised and exogamous. The word is usually translated as “clan”. A sub-clan might be described as tata yakane (“small clan”); the grouping of several tata that trace descent from a common ancestor might be described as tata andake (“big clan”).

tee
(Pronounced tay). The exchange system in Enga. From “tee lenge” (“to ask for”).

Tok Pisin – Neomelanesian language.

Topoli Akali
Healers in Enga.

Wambatea Mana Makandeupu
Traditional knowledge and beliefs.

wanakali
Affines, especially men residing on their wife’s natal land.

wane laita
Funeral payments to the deceased person’s mother’s tata.

Yaliakali
Mythical ‘Sky Beings’

yanda pipi – war heroes
yanu pingi
“Make return payment”, payback. The term is used to describe return payment in the tee, return bridewealth payments, return of the loan, revenge, and payback killings.

yumbange
Literally “grandfather”, lineage; sometimes described as tata yakane, “small clan”. Several yumbange constitute tata.

yuu daa injingi
“Land-not-becoming, growing”, land shortage.

yuunya pandu
“Trouble (pandu) about/concerning (-nya) land (yuu)”, land disputes.¹

¹ In compiling this glossary the author used the Ph.D. Dissertations of D. Young and A. Lakau. Infra, p.440.
RESEARCH DESIGN

Research Orientation and Methods

This thesis is an exercise in a critical and practical missiology, focussing on the laity in a Papua New Guinea context. It first seeks to understand traditional Enga culture of the Highlands and to assess the current Catholic ecclesial situation in the Wabag Diocese with a view to a healthier community involvement in Church life. After the critical investigation, the thesis will pick up on a project of a planned Evangelisation in the Wabag Diocese, first inspired (in 1982) by the SAIDI program from the Philippines, when the new Diocese mentioned above was established.

Research for this thesis began in 1988, and the principal methods employed were:

1) For research into traditional and changing Enga culture, the disciplines of Anthropology, History, Sociology and Studies in Religion were especially used with their respective analytical techniques.

2) For an assessment of the current ecclesial situation and its background, this thesis rests on an historico-critical missiology, drawing on the disciplines of missiology itself and Church History (particularly Missionsgeschichte). Related to this work is an accurate representation of the currently potent statements of the Catholic Magisterium of the rationale and biblical foundations of world mission (Missio Dei). Inevitably, the methods of Theology will be entailed here.

3) For the practical and planning side of the thesis this writer follows the method of analysis promoted by the Southeast Asian Interdisciplinary Development Institute.
(SAIDI), together with a response to the Magisterial Program of the New Evangelisation, called *Evangelisation 2000*.

For the reader a complication arises in that objective research has been carried out with one key purpose being to serve pastoral interests. This of course is inevitable when Missiology is being carried out to assist and inevitably advocate the desirability of mission work. On first appearances, then, this thesis might seem open to the charge of confessionalism and 'group subjectivity'. This is counterbalanced, however, by the fact that, along with the critical ethnographic and historical work, even the research on praxis begins from a given datum, a previous attempt to apply a planning project even before the thesis writer's research actually began. Thus the research orientation on the practical side assesses a prior implementation and relative effectiveness of a Diocesan Plan (inspired by the SAIDI one), bringing objectivity to the thesis in terms of assessing the relative viability for effectiveness of a prevenient strategy.

With regard to both the theoretical and practical arenas of this study, various spheres of human and social life have to be addressed, even challenged, if the realities assessed are to be lifted up to a level near a projected, sacral ideal. Such spheres important for this thesis are commonly divided between *sacrum* and *profanum*. The elaboration of this research is primarily concerned with the first, the sacred sphere, but with many references to the latter. Special consideration is given to a traditional Enga religion; the social changes introduced by Western culture and their effects on the traditional convictions and beliefs; the participation of the Christian Churches in coping with novelties; and the involvement of individual
Christians in the process of transition. In all these considerations both what has happened and what could better happen are taken in view – in a thesis that combines theory and praxis.

**Objectives and Motives of Study**

The objectives of this study are basically twofold. First, an assessment of what has happened, which is a theoretical and fact-finding side of things; and second, practical proposals for improving future conditions (fostering lay involvement in the Catholic Church in Enga), which is the side to do with what should be rather than what has been.

With regard to understanding what has happened, the Melanesians are well respected for their religious convictions and the Enga is not an exception to this rule. The first contact with the Europeans took place only half a century ago – in some parts of the Province even less than 40 years ago – and many of the traditional values are still alive and observed. It has been one of the very few places where evangelisation was conducted under strict government policies of non-competitiveness and mutual respect between different Christian Churches, which resulted in common ecumenical activities and the rising of numerous Local Churches, sects, movements and revival groups. Enga turns out to be a fertile field for scholars in comparative religion because of some significant parallels between traditional religion and Christianity. It is also a region of importance for social anthropologists due to the great changes occurring over a very short period of time, these having a tremendous impact on local life.
With regard to practicalities, the main aim of the conducted program and research was to increase the responsibility of the whole community for the Local Church and to give the individual Christians confidence and full participation in the Church’s mission and structures. The idealised effect of the involvement and full participation of lay people (non-ordained members of the Church) in religious actions is the Komuniti i pulap long hamamas, “a Community filled with joy”. This is the motto and the goal (understood as a vision – something that people desire the most, but can never be fully achieved) set by the people of Enga in their striving to build a modern society without abandoning noble traditional values.

For Christian theologians (and the author of this thesis is already involved in Theology as a missiologist), it has been a matter of challenge as to how one implements such a program of action as Evangelisation 2000 (which is a directive of the Catholic Church calling for the greater involvement of lay people in ecclesial life). Presently, the “New Evangelisation”, understood as the “total involvement of laity in the process of proclamation of the Good News”, has become a new paradigm for thinking about Church community and has proved to be an important inspiration for theological and missiological work. A practical objective of the thesis is to show that it is possible to realise Evangelisation 2000 in various aspects of life in the Catholic Parishes in Enga – in family life, education, conflict resolution, pastoral care, health, etc.

As a concomitant, two other practical objectives are in view. First is the examination of the self-study conducted by the Church in Enga in 1983, when it was determined to define its own image and mission after the separation from the Mount
An acute need for formulating a Plan of Action arose if the act of separation was going to have deeper meaning than a mere administrative move. From among many available means to plan a strategy for the future, the SAIDI program was selected as the most suitable for the Church in Enga in its new circumstances. The SAIDI program, originating in the Philippines, can be defined as "a method for arriving at a [an organizational] structure which can support ongoing planning and an integrated response to new situations".

Second, combining theoretical and practical objectives, the author seeks to assess the effectiveness of the methods and the fruitfulness of the SAIDI project relative to the expectations of the Local Church, both as an institution and comprised of individuals of which it consists. Hopefully this will serve as a way of also showing how the new paradigm of Evangelisation 2000 can be better implemented at the local level. In the process this thesis intends to explore the changing role of non-clerics (or laity) in the history and development of Christian missions in the Enga Province of Papua New Guinea, with a view to discerning their future role. An important outcome of the research would be a laying down of policies for a greater lay involvement in the future of the Catholic Church in Enga.

Stating of some Problems

In recent times the Church is often criticised from outside, and of late from inside, for being over-hierarchical, clerical and not willing to utilise the potential which rests in the laity (or non-ordained Christians). Although this criticism is directed in the first place towards the long-established Churches of the West, it also applies to the newly established mission Churches, often in developing countries, where the critique
pertains more to expatriate versus local leadership and to the distribution of roles in
the process of evangelisation. The last problem actually defines the scope of this
dissertation, although it does not deal with the problem in general terms but
specifically for the local affairs of the Church in the Enga Province. The problem
alleged to be inherent in the Local Church is not handled through any apologetics, let
alone polemical retort to criticism. Rather, the author of this thesis seeks to analyse
the situation in the field concerning the traditional ideas of leadership. He has sought
to test how secular and religious leadership, if such could be found, the status and
responsibilities of leaders in the community, as well as structural organisation of
society and other relevant social elements, can be incorporated into the present
Church's structure for the progress of evangelisation.

Another commonly repeated reproach against the Church is that missionaries
did not pay enough attention to the local structural and social institutions already
existing in the native culture and morality. Or in other words, there was not enough
attention paid to the inculturation, or culturally-sensitised Christianisation as against
suppression of the indigenous culture. Ellen Kettle in her book That They Might Live
(Sydney 1979) addressed this problem when she states “Missionaries have frequently
been accused of destroying the culture and customs of the people, but many of these
customs needed modifying”. This subject will be dealt with more fully in Chapter
One. It is a paradox, however, that some researchers into the Enga situation criticise
the missions for not accommodating local leadership and social structure into the
Church’s organisation, while at the same time denying that there were any marked
leadership patterns in Enga society. They over-stress traditional egalitarianism, as if
religio-cultic life showed no signs of hierarchy, and claim that there was no secular

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leadership in sensu stricto, or social structure or segmentation in this tribal society. A double standard asserts itself here because the introduction (in many cases imposition) of a Western type of government and its institutions is praised as a sign of development, while the Church's efforts to organise itself into a formal body is criticised as acting against the local traditions.

In order to deal both with such criticisms and to continue with the process of Christianisation in the spirit of the New Evangelisation, it has become necessary in the Enga case to take a fresh look at local culture, with the moral values and social structure that developed and sustained it. To do this is no longer an easy task for any social investigator, since the Enga have experienced very rapid social changes, the dynamics of their vibrant, volatile society comprises a mosaic of trends, influences and pressures, with nova et vetera intertwining on a scale hardly comparable to any other group in Papua New Guinea, or arguably to any other country in the world.

The author, who has been working in Enga since 1988 and engaged in the running of an adapted SAIDI program in a Parish in Enga, is convinced that the most appropriate approach to a healthy evangelisation comes through an ongoing process of confrontation between the ideal and the reality. The balance of the discourse between the parties involved in a plan of action for better local conditions should not be through trying to establish who is right but through a new shared perspective, a fusion of horizons as the modern scientific outlook implies. The Church in Enga was transformed from the mission administered by foreign agencies and has been inspired by a few charismatic individuals into a fully autonomous Christian Community in which each member has a vital role to play and the right to contribute to its growth.
and to express his/her concerns. This unfolding dynamic must not go unnoticed, and local hopes and expressions of concern contribute the research building-blocks for effective planning. The expectations and the reservations of the main groups involved in the various courses, workshops and seminars of the program are listed, and the proposals evaluated with a view to practical responses and implementations.

**Organisation of the Thesis and Research for Bettered Human Organisation**

There is more on methodology and objectives presented in Chapter Five and beyond. Since the thesis basically combines anthropological and other social analyses of the Enga situation with a missiological orientation it naturally falls into three major parts. Part I (Chapters 1-3) covers traditional and changing Enga society; Part II (Chapters 4-5) gives a summary of magisterial paradigms of evangelisation, a history of evangelisation in Papua New Guinea and especially Enga; while Part III (Chapters 6-8) concerns practical organisational matters.

Apropos practical organisation of an improved community, the method of Organisational Development and Planning popularised and employed by SAIDI has been used. It has had implications for the fieldwork and in academic research that the author of this thesis has undertaken. A key element of this program's approach is dialogue and 'lived experience'. This is also in line with the principles of Participatory Action Research which proceeds first by developing a comprehension of the relevant situation and second by following through practical implications of the subject, so that the final outcome of the research should be its 'application'. For academic purposes the SAIDI recommends Organisation Planning System (OPS), which by systematic analysis of the 'macro system', 'related systems' and the 'focal

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system’, is able to identify the areas for improvement and change and to develop strategies for planned action in the future. Following the above principles the three major parts of the thesis correspond to these systems. The first part, the Anthropological Background, can be identified as the ‘macro system’; the second part, Missiological Principles, constitutes the ‘related systems’; and finally, the last sections, on Practical Implications, deals with the ‘focal system’.
Part I. ANTHROPOLOGICAL BACKGROUND
CHAPTER ONE

ETHNO-HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE

REGION AND ITS PEOPLE

1.1. PAPUA NEW GUINEA

That Papua New Guinea (see Map No 1) is such a “young country - young as an
independent nation, young as a Christian community, young in the demographic terms,
even geologically young” probably best explains why there is such an intense interest in
this island complex, and why academic researches blossomed there. The very
‘freshness’ of past and current transformations are justification enough for undertaking
the project of this thesis. Youthfulness always suggests a great potential and yet at the
same time a need for a direction if this potential is to be developed into fully mature
forms – to produce the expected multiple fruits.

1.1.1. Old Times

The addition of the adjective “young” to the official name of Papua New Guinea does
not mean that the islands and the people covered by this term do not have their own
history and tradition, which includes social structure, political organisation, religious

Note: Publishers are excluded in documentation. Volume as distinct from issue numbers are not given in
connection with periodical articles, unless issue numbers do not apply. Hopefully readers will bear with
this and other idiosyncrasies of referencing in both the footnotes and bibliography that are affected by
Polish fashion.

1 Cf. A. Chowning, An Introduction to the People and Cultures of Melanesia, Sydney 1977; See also:
beliefs, art and culture. The territory has been inhabited for a long time. It could be as long as 50,000 years ago when humans made the first crossing over the seas from the islands of present-day Indonesia. Over the millennia the migrations continued, with new people arriving on the coast and old populations being gradually forced into the interior, where the agricultural or horticultural technology, the most ancient in the world, was developed. The first waves of migrants belonged to unknown ancient ethnic groups, now generally named non-Austronesian. The people arriving later were part of the vast language group inhabiting most of the Pacific Islands, parts of Indonesia and Southeast Asia. Today's inhabitants of Papua New Guinea reflect a mixture of non-Austronesian and Melanesian descendants, people with brown skin and curly hair using more than 750 local languages with thousands of dialects.

The people of Papua New Guinea never developed the skill of writing, but preserved their culture and customs through oral tradition in the form of myths, legends, songs, stories and taboos. The coastal tribes achieved a high standard of art especially in painting and carving and developed comparatively advanced technology in building. Also their ability in constructing sea-going canoes and skills in sailing was outstanding. The coastal tribes made their living from fishing and hunting while people inhabiting the interior had to rely on subsistence gardening, with some supplementation from hunting.

1.1.2. Modern Period

In the sixteenth century, the age of great discoveries by Europeans, the first white people arrived on the coast of Papua New Guinea. There is historical debate over who takes the credit for the first contact, but generally it is acknowledged that Spanish captain de Retes gave the name New Guinea to the island in 1545, although the Portuguese sailor D’Abreu may be the first European to have noticed the coast of the island during his voyage to the island of Ceram in 1512, until Portuguese captain de Meneses made the first recorded landing on the north-west coast of the island years later, calling it Ilhas dos Papuas.¹

There was not much interest shown by the Europeans until 1828, when the Netherlands took possession over the western part of the main island, initially named Papua and later Irian. The eastern part remained unclaimed until 1884, when it was again divided and subjected from the north to the German Empire and from the south to the British. In 1906 Australia inherited the British part and established its own colonial administration. During World War I the German colony was occupied by Australian army and from 1920 by the decision of the League of Nations Australia received the mandate to administer the region. For a short time during World War II Australia lost control over the northern part of the country which fell first under the Japanese and subsequently the Americans during mop-up operations. After the War the whole of the eastern part of the New Guinea complex became a Mandated Territory of Papua and New Guinea, officially entrusted to Australia by the United Nations.²

1.1.3. Independent Statehood

From the 1960s, following examples in Africa, the drive for independence heightened among the Pacific countries that remained under foreign powers. The same was true for Papua and New Guinea. Between 1962 and 1972 the administration shifted from an Australian-dominated officialdom to representative self-government led by Michael Somare (a national teacher from the northern part of the country from Sepik River area). In 1975 Papua New Guinea was granted Independence and Somare became the nation's first Prime Minister. From then on the country joined the block of democratic nations, with national and local elections taking place at regular intervals of four years. Politically Papua New Guinea remains a member of the British Commonwealth and the links with the previous colonial ruler – Australia - are being deliberately preserved. The latest administrative structure recognises nineteen provinces, each being represented by a governor in the central government, and each containing various elected and traditional local governments.

1.2. HIGHLANDS REGION

1.2.1. General Description

The Highlands region of Papua New Guinea, running from the East to West of the country, “is a vast array of high mountains and high valleys, stepping down into traditional, fringe zone on both north and south sides”. It is divided into five administration units called Provinces. The region consists of a chain of high-rising peaks and a series of fertile valleys that form a backbone of the main island of New

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Guinea. The mountains, in many cases more than 3,000m above sea level, are covered with tropical vegetation or rain forests and are well known for their inaccessibility. For a long time the highlands area was thought to be so inhospitable that it excluded the possibility of human habitation. The access to the region is additionally impeded by the swift currents of many rivers, the Sepik one of the world’s largest. At present there is only one mobile track leading across the mountain range from the seaport Lae to the Porgera gold mines in west Enga. The Highlands, however, were found to be the most densely populated area in the country. Today it carries various towns, with the biggest being centrally placed at Mount Hagen. The region has been divided into five separate administrative provinces, although, only Enga can be regarded as a homogeneous entity, the other units being created from an amalgamate of tribes, cultures and languages.

1.2.2. Discovery of the Region

The Highlands region and its people remained undiscovered by Europeans until the 1930s, when the gold rush brought intruders from the goldfields around Bulolo and Wau (in the eastern part of Morobe). The newcomers pressed on into the eastern Highlands (Goroka), and then further west to Mount Hagen. The eastern part of Enga was explored later in the 1930s and after World War Two, with reconnaissance being made as far as Porgera on the border of West Enga and Southern Highlands, where the richest reserves of gold ore were to be discovered. The “first contact” with New Guinea central highlanders was made in 1933, when brothers Michael and Daniel Leahy - Australian gold prospectors accompanied by a detachment of New Guinea police led by Jim Taylor, made a crossing from Ramu to Goroka, Chimbu,

and finally stopped in Mount Hagen.\textsuperscript{1} The first encounter was generally peaceful and amicable. The local people, though amused and sometimes scared, received the newcomers as messengers from their ancestors, who were just fulfilling the predictions of the ancient local myths. The only trouble at this first stage of contact took place in Chimbu where two pioneer missionaries were killed,\textsuperscript{2} and in the encounter with Enga, where according to rumors the exploring party killed more than ten natives.\textsuperscript{3}

\textbf{1.2.3. Colonial Administration}

The initial idyllic period did not last long. Soon the proper pacification of the highlands region started, gaining its momentum after World War II. The Colonial Government, supported by the army and the local police force, proceeded in an East-West direction. Though it was called pacification, in fact it was a display of power, which in many cases turned to open confrontation between the government forces and the local warriors.\textsuperscript{4} In a few cases there were victims on the colonial side, but generally it was the local population that suffered drawbacks and hardships through the intrusion and in the long run the local people had to accept defeat.\textsuperscript{5} The colonial administration had a sense of destiny and conviction that they were bringing civilization to the other party, even if the latter had to pay the ultimate price for it.

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{1} For the published report from this expedition, see: M.J. Leahy, \textit{Exploration into Highland New Guinea 1930-1935}, Bathurst 1994.
\textsuperscript{2} A priest and a brother, members of the Divine Word Missionaries have been killed in an ambush. \textit{Infra}, p.235.
\textsuperscript{3} \textit{Infra}, p.13.
\textsuperscript{4} It must be noted, however, that there is no recorded case of any direct armed engagement between the army and local warriors.
\end{flushleft}
For the local people the government was seen as an outside power, which they had to confront to prove that they were the rightful owners of their land, and if the need arose they were ready to protect it even to the point of death. Local reactions also squared with local tradition in that any intruders (people who did not belong to the relating clans either by blood ties or by exchange system) who entered the territory were suspected of malevolence and treated as enemies, and therefore were to be treated to an armed reception. On the other hand when the foreigners came, other than hostile reactions could be tried. Protocol demanded for example that any tribe arriving for moka exchange should be welcomed by the whole host tribe assembled on the ceremonial ground in ful bilas (complete body decorations), which included also fighting equipment and body paintings very similar to those used by warriors going to fight. For agents of the colonial administration not familiar with local customs even the latter kind of reception might appear to express the attitude of hostility or with a desire for armed confrontation. In some cases, as in the Jimi Valley, such misunderstanding led to the shooting and killing of the unsuspecting local people. In this same valley another patrol party retreated without completing its assignment after misinterpreting the red clay facial paintings of a local man – as a sign forbidding them entrance into a group’s territory. But such retreating was a rare case in the processes of colonialisation, and in the history of encounter between white-led intruders in the local population it was the latter group who had to surrender beginning the impetuses initiating pacification.

The typical process of introducing a new political system and a new form of government included the raising of the colonials’ flag, the erecting of a patrol station, and the proclamation of an act incorporating the area into external powers rule. It was followed by an exhortation which explained that the new ruler forbids killing and
stealing, and if people did they would be punished (usually put in jail). As soon as it was possible, there was a census conducted. In the New Guinea Highlands case, another step often taken was the organisation of a traditional *moka* exchange, the local people bringing food, pigs and in some cases cassowaries, which were held in much esteem by the locals. Quite often there was also a ceremony of surrendering and destroying of traditional weapons, as a token of goodwill to live a life of peace and give respect to the new laws. In response, the administration appointed local authorities, called *lululais* (headmen) and *tuliuls* (assistant headmen), who were to represent the colonial power at the village level. ¹ In response to the traditional exchange locals were presented with special badges and caps, which became the visible signs of their responsibilities and position.

In the first few years following the initial contact in the New Guinea Highlands there were significant actions on the part of the colonial government to bring the newly discovered and highly populated parts of its territory under full administrative control. The process required a lot of resources and manpower, however, due to the vastness and inaccessibility of the terrain. The colonial government employed all kinds of strategies to make Melanesians more involved in this task and take up 'work' as it has been understood in the West. ² Systematic and productive labor was required in order to satisfy the needs and expectations of the colonial power as well as to improve local development. The plantations on the coast moreover were in dire need of workers, and there was also a need at the local level for the construction of roads, the building-up


government stations, hospitals, schools and other infrastructural projects. Actually there was constant competition for labor between government and private enterprise. Labor was also viewed as a means of education and prevention against getting involved in tribal quarrels, which often turned into genuine feuds. And labor was typically conceived as a measure of behavioural correction: it was a normal procedure to sentence perpetrators to spend some time to work for the local administration.

From first contact in Papua and New Guinea the colonial regimes involved forcing local people to offer a certain number of working days to the development of the local area. In 1906 the colonial government introduced the so-called “gentle pressure” program to British New Guinea in the form of a “head tax”, an obligatory tax paid to the government by each mature man. The tax had to be paid in cash, and this in turn could only be obtained by working on plantations or growing and selling the cash crops. Apart from the above-mentioned effects it resulted also in the melting down of the traditional and very often hostile tribal fragmentation through a kind of “circular migration” to workplaces, such as plantations. The administration however, on the other hand, being concerned that the lengthy absence of a person from their native village could result in total alienation from the local life, issued a decree that each worker, after spending three years on a plantation or in other work, had to come back to his place of origin for at least one year, before signing for a new contract.\[1] The returning people dispelled common local notions that other tribes were cannibalistic, barbarian or bloodthirsty thus contributing greatly to the consolidation of the many tribes inhabiting the great island of New Guinea and its outliers, into one nation.

One can argue the point as to whether the positives of colonial labor policies outnumbered the negatives. The main problem was that the labor was still conceived by the people as a form of unjust exploitation on the part of the government or private business. The administration treated workers in a very patronizing manner, for example, paying them only part of their wages on a recurrent basis, while keeping the remainder until their contracts were completed. Another problem was that the people who were once taken from their environment could no longer fit easily into the village structure when they returned home. In many cases such people decided to subscribe to a new contract rather than to stay permanently at home in their own local area: they became a money source for other clansmen who had no need to get involved in any sort of productive activity. It was in any case not the government’s intention to involve every male in the economic development far afield.

The people who worked for government projects in their own localities were not paid at all, as this type of labor was considered community work, from which the whole population would eventually benefit. But the general feeling was that people were alienated from the fruits of their own labor, especially if they were still obliged to pay their head tax money! As a long term extension of their resentment villagers in recent times (neo-colonial times) have blocked roads, demanding money both from the government and private drivers, as compensation for their maintenance work. It could be a sign of a reconstructed ‘logic of labor’, to make sure that revenue will go directly to the local population. At present “road blocks” have become so common and nasty that they are one of the main obstacles to development, preventing many places from the delivery of essential goods and services.
Recurrent administrations have been aware of these shortcomings and tried to find antidotes. In the later era of colonialism a good number of anthropologists were involved in finding a solution to the problem. One solution was known as the 'Highland Labor Scheme', proposed by the well-known anthropologists Ian Hobgin and Lucy Mair. But because it was a proposal prepared by outsiders, without much consultation with the local people, it did not have much impact in practice. Although containing many positive aspects, the local population generally conceived it as exploitive and suppressing. It was also not very much welcomed by the colonial powers, let alone plantation owners and some mission workers, who often lived in open conflict and rivalry with each other. Each party considered itself as being the best agent of development and progress, and each claimed to have the most suitable set of benefits for indigenous people.

In the 1930s, the Australian government, stricken like other countries by the general recession, was not able to commit itself anymore to the larger development of Papua New Guinea.¹ Explorations stopped completely during World War II, though some representatives of the government and mission personnel remained in the field almost until the end of the War.² The War itself did not have much impact on the life of the indigenous in the Highlands since there were hardly any military operations there, although, the Catholic Church in Papua New Guinea suffered through many withdrawals of its personnel.³

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² Fr Ross, a missionary from USA who established the Catholic Mission in the Mount Hagen region remained on the post until 1943 when he was transferred to Australia for the fear of the Japanese. He and Fr G. Bernardin – the future Bishop of Mount Hagen, returned one year later. Infra, p.236.
³ In 1943-1944 on Japanese warships the following lost their lives: two bishops, thirteen priests, 71 religious sisters and brothers. See: Z. Kruczek, A Decade of Struggles: 10 Years of the Diocese of Wabag, Wabag 1995, p.16.
After World War II, thanks to the changes in attitude towards colonialism, the Highlands ceased from being 'the last unknown', and they were willfully 'opened up' to outsiders, being one of the most desirable areas for scientists, missionaries and above all for all kinds of adventurers looking for an easy profit. There was a new interest in the 'primitive culture' and its society among social scientists, disappointed with the outcome of modern politics and ideologies that had brought such devastating effects. The Australian government became more seriously committed to the development of Papua New Guinea's cash economy, and in the 1960s made preparations to introduce some democratisation of their administrative apparatus.

1.3. ENGA PROVINCE

1.3.1. First Contact and Naming of the Region

The term Enga refers to the territory of present Enga Province (see Map No 2), its inhabitants, their culture, and the language spoken by the great majority of them.\(^1\)

The word Enga comes from the Melpa language and its literal translation reads 'over there'. It was introduced by the first explorers who entered the area from Mount Hagen.\(^2\) Enga Province comprises the western extremity of the high central plateaus of Papua New Guinea on the border of New Guinea (formerly the German colony of Neuguinea) and Papua (formerly British Papua).

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\(^2\) The story goes that the first explorers while inquiring among Melpa about their trade partners got the answer 'enga' (over there) and mistakenly took it for the name of the people. See: D.K. Fell, *Ways of Exchange. The Enga Tribe of Papua New Guinea*, Brisbane 1984, p.17. Recently there is a lot of discussion going on concerning the validity of the name and there is a growing pressure for adopting a name from proper Enga language. As an example of this trend see the opinion of an Engan scholar, in: A. Lakau, *Customary Land Tenure and Alienation of Customary Land Rights among the Kaina, Enga Province, Papua New Guinea*, Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Queensland 1994, pp.81-2.
The ‘first contact’ with Enga people took place in 1934, when the two aforementioned gold prospectors, the brothers Leahy accompanied by the New Guinea police regiment, reached the village called Doi about 5 km east of Wabag. The visit lasted only two days and was cut short in dramatic circumstances. From the very beginning natives and their leaders made it clear that the visitors were considered as intruders into their established order of village life, and the newcomers were not encouraged to stay any longer in the near vicinity. After a restless night, which the visiting party spent alert and keeping watch, hundreds of warriors armed with axes, bows and spears, came so dangerously close to the camp in the morning, that the prospectors gave the order to open fire. Ten native people were killed. In the following commotion the exploring party was able to retreat and reach their base in Mount Hagen.

The Leahy brothers did not have the courage to make further attempts to visit the area again, so for the next four years the Engans could live undisturbed by the external world. The next government patrol into Enga territory was made in 1938 by Jim Taylor and John Black, as part of their famous Sepik Patrol. The government post was established in Wabag and soon there was an airport built.

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1 R. Lacey gives a very detailed account of ‘first contacts’ by Engans with the white people in the time before Enga was recognised as a geographical and demographically separate unit. While he makes references to the written documents at the same time he pays careful attention to the oral resources available from the Engans. See: R. Lacey, ‘History’, in: (eds) B. Carrad, D. Lea, and K.K. Talyaga Enga..., op.cit., pp.14-6.


During World War II there was no activity from the colonial administration and war itself had hardly any impact on the lives of the people. After the War administration was restored and in 1948 Wabag became the sub-district headquarters. The police force was established and the area of East Enga was declared safe for the introduction of foreign business and mission activity.

1.3.2. Geography, People and Language

The terrain is composed of rugged mountains and deep valleys cut by hurriedly flowing rivers, which contribute greatly to processes of erosion. This makes the area prone to landslides, which cause considerable damage to the local agriculture and at times can be dangerous to human existence. The notorious small-scale earthquakes had little impact on the traditional life, but have caused considerable damage to the modern economy and infrastructure, especially to the road and communication network.

Although the Province lies only 10 degrees south of the Equator, it has a comparatively cool and even cold climate due to the high altitude and a long rainy season. The meteorological data shows that rainfall varies from 2000-3500 mm. The mountain ranges rise from 600m in the east to 3300m above sea level in the western part of the province. In some regions above 2200m droughts and occasional frosts occur during the dry season, causing the devastation of crops and vegetation and

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There is a variety of flora, consisting mostly of rain forests and grasslands. Mid-mountain forests extend up to 2000m, followed by beech forests reaching the altitude of 3000m, and above this level territory is mostly covered by sub-alpine moss forest or high growing reed-type grass. The fauna is limited to possums, snakes, some birds living in the tropical bush and domesticated pigs.

According to the archaeological findings, the first human settlements in this area can be dated as far back as 12 000 years. The figures from the latest census of 1992 shows that the population reached 250 000 people, living predominantly in the rural areas. The few quasi-town settlements, the biggest of them being the capital town of Wabag, number no more than 2 000 inhabitants. Five smaller towns: Wapenamanda, Kompiam, Laiagam, Kandep and Porgera serve as district administrative centres.

The main occupation of the people, managing a subsistence economy, is the raising of pigs and gardening. Ancient techniques are still being employed, even though if with some help from such Western tools as metal spades and axes. Hunting used to play an important role in the past, but is limited presently to the

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1 The severe frost around 1940 caused migration of people from Kandep area to Wabag in Central Enga. This fact was recorded as important because the parents of Tei Abal, the first leader of the Opposition were in the group of people came in this wave of migration to live in Wabag with their relatives. See. K. K. Talyaga, ‘The Enga Yesterday and Today: A Personal Account’, in: (eds) B. Carrad, D. Lea, and K.K. Talyaga, Enga..., op.cit., p.61. Frost in 1972 caused the liquidation of the newly established Mission Parish in Gerenk. (Information from Fr B. Kuhnert SVD, who has been appointed Parish Priest of Gerenk, and personal observations). Draught and frosts in 1997 – the effect of El Nino – caused such considerable damage in wildlife and farming that almost the whole Province faced famine and starvation and the area was declared affected by natural disaster.

cultic ritual of catching the *cuscus* (possums) during the initiation ceremonies, or to individual hobbies of some young boys. The staple food consists of sweet potatoes, with the addition of some other root and leaf vegetables. Salt, which was considered a great delicacy and was eagerly sought after, was traditionally produced in some places of Western Enga and traded for other goods from other tribes' people. Drinking water is often not immediately accessible, as the rivers carry a lot of soil and mud, and thus the fresh springs are highly valued.

One of the most important features distinguishing the Enga society from other provinces of Papua New Guinea is the usage of one single language. It belongs to the Trans-New Guinea Phylum, and is the largest single language in Papua New Guinea. It consists of nine dialects, in some cases quite distinguishable, yet nevertheless mutually intelligible. On the verges of the Enga territory there are groups of people belonging to different language groups, the most significant being Ipili, a 'tribe' numbering approximately 8,000 people. Many members of these groups have a reasonable knowledge of the Enga dialects of their closest neighbours. Many of the Enga people working in the Porgera gold mine, moreover, can communicate quite sufficiently with the Ipili speakers inhabiting the area.

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1. P. Hastings explains that “linguistically the term phylum is used to denote a language group whose numbers show evidence of cognition or relationship in 5-12% of their basic vocabulary, and usually also in some of their structural features”. In: *Papua New Guinea: Prospero’s Other Island*, Sydney 1971, p.76. See also: S.A. Wurm, ‘Language Maps of the Highlands Provinces, Papua New Guinea’, *Pacific Linguistics Series D-No.11*, Research School of Pacific Studies, Canberra 1978.

1.3.3. Wambatae Mana Makandeupu – Traditional Beliefs

Religious Convictions

Religious beliefs were as important and as real for Engans as any other facets of life. In the center of their cosmic worldview was Aitawe – the benevolent Creator, who was symbolised by the sun and rainbow snake molapai. He was responsible for the cosmic order and for the people’s destinies. Closely related were the Yalyakali, or Sky People. These were spiritual beings, which connected the celestial ideal world with the material world, and helped people to keep this ideal alive in their minds.¹ The ideal was certainly difficult to put into practice and there were many distortions in everyday life, but nevertheless, it was kept in respect and transmitted from generation to generation through myths and other stories. They described the ideal itself and pictured the sky being as ‘heroes’, who were ready to undertake a great deal of effort and show exceptional courage to strive for that ideal.

Yumbange, the ancestral spirits were equally involved in the clan’s matters, as the living members of the clan. It was only natural that they should be informed, consulted and kept in a friendly relationship through the offering of sacrifice, in the same way as living members of the clan were through the tee exchange. As there were enemies among the living, there were also enemies among the spirits of the dead. Threats were made by the dead and demons, who looked for the occasion to strike and bring misfortune. Like visible enemies they could be avoided through the observance of certain taboos, appeasement by gifts or – if the need be – with the assistance of the benevolent spirits.

Neither of the worlds, visible or invisible, was of human making and no one could claim that it belonged to him/her. The earth was of ‘divine’ making and given to the ancestors, and by them to the living members of the clan in their custody. Since it was of divine making it was replete with supernatural powers and creatures. Some of them were material and useful for people – for example, animals and plants, whilst some were semi-material and dangerous to humans – for instance, puriril, forest spirits or wanenda, water woman spirits dwelling in lakes and pools, (types of demons in any case), and many other powers not even named.

Although there was fear of these malevolent powers, there was also help available from the spiritual world, that is, if humans secured a proper relationship with other members of the clan, living and dead, with the environment and with benevolent spirits. This was achieved by observing the taboos, by reconciliatory moves for trespasses with the gifts offered in a proper ritual, and through nemango, the magical formula invented by ancestors and given to people to battle misfortune and evil powers. In extreme cases there was recourse to sorcery, a kind of negative magic, aiming at destroying the source of evil – the foe, when all efforts of positive resolving of the conflict turned out to be fruitless.

Rites and Magic

Although the ritual, magic and sorcery could be performed and practised by any person in many situations of everyday life, at ‘serious’ times, when life and prosperity – whether an individual’s or clan’s – were endangered, these “techniques” were entrusted to the selected group of people, ritual specialists.
topoli, or nemango akali. Only these functionaries could guarantee a safe and successful outcome from this recourse by humans to secure the supernatural powers’ aid.

The main appeasing ritual was concentrated around yumbange, the ancestors, to whom the surplus production was being offered in a communal exchange. It was expressed in East Enga in the Yainanda cult, and in West Enga in the Kepele cult. The most important elements of these cults were offerings consisting of blood from pigs and some other smaller animals; the sacred stones called Aeatee associated with the mythical ‘fertility’ woman; and the presence of the basket figurines Yupini, exclusively in Kepele. The Kepele also included the Skull House, in which a ritual deposition of skulls of recently deceased male members of the tribe was held. The other special cult, – which was manifest across the whole of Enga, although on a lesser scale – was called Gote Pingi, and it was directed towards Aitawe and the yalyakali, who protected people from environmental problems and disasters, such as bad weather, landslides or floods. There were also other cults imported from outside and practised in the fringe areas, such as the Kaima cult, originating from Mendi and performed in the Kandep area, and the Dingi Gamu cult of the Huli people, which extended to Porgera or Ipili territory.

In addition to such rituals and cults, which were in essence voluntary actions performed by people to keep a proper relationship with the supernatural, there were also specific rites and taboos which were imposed on humans and expected to be or

observed at prescribed times and circumstances. These applied especially to the rites of passage, where abstinence from certain foods and drinks and restriction of contact with some categories of people or things had to be rigorously observed.

The *rites de passage* in Enga served to mark such important stages of human existence and life-cycle, as conception and birth; the transition from childhood to adulthood; marriage; death and burial.¹ Not all of them were equally celebrated, and generally the rites applied to women were less developed than those concerning men. The most elaborate and exuberant were ceremonies connected with the *Sangai* - boys’ initiation rites – practised throughout the whole of Enga, while the most mysterious are probably *Mote* initiation rites, part of the *Kepele* cult in West Enga. Fittingly, the most dramatic and extended rites were those associated with death and burial, when close relatives would chop off their little finger, gardens and animals would get destroyed by the maternal kins and the relatives would continue mourning, secluded in a house of mourning called *kumanda*, sometimes up to a month. These funerary rites ended after a feast was organised to compensate for the death of a clan’s member. Perhaps the most important of these life-cycle rites, though, when we weigh their social consequence, were those constituting marriage and the start of a new family. For, these events not only involved the beginning of a new relationship between individuals and respective clans communities, but also a change of residence; certainly a dramatic moment in ones’ life. In general, all the *rites de passage* and celebrations connected with them, just discussed, are meant to make dramatic changes in human existence smoother and easier to accept.

Religious Aspects of Enga Art

In the context of religious beliefs it is worth paying special consideration to the fact that the cause-effect relationship in Melanesian logic seems to be different to ‘a rational explanation of the facts’ in the West. The difference is often connected with differing perceptions and notions of time.\(^1\) For the contemporary Westerner time has come to be conceptually diagrammed as point after point on a vector: the past before the present and next the future. Only the past can affect the present and the future, but the future cannot come back to the past; the vector points out to only one direction – forward. For Melanesians, if we may hazard a generalisation time is diagrammed as a circle or carries much more of a cyclical character; past and future are in the same distance, the past is behind the future and the future is behind the past. They follow each other around.

What effect does it have on life and how is it related to the subject of art and for telling the facts? The answer lies probably in traditional art which in this section we only choose to examine in relation to the Enga ‘world of religious explanation’. The composition of the colours is only a mirror image of what is going to happen but at the same time it may not happen if there is no symbol that causes the reality to happen. In other words, it may be the painting or composition of some other elements of decoration that causes a predicted event. In other words: it would not happen the way it happened if you did not paint the way you did. The mirror image is in the same way real as the object it reflects. Let us illustrate this with an example from West Enga.

One late evening there was a car accident in Kasap in which a young man was killed. People said later that they knew that something like this was going to happen because not long ago Jack, the brother of the killed person had painted his forehead in a bright red colour for the singsing, in a way that was never practised in the district. It was a clear challenge to the tradition and had to

result in something extraordinary. The young man killed in the accident was hit by the car in the head and the top of his skull was completely torn off, flooding the forehead with blood.¹

The two pictures were so similar that they were treated on the same level and interchangeably: if one of the facts had not occurred the other would not have taken place. People have to tread carefully when they deal with any traditional symbols, and should not be precocious when they apply them because they not only predict or signify some future reality but they are the cause of these realities.² They belong to the ancestors, are sacred, and should be treated as such.

In many cases when traditional celebrations take place it is not only a matter of feasting, symbolising and remembrance but of anamnesis, or the personification and recollection or actualisation of certain past or future events. In many cases staging the traditional performance is to force the past events to happen again or press the future to become a reality. But since the past is always of an ambivalent character and the future remains unknown to the present human generation, there is always an element of risk or even a danger of bringing some unwanted fruits. This is why in many cases Melanesians will oppose or turn down the request for ‘staging’ a traditional performance, be it for academics doing their fieldwork trying to describe the events ‘objectively, as they see it’, be it for tourists who cannot see beyond the external paraphernalia, or even for the new religious leaders who in many cases see the traditional ceremonies as an impressive expression of the local culture and art worthy to be preserved, providing a beautiful and colourful framing to their new religious ceremonies or ideas.

¹ Personal observation and communication.
In many cases one type of ritual will require another one, which until now may be kept secret or is allowed only in certain circumstances. One priest told during the Melanesian Orientation Course that he asked people from his Parish on one of the islands north of Wewak to enrich the celebration held in the Church with playing their traditional sacred flutes. People refused and only after a long inquiry he learned that the sacred flutes played a major role in the fertility celebration, and men who were going to carry them had to have ritual sexual intercourse before that.

Seclusion, Retreats and Abstinence

Seclusion was always part of the religious tradition in Enga. It had especially significant meaning in connection with the rites of passage, as a symbol of transformation and the becoming of a new person with new qualities, new knowledge, new social obligations, or more generally new life.\(^1\)

Seclusion was required from:

- a mother who was about to give birth
- a girl who had her first menstruation
- a woman during her monthly cycles
- boys and young men during various initiation stages in Sangai and Mote
- men who performed magic rituals
- mourners after the death of one of the family members (especially male).

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\(^{1}\) Personal communication with Fr W. Bében.
Seclusive retreat was a very important part of the religious celebrations and was obligatory for men who:
- participated or officiated over religious celebrations
- men who were preparing for fighting
- participants in initiation rituals.

Abstinence was considered to be a way of cleansing and strengthening the body and spirit and was observed by people who were going to make some major effort, physically or mentally.
- religious specialists were obliged to abstain from many daily activities, such as washing, eating of certain types of food, and sexual relationships
- young people during initiation had to abstain from food and drink, from contact with certain plants and from talking about particular subjects
- husbands and wives were not allowed to have sexual intercourse from the time of the first signs of the woman's pregnancy until the child was able to live on solid food
- pregnant women had to abstain from certain foods and drinks
- no sexual relationships during menstruation and during warfare
- abstain from cooked food during the mourning period.

Dreams and Visions

For Melanesian societies and for Enga, dreams were the ways of coming into contact with the 'supernatural' and gaining input into how the 'natural' should be addressed and influenced. In a dream the person is given an inspiration into 'what

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is in the air' for him/her, and later on the right interpretation of this dream prompts the person to act accordingly, either going along with the plans, abandoning them or performing the religious ritual to avert negative fate. With the applying of such real significance to dreams by Enga people, it is important to make a clear qualification about the concept of the dream itself as understood by Engans.

For the Enga, dreaming refers to a deliberate semi-lethargic state of a person who is looking for a solution to a problem, or an inspiration for action. In order to receive an inspired dream one has to prepare oneself by observing certain rules or taboos, and by performing some rituals either in person or through the ritual specialist. The most relevant recourses are: sexual abstinence, avoidance of certain types of food and drink, restriction on contacts with persons and objects associated with fighting and killing, and going into seclusion. Thus a prepared person sets apart a certain period of time for dreaming, that is for reflection and meditation on the subject. It is often done in a semi-lethargic state (leemanimani), which is neither sleep nor vigil, but precisely a state designated for receiving a deeper insight into the matter through the combination of natural and supernatural forces.

Sickness and Healing

For Engans there is a close relationship and inter-dependence between spirit and body. Medicine and the treatment of sickness have a holistic approach towards the whole human personality. In the past this approach was often denigrated by outsiders as magical or at best religious superstition, as opposed to the Western 'scientific' approach.

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Today, with the development of a so-called ‘alternative medicine’ and a return to natural remedies of the past, such as herbal treatments, the curing role of meditation and relaxation techniques, it is easier to understand and appreciate the Enga ways of reasoning in regard to this subject.

A most important Enga hope is for inner peace and health, which can be attained only through the right relationship with the visible and invisible worlds, their inhabitants and agents.¹ The most important agents in this relationship are people in the immediate surrounding – family members, clans-people, relatives and partners in the tee exchange. It is obvious that people with whom one is dealing most frequently are most likely to be affected, either positively or adversely, by one’s activities. If a person has wronged someone and caused resentment, it not only upsets the relationship with that person but also with or between the ancestors.² The offence makes them ashamed and angry about the disunity caused by such an unhealthy situation among their clan-members. The mind of a person offending and offended produces bad influences, which are fortified by the anger of the ancestors. The clan’s “defense shield”, which is produced only by the unity and solidarity of the clan’s generations past and present, will be broken, allowing an opening for misfortune to strike in the form of sickness. The healing action requires a confession or naming of the offence, identification of the culprits, and restoration of the relationship through retribution or restitution.³ The paying back given to the living persons is normally done through mediators or kainakali, usually relatives of the wrongdoer. Retribution to the ancestors is more complicated and requires a ritual

² A. Kyakas and P. Wiessner, From Inside..., op.cit., p.140.
specialist called nemango akali, who, through his personal qualities, skills and ritual knowledge, has an access to supernatural powers, without endangering himself in the process.¹

Once these problems are settled, medical assistance in the form of surgery, or simply an application of various local herbal medicaments is expected to bring about positive results and recovery of an ill-stricken person. Medical efforts are not always successful, as the guilt may not always be entirely revealed, and the gravity of the offence may be such that the ancestors demand much higher expiation than that which has been offered. In some rare cases, death may be a fate originating from the sky people yaliakali, or even the Creator Aitawe, over which humans have no control at all, such is the case with the terminal illness of old people.

Life after Death

All Melanesian societies are convinced that there is life after death. Actually it should be said that for them death is one of the events in the chain of life, and a link in a long chain of changes in one’s life.² However, death for these societies, as it is for westerners is one of the most dramatic events in human existence. It destroys the present network of social obligations and duties and establishes a new basis for relationships with the cosmos, the living members of the community and with the ancestors. Death cuts many existing ties established by purposeful acts, such as marriage, tee exchanges, etc., between the departing individual and other people, inter-clan community, clans and

¹ A. Kyakas and P. Wiessner, From Inside..., op.cit., p.137.
even tribes, thus destroying the fine equilibrium which keeps society in existence. All the above-mentioned elements are found also in Enga, with some additional elements particular to their society.¹

One of the most important is the conviction that the spirit of the dead, especially a person violently killed, cannot establish a proper relationship either with the living or the ancestors unless he is buried in the territory of his clan and properly compensated. While death compensations are aimed at restoring the destroyed balance and fulfilling the obligations between the living communities in the society, or in other words the contemporary generations, the burial regulations and rules deal with the previous generations and ancestral spirits. The fact that the latter deal with the spiritual world, mind you, does not mean that it does not have an impact on the lives of people. For Engans matter and the spirit are always in a very close relationship, and it is relatively easy in the Enga conception of the world for the spirit to step out of the ‘body’ or form, or to enter a visible, material form such as a person, animal or other creature.²

This conviction of such a close relationship between body and spirit is behind certain actions that here earned Engans a reputation as violent killers, with such a thirst for blood that they went so far as to mutilate the bodies of their enemies. This behavior is one of the most commonly misinterpreted elements of Enga culture and religion. To understand it better let us cite two related examples, one involving such extreme violence.

In the fall of 1989, a fight suddenly broke out between two neighboring clans of different west Engan tribes, between K____ of Wanepap and K____ of Papyiuk.

² Cf. A. Lakau, Customary Land Tenure..., op.cit., p.117.
After two days a supporter from a clan related through his mother to K was killed in an ambush. His body was taken by K warriors and chopped into hundreds of small pieces, before it was returned in a plastic rubbish bag to his native clan, after lengthy negotiations.¹

In 1992 in the fight between two clans near Laiagam Township, a young boy was killed. He was from the Pere clan of the Monain tribe living in Linging, in the high mountains, some fifteen kilometers from Laiagam. While visiting his sister who lived in the township, he was attracted to the fight and there he met his fate. When the boy was killed, the clan on whose side he was fighting pretended that he was one of their members and kept his body and quickly buried it in their own territory. The reason for this action is not clear. It may have been for a higher compensation, or for misleading the enemy into the belief that the score was even, since one of their supposed clansmen was killed. Or, it might have been to attract more attention and support from their related clans, who would be shocked and angered by the news that one of their relatives was killed. It was obvious that the K did not have any respect or fear of the boy's clan, whom they did not even inform about the situation.

The Pere clanspeople were understandably upset and outraged when they heard from a third party what had happened in Laiagam. There was not much talk about revenge, because too many of their women lived in the township, but the clansmen were determined to set out to recover the body. It was a very dangerous enterprise, firstly, because of the long and treacherous trek, which had to be made under the cover of darkness (in one night). Secondly, to achieve their purpose they had to cut across the territory of the clan that killed the boy. Thirdly, they had to recover the body from the graveyard in the middle of the clan, which was on full alert because of the fight. Fourthly, they had to make their way back with the heavy load of the boy's body, while facing the possibility of being chased by both sides involved in the fight. Finally, there was an enormous fear of the ghost of the dead person. Let us not forget that the ghost is a spirit of a dead person, whose body was not properly buried in his own territory. This type of ghost can be particularly malicious and harmful towards members of its own clan, who failed to fulfil their obligations. For this very reason a group of young people from the clan confronted all dangers and difficulties, and in a rather miraculous turn of events were able to recover the body and bring it back to their village before dawn. After a day of mourning and wailing, but also in an atmosphere of pride, the boy's body was put to rest in a grave on his father's ground.²

These two dramatic cases show how the Enga convictions about the relationship between spirit and body shape the attitudes and actions of people, and how it affects

¹ Personal Communication with Y Y from Wanepap.
² Personal Communication with the youth from Linging.
them during their life and after death. The mutilated body of a warrior from the first example was not in any case an act of wild hatred and unsurpassed instinct but a practical effect of conviction about life after death.

Had the body been laid to rest in his own clan's territory, the killed person would become a hero (wane), because he died defending the territory of his mother, which is the highest act of heroism in the Enga cultural and religious circle.¹ He would give strength and protection to the warriors of his clan, who would be able to perform in the fight, without being hurt. So actually, his death could turn out much more beneficial for his clan and bring danger to his killers. The only way to escape from this treacherous situation was to cut the body into pieces and by losing some in the process, return the remains to his clansmen, pretending that every part was included in the package. The body was buried in good faith, but the 'legend did not grow' because everyone rightly suspected that it was impossible to check if the corpse was complete. The spirit would not be called upon just in case it is not completely happy with its present situation and might express its dissatisfaction on the clan. If an enemy engaged in the mutilation of the body, however, it was not out of bloodthirstiness.

1.3.4. Reciprocity, Exchange and the Role of Pigs

As in all Melanesian societies, the Enga social, economic and religious systems are based on the logic of retribution.² The tee exchange particular to the Enga society is the

most explicit expression of this.\footnote{1} 

\textit{Tee} binds together individuals, clans and tribes into one society, present and past generations into one clan community, and visible and invisible worlds into one cosmic order. The term \textit{tee} describes in general the traditional ceremonial exchange system, which in practice splits into twenty or so types of reciprocal obligations that are imposed by the status and social structure or entered into deliberately for various reasons and benefits.\footnote{2} The cyclical ceremonial \textit{Tee} is practised only in the east of Enga, while all other types of \textit{tee} exchange are creating a tight network throughout the whole province.\footnote{3}

Although there are many material items involved in the exchange, such as \textit{kina} shells and stone axes, garden and bush products, birds and marsupials we find that pigs are the objects that give \textit{tee} the true social meaning and makes it a kind of religious celebration.\footnote{4} Live pigs are given in the first stage of the exchange and in return after the ceremonial killing of the pigs, which is the culmination point of the whole process, as steamed pork, along with other goods being offered.\footnote{5} The offering of pigs and the sacrificial character of their blood, spilt in the ceremonial killing, is intended to strengthen the social ties between the people involved in the exchange and acknowledge the supernatural powers of ancestors and other spirits, who are responsible for the well-being and growth of the clan’s vegetation, animals and human stock. For all

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Highland people and for Enga pigs also served as a “mediative substance for lost human life and valuables that could be exchanged for rights in humans through marriage”.¹

1.3.5. Land, Environment and Its Inhabitants

One of the most important components in the Enga complex relationship issue, similarly to other Melanesian societies, is the relationship with the land.² It has both – material and spiritual dimensions, as it creates the basis for all other types of relationships, natural and religious. This special relationship with the land encompasses only the territory in the clan’s boundary, while most of the other parts of the environment are hostile or at best neutral.³ Land was created by Aitawe and given in custody to the clan’s mythical founders. The land is passed to the next generations through male descent. While land is individually owned, it cannot be permanently disposed to any person other than a clan’s member, although the temporary sharing of land with other people and leasing is quite common.⁴

The clan’s territory is a dwelling place for living members of the clan and of their families through marriage, as well as for accepted outsiders – short term visitors or semi-permanent residents. Being of equal importance, the clan’s land is also inhabited by the ancestral spirits, who in fact own and guard it.⁵ In the fringe areas of the clan’s territory, in inaccessible bush land and mountains, and in some peculiar pools and

⁴ Recently A. Lakau, an Engan scholar deals thoroughly with all issues associated with the land in Enga, see: A. Lakau, *Customary Land Tenure..., op.cit.*
streams there is found a shelter for the forest and water spirits, which if left undisturbed do not do any harm to people. For this reason people would avoid unduly intervening in the environment unless they were forced to do so by the very survival of the clan and its members. Even then precautions are taken so as not to damage any unusual sites, like pools, huge trees or exceptional rock formations, are usually considered to be inhabited by some spirits. Offerings and sacrifices of pig’s blood are usually made to compensate for any major interference in the environment.

The defense of the land is considered a sacred task for the male population of the clan, and multiple unresolved disputes over the land are the most commonly cited reasons for tribal warfare. Sadly, during the fighting, each side while trying to defeat the foe is concentrating even more on the destruction of the enemy’s inhabited territory and its natural resources. The devastation of the environment in some situations is so great that the land becomes useless for many years or is even totally abandoned and open to rapid erosion.

1.3.6. Logic of Retribution and Tribal Fighting

Exploring the problem of tribal fights in Papua New Guinea and, especially in Enga, which has been recently declared as a ‘fighting zone’ in the country, one should be careful not to be driven by multiple prejudices surrounding the subject. Two most common opinions sit on opposite poles; either with the exaggeration that tribal fighting is an inescapable reality flowing in the blood of Melanesians or with trivializing the

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subject to a mere game performed for entertaining purposes.\textsuperscript{1} The tribal fighting and the violence connected with it have to be considered against the traditional social and cultural structure of this society. Enga people always fought either in defense of their property, especially land and pigs; or to punish the culprits, especially in connection with trespassing the marital code; both these principles of defense acting to protect their rights in situations where a clansman was wronged.\textsuperscript{2} Some old people remember the *Yanda Andaka* – Great Ceremonial Wars, which were fought in the past, but they ended long before the first contact.\textsuperscript{3} “These spectacular, semiritualised ‘tournament’ wars between two tribes or pairs of tribes were fought repeatedly over generations to forge alliances, formally display strength, and set in motion the exchange festivals that followed”.\textsuperscript{4}

One may fail to argue that a revenge killing by immediate relatives of a victim was considered to be an appropriate and accepted norm of delivering justice. But any individual killing was always considered to be a wrong by the other party and always called for another reciprocal action by the clanspeople. Although “fighting serves to release tension built up over a long period”,\textsuperscript{5} the fight is not an act of simple payback but the invocation of divine power to deliver justice. People did not want to take justice into particular hands, but were leaving it to a ‘higher instance’. In the case of tribal warfare the fight is not a simple act of revenge or uncontrolled emotions of hate, but a

\textsuperscript{1} A thorough study dedicated to the subject of tribal fighting and conflict resolution in Enga was done recently by: D.W. Young, *Resolving Conflict for Gutpela Sindaan*, PH.D. Dissertation, Macquarie University 1995.

\textsuperscript{2} According to Meggitt, 58% of tribal fights were caused by quarrels over the land, 24% because of misappropriation of other properties, and 15% resulted from homicide or insufficient compensation. Cf. M.J. Meggitt, *Blood is their Argument: Warfare among the Mae Enga Tribesmen of the New Guinea Highland*, Mayfield 1977.

\textsuperscript{3} Personal communication with Simion, a fight leader from Koneman clan.

\textsuperscript{4} P. Wiessner and A. Tumu, *Historical Vines...,* op.cit., p.265.

\textsuperscript{5} A. Lakau, *Customary Land Tenure...,* op.cit., p.331.
presentation of the case before the divine court. The person who enters the battlefield is
certainly conscious of the danger of being injured or even killed. On the other hand he
has the confidence that if the fight is for the right cause (and of course one’s cause could
be the only one which is ‘the right one’) he has the protection of the ancestral spirits and
nothing wrong is going to happen to him.

However, if the person has broken the clan’s code of ethics by some serious
offences, he may be already judged by the spiritual powers (clan ghosts, sky beings) and
there is no hiding place for him to escape the sentence.¹ The injury in the fight can also
be caused by the feelings of animosity and jealousy between clan members.² These
spiritual or intellectual realities can materialize through the intervention of the evil
powers, which prey on uncontrolled human emotions. As an example the story of Imas
Popo may be brought up.

Imas was a young man about 22 years of age who had just completed high
school. His mother was the sister of John Popo one of the leading men of the
Painalange clan. It just happened that a fight broke out between Painalange and
Kewai clans both belonging to the Monain tribe. The fight followed a
misunderstanding between a husband from Painalange and a wife from Kewai.
Because of the tribal allegiances and a minor cause the fight was expected to be
more of an honourable confrontation than a proper fight. But unfortunately on
the very first day of the battle Imas who joined in the fight with his uncle’s clan
sustained such severe injuries by multiple arrows that he came close to death.
The fight was suspended and the Nemang Akali was called in to attend to the
wounds and to divine the cause of such catastrophic course of events. After some
investigations into the matter it was suggested that somebody from the
Painalange clan was responsible for this misfortune and that the men should
confess their grievances or otherwise the young man would die.

After each man spoke out it was revealed that the son of a Monain big
man, who also belonged to the Painalange clan had in the past a quarrel with
John Popo’s son, whom he accused of having an affair with his wife. Although
the matter was already settled in court the big man’s son held a grudge against
John Popo’s family and wished to kill somebody. In this situation the ancestral

¹ In the conversation with one of the local visionary renowned in the Kasap area, I was told that such a
person could be compared to a ripe fruit, which is still hanging on a tree but any external force can make it
fall down. (Information from Klara)
² Cf. A. Lakau, Customary Land Tenure..., op.cit., p.115.
spirits unhappy with the division in the tribal solidarity allowed one of the members to be struck down so as to bring the community to its senses or the evil powers used this weakening of tribal ties to strike one of the members. The first seemed to be more probable as it was not a full member of the tribe who was injured but Imas who had only family ties with the tribe. The big man’s son who was ashamed of his wicked thoughts and afraid of the revenge of the spirits in case Imas died he agreed to stop his evil wishes and to offer a pig to be sacrificed for Imas’ recovery. It seems that the contrition was genuine because Imas recovered almost miraculously.

1.3.7. Male and Female – Distribution of Roles, Education and Art

Divisions of Labor

Probably the most appropriate way of addressing the male-female subject in Enga is to state that there is a very well defined distribution of roles and duties in the clan’s community. Many of these roles were interchangeable, some were undertaken only in exceptional circumstances, but there were also roles not compatible with the principal functions of men as protectors of the clan’s territory and women as child-bearers. Thus, there were no women on the battlefield, or in any such activities that were directly connected with violent death or willful use of supernatural powers, which might indirectly lead to it. This explains why women abstained from some of the ritual activities, which might endanger their own lives or their children’s lives – even those children not yet born.

Due to low level of technology the people of Enga had to create a communitarian system of work if they were going to achieve bigger goals and succeed in more complex projects. The lack of proper tools and instruments had to

1 Personal communication with Imas Popa and his written account of the incident, in: AA.
be compensated by a higher use of energy and time which was needed for completion of the project. Since human beings were the main source of energy, planning of any larger project required that quite a good amount of time would be allocated for rest and recovery of strength. Because of this a large number of people had to be employed if the project had to be completed before a certain date for example before the rainy season started. In many cases the number of specialists who worked directly on the project did not exceed more than a few people, but there always had to be a big group of co-workers, who supplied them with necessary materials, tools and physical power if it was required. To sustain all workers in physical fitness and productivity regular meals and, taking under consideration the hot climate in this region, good supply of drinking water had to be provided. These last duties were usually entrusted to women and bigger children.

We have an account given by the old man Dominik from the Monain tribe in Kasap as to how a “man’s house” was built in Enga, and how the communitarian nature of clan life was made manifest.

Before a man started to build a house for himself he had to decide on the place where the house would be erected. Secondly, he had to pinpoint trees in the bush that would be appropriate to yield the right timber. The most reliable trees for this are either Taro or Kiendu. The cutting down of a suitable tree was a sign that he was determined to proceed with his project, and that now his brothers and clansmen were expected to come to his aid. Together they would cut the log to the desired lengths, split it and treat it. The only available tool used was a stone axe. One can only imagine and wonder at how much energy and time was spent to accomplish this task.

During this stage the woman would ask her brothers and male relatives to join the work force. She would also ask other women to support her with the supply, preparation and transportation of food to the working men, which in some instances would be a journey of two days. Many times water had to be supplied to the men as well. Generally it was the men’s job to carry the treated timber to the building site, the stronger women after delivering supplies would take some timber with them on their return.
Once all the timber was ready and stored on the site, building began. Posts were erected, walls were joined and the roof constructed. At the same time, the women (with some older children) went to the swamp to cut down and bundle kunai grass, which was used for the thatched roof. It is stressed that this job, as well as the carrying of the grass bundles, was solely women's work, and it would be degrading for men to get involved in it. (One would imagine that there is an ulterior motive behind this, as it would not be appropriate for one or two men to mingle with the women in the swamps while the majority were occupied with the building.)

For the actual thatching of the roof, men and women joined forces; as the men were assembling and tying the grass bundles to the roof frame, the women, in a process line, passed on each bundle to the men. At the same time the men handed on a rope (a type of liana), used for tying the bundles to the roof frame. This rope was brought from the rainforest by the men. Afterwards the women collected cane from the river bank, carried it to the building site where the men took over and prepared mats (blinds) for the outer and inner walls. Between the mats insulation consisting of kunai grass and pandanus leaves (karuka) was placed. To complete the floor covering, the women collected sugar cane leaves to line the floor area. The men selected appropriate stones to build the fireplace.

At the completion of the building, both the man who now owned the house and his wife prepared a party (mali). The wife invited other married women and young girls to come along to the new house, and, once there, they began to sing, drawing the men to join in the celebration. This usually led to the ceremony of karim lek, a courting ritual among Engans.

Education and Technology

Traditional Enga society did not develop the skill of writing and reading but their numerical system was quite sophisticated and almost every person was able to make use of it. Although there was no formal system of education there was a body of knowledge (mana lenge) which was transmitted by the older generation to the younger members of the clan’s community. The process of teaching consisted mainly in exemplifying how something should be done, accompanied by an explanation as to why it was done that way, and aided by a magical spell (nemango) appropriate to each undertaken enterprise. The learning process was through involvement and participation.

The process of education began at about the age of five, when boys started to attend their patrileanal man’s house (akalianda), and girls remained with other females in the woman’s house (endanda). Girls were instructed in husbandry and domestic life, in looking after the household (people and animals), in the technology of gardening, and in producing clothes and decorations. Progressively, they also learned various magical formulae necessary for the successful fulfillment of duties associated with the development of their role and status in society.¹

Boys had in the first place to gain the technical knowledge concerning everyday activities such as gardening, building, and producing both tools and male clothing. From a young age they were introduced to the arcane and strategies of fighting and hunting, as well as of harvesting pandanus nuts. At evening gatherings in akalianda they learned myths concerning the history of creation and their tribe; they were introduced into the world of ritual, healing and magical spells; and were given the opportunity to learn and practice various techniques in public speaking. Although there was not a defined code of punishment, the reprimand by the elders and the ridiculing by the public were approved and effective methods to humble the young adepts and teach them obedience.² The period of education in one’s life was considered to be completed when the person attended the last stage of the Sangai initiation rites.

It is certainly justifiable to refer to Enga technology as ‘primitive’ in comparison to the level of technology in the countries from which the first explorers arrived. This,


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however, does not mean that Enga was behind its neighbours and other societies of Papua New Guinea, or even Melanesia. Enga gardening techniques were quite sophisticated, characterised by such solutions as the changing of crops, using grass and other plants for compost, burning bushes to improve the fertility of the soil, as well as using a simple irrigation system to control the water economy. In erecting buildings, Engans were superior to many of the coastal tribes.¹ There was a variety of styles in building houses, different for men and for women that were able to resist the hostile weather and minor earthquakes. Large and tall cultic houses witness to the engineering skills of Enga builders. One of the highest technological achievements is a suspension bridge constructed over steep and rapid rivers.² Engans were also able to fabricate some clothing materials produced from specially cultivated plants and the bark of some trees from the bush. Although there were no other cooking techniques apart from earthen oven mumu, people used special containers for retaining drinking water. In every day life they were using a variety of simple tools usually produced locally out of materials such as stones, wood and bones. Stone axes were used for the cutting of wood, digging sticks for gardening, bows and arrows helped in hunting and protecting the territory.

Adornments and Dress

The Enga people being occupied with the issue of surviving in the harsh geographical surrounding and difficult climatic conditions did not have much time to spend on leisure, and their artistic achievements are less impressive in comparison to coastal people.³ The best-developed artistic elements occur in objects that combine the

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¹ M.J. Meggitt, 'House Building among the Mae Enga', Oceania, 28(1957), pp.161-76.
² Cf. P. Hastings, Papua New Guinea..., op.cit., p.89.
utilitarian and artistic imagination. The most obvious example of this type of creativity is in the area of constructing buildings. Forced to spend most of their life in the enclosed compounds, in many cases people purposely spend time and energy in developing more comfortable living conditions and more pleasant surroundings. This effectuates in the solid, ornamented and various types of buildings which are constructed by the collective effort of the clan members. It is interesting to notice that men who would normally avoid any action that may label them as being sentimental have no objection in taking their time and energy to make their houses look beautiful.

The other area where artistic skills and taste are best expressed is in dressing and body painting.¹ A very important element of the decoration in the Highlands is the *bilum* for the woman, a type of string bag; and the wig for men, made out of human hair. The most famous are the wigs from the Huli tribes in the southern part of the province, having an oval shape as opposed to the rest of Enga where the round wigs are used. The art of body painting in Enga and generally in the Highlands is most commonly applied to the facial area, although the rest of the body can also be decorated.² The most important and significant colour – perhaps coming as a surprise – is black. Black is used to paint the man’s face but not the rest of the body, which is usually painted in dark brown and covered with oil making it considerably shiny under the full equator’s sun and against the deep green tropical environment. Other colours used most frequently for facial painting by the Engans are red and yellow, and occasionally white to increase the contrast. Any uncovered parts of the body, especially the chest and breasts, are painted in dark brown. The painting for such special occasions as *mali*, initiation ceremonies

(Sangai) or weddings is colourful, exuberant and spectacular, while mortuary or funeral painting obligatory for the closest family members of the deceased person is usually in unicolour grey, though in some regions it is light brown. Even today, the material used for the last purpose is strictly natural, obtained from clay or muddy ground.

There are many different patterns and compositions of colours as the person who is painting or person who is to be decorated is free to follow his or her own artistic invention and inspiration. While there is a lot of room for individual expression and invention, utilised by people in a very creative way to produce spectacular effects, there are also strict rules and restrictions concerning the shapes and figures and especially the colours which should be used and which should be avoided. There are no special penalties for trespassing those rules, but it is important to keep them as the art may indicate and predict future events or accidents be it of the individual or of the whole clan. From the faces painted for the singsing, big tee exchange or other significant celebration, from the arrangements of colours, lines and symbols and the general outlook of the members of the clan decorated for the event, the local visionaries could read what awaits in the future.¹

1.3.8. Mali – Celebrations

The Enga word mali, known throughout the whole of Enga, translated to Tok Pisin as singsing, describes the traditional way of celebrating in the exuberant display of body decorations, ritualized dances and songs.² The reasons for celebrations might vary, but

² It is interesting that there is literally no literature on this subject although almost all these colorful photos published in numerous albums with highlanders were taken during various mali celebrations.
mali itself followed a prescribed procedure. In each community there was a special place – a piece of level ground – designated for mali. Its boundaries were usually marked with decorative plants, shrubs and flowers, which created a sort of hedge. Sometimes there was also a thin fence and a clearly marked gate, the only official entry during the celebrations. The enclosure was divided into two parts; an area marked for dancers and the remaining terrain for all other participants.

During the extended times of peace, mali was organised by each clan at semi-regular intervals, in such a way so as not to collide with each other, yet on the other hand to coincide with some important events in the community. Every few years there was a bigger mali organised at the tribal level, in which all clans would take part, as well as participants from other friendly tribes. Actual big-men of the given clan or tribe were entitled to call out for mali, invite others to take part, and provide for their guests’ security. Since traditionally the owners of the ground were responsible for the security of the visitors and were held responsible for any accidents, they were acting as wardens during the celebrations. There was no danger of making an arbitrary decision on the part of the big-men in regard to calling for mali, as there was often collective demand, especially on the part of young people, to hold the celebration. Because there was more pressure than the clan community was normally able to accommodate, restraint was necessary to avoid jeopardizing other important activities, especially gardening and the raising of pigs. Local big-men had to make sure that the right balance was kept between the feasting, which involved generosity to visiting clan’s people and visitors from other tribes, and working for the benefit of the clan they led.
The organisation of *mali* requires a lot of work, settling problems, and the provision of a peaceful atmosphere, safety, food and ornaments. It was work shared by men and women, old and young, to prepare many necessary items of dress and decoration. The most important are wigs made out of human hair, feathers (especially) from the birds of paradise, hand woven aprons for men, elaborate grass skirts for women, shells, beads, and a special and rare type of oil applied to the body directly before the performance.

Once everything is ready, dancers gather on the *mali* ground in a line, sometimes reaching over a hundred in number, and dance and sing to the accompaniment of *kundu* drums. Young women would dance alongside their boyfriends, but also married women would join the line of dancers.

Apart from the regular *mali* organised by each clan in the prescribed time, there were also special occasions to hold extra *mali*. There was *mali* after the *Sangai*, to mark the end of the initiation ritual for young men; there was *mali* at the occasion of *kauma pingi*, or at the end of a fight and thus at the start of a new peace era between fighting parties. Although all these types of *mali* were called upon on different occasions, with different participants, various numbers of people and lengths of time, they had some features that were common to all of them. They included decorations, dances, singing, and the most important of all, the opportunity for young people to arrange marriages and thus extend or strengthen the already existing social and political ties between neighboring (extra-tribal) clans. For regular *mali*, dancers – male and female – from various clans and even other tribes were invited to take part or perform for other invitees, who came to meet in the peaceful atmosphere with their relations, friends or acquaintances and partners in the *tee* exchange. For many young people it was an occasion to meet their contemporaries from other tribes and clans, forge ties that can be
continued in the future by becoming partners in exchange, or by producing friendships, out of which some may find their marriage partners.

*Mali* organised as the final step of initiation is intended for the official and public presentation of prospective wives by eligible bachelors.¹ The girl who is already in a close relationship with a young man and his family may take the initiative in presenting herself to the community, and even fight for her rights to be presented and recognised officially as a lawful fiancée. In *kauma pingi* discussed before, the two fighting sides expect to arrange marriages ‘on the spot’, to speed up the process of reconciliation.² It is a chance for those candidates who already know each other to escape the lengthy process of negotiations by the elders, in arranging a marriage for them. It also gives a chance to get married to those young men who normally would not have immediate access to the wealth needed for paying the brideprice.

It could be said that *mali* is generally not a distinctly religious event, but as in any other activity performed by Engans there are lots of religious elements included in it. Spells were recited during the preparation of the ornaments and decorations; fasting and other restrictions were observed; and the future was foretold from the way dancers performed. The use of magic was aimed at the arrangement of successful marriages but also for the good performance and appearance during dances and singing.

It is interesting that, although many traditional celebrations disappeared from the Enga scene with the coming of Western civilization and Christianity, *mali*, what is now

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better called *singsing*, held on and is still present in the Enga social life. Admittedly it has undergone serious modifications, which some claim bear negative consequences. First of all, it became commercialized, performed for material benefit through collecting the gate fee and provided a venue for gambling and the selling and buying of various products apart from food such as tobacco, betel nuts, etc. In other words, *singsing* became a form of popular fund-raising and profitable activity. Second, it is now used for divisive political purposes, during which politicians and potential candidates bribe the clans through rich gifts of cash or goods. Third, it has become a very spectacular element of folklore, often mistakenly treated by outsiders as a commercial show of local culture and customs prepared for their admiring, filming and trading.

Despite all such allegedly negative elements, which devalue many of the traditional values of *mali*, in principle it still serves Enga society and its tribal groups in preserving their culture and traditions, especially their dances and songs. *Mali* cements the ties of the clans' solidarity and brotherhood, opens up the endemic clan community to other groups and people, and unites them in the wider society, beyond Enga country.

1.4. KASAP AREA

1.4.1. General Description

Originally the name Kasap referred to a small spot in the territory of the Monain tribe, on the border of Lakin and Koneman clans in West Enga, which became known for being a very important centre of a renowned cult called the *Kepele*. The meaning of the word Kasap is not known, but the place was referred to as the *belly button of the Earth*

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1 The whole issue of the *Kepele* cult and the importance of 'Kasap' as its centre will be dealt with in Chapter Three. *infra*, pp.157-66.
or a central place, where the pigs designated for sacrifice during the *Kepele* celebration were gathered, before they were slaughtered in the nearby *Kepele Anda*. When the first Catholic missionary visited the area, the place was donated for the building of the Church, school and priests’ residence. When soon after (in 1964) the Bishop of Mount Hagen established a separate parish unit from the place, it was called Kasap Parish (see *Map No 3*), and as such Kasap became a collective name for various tribes and clans inhabiting the territory between west of the Kera River to Mount Maip. The name Kasap also has a strong association with the Kasap Catholic Primary School, which has been operating without disturbance since its establishment in 1963, first up to sixth grade standard and lately upgraded to the eighth grade, and at times reaching 500 pupils. The last census from 1992 shows that the number of people living in the Kasap area reached 15,000.

In the past the name Monain had a bigger social meaning and was much more frequently used than Kasap. Monain gained the reputation among Engans for being the only tribe from West Enga to participate in *Yanda Andaka* – the Great Ceremonial Wars, and for being custodian of the one of the most important Kepele centres. In the recently published *Historical Vines* – the most comprehensive book on Enga history, the name Monain has sixteen entries, the biggest number of all the other tribes from West Enga.¹ At present the name Kasap has gained more importance and is used interchangeably with Monain to describe both the totality of clans making up the Monain and the other tribes constituting the Kasap Parish, as well as the area they inhabit. Outsiders will now often use the name Kasap to refer even to an individual or to

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a cluster of Christians, as in ‘this person or these people are from Kasap’, without much thought as to which clan or even tribe they really belong and regardless of which denomination they represent. The members of the Monain tribe will refer to Kasap on certain occasions to stress the fact that other tribes belong to the same community and therefore they should cooperate together, usually under the Monain leadership. In this thesis the name Kasap is used in reference to the location and people inhabiting the area owned by the Monain tribe. To designate the Catholic Church’s administrative unit the term Kasap Parish will be used.\(^1\) Sometimes the whole area is referred to as Kasap-Mulitak (see Map No 4), because Mulitak is the headquarters of the local government unit Mulitak Sub-District,\(^2\) whose territory is almost identical with the territory of Kasap Parish.

1.4.2. Kasap Parish – Geographical Data, Dialects and Tribes

Administratively, Kasap Parish belongs to the Lagaip District and covers the territory stretching some 40 km along the main highway, starting from the Kera river in the east to Tumundan in the west and about 20 km on the south and north on both sides of the Lagaip river, which divides the territory into two halves. It borders with four other parishes: Wanepap from the east, Kandep from the south, Porgera from the west, and Maramuni from the north.\(^3\) Only with Wanepap and Porgera does Kasap Parish possess direct road connections with immediate neighbouring communities, while the other two parishes are separated either by mountainous or swampy uninhabited areas. The terrain in and around Kasap is generally mountainous, with deep valleys and rapid rivers at

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1 From now on when referring to Church’s unit - Kasap Parish - will be written with capital letters to distinguish it from the term ‘parish’ often used in anthropology to describe any given cluster of people.
3 In the same Lagaip Subdistrict, but on the other side of the Lagaip river, lives the Murapin tribe where P.F. Sinnett undertook his medical research in 1966. See: *The People of Murapin*, Oxford 1975.
their bottoms. The mountains on the border with Kandep reach 3300 m above sea level, creating a plateau with inaccessible swamps.

The climate is very harsh and uninviting. There is almost one permanent rainy season with less rain throughout July and August, but this is the time when often-severe frosts occur in the southern parts of the Parish, with temperatures often reaching near freezing at night throughout a few months of the year. Due to these factors the flora and fauna are much more limited than other parts of Enga Province. The distinguishing feature is the changing of the rain forest into grasslands at high altitude. The arable area is rather sparse with some patches of fertile soil in the swampy areas, but not of much use due to recurring frosts. The trees that produce edible fruits are limited to a few variations of pandanus and shrubs of the passionfruit type. There are some berries, but in such minimal amounts that they are not collectable. There is not much variety in the flora either and the only wild animals which could be hunted are *cuscus* possums and even rare nowadays the *muruk* (a type of cassowary). In the Lagaip and Kera rivers during the less rainy season trout appears, but only in a limited quantity, and in any case the inaccessibility of the rivers makes fishing almost nonexistent.¹

All tribes that inhabit Kasap Parish speak the same Tayato (Taro) dialect of the Enga language. It belongs to the west division of the Enga language with distinctive use of pronoun *andip* and *doko* as opposed to the eastern dialect, which uses *indup* and *ongo*, and is spoken faster than other Enga dialects. Wiessner and Tumu divide Tayato Enga into four parts:

¹ According to people in recent times the amount of fish is even smaller than previously; a fact that may be attributed to the pollution of the waters by the mines in Porgera and Ok Tedi.
I. Tombeama – north side of Lagaip river,
2. Wakema – south side of Lagaip river,
3. Teketopa – from Keta river to Mulitak,
4. Yoleyopa – Mulitak to Tumundane.¹

The Tayato-speaking people of the Kasap area have a reputation among east Engans as
being impulsive and emotional, ready to overreact and having a tough character like the
taro tree, known for its hardiness, from which some people claim the name derived. The
Tayato-speaking people have their own myth of origin, the only one among other Enga
origin myths which places the origin of humanity in their own area.

The story has it that a long time ago the first man and woman lived near Mulitak. When the woman gave birth to a baby boy, the father told the mother not to feed the child with breast milk until he came back with a drink for the baby. Even if the baby was to cry the mother was not to give him anything to eat. The man himself set out for a journey to nearby, Mount Mungalo, where in a tree there was miraculous water to be found, such that could make the baby immortal. But the man did not return for some time and meanwhile the child cried more and more from hunger and the mother took pity on her son and breast fed him. When the man finally returned with the water of life, he was overcome with sorrow and anger when he learned what happened. He capsized the container with the water on the ground and the people lost the chance to be immortal.²

The Kasap area is inhabited predominantly by tribes belonging to the Teketopa and
Yoleyopa dialects on the south side of the Lagaip river and some tribes of the Wakema
dialect living on the north side of Lagaip. Starting from the east border at the Kera river
lives the Sakar and Yambanimia tribes with Yakenda being its central place; next is the
Piandaine tribe; the Monain tribe in Kasap itself; the Tekepainsi tribe lives in the area

¹ P. Wiessner and A. Tumu, *Historical Vines...*, op.cit., p.53.
² That was the first story told to the author after arrival in Kasap in 1988 by Gorge Yele from Lakin-Pere,
while on a mission patrol into the Mount Mongalo area. The same story is cited by P. Wiessner and A.
between Kasap and Mulitak; beyond Mulitak extends the territory of Konemane. On the western border near Tumundan live the tribes of Pumane, Yangurini and Yandape. On the other side of the Lagaip river live the tribes of Limbini, Kaiyabut, Mulapini and Tupini with some of its clans living between Kasap and Mulitak on the north bank of the Lagaip river.¹

Almost all people living in the territory of Kasap Parish generally claim allegiance to one of the four Christian denominations: Catholic, Lutheran, Apostolic or Seventh Day Adventist. The core group in the Catholic Church comes from the Monain tribe in Kasap, the Tekepain tribe in Mulitak, some people from the various clans of the Kio tribe in the Tumundan area west of Kasap, a few clans of the Sakare tribe east of Kasap as well as pockets of people living on the other side of the Lagaip river inhabited by the Tupin tribe, which in general is associated with the Lutheran Church.²

1.4.3. Subsistence

In the past, west Enga and Kasap people obtained a large part of their food from hunting and gathering, but today the local economy is based on subsistence farming, with the staple crop being sweet potato.³ On the slopes of the mountains and in the river valleys

¹ Cf. Ibid., pp.50-1. Authors list Piandaine as a separate tribe living between Sakar and Monain territories but according to information given to the author by the local people of Kasap the Piandaine is considered to be a clan in the Monain tribe. Also Talyaga does not mention the Piandaine as a separate tribe. See: K.K. Talyaga, 'The Enga Yesterday and Today: A Personal Account', in: (eds) B. Carrad, D. Lea, and K.K. Talyaga, Enga..., op.cit., p.60. Concerning the Tekepain tribe Wiessner and Tumu write that through the marriage of the daughter of the Limbini tribal founder from the Mulitak area to a man from Bipi tribe of northern Kandep, the Tekepaini, a large branch of Bipi resettled to the Kasap area. P. Wiessner and A. Tumu, Historical Vines..., p.82.
² The clans on the other side of Lagaip which belong to the Catholic Church although living in the Tupin territory as a rule do not belong fully to the Tupin tribe but are associated through marriage or other type of alliance. Such is for example the case of Ipan clan originally from Keman at present living in Kililam in the territory of Tupin.
people cultivate plots and gardens, after first burning the bush and clearing the ground. The ground is productive for a few years but it quickly erodes due to constant, torrential rains.

As it was already said, the staple food for Kasap people and for the Enga in general is the sweet potato. It is still disputable as to how long ago and from whence it came to Papua New Guinea, but the most convincing theory is that it was brought from South America around the year 1600 and gradually introduced throughout the whole country.¹ There seems to be some solid evidence that it was cultivated in the Highlands more than 200 years ago.² Enga oral traditions concerning the introduction of the sweet potato indicate that it was first brought from the north-east Sepik area to the regions of Porgera and Lagaip – by two sisters at one and the same time. Although no clear date can be determined, the event was so significant that a special ritual called Aina Pungi Toko (bridge of sweet potato vines) was held from that time on to celebrate this fact. Wiessner and Tumu record that the first such feast was held in Walia, closer to Porgera, while the Kasap people maintain that it was in Tumundan, closer to Mulitak. The Monain, Tekepain and Limbin tribes inhabiting the Kasap and Mulitak area held their own Aina Pungi Toko over the Andancreek, whose waters even nowadays are considered to have special healing qualities. Similar celebrations recorded by Wiessner were held on the east border with the Sakar tribe in Yakenda.³

³ E. Wiessner and A. Tumu, *Historical Vines…*, op. cit., p. 108.

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The Monain tribe has its own myth concerning the introduction of the sweet potato, which also marks the beginning of the above-mentioned Kepele ritual.

Before there was a time when people had planted only taro. But one day two women — a mother and daughter — came from Tumundan (northern border of Kasap Parish) and brought with them the vines of sweet potato. For sometime they lived in Kasap; but one day they turned into stone, which from then time were used in the Kepele festivity ritual. Another two women from Kasap set on a journey towards Laiagam, one settled in Atak and the other went past Laiagam to Kanak, where she also turned into stone. The place became the Kepele centre for the Sambe tribe. In turn two Sambe women took the plants to other parts of Enga in the east where they met the same fate.

Since then the sacred stones in East Enga are venerated in the Aeatee fertility cult and other rituals. It was natural that the introduction of the sweet potato to Enga sparked such a variety of fertility cults and rituals, because it marked the transition of semi-nomadic gatherers and hunters into an agricultural society. It was especially an important step for the high altitude region of West Enga, where, due to the poor soil and harsh climate, no other crops could produce that much fruit as the highly productive and quickly adaptable sweet potato.

Since the region is often plagued with droughts and frosts, which could devastate the whole crops, it was natural that people felt the need to secure the blessing of the supernatural to protect them and their crops from natural disasters, over which they did not have any control or protection. Taking into consideration that the most visible,

1 In some versions of the story local men who came to steal the sweet potato killed one of them and she turned into stone while the other one escaped.
2 The story told by Klara from Kasap.
Immediate effect of the introduction of the sweet potato was a rapid increase in the number of pigs, it was also natural that the sacrifice of pigs was the most important element of the fertility cults and rituals.¹ The initial importance of pigs in the newer rituals might be the reason why they never became a regular item in the people’s dietary practice. Nevertheless, the amount of food available increased significantly, thus creating better conditions for the population to live better and longer and increase in numbers.

1.4.4. Cultivation of the Cash Crops

Although the traditional crops like sweet potatoes, sugar cane and some taro still remain the staple food for Kasap people, at present there are also small quantities of introduced food-crops such as beans, cabbage, corn and potatoes cultivated for local consumption and for market sale. From the very first contact both government as well as the mission personnel realised that the geography and climate of Enga presents the opportunity for cultivation of European type vegetation, especially of vegetables and ‘greens’. Efforts were made to create experimental and resource centres with professional overseas staff, which have adapted various types of European plants to the local conditions and later introduced and supervised their cultivation by the local population.² Such centres were first created in Wapenamanda, Pompabus, Pina and Wabag in East Enga, but later they were also established in the West. They underwent changing fortunes and most of them either closed down or became localised and changed their character, but nevertheless they fulfilled an important role in upgrading the local agriculture and the economy.


There were various obstacles and difficulties that limited the development and effectiveness of these last-mentioned projects and, in many cases, led to their termination. First, there was insufficient funding available to pay wages to staff and subsidise the project which by nature could not be profitable. While the difficulty with paid staff was solved by organising the centres under the auspices of various government, mission and NGO organisations, which recruited overseas volunteers, the lack of funds for technology, instruments and materials necessary for research significantly crippled the programmes. Second, the arrangements for the land which was offered for such projects were made by colonial authorities and only they could enforce their implementation. Since it was never paid for, in 1975, right after Independence the owners of the land demanded either high compensations or wanted to take the land back. Third, the re-occurrence of tribal fights after Independence not only threatened the expatriate staff and the existing infrastructure but also undermined the continuation of the research and experiment in the local area. But the most important constraint was the inability to find and organise the market for the newly grown products. Enga did not have any sizeable town centres where the demand for agricultural products would be high enough to solve the problem. There were no road connections developed as yet in Enga and the transportation of the products encountered a lot of difficulties. For some time there was an air supply of vegetables from Enga to Wewak in the East Sepik Province but it proved to be too costly and unreliable — due to the climate and tribal fights — and after a short trial period it was abandoned.¹

The situation changed dramatically with the development of gold mines in the Porgera region, and consequently with the inflow of expatriate and Papua New Guinea

¹ Personal communication with Fr Peter Granegger.
workers who organised themselves in the newly established township of Porgera and its vicinities.¹ At the present time market interest turned westwards towards Ipili as numerous Enga people travel frequently to Porgera, either hoping to find some work or to visit their working relatives and frequently extending their stay, even to a couple of weeks. Therefore there was a high demand for food, both on the mine compound where the meals are prepared on a regular basis for the mine workers, and in the town, which occasionally may number up to ten thousands people. Although the local stores are quite sufficiently supplied with tin meat and dried foods, fresh garden produce is always sought after and paid for handsomely. Some supply of frozen vegetables comes from Cairns by direct air transport, but it is very dear and only partly satisfies the need of the mine campus. The Company and the Enga government very early realised that there is a great potential and opportunities for Enga people to develop cash crop markets for their own and the Company’s benefit.

The Company and the local authorities joined forces in establishing new agricultural agencies and centres promoting and coordinating the programme, offering courses and advice that led to the establishment of vegetable gardens and plantations in the villages across the Enga. The Enga Provincial Government established the ‘Enga Vegetables’ Corporation, responsible for buying and transporting the products from individual producers to bigger centres or directly to Porgera. The mining Company employed a special officer responsible for educating and promoting the programme in the Porgera district. New Research Centres were established and some old ones revitalised through the injection of funds and a new purpose.

For the Lagaip and Kasap region the most important has been the Potato Resource Centre at Taluma. It was established in Pumas near Kepilam in the early 1970s under the old program, but due to tribal fights it was partly burned and moved to Taluma near Laiagam. There it operated quite successfully, thanks to the dedication of the Canadian CUSO volunteers researching and developing the cultivation of potatoes, paritium flowers and promoting sheep farming as an addition to the Enga pigs husbandry. In the mid-1990s it had its boom years due to the combination of a few factors. First, it was the only such Centre existing in the Lagaip District at the time when the gold mine started its operation in 1991 and immediately it received the attention and support from the Company and the Enga Government. Second, in the 1990 election two men from the same tribe Kaimul on which territory Taluma is located became members of the Provincial Government, and the Centre became their leading project as a way of attracting funds to their electorate. Third, in 1991 the Centre received a very able team in the persons of Mark and Kathy, who for three years, as volunteers, ran the project so successfully that they were awarded a two years paid contract, a costly move that almost eventuated in the collapse of the project.

It is probably still safe to state that, both traditionally and in contemporary terms, the most important element of the local economy for West Enga and for Kasap, in terms of investment of time and labor as well as the market and wealth value, has been the husbandry of pigs. This is not to say though that nothing much has changed in Enga society from the time of contact. Such a conclusion would be utterly simplistic, for over

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1 Being on the government pay list meant that they became subordinate to the corrupted local authorities, who did not hesitate to use various threats to force them to enter into their dirty deals. When they wouldn't cooperate, they were forced to leave half way into their contract. In these circumstances CUSO refused to send further volunteers.
the last 40 years Enga and especially West Enga arguably experienced changes on a scale and pace without precedent in the recorded history of any human society. In the lifetime of one generation the Enga advanced from a Stone Age technology, without even knowing the function of the wheel, to the ‘Age of Jumbo-Jet Technology’, with an international airport built in the middle of the region. An illiterate society moves towards a world of the most advanced computerised technology, which was first applied in Porgera by the second biggest gold mine in the world. From communities whose members rarely crossed the boundary of their tribes the Enga became frequent flyers to some of the most expensive places in the world in exchange for their land.

Even with these immense changes, however, some values remain remarkably constant. Among the most important are kinship ties, and the *tee* exchange, which facilitates these ties. Pig exchanging and killing establishes the *tee* exchange into a religious ritual, and thus differentiates it clearly from other modern economic transactions. In fact for the West Enga the ceremonial killing of pigs at the *Kepele* ritual was above all a religious performance aiming at providing balance between humanity and ancestral spirits, and secondly a social and political activity which reunited various persons, clans and tribes into one society. Thus pigs are a crucial index to continuing in this fast changing world.

1.4.5. Monain Leadership

The Monain tribe, which constitutes the core of Kasap Parish Christian Community, has two places of residence. One of them is a territory called Linjing, from which according

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1 The best description of these changes is given in the biography of one of the first Papua New Guinea politicians. See: A. Kiki, *Ten Thousand Years in a Lifetime*, Melbourne 1968.
to oral tradition the tribe originates. It is situated in high mountains above 3000 m, on the track from Kandep to Porgera and Tari in the South Highlands Province. Although, at present, there is a small group of people from the various clans of the Monain tribe permanently living in the area, thus ensuring that the land is still kept in the hands of traditional owners, it serves mostly as a temporary shelter during the pandanus (*karuka*) harvest season and as a place of refuge in time of fighting or unrest in the Kasap area. It is also a hiding place for those members of the Monain tribe, who entered in collision with local law or committed an offence against another member of a clan, for which they may rightly suspect an instant retaliation. After some time, when the first rage is over they return to their home-place in Kasap.¹

From the very first contact with government and mission representatives the leadership of the Monain tribe was centred around the Lakin clan and its *kamongo* Kap, who was a leader recognised and respected by all other clans. As already said, he was responsible for, and very much in favour of establishing the Mission Station at Kasap and contributed greatly to its development. He offered a piece of ground from his own arable land on which the primary school, the Church and priest’s residence was built, he encouraged his clansman to offer their labour and material for these projects and became a Christian himself.

After his death the leadership was assumed by one of his sons – Markus, who was instrumental in the settling of the Catholic mission in Kasap.² He was not the

¹ In one case two brothers from Painalenge sub-clan had a quarrel while working in the garden, and in the heat of discussion one hit the other with a spade, badly cutting his face. After realising what he had done he called his clan people for help but he himself ran away to Linjing where he stayed for a long time until the compensation arrangements were made.
² Infra, p.252.
firstborn and therefore had to laboriously pave his way to the office of kamongo but he
had the qualities and willingness to undertake the challenge. As a youth he was leading
other boys into activities which branded him with the stigma of being a troublemaker.
His father trying to tame him sent him to Wanepap to stay at the mission to familiarise
himself with white people and their ideas, and to learn about Christianity. Beside other
things in Wanepap he also learned Tok Pisin, which enabled him to play a vital role as
an interpreter between government and mission representatives, and his clansmen. This
certainly worked to his advantage in his strive for a position as leader but would not be
enough without other qualities. With time his ‘bighead’ attitudes changed to courage,
but not necessarily to bravery. As a leader he was outspoken but possessed the gift of
listening patiently to what others had to say, before he defined his own position. He
showed great ability in motivating and mobilising people, displaying skills necessary for
conducting compensation and exchange activities and was good in managing his
household. Although very involved in community affairs, whenever he was free from
this obligation he could be seen busy ing himself with the work in his garden or house.

While in Warepap, he befriended Elizabeth, a daughter of a local leader from
the influential Kulip clan of the Sambe tribe, who became his first wife and moved with
him to Kasap. She always stood by his side, looked after his household well and bore
four children. Later, Markus married two other women from the Kasap area who gave
him a few more children and contributed their share of work towards his wealth.
Especially, his second wife Mangalina proved to be hardworking with a strong
personality, serving Markus well in his endeavors. The fourth – Klara – a childless

1 See his own recollection, in: Collection of Memoirs of Catechists from Kasap, op.cit., Memoir M.

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spinster well over marriageable age, from the Koneman clan of the Monain tribe, became his wife when he was about to retire from public life and his other wives already settled with their children. She was supposed to help in looking after him and his house, excluding marital duties. Nevertheless, the reports were that he sought these favours from time to time and therefore, the church leaders decided that he should not be allowed to receive Holy Communion, a decision to which he complied.

Markus is an example of a limited number of leaders who were able to combine and maintain their leadership and influence in three important areas of contemporary social structure still prevailing in most of the traditional communities in the rural areas of Papua New Guinea. These are socio-political and economical affairs of the clan, modern politics, and religion. When he returned to Kasap, for the first few years he worked as a cook for the Parish Priest, and as a translator, especially valuable during the patrols into the bush area. For many years he was directly involved in the process of evangelisation as a part time catechist. When he took over the kamongo office in his tribe he also served as a Church leader, a position he maintained for many years with great benefit to the Church and local Christian community, and sometimes to himself.

Linjing (and Yengieng – an originating place of the Kyio tribe), although, low in numbers is an independent administrational unit, with an elected Councillor. For a long time this function was held by David, an older man who was also a traditional leader of one of the Monain sub-clans, but recently substituted by a young man Philip. He has some formal education, speaks Tok Pisin and reasonable English and is energetic enough to make frequent journeys between Linjing and district Headquarters in Laiagam. 
and thus keep better communication with government authorities. His second wife comes from the Kyio tribe and this makes him acceptable by both tribes.

While there seems to be a lot of advantages in this change, there may arise a problem of leadership and authority. The former councilor had all necessary qualities for being a good and respected leader and he was able to combined three offices in his hands: traditional leader, government representative and also the function of local Catholic Community chairmanship. While he had a rather conservative approach to life,\(^1\) which occasionally might have hindered some of the new projects, at the same time thanks to his realistic and solid personality, once convinced to an idea he was able to make sure that it was implemented and followed up. The new and inexperienced leader may not be able to answer the needs, which are being brought by the new epoch.

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\(^1\) Conservative in assessing possibilities and resources of his community and its manpower, but at the same time very much in favor of development of his village and personal development of people, especially through education.
CHAPTER TWO

STRUCTURAL FORMS OF ENGA SOCIETY

2.1. LINEAGE SYSTEM OF ENGA SOCIETY

2.1.1. Clan and Tribal Structure

The Enga social structure can be described as patrilineal, with the clan as the strongest social unit and consisting of the polygynous families associated in patrilineages. The clans are part of a bigger structure, which for the sake of clarity can be called a tribe, though it is not comparable to most African or American Indian tribes.¹ The clans have some sense of identity with other larger units called by anthropologists phratries, and phratries in turn are linked to each other through a sufficient corpus of common beliefs, customs and rituals which constitute Enga culture.² Such linkages do not mean much in the course of people’s social life but sometimes they surface in the case of warfare.

Mervyn Meggitt, in his book The Lineage System of the Mae-Enga, gave the first comprehensive anthropological summary of traditional Enga lineage structure.³ It is an invaluable source of information but the data was gathered about 40 years ago and is

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limited to only one group of (Eastern) Enga people, so it needs to be reviewed and updated.¹ In describing the lineage structure of the Enga society he elects to present it in the descending order, starting from the biggest group and coming down to the ego. His findings could be expressed as follows.²

Enga Lineage Structure According to Meggitt

A. Great Phratry

- Small phratries
- Sometimes two phratries are regarded as ‘brothers’
- A phratry may occasionally comprise several sub-phratries

B. The Clan

- A few clans have two branches, each with the same name
- Some clans have two divisions, called for example ‘hill’ – and ‘mountain dwellers’
- Each clan is divided into sub-clans

C. The Sub-Clan

- It consists of agnatic and non-agnatic members
- The name of the sub-clan relates to the founder or to the place occupied
- Intermarriage is practiced in the sub-clan community

¹ The accuracy of Meggitt's findings underwent a severe critique by an Engan scholar A. Lakau in his doctorate thesis about the Enga land distribution. While his information is invaluable, however, as a member of the same tribe in which Meggitt undertook his research, he may be biased in the confrontation with Meggitt, because his clan was at war with the clan in which Meggitt took his residence while in Enga. See: A. Lakau, Customary Land Tenure..., op.cit., pp.90-118. For some recent information about social structure in the western part of Enga, see: A. Biersack, "Making Kinship": Marriage, Warfare, and Networks among Paielas", in: (eds) H. Levine and A. Ploeg, Work in Progress. Essays in New Guinea Highlands Ethnography in Honor of Paula Brown Glick, Lang 1996, pp.19-42.

² Ibid., pp.5-24.
D. The Patrilineage

- The members claim to know their precise genealogical connections
- They address one another by specific kin terms
- They regard themselves as being ‘siblings’ in their dealings with outsiders

E. The Family

- Elementary, that is, generated by a monogamous husband
- Composite, that is, generated by a polygynous husband
- Widower – or widow – led
- In some cases there are ‘attached members’ living with the families
- It is not a residential unit
- The male and female members live in separate houses.

Before moving to a detailed account of each of these groups it is good to have a picture of the Enga local social ladder starting from the broadest community to the nuclear group. As an example we will use the group of people inhabiting the area of Kasap in Western Enga, in Lagaip district, where the author worked for most of the time between 1988 and 1996 and where most of his fieldwork was done. In presenting the social structure of the inhabitants of the Kasap area we will follow the pattern outlined by the west Enga scholar K. K. Talyaga, though still keeping in mind the observations made by Meggitt.

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Tribal Structure of the Inhabitants of Kasap Area (Monain Tribe)

TRIBE (Yumbange)

CLAN (Tata)

SUB-CLAN (Akalyanda)

SMALL AKALYANDA

SMALL TATA

FAMILY (Takange)

SONS (Wane)

GRANDSONS

MONAIN

LAKIN

PAINALENGE

GUAN

KAP

MARA

JAMES

NELE

TUYOP

LUKEN

WAW

KEWAI

KAKASEN

KONEMAN

MAITANAK

YANDAM

PERE

IPAIT

AIERE

SMALLTATAKAP

FAMILY(Takange)

SONS(Wane)

GRANDSONS

NELE

RAMBO

ROCKY

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2.1.2. Marriage and Family

Rules of Marriage

Enga marriages follow the rules of a simple exogamy.¹ There are strict rules and taboos indicating whom a person can marry and whom to avoid. Apart from being prohibited to marry genetically-related kinsmen, there are also restrictions with regard to the members of the household and people who are in family-type relations.² As Hogbin writes, in most Melanesian societies, “the natives ban the union of men and women who regularly work and eat together and in consequence look upon themselves as brothers and sisters”.³ As descent in Enga is traced through the male ancestors, the descent group identified by this principle is called patrilineage. Patrilineages are part of a bigger unit called clans, whose members have a common name, which derives from a putative founder of the clan. Patrilineages are exogamous, and this rule covers also other members of the clan. The exception from the rule of clan exogamy takes place when the clan extends so much that two or more groups within it become clearly distinguishable. For some time they are considered sub-clans before they finally split, through growth and tension into separate clans. The disappearance of the marriage prohibition between some members of the same clan indicates that the clan is about to evolve to the status of two independent clans within a tribal complex.⁴

¹ The other form of exogamy is restricted exogamy, which prohibits marriage to certain genetically related kinsmen but prescribes that marriage to other genetically related persons not considered kinsmen by the culture as ideal. The opposite of exogamy is a rule of endogamy, that requires a person to select a mate from within a culturally defined group of which both are members. For more on Melanesian marriage rules see: (eds) R.M. Glasse and M.J. Meggitt, *Pigs, Pearls, and Women: Marriage in the New Guinea Highlands*, Englewood Cliffs, 1969.
² In Enga the children of parents who are living for a longer time on the other’s clan territory are forbidden to marry with the children of their host. For marriage restrictions in other Papua New Guinea societies, see for example: B. Telban, *Dancing Through Time*, Oxford 1998, pp.133-36.
⁴ The author observed such development in Kasap where members of Lakin – the most prominent and numerically the largest clan of the Monain tribe, started to distinguish themselves as members of Lakin Pere, or Lakin Painalenge groups, whose members could intermarry. At the end of my stay in Kasap the two groups were referred to as separate clans of Pere and Painalenge.
The rules of exogamy – especially the prohibition of marrying one’s close relations – are the crucial means of keeping proper respect and reserve between affines.¹ This is a very sensitive subject in Enga society, with many regulations and taboos guarding the tight relationship between family and kin-group members. There is a strict law forbidding even slightest references to the subject of sexuality in the conversation between persons who in kin terminology could be classified as brothers and sisters. Even other people are not allowed to touch this topic if this type of relationship is found in the group engaged in the conversation. When a foreigner joins a group of young village people he or she will be immediately informed if there are any ‘brothers and sisters’ present as a warning that some such themes should be avoided.²

Exogamy also prevents a person from taking a spouse who could have the same ancestor in a not-far-removed generation, and forces a man who is looking for a wife to move outside the circle of his immediate relatives. It has important sociological implications, as traditionally the marriage bears much more of a communal than an individual weight. Because marriage proceedings involved many more people than the respective families, being tied up in negotiations between two different lineages, even clans, the marital union contributed to the peaceful relationship between the two social groups involved in the act of amity, and created new alliances in case of intertribal fights. The marriages also created links which were utilised in peaceful times for the exchange of goods and distribution of wealth in the process of tee – a great network of reciprocity which could be initiated by the gift of a brideprice. As elsewhere, so also in

² In one instance I became an object of the fury of a young man, in whose presence I suggested jokingly that we may be forced to shoot a young girl who was being accused of some misbehaviour. I did not realise that Tok Pisin word *sutim* (to shoot) refers also to sexual activity. I received a hard lesson and never made this mistake again.
Enga "both men and women in their efforts focus their distinctive strategies on validation of marriage, the particular social context which produced ... their relationships of primary indebtedness".  

Aspects of brideprice arrangements will be elaborated in the further part of this chapter, but here it is appropriate to mention that the making of brideprice obviously functioned to preserve the custom of exogamy. Since marriages are expected to increase the number of social alliances, it would be ridiculous to be obliged to contribute to the brideprice as a relative of a bridegroom and at the same time expect some benefit from it as a relative of a bride. The regulations prohibiting the marriage within the kinsfolk maintain a constant process of creating new alliances, while the rules of tēe exchange takes care of sustaining the old ones.

With marriage traditionally a community affair, clansmen spearheading the wishes of the immediate families of prospective spouses were very much involved in the matter from the very beginning. In many cases the parents arranged marriages and in any situation the consent of the parents of both parties was required. Some of the informants interviewed by the Engan contributors to the book *From inside the Women's House* tell that their parents arranged a marriage for them when they were still young children and not able to comprehend the future implications of such a move. As one woman tells,

*When I was still a young girl, my parents told me that I was to marry a Yapokone man. I was really immature and did not understand what people were talking about during the marriage negotiations. I didn't want to leave home and marry, but my parents made me, because a woman from his clan*

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who was married to a man in our clan said that they would give my parents a generous bridewealth. I married him and sure enough his relatives gave us lots of bridewealth - about 30 pigs, bags of traditional salt and so many kina shells hung on sticks and piled on top of one another that I could not count them. My parents were very pleased to have this man as their son-in-law. I remained with my husband for a year or more and he did not touch me because I was still a child. He took very good care of me just like my parents had done until I grew up.1

If a girl was brave and determined she could sometimes go against the will of her parents.2 The situation for a boy was not much different. He may have had more freedom than a girl in seeking a partner, but when it came to the final decision about whom to marry he had to consider his parents' expectation. Without their help it was impossible to fulfil the obligation of the brideprice, as he did not possess enough of his own wealth and resources.3 It was necessary to obtain support, not only from the bridgroom's parents, but from other clan leaders who would contribute to the enterprise as well. As the brideprice payments meant that the clan disposed of a considerable amount of wealth, it was only natural that those who paid wanted to make sure that it would be for the benefit of the whole community, not just of a few individuals. Such a situation often led to conflicts of interest, and in many cases young people had to sacrifice their private desires for the good of their clans. In its sharpest form this is expressed in the famous Enga saying recorded by Meggitt: We often marry

1 A. Kyakas and P. Wiessner, From Inside..., op.cit., p.66.
2 The author can give at least one illustration of this of his own, though it involves 'modern' issues. Josepha from Wanepap (Ambai clan) wanted to be a Catholic Sister but her parents, especially her mother (because the father was a very old man and actually was willing to bow to the will of his daughter), wanted her to get married. Five candidates for a prospective husband came to the house of Josepha over a period of some three months with the pigs ready for brideprice, but she rejected them all. She became a candidate for religious life in one of the local Women's Religious Orders, but after one year she decided to go back to the village and later on, of her free choice, she became a second wife of a local government member.
3 It is necessary to emphasise that that was the case with the traditional society before and for the short time after the contact with the Europeans. Education and wages for work with the foreign companies distorted this picture radically.
The primary aim of the marriage was always the bearing and raising of children, but children were seen as the way to extend and prolong the existence of the clan. And children born from the parents belonging to two quarrelling clans established a new type of relationship which changed the former enemies into partners in the continuing process of exchange – more particularly the tee.

Family

The Enga family is centred round the man who in his lifetime plays some very important roles for the society: that of son, husband and father. The family is the smallest recognisable social unit with clearly stated rights, especially concerning an ownership of land, properties and to some extent animals. The nuclear family consists of a husband and a wife, but in the past it achieved the full social status only when a child was born or adopted. Families can be either elementary, originating from a monogamous husband and his wife and children, or composite, originating from a polygynous husband. In some cases some immature relatives either of the husband or wife are included into the family, but they usually restore the ties with their original clans when they become eligible for marriage. Young men try to reclaim the rights to the land in their natural father's clan's territory before they get married and the clansmen of a natural father of a girl expect some share in the brideprice being paid for her. It happens also that an older relative (whether male or female) of the husband or wife, can take up residence with a younger family in exchange for some services. But these arrangements can hardly be

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2 The ownership of pigs is also individual, but the decision of their destination is a more complex issue. See: P.G. Rubel and A. Reisman, *Your Own Pigs...,* op.cit., pp.210-40.

classified as a permanent situation, even if the presence of such a person extends over a longer period of time. In the last decades the institution of family in Enga underwent a series of rapid changes with which we will deal in one of the latter chapters.¹

**Place of Cohabitation**

Since the land is inherited only by the male descendants, i.e., patrilineally, the tribes follow the rule of patri locality so that the wife normally leaves her clan’s territory and joins the husband’s household. In some cases, though, a husband chooses to dwell on the territory of his wife’s clan and can use the ground of her brothers,² but he is always conscious of being a foreigner. In case of any quarrel with his in-laws he will be reminded that he is only *wanakali*, the woman’s man, which in that context has a very pejorative connotation.³ In the case of trouble between their clans he can in some instances serve as a middle man, but if the situation escalates into a tribal fight his presence in the territory is not welcome any more and he will fall under suspicion. One of the most negative effects of living too long outside of one’s territory, moreover, is that he does not acquire the rights to pass the land of his host to his sons, and he can also lose the rights to his land in his native clan to some of his relatives, if they occupy it.

¹ See: Infra, pp.407-12.
² P. Wiessner cites after M.J. Meggitt that in 1965-1967 in eastern and central Enga, approximately 90% of women moved to their husband’s clan after marriage, while in Kandep and parts of Western Enga this figure was closer to 70%. At present the figures for the western Enga as probably as for the other parts of the province will reach almost 100% due to significant increase of population and the shortage of arable land. See: A. Kyakas and P. Wiessner, *From Inside...,* op.cit., p.67.
³ This was the case of Daniel from Kililam. As a young man he left his native place Kepilam of Apulin tribe, east of Lalagam, and after a short course became first a help catechist and after some time an independent posted catechist in Kililam – one of the outstations in Kasap Parish. He eventually was married to a young woman from the Tupin tribe inhabiting the Kililam area. After more than ten years of living with his in-laws and establishing the household and family with a few children in the territory of his wife’s clan, he was forced to abandon the place because he was never fully incorporated into the clan’s structure. He told me that he was sick and tired of being referred to as *wanakali*, whenever he tried to press his point of view, especially if it was not compatible with the opinion of male members of his host clan. See also: M.J. Meggitt, *The Lineage System...,* op.cit., p.36.
Let us cite an example:

Markus Yangiat of Tekepain tribe left his family as a young boy, attended a few classes of mission school, learned a little bit of pidgin and for years worked as a catechist. He married a girl from a different tribe from the village where he was posted. For many years he was working in one of the most remote outstations Kulipanda in Kasap Parish. There he was given land, built the house and ran a small trade store to support his family of five children. In 1994 he fell victim to typhoid and died after a short illness.

His family did not want to stay any longer in Kulipanda when the new catechist was appointed, but they could not return to his native village, because his half brother claimed the whole land, which until now he was really using. He argued that it was Markus’ fault that for the whole of his life he did not care for his land. Now if his family wants to retain it Markus’ wife should become his wife and from him receive the portion of land. The problem was that he already had another wife and Kristina did not want to be a second wife, which was against her principles as a Catholic. Markus’ family (his wife and two eldest sons) had to fight a long battle before they were able to reclaim some of their father’s land for themselves.1

2.1.3. Bride Price

The subject of the brideprice or bridewealth had been analysed in connection with marriage and family in many Melanesian societies. In literature it has undergone a significant change of evaluation – from severe criticism, in the first stages of contact, to a recent positive acceptance.2 The error in judgment made by the first missionaries and academics arriving in Melanesia came through false interpretations of the role of wealth exchange in connection with the marriage. It was commonly seen as a business transaction contracted between the bride’s clan offering the bride and the bridegroom’s clan that was paying. Much stress was put on the humiliation of the woman involved, who appeared as if she were reduced to an object being offered at a price. This conviction was so common and prevailing that it made an imprint on a newly created neo-Melanesian language where the term brideprice is translated as baim meri – literally

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‘to buy a woman’ – a translation, however, far from describing what really happens in the Enga society.

The traditional items in the bride price (*enda yole*) in Enga were pigs and mother of pearl shells. At present money has become an important means, and, although it has not reached the level that it has in the coastal areas, there are cases in which the man’s clan pays up to K 10,000 for an educated woman (such as a teacher or nurse). In West Enga the amount transferred in connection with the brideprice does not exceed K 10,000. On the coast and in the Highlands the condition *sine qua non* of contracted marriage is an exchange and killing of pigs, the spilt blood of which is as it were a sacramental sign of the marriage.

The process of exchange of the bridewealth was traditionally initiated by the man, who met the approval of his clan to marry a woman chosen by him. Together with some of his closest relatives he would visit other members of his clan asking them for the contribution of pigs which were to be offered to the bride’s clan. The majority of the pigs came from the immediate family of the bridegroom; but other families, even if not directly related, would often be under obligation to contribute as well. This marked a spirit of tribal solidarity, since the marriage was and still is conceived as one of the most important means of strengthening the clan, first of all numerically – through the children who are the fruit of the marriage – secondly through an alliance forged or reinforced with the woman’s tribe.

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2 Private Information, Maria Aisi from Yule Island.
The brideprice process was not a one-way trafficking of goods, but involved a series of exchanges between the parties, as when a gift was offered or received it was expected that it would be reciprocated. The matrimonial exchange involved three major stages of gift presentation. The first was the presentation by the groom’s clan to the brides’ clan of a number of live pigs, which were then distributed among her clans-people. In the second, the bride’s clans-people presented to the groom’s clans-people some pigs (in proportion to the number received), which would be killed as part of the wedding ceremony. The third presentation took place during the actual celebration of the marriage in which a number of pigs were slaughtered, and the pork distributed evenly between both parties.

In Enga, the wealth exchange in connection with marriage has not involved a fixed payment for a woman. Its character belongs to the category of the Tee exchange, one of the types of a ceremonial system of exchange commonly operating between the tribes and related peoples inhabiting the region of Melanesia, a pattern of affairs which has become so famous after the researches and publications of Bronislaw Malinowski.¹

Such formal exchanges bind the parties with certain obligations, the most important typically being a pact of non-aggression, so that support is supplied when needed and in the context of tribal conflicts. Thanks to such arrangements among the Enga, with its famous Tee network, a newly married woman, who will move to her husband’s clan’s territory, is not left solely to his whims. She will receive the support from her husband’s clansmen, who have invested in the bridewealth exchange and whose interest it is to keep peaceful relations with her clan.² And, she can certainly count on her own

clansmen, with whom she shared the wealth of the brideprice, since in the case of the
dissolution of the marriage they would have to return at least part of the goods received.

In that light, then, and contrary to common opinions upheld in early publications,
the bridewealth exchange was hardly in favour of the men alone, for it strengthened the
role of the women and secured their position in the marriage and in the tribal society.¹ It
is common knowledge that some African and native American tribes exterminated
female infants, considering them to be of less importance than males. This rarely
happened in Papua New Guinea and certainly not among the Enga, where each newborn
female is considered as an equal member of the clan. This is arguably due to her role in
the marriage and in the bridewealth exchange, which initiates the whole process of the
tee exchange between the husband’s and wife’s clans and — if there are children —
between the parent’s families. These ties are so strong that they do not terminate even by
the death of one of the spouses, but are sustained by future generations.²

Finally, if the bridegroom’s clan is ready to offer a bigger than usual number of
pigs, which will be transferred in the process of the bridewealth exchange, it increases
significantly the status of both the husband and the bride among her clansmen. The
woman’s people feel under obligation because of the share of the wealth they received,
and, expecting further payments if children are born, they will thus support the newly
established family in times of crisis or internal conflicts. The popular opinion among
the researchers of the brideprice that ‘the bigger the number of pigs, the bigger is the

Theological Perspective, Goroka 1987, p.159.
² Ibid., pp.237-40. See also: P. Brown, The Chimbu. A Study of Change in the New Guinea Highlands,
dependency of the woman' is one-sided and only partly justified, since there is also the other side of the coin, which is usually omitted, that this principle also works in the opposite direction. The husband has to treat his wife in such a way as not to give her any grave reason for dissatisfaction, which could lead her to seek to divorce. Should the marriage break up due to his fault it would result in loosing the wealth offered in the bridewealth exchange and could jeopardise his clan's social position by turning the woman's clan from being an ally into a likely enemy.

Taking all the above under consideration, it may be proposed that the wealth exchange which takes place in connection with the brideprice is crucial for securing the interests of marriage and family in Enga and in consequence also those of clans and tribal society, when the society's whole social and economic system is taken in view.

2.1.4. Institution of Akalianda and Endanda

Akalianda – The Men's House

According to Enga cultural tradition men and women had their own place of habitation. Male members of the family shared the accommodation in the men's house or akalianda. It was a large building structure by comparative standards decorated with elaborate artistic elements. The akalianda had two functions: one, as mentioned above, was to shelter male members of the family, and the other one, much more important from the general socio-political view point, was its function in instituting the men's clubhouse for a given section of the sub-clan – also called akalianda.¹ The male clubhouse gathered all male members of the patrilineage and was recognised as a crucial

social institution in Enga society.¹ The membership was based on birth and each male child had the right to join in without fulfilling any other special requirements. In practice it was the boy’s father who introduced him to the men’s house life and rules. Boys as young as five could start to attend the men’s house, though they had the freedom to return to their mother’s house until, at adolescence, it was felt inappropriate.

The *akalianda* operated with an established set of strict regulations which had to be scrupulously observed by its inmates, otherwise the rule-breaker would face reprimand or even punishment. Since membership was acquired at the very early stage of life it was possible to accept these regulations to such a degree that they became part of the customary way of life, and therefore there was not much need for enforcing them by using negative motivations. The clubhouse served also as a religious institution, where some of the rituals – especially those of initiation and atonement – took place. A male shelter and institution the *akalianda* was reserved only for the male part of the population, and women were strictly forbidden from entering the house as well as from sharing in any affairs that took place there. This regulation was taken to be enforced not only by the leaders of the clan but also sanctioned by the ancestral spirits who would punish any female trying to break this taboo. Although women were prevented from entering the *akalianda*, they were allowed to come to a specially designated area when they brought food for the men gathered in the house.

The smaller boys were admitted to the *akalianda* and could venture free in its vicinity, but when matters vital to the clan were discussed they had to leave. In normal circumstances they were instructed by the older members in matters concerning right

behaviour and social rules, and thus underwent preparatory initiation instructions for the Sangai ceremonies. They were allowed to listen to the stories and myths as they were told by some of the ritual leaders or older men. When they progressed in age they were instructed in skills of warriorhood and leadership, and when they became young men they were instructed in courtship techniques and care of the family.

The akalianda was a place and an institution at the very heart of the community’s social, political and religious life. In times of peace the leaders and adult men of the clan gathered here to discuss and run the day-to-day affairs of the community, to perform some religious rituals, to organise matters of the economy and the social relations of the clan. The most important activity at the akalianda was to discuss and organise the strategies for the Tee exchange and other types of compensation entailed by brideprice, childbirth, fights and funerals.

From the religious point of view the akalianda had a very important role to play as a place of security and shelter. If any of the members became unwell the initial stages of the healing ritual – accompanied by the magical spells of the traditional healers (nemango akali) – occurred in the akalianda circle. The members of the akalianda encouraged each other to keep the moral code and follow social regulations. Right before a fight the warriors gathered here for the confession of their sins. This was a male public ritual, with each man individually taking his place in the middle of the gathering to confess aloud his guilt in the trespassing of the tribal laws. There was a conviction that if a man took part in a fight with his sins unconfessed, and without being reconciled

1 The subject of Sangai will be dealt with in Chapter three. Infra, pp.177-8.
with the community, the ancestral spirits would withdraw their protective shield and leave the person exposed to enemy attacks.

The akalianda played an especially important role in times of tribal fights. It became the headquarters for the fight leaders and war magicians (nemango akali), who worked out the strategies and logistics of war and performed rituals for successful outcomes. It was a shelter and a recovery place for injured and exhausted warriors returning from the battlefield. It was the most importantly protected bastion, regarded by all as the clan's sanctuary, which, if ever taken by the enemies, marked the defeat of the clan. For this reason it was built in significantly camouflaged terrain, it had an underground escape tunnel with the exit somewhere in the bush, and it was encircled by strong fencing with four gates (sometimes more for security reasons), with warriors on guard at each one.

*Endanda* – The Women's House

Although the term *endanda* indicates that it was a house for women, it was really a family house occupied by the wife, her children and close family members.¹ In this light, most men were free to visit and enter it, even if some precautions had to be observed. For a start, men would avoid visiting any *endanda* unless a woman's husband was present there. The first room, which served as a visitor's room, was divided into two, of which one part was restricted for men only. There was no restriction for men to cross over from one quarter to another but women were not allowed to step into the men's side.

¹ A. Kyakas and P. Wiessner devotes the whole book to the subject and institution of the 'women's house'. See already cited: *From Inside the Woman's House*. 

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Each wife of a man was entitled to a separate house, which was occupied by herself, her children and in many cases by her female relatives – who might call in for a short visit or seek shelter in time of famine or tribal fight in their own settlement. It was common that a woman’s younger sisters or cousins would stay with her for long periods of time to help look after her children when they were still little and assist with garden work. The husband was free to enter the house at any time, which he did especially at meal times. Children of other wives visited woman’s houses without much restriction, as did other females of a hamlet. Male relatives of the woman could enter the house in some circumstances, but men from the husband’s clan were tabooed from doing so under tribal law.

The **endanda** was usually situated in the middle of the garden plot allocated by a husband to his wife, who was responsible for cultivating the ground there, looking after the pigs which were raised by her, and preparing the food for her family and the husband whenever he came home. If the man had a few wives they might take it in turns to prepare the food for him, in which case sometimes there was competition between wives as to who prepared better food, or else – especially in the later years of a woman’s marriage – earlier wives might try to push food preparation duty on to the later coming one. The husband might eat his meal in the **endanda**, although, if he was occupied with something in the **akalianda** a wife was obliged to bring the food to him there. When the sons grew up and joined the **akalianda** their mother brought food for them at the men’s house.
2.2. LEADERS AND SOCIETY

2.2.1. The Importance of Properly Researching of Local Leadership

In his book *Melanesian Religion* Professor Trompf writes:

No general account of Melanesian religions would be adequate without recognising the significance of different social structures, or ‘patterns of belonging’, so crucial for group and individual identity, and especially without acknowledging the role of ‘sacral kingship’ or ‘religious specialisation’. Against popular impressions, it is simply not justifiable to tuck Melanesian social organisation away on a lower rung of the evolutionary scale or as betokening something less than religion – as if Polynesia, for example, had its distinct hierarchical structures (with monarchs, chiefs, priests and other functionaries) and thus ‘religion’, while Melanesia spawned acephalous (even if more egalitarian) societies and thus mere ‘magic’. It is too often forgotten that there is a fair sprinkling of chieftainship societies in Melanesia – mainly, though not exclusively on her coastlines – and we can now better appreciate how so-called ‘secular’ leadership in its various forms could be endowed with more-than-human authority. ...Religious specialisations, what is more, have been in very many cases hereditary and more ‘institutionalised’ than first met the eyes of earlier observers.¹

The analysis of a social structure and leadership in such a traditional tribal society in Enga is of great importance, for, after all, the implementation of the program of New Evangelisation – proposed for Kasap in this thesis – needs firm leadership. The program of New Evangelisation, as well as the modern social teaching of the Church, calls for the process of a necessary localisation of the Church, that is, the transferring of responsibility for leading the local Church’s affairs into the hands of the indigenous clergy and the leading laity. It is therefore indispensable to research who are the traditional custodians of religion, and which type of local leadership or (group of leaders) should be cultivated to fulfil the Church’s work.

Another important paradigm of the new Evangelisation is balancing responsibility between ‘professionals’ and ‘ordinary’ Christians in the mission of proclaiming and implementing the Gospel in the practical life of the Church. Again, this cannot be done without first researching traditional religious concepts, values and tribal communal practice, which nourished and transferred leadership to each succeeding generation. As research progresses, the research unveils many convictions, taboos and cultural customs which have to be taken into consideration, respected or solved before any new paradigm may be fruitfully implemented, or otherwise the Church may find itself running parallel to, and not integrated with the local structures, and so be accused of threatening the traditional culture.

It is important not only to research the general patterns of leadership prevailing in the bigger cultural configurations such as the language groups, administrative Province, or Ecclesial diocese, but also in particular dialect groups, districts and even the particular tribes. This is because there are so many diversities and particularities in them that any generalisations can be made safely only on the theoretical level, while practical implementation will demand careful distinctions, analysis and the evaluation of various aspects in separation. Unfortunately there are also many presumptions, if not prejudices, incurred by generalising about data gathered in one region and applied to another without checking out if there are actual equivalences. Such presumptions were made in the early stages of contact and Christianisation, when opinions were formed in

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1 The Pope states: “The Church’s mission of salvation in the world is realised not only by the ministers in virtue of the Sacrament of Orders but also by all the lay faithful; indeed, because of their Baptismal state and their specific vocation, in the measure proper to each person, the lay faithful participate in the priestly, prophetic and kingly mission of Christ”. (CfL, 23).
many cases on the popular hearsay expressed by one group of people about another.¹

Many of these opinions are upheld until this day, even though there is no evidence to
support them in the field.

One example of great mystification constructed on a hearsay basis is the idea of
cannibalism in some Enga tribes, particularly those in the west. While there is no
evidence at all that it was ever practised, there are still insulting accusations made
between the various tribes of its performance, which can be taken as a cultural fait
accompli by some uncritical or negatively predisposed researchers. The other, partly true
yet disproportionately emphasised common opinion is that the social position of women
in the West Enga is much lower than those living in the East Enga. The first researchers
formed such a theory on the basis of information obtained from informants from East
Enga, when there was no access to West Enga to double-check the data. Longer and
more detailed research will reveal women’s advantages and disadvantages in both these
societies, and direct comparisons may in some cases prove that the opposite to the early
prejudice is true.²

2.2.2. Traditional Enga Leadership

The main feature of the traditional leadership in Enga, as in most other Highlands
societies, is that it is not hereditary but gained on merits of personal achievement and

¹ It was almost the norm that “rumour and message” concerning New Guinea needed to be exaggerated as
² In July 1995 during the Leadership Course given to members of Kasap Parish Council, the conductor of
the course, J. Balus, who himself is from the Mac Enga made in the presence of the author a statement that
women in Tayaro save *bigamous umas* (are too outspoken). When asked what he meant, he explained that
in the East women would first ask their husbands if they can speak or at least put their hand up to be
allowed to speak, while here they do not hesitate to express their opinions that do not necessarily comply
with their husbands’ views.
natural skills.\(^1\) Although Burridge states that there is not really such a thing as “mystical gifts”,\(^2\) it cannot be denied that some people are by nature more gifted in some aspect or another. The institution of traditional leadership in the Highlands is generally known in anthropology as “big-manship” as opposed to what is commonly recognised in the lowland as the hereditary institution of “chieftainship”. Enga prides itself as being an egalitarian society, wherein male members of the clan had the same opportunity of achieving the status of a leader, and wherein clansmen’s opinions counted equally when matters of their community or clan were discussed.

Nevertheless, a closer look at the community structure of Enga reveals a variation of ranks that fall under the general concept of leadership. Although their forms and importance varied in different parts of Enga, structures or levels of leadership were and still are clearly present. While there exists already a collection of books and articles analysing traditional leadership in the Highlands, and to a lesser degree in Enga,\(^3\) the emphasis has usually been placed on the institution of a big-man without paying sufficient attention to the other important positions in the local social and political structure.

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2.2.3. Egalitarianism

In the past, the idea of some kind of ranking system in primitive societies seemed beyond the limits of acceptance by some scholars, particularly those with an evolutionist background. They believed that structuralisation and division of roles in the community is a privilege of societies on a higher level of civilisation while the less advanced social groups did not have any social structure and/or were ruled by a sort of idealised communitarian system. Since many saw the Papua New Guinea cultures and people as the fossil form of the primitive stages of the whole human race, it seemed to be fitting to expect to find such a situation there. In a way they were not disappointed. In the newly discovered societies of Papua New Guinea there was nothing comparable to the highly sophisticated offices of the English King or German Kaiser, and the elaborate network of administration connected with them. Therefore it was so easy to accept in good faith or to prove a priori that a ranking system or a differentiation on the basis of wealth or social importance did not exist.

This tendency to over-emphasise the equal status of the members of the tribal community was further perpetuated by most of the researchers coming from Australia, where the idea of egalitarianism typically plays a vital role in the maintaining of a democratic model for ruling the country and the Church’s affairs.¹ This attitude was passed on to the indigenous researchers of Papua New Guinea, the majority of whom at one stage or another were educated by Australians or in Australia, or, if they did not undergo some training there, were influenced by the Australian system of education and

¹ In a humorous account of Australian life and customs, one author states that: ‘The Australian jealously guards the privilege to be considered the equal of all. However, the idea is that it is oneself who is the equal, not necessarily the others’. See: R. Treborlang, How to Survive Australia, Sydney 1990, p.19. On the Church’s forum the issue of Australian egalitarianism resurfaced during the recent Synod of Pacific Bishops in Rome in 2000. See: John Paul II, Ecclesia in Oceania, Sydney 2001, pp.36-38.
its ‘ideology’ in Papua New Guinea. Attributing the concept of egalitarianism to Enga, however, and to other Highlands societies generally, cannot be done without some reservations and modifying explanations. Clansmen often oppose having to succumb to a leader, who would tell them what to do, not because they see it as a threat to their freedom, or because everybody is equal, but because they do not wish to commit themselves or to follow the regulations of organised societies for a long period of time.

An individual man does not think that each one is equal and therefore there is no need for a leader, but rather that he himself is the most competent, or just as competent for leadership and therefore he is not going to submit easily to any other authority. The idea of egalitarianism thus seems to spring out from the inability of an individual to conform to a common political ideology, and it is this that underlines the social structure of the Highlands societies, tribes and clans.

2.2.4. Distinctive Patterns of Leadership in East and West Enga

The division between East and West Enga was always very strongly marked, with the East harbouring a superiority complex, and ridiculing Westerners as primitive, homicidal and with cannibalistic tendencies. These opinions have been eagerly recorded by the first researchers, who for fifteen years after the contact had to rely on information supplied by the inhabitants of East Enga, since they were denied direct contact with the West due to government regulations. It is unfortunate that this subjective and negative

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view was accepted uncritically by both mission and government personnel, thus perpetuating the distorted and unjust opinion about West Enga and its inhabitants.¹

Although the historical oral traditions predominantly provide us with an account of life and activities of groups such as patrilineages, sub-clans and clans, there is also some relevant material concerning individual people, their role and status. The stories certainly portray a society where the equal status of male members seems to be a distinguishing feature, but this is conceived more as the ideal than the reality.² The Enga society did not exist as a unified entity till the time well beyond independence. Previously the biggest groups were centred around local dialects and there is a lot of evidence suggesting that the groups, for a start, did not consider themselves as equal. “In the east, it is said that the men who controlled the salt-axe stone trade at Tambul and in the Sake valley had always been influential managers of wealth”.³ The groups in turn were divided into tribes and clans some of which had a much higher status and rank than others.

The distinction between clans descending from the male and female offspring of the tribal founder is evident even to this day. Those tracing their origins to the firstborn have a higher status than the rest, even if it is only developed in the sub-conscious of those claiming it and those who denied it in practice. Inside the clan, moreover, there were always present divisions and ranks, based on the merits of birth or achievements.

¹ For example Meggitt and some early patrol officers would make it appear that the death of women and children caused by warfare is much greater in West Enga than other parts. However, the women from this area in recent interviews did not support this claim. See: A. Kyakas and P. Wiessner, *From Inside...*, op.cit., p.150.
³ P. Wiessner and A. Tumu, *Historical Vines...*, op.cit., p.79.
The basic division was traditionally between male and female members of the clan, and there is no exception to this rule in any of the Enga groups. The other important distinction was between the elder and the younger male members of the same clan, sub-clan and patrilineage. The power resting in the hands of the elders was so imminent that the young men would not even consider marrying without their permission and support. The father exercised a great deal of power over his sons, and the firstborn son, by nature of his birth, had special rights and privileges over his siblings.

There was also an observable distinction between the rich and the poor members of the clan. The term *kamongo* and *tip* denotes not only the quantity of wealth but also the social status of a person. Even if it was misleading to translate the word *tip* as slave, the fact remains that there was a significant number of male members of the clan who for some reason or other depended on the *kamongo* in terms of land and other goods. In return they offered him services in the production of his wealth and in sustaining his power. The men who lived on the territory of their wives, to reiterate, had a much lower status than the other clansmen, and the term *wanakali* even today may be used as an insult or indicate a person’s handicapped position in the community on this account.¹

The early mythology of West Enga presents us with a semi-nomadic society, in which the hunting and gathering of food constituted a large part of human existence. Since the environment was more hostile in the west — a more mountainous area, cooler climate and frosts, a more extended rainy season — the cultivation of the land had to be

¹ For more detailed information about the social position of “non-agnates who tend to be of lower social status than agnatic members” in the Highlands, see: A. Strathern, *One Father One Blood*, Canberra 1972, pp.188-211.
limited and did not produce enough wealth to create a sufficient basis for the
differentiation in status. In this regard West Enga appears to be more egalitarian than the
East, although this is not to say that there was no differentiation in social structure or
that the tribal community presented itself as an unorganised mob where everybody
followed their own will and desire! Quite the opposite, in order to survive in this harsh
environment and among hostile groups of people, any individual had to have the support
of a clan and of the wider tribal community.

To be entitled to the security and protection of the clan, one had to be a full
member or an associate member, this meant that the person had to obey the rules and
authorities of the clan and fit into the internal structure governing the clan’s affairs on
social, political and religious levels. If persons did not comply with these regulations or
kept trespassing them notoriously they risked expulsion from the clan or even
elimination. Fr Mantovani once cited the example of a Chimbu man who caused so
many problems to the clan that the elders decided that he was to be taken, tied and
delivered into the hands of the enemies.\textsuperscript{1} The same could happen among the Enga. For
example, if a man was a habitual thief he would be tied up and have his calves cut.\textsuperscript{2}

Once again it is necessary to stress that the mode of operation of power and
authority was different to that of the Europeans. It might appear to a person who first
encountered this system of ruling the society as no system at all, or a state of
lawlessness or such a state of communitarian (should we say communistic)
egalitarianism that nobody seemed to be listening to anybody. But a closer observation

\textsuperscript{1} Melanesian Orientation Course in Bulolo-Wau, 1-28 January 1992, with personal account.
and K.K. Talyaga, Enga..., op.cit., p.63.
reveals a multi-leveled system of power and authority, and a management structure able
to exercise authority over individuals and the community, enforce its regulations and
values and punish any culprits.¹

2.3. LOCAL LEADERSHIP

We can affirm, admittedly, as it has been partly outlined already, that Enga local
leadership is based on an informal structure of relationships, with the underpinning
egalitarian ideal that each man of the clan has the same rights to acquire a leading
position in his community. But, as in any other society, there are different opportunities
as there are different talents and aspirations of individual persons.²

2.3.1. Kamongo Akali – Big-Men

The position of a big-man is the highest in the leadership hierarchy among the highlands
(including Enga) societies.³ Each sub clan and clan in Enga has its own kamongo akali
– a rich man who plays a leading role in all major intra – and extra-clan affairs of his
community. Although some of the big-men can gain quite impressive publicity and
respect among the whole tribe, and often beyond its borders, it should be stressed that
their effective power is limited to the members and territory of their respective clans. As
the term kamongo akali (rich man) indicates, the basic ground for accessing the office of
a big-man was the production, management and distribution of goods. The distinction
between the rich and poor can be traced not only to the present social structure but also
to the local Enga mythology that pertains to an updateable period many generations ago.

² Cf. Ibid., p.66.
In East Enga, where the access to better soil and a more developed agriculture enabled some people to amass garden products and pigs, the leadership consistently rested in the hands of rich and affluent people, and only they could aspire to the position of big-man. The distinction between rich and poor, *kamongo* and *tip*, made a very strong ‘imprint’ in the local myths and stories. The notion of low and high status among local population and the discriminations made on this basis is especially visible in the East Enga myths and stories concerning courtship and marriage. There are numerous stories about beautiful young women who were of such high status that local young men did not have courage to approach them for marriage. In addition the distinction between rich and poor was not limited to individuals only, but also referred to sub-clans and clans.

In West Enga the role of a big-man – also called *kamongo* – is similar to that in the East yet traditionally speaking, differences lay in the qualities that this person had to possess in order to achieve this status. While in the East the wealth accumulated through agriculture was an essential element in the *kamongo* status, in the West wealth came from successful hunting. In the past when such bigger prey as wild pigs or cassowaries could be found in the forest, they would provide food for the whole group. But because these animals could be deadly dangerous it required skilful hunters and cooperation to kill or capture them, considering the primitive weapons which were used for hunting. Men who showed these abilities were the ones who gained the community’s respect and eventually could achieve a higher status in the society and assume a leading role in the clan, especially if they were able to reveal other skills necessary for leadership. The *kamongo akali* has to be a person of many gifts and abilities.

*He has to be able to mobilise work parties; settle internal disputes; distribute food appropriately at events such as funerals; provision group members with items of dress and ornaments for ceremonial occasions; host traditional dances*
that gathered people to plan events or negotiate marriages; conduct peace negotiations successfully and orate elegantly in public; help finance bridewealth and other payments for clan or sub-clan members; mobilise the clan to go out and get pigs for tee exchange and organise their distribution; and manage and distribute in tee exchange.¹

2.3.2. Fight Leaders

From the strategic point of view of the clan, the most significant role was ascribed to the “fight leaders”, as they were the ones on whom the existence and security of the whole community depended. In Enga, where inter-clan disputes and tensions in many cases ended in tribal fights, this function was especially important, and the fight leaders exercised a wide power and influenced local politics and social life. There are three categories of fight leaders. The individual warriors yanda pipi (war heroes) who had distinguished themselves with fighting skills, bravery and courage. They constitute a leading force in the attacks on enemies or can be in charge of a group of fighters in the battlefield. With time, if successful, they might progress to the higher rank of akali pyapya (champions), whose primary concern is more to do with the logistics on the battlefield than with taking part in the individual assaults on the enemy. They are responsible for the ongoing operations on the battlefield and for the supervision of the practical application of tactics and strategies constructed by the chief fight leaders usually called pundu tange akali – literally ‘owners of the fight’. It is actually to this last group of people (in some cases to the individual men) that the title of fight leaders fully applies.

The leaders of the fight have to decide whether it will be beneficial for the clan to start or to continue with an existing conflict, whether there are enough resources to

¹ P. Wiessner and A. Tumu, Historical Vines..., op.cit., p.253.
continue with fighting, or to reimburse supporters and eventually pay reparative compensations. They have to calculate whether it is necessary for the clan to fight, even if the odds would be against them, in order to ‘save face’, to protect their territory, to satisfy the ancestral spirits, to defend their own honour, or to continue out of respect for the enemy. In the case of an intra-tribal fight between two clans they have to ensure that the other clans of the tribe will support their case. In the case of intra-tribal fighting they have to foresee the movements of other tribes, secure their help or at least their neutrality. They have to find a *kainakali* - a ‘middle man’, a third party, in this case a clan or a tribe who will speak on their behalf when it comes to negotiating a truce, end hostilities and negotiate compensations, which is easier with inter-clan than with inter-tribal contests. The *kainakali* is also needed in the case of a casualty to collect the body from the battlefield or from the enemy’s territory, if it happened there, and to arrange a cease-fire to allow sufficient time to organise the funeral and mourning ceremonies.

Before the fight resumes, after any hiatus or time of respite, fight leaders have to secure alliances with other clans and find supporters among them. They need to keep them in check during the battle and control any influence they may have on the outcome of the warfare. As it happens there may be a good deal of ambiguity in the actions of the supporters. On one hand they are allies in the fight, but on the other hand they may perform various acts of subversion for their own benefit.

During the time of actual armed confrontation, fight leaders are strategists, operating mostly behind the front line at the headquarters of the fighting armies. They are specialists in the arcane lore of fighting and war. They have to be good psychologists, able to organise the fighters to enable them to utilise their skills...
efficiently. They should be able to employ the right strategy according to the manpower available and to the strength of the enemy. They are courageous in direct confrontation but at the same time calculating and always aiming to outsmart the enemy. They are not concerned only with winning a particular battle, but they have to look at and consider the whole picture. They have to convince their clansmen that any given fight they decide on is necessary, that it is inevitable, and that it would be successful. They have to set goals and scopes for the incoming war and prepare right strategies and resources. In many cases they have to tame the eagerness and the vehemence of the young members of the clan, who may be pushing for confrontation without considering the consequences.

With the progress of any outburst of warfare, the fight leaders, together with the clan leaders (kamongo akali), have to evaluate the situation either to pursue with it or decide to put an end to hostilities and armed confrontation according to the development of the events. Finally, the fight leaders play a pivotal role in concluding the warfare, negotiating conditions of peace, the size and types of beta pingi – reparative payments for injuries, or akali buingi – compensations for men killed during the fight, and in organising aipuri pingi – the public peace ceremony between the fighting parties. The fight leader, although in many cases himself a skillful dreamer, was usually aided by special diviners called in Enga nemango akali – people who could explain the dreams and read the signs given by the ancestral spirits. This group was also responsible for the offering of the sacrifices and predicting the success of the planned enterprises from patterns when the blood was splashed by diviners on sacred stones used before fights.¹

2.3.3. *Tee Akali* – Leaders of the Ceremonial Exchange

Although all the kamongo akali would be participating in *Tee*, only some of them could achieve the position and honour as *Tee* leader. To be a *Tee* leader, a man had to excel in such qualities as exceptional organisational skills, show oratorical skills, and also be able to use these during big public gatherings.¹

As the negotiations and preparations of the *Tee* required a lot of travelling and visiting people in distant places, often in times of social unrest or even warfare, the *Tee* leader had to be courageous, physically fit and mentally strong. He had to be a charismatic orator in his public appearances, communicative, and a patient negotiator in individual contacts with other people whom he wanted to get involved in the *Tee* chain. He had to be a good manager in his own household to organise proper supervision and continuity of the work, since he has to be absent from home for quite long periods of time. The *Tee* leader had to be brave and courageous to dare to venture among the neighbouring clans, which could well be unfriendly, or even hostile. He also had to have a good memory to remember all the numbers, people and their debts and credits.

Sometimes, when there were not enough pigs or other items, *Tee* directors had to take risks when they did not satisfy someone’s expectations. In times of shortage they had to be able to supply stocks from their own resources to keep the process of *Tee* going. In the last generations before contact, only men who had actual wealth could aspire to a position of a *Tee* leader, although only part of the wealth disposed during the *Tee* event was coming directly from the home production of leaders. Some of the early

myths testify that in the early period when the Tee was initiated some smart men could become leaders in the Tee without actually having any material possessions, but they were able to orchestrate the process of Tee in such a way that it brought them riches and fame. This model seemed to be even an ideal for some time, but it was obvious that only rich clans would be able to contribute pigs and other valuables and make Tee prosperous and influential.

Since the larger part of exchange goods was coming from his relatives and debtors the Tee leader had to have an extended network of relatives and debtors. He had to be able to live with them in an atmosphere of friendship and cooperation, and to keep them indebted and willing to cooperate. He had to be a good husband to make his wife stay with him, make her want to cooperate with him and have a good relationship with her relatives who would be his major suppliers during the Tee events. As the philosophy of the Tee was the management and handling of the debts and credits it was necessary for a leader to be able to handle this situation. There were also — although very rarely — women leaders in Tee. Wiessner tells about the most famous of them, a widow Takime of Sikini Mangalia (1915 — 1984), who was not only a leader but also an organiser of the Tee. It is worthy to cite a text about her qualities as a leader:

Takime had a reputation throughout the province as one of the great Tee leaders and organisers of her time. She was not the only female ‘big-man’ in the past, but one of a very few. This raises the questions of how a woman like Takime took on a man’s role and still managed to be widely accepted and loved by her clansmen and others. Her life story suggests several reasons for her success. First of all, Takime never rejected the role of a woman. She cared for her children, planted gardens, raised pigs and slept in women’s houses while travelling — she just did a man’s work in addition. Secondly, she had the charisma of a leader and those who met her with suspicion were won over by

3 A. Kyakasand P. Wiessner, From Inside..., op.cit., p.135.
these qualities. Perhaps most importantly though, Takime treated others fairly. She paid bridewealth for those she had refused for marriage and convinced their wives to help her. She spent time with both men and women. She did not forget poor families during pig kills and she did not take advantage of poorer clansmen, but paid back her debts to those who had helped her. She became a full-fledged member of her husband’s clan and worked hard to promote its name. These were the qualities of a true leader in Enga and evidently in exceptional cases, they were more important than the norm that divided men’s and women’s roles into the public and private.

2.3.4. Kainakali (Middle Man) – The Mediator as Leader

The kainakali the middle man was an individual (in some cases a group of people or a whole clan) who served as a mediator between individuals or between groups of people who were in conflict and could not approach each other directly. The kainakali had to be a person with excellent skills in persuasion and negotiations. He had to be known for a high standard of justice but at the same time he had to be able to recognise the limitations of the situation and be compassionate towards people involved in the conflict. He had to be objective, acting only upon the principle that he is a mediator and he does not want to impose any of his own opinions or hidden agendas. Ideally the only motive of his service should be the common good of the two parties involved in the negotiations, although often it might coincide with the general benefit of the other clans or the whole tribal society. He should not be biased or partial or pursuing his own or his group’s interest. In the case of negotiating peace between two fighting clans he had to be a good orator able to convince the parties involved to discontinue the fight and sit for negotiations. During the public debate the kainakali had to employ a variety of methods to present a picture of their conflict so as to make them believe that the score is even and therefore they are in an equal position for negotiation. He also had to be the moral

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1 For the role of kainakali in the conflict resolution, see: D.W. Young, Resolving Conflict..., op.cit., pp.282-4.
authority, as he would invoke the spirits of the ancestors to witness the peace ceremony and implore them to punish the parties should they break the treaty and return to fighting.

One of the important roles of the kainakali during the fighting was to negotiate a truce when a person was killed. The kainakali, in this case probably a group of men from a neutral clan would see to the transportation of the body from the battlefield to his clan’s territory and proceed with the mourning and funeral arrangements. The kainakali had a big role to play in the everyday life of the clan. He was often employed during the negotiations between two persons, or a group of people, whenever there was a need to find a common solution. He was indispensable when there was a need to settle matters between people of unequal status. He was employed as a go-between in the initial stages of marriage arrangements. Whenever there was a need to add to the status and to the importance of any matter the kainakali was called upon. It also added to the prestige of the individual if he could secure the presence of a notable person acting as his kainakali.

2.4. NEMANGO AKALI – RITUAL SPECIALISTS

2.4.1. Kepele Akali – Leaders of the Kepele Cult

West Enga differed significantly from the East with respect to the office of ritual specialists especially those who were in the Kepele cult, which was a distinctive Western development. Due to the more unpredictable results from hunting than from agriculture, there was a greater need in the West for recourse to spiritual practices to secure the help and blessing of the ancestors and also to tame the destructive influence

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1 The full account of the Kepele celebrations and the role of Kepele akali will be given in Chapter Three, while dealing with the ritual in West Enga. Intra, pp.157-72.
of ghosts and bush spirits. It was believed that they might bring bad weather—
preventing successful hunting, sending animals away from the hunting party, or even
getting them to attack the hunters directly. Therefore the role of ritual specialist was
substantial for the successful outcome of hunting enterprises. They were also
indispensable in the fertility cults.¹

Any Kepele akali who gained a reputation among clansmen had often a leading
position and exercised a strong influence on the members of their clans, even though
they might not have wealth comparable to a proper kamongo akali (big-men). The
respect, and many times even fear, surrounding religious specialists in the West was
strengthened by the fact that the Kepele akali position was obtained hereditarily or else
rested in the hands of one sub-clan. The secret knowledge involved was thus held by a
narrow group of people, protecting it from corruption and from becoming too common.²
The influence of religious experts in the West stems also from the fact, that while in the
East the Tee exchange had a more secular character—being directed by the owners of
wealth, or leaders who were able to develop a wide network of Tee partners and so
provide the items for exchange—in the West the biggest exchange activity was
connected with the religious cult of Kepele. In this cult religious specialists played a far
more important role than did local clans' leaders.

² Nowadays many of the magic formulas in Enga as in other Melanesian societies can be obtained by any
person 'if the price is right'. See: (eds) T. Otto and A. Borsboom, Cultural Dynamics..., op.cit., pp.52-3.
2.4.2. Sangai Isingi Akali – Sangai Initiating Specialists

*Sangai akali* are leaders of the initiation rituals for boys and young men performed at the celebrations known as Sangai and Sandalu. The special and distinguishing feature of their vocation is that, as long as they held their office, they have to remain unmarried. This testifies to the importance and uniqueness of the *Sangai* institution which requires such a sacrifice, since, according to Enga standards to remain single beyond an acceptable age is nominally treated as a handicap that brings dishonour to a person and his clan. But for the *Sangai* leaders bachelorhood is a necessity that gives them respect in society as well as a source of strength to perform this duty.

It is interesting that while there are good accounts of the *Sangai* ceremonies, with many oral historical references testifying to the importance of the leader in the performed rituals, there is not much material dealing directly with the functions and qualities of the *Sangai* leaders. Yet it is the leaders and their special qualities and bachelor vocation that make *Sangai* ceremonies so distinctive in Enga society and culture.

The most important function which could be performed only by senior bachelors was to procure the *Sangai* sacred objects of *lepe* (bog iris) plants and *Sangai* penge (bamboo tubes) containing sacred fluid, look after them, and educate the participants into their mythology. The leaders had to observe scrupulously all norms and moral codes, otherwise the sacred *Sangai* objects would be ineffective or may even become

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1 *Sangai* and *Sandalu* are used interchangeably in Enga.
contaminated and perish.\textsuperscript{1} The role of custodians of these sacred objects could be entrusted only to men living in celibacy and abstaining from any sexual activity. This requirement springs from the understanding of the Sangai cult as a spiritual marriage between bachelors and the mythical Sky Woman. Should the Sangai akali get involved with any other woman she may become jealous and cause the deterioration of lepe and penge.

The Sangai akali gather all participants eligible for initiation, lead them to a secluded hut in the bush, attend and preside over all celebrations and rituals throughout the duration of Sangai. They are solely responsible for keeping order and fulfilling the scheduled programme. During special sessions they explain to the boys the meaning of their dreams and visions. They transmit to the boys the sacred knowledge Sangai titi pingi. To become a Sangai leader was undoubtedly a source of prestige and social position but it was connected with many sacrifices and self-denials. Once they were elevated to the position of Sangai akali they could not abandon their office until they found and trained an appropriate successor. Wiessner and Tumu summarise their situation:

Senior bachelors, the custodians of the sacred objects, carefully selected and trained their successors, handing over cult objects, spells, and knowledge upon marriage and going on to lead normal lives. Some senior bachelors attained the status of big-men, but because the skills required of the two were different and senior bachelors married late, they were not on a direct path to bigmanship.\textsuperscript{2}

\textsuperscript{1} For more information about the Sangai and Sandala cults see: J. Schwab, ‘Sandala Bachelor Ritual among the Laiapu Enga’, Anthropos, 90(1995), pp.27-47; P. Wiessner and A. Tumu, Historical Vines..., op.cit., pp.215-44.
\textsuperscript{2} Ibid., p.219.
2.4.3. Diviners – *Nemango Akali*

A *nemango akali* is a person who possesses an analytical intellect and an open psychological approach, which he employs to discover, understand and interpret the profound causes of things and the reasons for happenings, be it in the family, in society or in nature itself.° The reputation of the diviner is enforced by the common conviction that he is aided by supernatural forces or guided by ancestral spirits. His function is therefore psycho-social as well as religious, as he forms people’s consciences and enforces social behaviour by the resolution which he announces. The full role of *nemango akali* in the Enga society will be explored in the third chapter dealing with the traditional religion and its custodians.

2.4.4. *Topoli Akali* – Healers

In the community’s social structure there was a degree of recognition given to the healers, who operated in the similar manner as diviners but who limited their activities to cases of common illness or lesser bodily lacks. There were male and female healers well known for their abilities in dealing with physical misfortune.° While female healers had unrestricted access to newly born and infants to perform the rituals that were forbidden to men, only male healers were allowed to offer the sacrifice that included shedding of animals’ blood.

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1 Dlugosz translates ‘topoli’ as ‘ritual specialist’, while Lakau treats ‘nemango’ as ‘magic’, and ‘topoli’ as ‘sorcery’. In West Enga the term ‘topoli’ is not used, while ‘nemango’ denotes, both ‘magic spell’ and ‘person that applies it’. See: M. Dlugosz, *Mae Enga Myths…*, op.cit., pp.66-8; See also: A. Lakau, *Customary Land…*, op.cit., p.116.

2.5. COLONIAL AND MODERN POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

As was said above there were different types of leadership in the traditional Enga society which generally were supplementary to each other, but with quite strong competition among the candidates for the various positions in the social structure of the given community, clan or tribe. In modern times, especially in the period after the introduction of the colonial administration and the Christian missions the pattern of leadership underwent some modification and the era of independence also added some changes.

2.5.1. Leadership Introduced by Colonial Administration

It was mentioned already that under colonial administration the government regulations and affairs were implemented and supervised at the local level by \textit{tultuls} and \textit{luluais}.\textsuperscript{1} According to the colonial government these officials would be responsible for getting people for their obligatory labor and for the transmission of information between the district officer called in Tok Pisin \textit{kiap} and the rural people. It soon became clear that through their office they gained significance and started to exercise power exceeding their authorization and in many cases clashing with the traditional leadership.

In the later stage of colonisation in the Highlands when the colonial administration entered the area, they started to look for the collaborators among the influential local people who already had some authority in their community, because it guaranteed the smooth carrying of the policies and preserved the traditional form of the social structure. But there were several difficulties that prevented the administration

from the full commitment to these policies. The first was the problem of language. It was of no use to appoint a person who could not communicate with the government either in English or at least in Tok Pisin, but in most cases the traditional leaders were older men who did not have any contact with white people and were not willing to move from the area of their influence to acquire new knowledge. Only in rare cases the local leader was so farsighted as to send somebody before the contact to learn the language of the newcomers.

This was the case in Kasap where the traditional leader Kap hearing the news that white people had entered the area and established the government station and the Catholic Mission in Laiagam twenty kilometers from his village, sent his young son Mara to stay for some time on the Mission to learn the language and the customs of white men. The old leader was especially interested in finding out what is special about different denominations of which four had already established their Missions in Laiagam. When three years later the area west of the Laiagam was derestricted and colonial administration and with it the missionaries were allowed to enter the field, there was not much difficulty in accepting the new order. Young Mara was appointed an official translator and liaison person between the administration and his father. After the death of his father Mara became a strong and well-respected leader of his and related clans and he is still one of the most prominent figures in the region. As stated already the colonial government after entering the area in the first place imposed its own administration and authority. It has to be acknowledged that for Enga this exercise was not so painful as for other, earlier colonialised territories of Papua New Guinea, because the Australian officials having already some experience in running the colonies showed a much more sensitive attitude towards the indigenous ways of social life and local
institutions of leadership. Still the elaborated forms of administration fitting into the complex task of controlling the whole colonial region were completely new and difficult to follow in Enga society living in comparatively simple organisational units.

The headquarters for the local colonial administration were located in Mount Hagen, a town in a totally different cultural and language area, with which the Engans had little if any direct contact in previous times. There was not as yet any proper road and contact was mostly made by air travel not accessible to local people. It was obvious then that any order or command passed to them by the colonial government would be seen as a decision made by a mysterious if not foreign body trying to impose on them its influence and take away their freedom and most probably their land, which was always a suspicion cast on foreigners. The practical execution of government policies on the local level was supervised by the district officer (kiap). Although in the villages there were not any more appointments of tultuls or luluais as in the first stage of colonialism, still the local big man was usually supposed to carry on village matters according to the kiap's requirements and government policy.

2.5.2. Modern Political Leadership

From 1975 after Papua New Guinea gained independence its political leadership has been based on the democratic principles of election. There are three levels of elected government: National, Provincial and Local.\(^1\) Due to the great mosaic of tribal societies and allegiances the condition of government in the country has been characterised by


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fluctuation and instability. Local rivalries and animosities often override the principles of national and even regional unity and wellbeing and result in frequent changes in leadership. This general mistrust is expressed in persistent votes of no-confidence which became one of the biggest obstacles in reaching national stability.

At the local level the election itself becomes one of the most controversial issues, since it is a concept foreign to Melanesian societies and introduced — we can say imposed — on them by external agencies. Nevertheless, it has become a permanent feature of the modern Papua New Guinea scene. Political elections introduced a new type of leadership that is independent of the traditional system and quite often at odds with it. Although there is a great variety of modern political leaders, such as members of the National Parliament, Provincial Assembly, Local Council, Village Court Magistrates, etc., the common denominator for choosing them is that they possess some educational background and are able to communicate in at least basic English. This automatically excludes most of the traditional leaders from the older generation from modern politics, thus causing destabilisation of the social structure of the local society.

Besides, there may be a danger of which J. S. Mill was already aware:

*The dangers incident to a representative democracy are of two kinds: danger of a low grade of intelligence in the representative body, and in the popular opinion which controls it; and danger of class legislation on the part of the numerical majority, these being all composed of the same class.*

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2.6. SYSTEM OF EXCHANGE AND COMPENSATIONS

2.6.1. Melanesian Types of Exchange

The first detailed study on exchange and its elaborated system in Melanesia was undertaken by Malinowski in his famous book *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*. It gives us an insight into the *Kula* system of exchange among the Trobrianders and other inhabitants of the Woodlark Archipelago, and brings our attention to the most important aspect of the social-economic structure of various Melanesian societies. The problem of exchange was later recognised as one of a very few elements common to all societies to be found in the region of Melanesia and particularly to the territory of present-day Papua New Guinea.¹

There are several studies undertaken on the subject, among them the already mentioned excellent elaboration by A. Strathern who carried out many years of research among the Melpa people in the Western Highlands region.² The local Melpa word *moka*, which stands for ceremonial exchange of pigs, became a technical term describing the totality of exchange, as a social system and as an economic mechanism cementing tribal societies, and engineering economical changes and development.

2.6.2. Ceremonial Tee Exchange of East and Central Enga

In Enga the elaborated system of exchange and mutual obligations lies at the foundation of kinship ties, local economy and religion, the last especially true for West Enga.³ The term *tee pindi* describes the ceremonial exchange of pigs and other material goods as

well as the complex system of obligations and entitlements among various units of Enga society and its individual members.¹ This second component of 'tee' namely, the system of obligations and entitlements, is nowadays described by the word *komposisene*, an Enga neologism borrowed from the English 'compensation'. For the sake of clarity some authors are identifying *Tee* (with capital T) as cyclical ceremonial system of delayed, or 'on credit' exchange, while *tee* (with small 't') as all other various obligations incurred by kinship system. This spelling also helps to distinguish East from West Enga, where the chain of *Tee* did not reach, but all other various *tee* types were fully developed and practised. A thorough study of *Tee* was done by Daryl Feil in the already cited book *Ways of Exchange*.

*Tee Pingi – The Ceremonial Exchange*

At the roots of the ceremonial exchange in Enga lies the traditional trade of salt manufactured from salt water pools in Yandap in West Enga, traded towards East Enga and further to Mount Hagen and the Mendi tribes, for the exchange of stone axes and *kina* shells.² Wiessner and Tumu's findings indicate that "the big rope" of *Tee* as it is sometimes referred to, was imported or founded some six generations before, among the tribes inhabiting the area of Pompabus and Pumakos in East Enga, whose myths of origin point out to places outside Enga.³ These tribes have also a tradition of myths concerning the *Tee* exchange that are much older than the sixth generation, indicating that they took part in an exchange network in their previous location, from which they migrated to Enga.

As was said, the network of the ceremonial \textit{Tee} exchange followed basically the route of the salt trade from its sources in the Kepilam area, on the border of East and West Enga. Although there is no dispute about the ownership which was attributed to the tribes of West Enga, especially to Sambe and other tribes around Laiagam, the manufacture and trade of the processed product was controlled by the tribes from the Saka valley in East Enga. They served as agents in exporting the salt eastwards and importing stone axes and shells westward. These arrangements, either imposed by force or by natural circumstances seemed to satisfy both parties concerned, and the situation was even legalised by a proper myth explaining this unusual state of affairs, and preventing any major disagreements.

The situation became more complicated and tensions started to mount when after the introduction of the sweet potato Enga became a more desirable region. Many Mendi tribes moved into East Enga and settled in the Wapenamanda area, creating a new trading route for salt and axe exchange through bypassing the people from the Saka valley. Seeing that the trade of salt and axes was slipping out of their hands, the local leaders decided to find new ways of social interaction with the new tribes to counter balance the loss of influence and income, and prevent total isolation. The ceremonial \textit{Tee} exchange network was initiated, and with time it covered almost the whole of East Enga, and linked over 70 thousand people contributing greatly to the unity and stability in the region.

\textbf{2.6.3. Exchange and Compensation in West Enga}

As mentioned above the West Enga has the same types of exchange and compensation as the East, except for the ceremonial \textit{Tee} exchange. This omission has an important
effect: it tends to turn *tee* activity into a system of compensation, or of specific gift-giving to make up for losses occurred in conflicts. When we reflect on the types of exchange elaborated for the Enga Culture Study Group by John Yagal,¹ we find the bias is decisively towards compensatory acts.

*Akali Bungi Pingi* – This is the main compensation given to the family of an enemy or allied person killed in a fight.²

*Akali Kepe Pingi* – An initial gift of pork proceeding the Akali Bungi Pingi.

*Bera Pingi* – The compensation given to a person injured in a fight or a quarrel.

*Saki Mandege* – The compensation for stealing or damaging someone’s property.

*Wane Bera Pingi* – The gift given to the mother’s family for small injuries of a child.

*Wane Laira* – The compensation given to the mother’s clan after a death of a person.

*Wane Kepa Pingi* – The exchange of pigs designated for slaughter between father’s and mother’s clans to end *kumanda* – the mourning period after the death of a person.

*Aioka-ko-mingi* – This is compensation given by the landowners to an injured person or a killed person’s clan for a crime committed by a third party.

*Enda Lipu Ma Pingi* – The compensation paid to wife’s clan if her death resulted from a crime committed by her husband.

What we find among the West Enga, who were less sedentary to a large extent nomadic, is that their society had to be bound together by conciliatory mechanisms which otherwise could have been provided (both directly and indirectly) by a


neighbouring complex exchange chain. On the one hand, to reflect, we may lament that West Enga never participated in the greater Tee; yet on the other we can see positives in the relatively greater emphasis on conciliation. This helps us to clarify further the distinctiveness of West Enga social structure. The danger is, however, that the old primacy of compensation can lead in our times to an attitude of ‘how much can we/l get?’ rather than of keeping the balance and sustaining the traditional spirit of generosity in tee procedures.¹

CHAPTER THREE

ENGA VIEW OF THE COSMIC ORDER

3.1. ENGA COSMOLOGY AND RELIGIOUS CONVICTIONS

3.1.1. Introduction

The Enga religious system in general follows the pattern of Melanesian religions outlined by G. W. Trompf in his excellent work entitled *Melanesian Religion*.¹ As with other religions in the area, the Enga ritual is centered around the cult of ancestors and the appeasement of other spirits, but it also contains some distinctive features, the most important of them being the clearly defined idea of one Supreme Being, responsible for the creation of the world.² This is not to say that there is no notion of God the creator in any other Melanesian religion, but that Enga people are renowned among Melanesians for making a clear distinction between the concept of a Supreme Being and the world of ancestors and other spirits.

Lakau, an Engan scholar, states that Enga beliefs in a Supreme Being are compatible with the biblical concept of God.³ It would be an act of courage to accept such a claim in the first stage of evangelisation, when traditional beliefs were usually met with suspicion or even total rejection by the newcomers coming into the New

³ A. Lakau, *Customary Land Tenure..., op.cit., p.115.
Guinea scene. Yet now, in this new missiological age of inculturation, this opinion is of no surprise, as it falls under the general concept of *Proto-Evangelium* and encourages a thorough examination of traditional religious concepts with the view of incorporating them in the process of New Evangelisation.¹

The most comprehensive and systematic analysis of the Enga system of beliefs is that done by Paul Brennan in his publication: *Let the Sleeping Snakes Lie*, and in the materials from the Second Anthropological Conference of the Lutheran Church, published by Paul Brennan as, *Studies in Missionary Anthropology*, Wapenamanda 1970. Fr L. Kambao in his master thesis: *From Gentile Revelation to Enga Christology*, gives a detailed account of Enga Christological concepts. M. Długosz analyses some of the origin myths and their religious content in her publication: *Mae Enga Myths and Christ's Message*.

### 3.1.2. Enga Worldview

For Enga there is one cosmos but with many levels. On the top there is *Aitawe* (of a male gender) who is symbolised by the sun, and who – assisted by the female moon, sometimes referred to as Sky Woman *Yalya enda* – created the universe and all its inhabitants. Closest to him are sky people (*yalyakali*), who control the cosmic order and are able to influence human destinies but do not interfere directly in people’s affairs. The next level of the universe is the ancestral world inhabited by the spirits of the ancestors (*yumbange*), which consists of all the deceased members of the tribe, male and (in some cases also female), who achieved the status of spirits. Although the ancestral spirits inhabit a special sphere in the universe, at the same time they are able to

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¹The Second Vatican Council states explicitly that the “Catholic Church rejects nothing of what is true and holy in these religions”. See NA, 2.
take a semi-permanent or temporal location in the tribal territory, and monitor the daily affairs of the living members of the clan. The tribal territory is the part of the universe, which was inherited and given for custody by their founding ancestors to the present, living generations of the clansmen. It consists of two realms: *aupera* good – the clan’s arable and hunting land where people and ancestral spirits dwelled, and *koo* evil – usually the bordering and inaccessible terrain, bush, caves and lakes, where ghosts and other spirits inimical to people have residence.

### 3.1.3. *Aitawe* - Source of Life

There are various names given to this Supreme Being according to the different Enga groups and their dialects. The most popular, according to the literature, is *Anasuu*, the name adopted and commonly used by the Lutheran Mission to designate the meaning of a Christian God. The Lai and West Enga claimed to have a traditional word *Got* or *Gote*, which seems to have originated from the Kandep area. L. Kambao gives a description of *Gote Pingi*, a ritual that was held in honour of the Supreme Being. ¹ Jentsch and Doetsch gathered evidence that this ritual was practised in Keman, the Enga area closer to the Sepik region. ² Although some doubts have been expressed as to whether it was an original Enga word, or whether it came from other parts of New Guinea where the word *God* or German *Gott* was introduced much earlier, the research done by Wiessner and Tumu proves that the *Gote Pingi* was celebrated in Enga much earlier than any contact with Christian religions. ³ Other less frequently used names

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³ Cf. P. Wiessner and A. Tumu, *Historical Vines...*, op.cit., pp.181 and 183, although they suggest that the ritual was directed towards the Sky People in general.
given to the Supreme Being were Takamakali, Yala, Niki, and Yombonakali.

Among Catholics the name Aitawe became most popular across Enga, although in the past it was used mostly among the central tribes. But it was also known in West Enga and invoked by people in situations indicating a person's helplessness and dependency. “When somebody was sick and suffering he would lament - Ai-tawe; or if a woman cut her finger while peeling a sweet potato she would cry Ai-tawe; or if somebody became frightened unexpectedly he would cry in horror Ai-tawe”.¹ The meaning of the word is not known and is used by some authors in its shorter form Tae (Tawe).²

The first missionaries and researchers into the Enga religion received the false impression that Aitawe, although acknowledged as creator and life-giver, was less important to the people than the sky people or spirits of ancestors. This was an error that resulted from the vague ideas that Engans had about the nature and mode of operation of Aitawe. The myth cited by Rusoto tells about Aitawe who appears as a handsome, strong man surrounded by Sky Beings. He takes a central position in the congregation, which by rights belongs to a leader, and he has all the qualities of the Kamongo Akali.³ He welcomes the visitor, offers him a place for the night in the house and delivers a speech in the form of a magical spell, in which he proclaims that everything belongs and is sustained by him.

Although they use anthropomorphic language in their myths the people would oppose any suggestion that Aitawe is of human or any other form, since no one has ever seen him. He is the creator and life-giver but he is so different from this world that it

¹ Personal communication with Josepha Kupri.
³ Cf. Infra, pp.91-3.
would be ridiculous to expect him to be directly involved in earthly affairs. Because he is so different from everything that is earthly, people are convinced that he is not expecting anything from them. Even so, there was a feast *Gote Pungi* in honour of *Aitawe* in some parts of East Enga, during which people would kill pigs and call upon his name.

Because no one has ever seen him it is difficult for people to describe precisely who he is. It is easier to say who he is not. He is not the spirit of ancestors, and he is not one of the *yaliakali*. He is not associated with evil or suffering because he is good. So when he is present – "when his face is turned towards people" – everything goes well in nature, everything is "in natural order". The problem arises when things go really bad, when natural disasters strike or when epidemic sickness erupts. Even then people do not interpret it as the work of *Aitawe*. It is the evil work of ghosts and devils, who use the occasion when *Aitawe* turned his face from "this particular corner of the universe" to pursue their evil and mischievous desires. It is then that the name of *Aitawe* is called upon to regain his attention and at the same time a pig offering is made for the appeasement of ghosts. When *Aitawe* is present he sustains the cosmos in its proper order and somehow he has a moral authority over people and their actions. When parents instruct their children to always do what is good and avoid doing wrong, they are enforcing this with the statement that *Aitawe* is watching. Among the Kaina Enga there is a warning that if you kill another person on someone else's ground the *Aitawe* will curse you in disgust (*Aitawe ogom yaa lege*). People of Enga did not have the help of the revelation or the prophets to help them to understand the nature of God/*Aitawe*.

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1 A. Lakau, *Customary Land Tenure...*, op.cit., p.115.
To judge and to deduce from nature the character of *Aitawe* was to run the risk of arriving at some false or even ridiculous concepts. It was a similar situation as with mythologies of other peoples and cultures, as for example Greek mythology.¹

Meggitt says that “people did not care much about *Aitawe*”. They did, but they could not understand much of his nature. They did not have direct access to him, and probably because of this they lost the original idea of him. They knew that with the limited resources that were available to humanity it was impossible to influence him. It is not that they were not interested in him; but because they accepted the limits of their cognitive capacities and acknowledged the limitless nature of *Aitawe* they realised that, no matter what efforts they would make, there is a gulf between humanity and *Aitawe* which could not be bridged. Since *Aitawe* was so inconceivable, on such a high level, there seemed to be no way to communicate directly with him. The natural way was to look for some intermediaries (*kainakali*).

They turned therefore to other spirits and beings, whose nature seemed to be closer to humanity but at the same time possessing qualities which enabled them to have some access to *Aitawe*, or they were under his close control. The office of intermediary was very important in Enga social relations and was in many cases indispensable. If there was a fight and the fighting parties sought to end the animosities or establish a temporary truce they could achieve this only through a *kainakali*, or a man or group of people who were in between, who had some blood or social ties with both parties.² In less dramatic circumstances the intermediaries were sent to ask for a girl to

be married or for a contribution to the bride price. Even today it is a common practice that a person who would like to ask for a favour would not approach directly, especially if the favour is sought from somebody with recognised social position (for example a priest), but will send intermediaries or an emissary to plead the cause. This may be a cause for misunderstanding, since some missionaries or other European officials may take offence by being approached by the delegate rather than the person concerned. One wonders as to how people feel if they have to go directly to seek a job or some other benefits from the government or mission institutions!

_Taarenda – Sky Woman_

In Kasap there is a belief that among other sky people the _Taarenda_ is the most prominent. Her normal dwelling place is the sky, but sometimes she comes down to earth to help people, men and women alike.¹ She may be seen in some secluded places, like the bush or mountains, appearing to take care of a person in trouble. If a person leads a good life s/he may be awarded the privilege of being taken in a vision to her dwelling place and experience the beauty and happiness that she experiences. Enga has a special word – _tarok_ (to ascend to the place of _Taarenda_ ) – to describe this super-natural experience. Some believe that after death good people will be awarded a place in her abode for eternity.²

¹ M. Długosz gives an account of the role of Sky Woman in connection with the Sangai celebrations, in: M. Długosz, _Mae Enga Myths…_, op.cit., pp.127-43. In the Mount Hagen area the role of Female Spirit was much better defined and a whole cult was dedicated to her. See: P.J. Stewart and A. Strathern, _Stories, Strength and Self-Narration Western Highlands, Papua New Guinea_, Adelaide 2000, pp.121-30.
² Personal communication with Titus Pano.
3.2. SPIRITS OF ANCESTORS AND OTHER SPIRITS

3.2.1. Ancestral Spirits

Meggitt and some other anthropologists claim that spirits are generally malevolent or at best neutral. On their account they do not show signs of being pleased but they are quick to display their displeasure in the form of misfortune, striking the clan or some of its members. But the popular understanding among the Kasap people is rather that as ancestors, spirits are at work all the time and for the most part positively. They sustain the integrity, wellbeing or ‘good conditions’ (Tok Pisin: gutpela sindaun) of the clan, its territory and its members by encircling them with their protective powers. It is something like a protective shield that defends against evil powers, disasters and enemies. It is more appropriate to assert that the spirits of ancestors are most of the time in benevolent action, providing perpetual blessing, protection and gutpela sindaun to the community rather than suspect that they are harmful to their own clans.

But their abilities of protection are limited by the actions of the living members of the clan. By breaking the clan’s ethical rules or taboos the clan members are destroying from inside the protective shield provided by the ancestral spirits. They can protect from external enemies and misfortune, but when there is an internal rebellion, holes are created in the protective wall, through which evil powers can advance and destroy the wellbeing of a clan or individual people. As Brennan noticed, “failure of the community to live according to the tradition of the fathers, however ambivalent they sometimes might be, can produce devastating results”. Once the break has been made the ancestors are not in a position to hold the post and they are not able to make repairs.

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1 Cf. B. Telban, Dancing..., op.cit., p.166.
Only members of the clan through their repentance from wrongdoing, and through the expiation gifts to the ancestors to compensate for their disappointment and embarrassment caused by their co-members, can restore the protective shield and secure again the cooperation of the ancestors.

The protective shield provided by ancestors works like the battle shields; they protect from the front, leaving the back vulnerable. One’s own soldiers have to make sure that the back of those who are carrying the shields is protected and in order. Aitave, who is the lord of good and bad spirits as well as human beings, has delegated the power of protecting the clan’s members to their ancestral spirits. But if people misbehave they give a clear field to evil powers who are acting destructively until the guilt is acknowledged and corrected.

Gibbs assumes that the Ipili people perform principal religious rituals to avert death and misfortune, but a deeper analysis of Enga religious practices and convictions suggest that there is much more at stake. By fulfilling religious rituals and observing the moral code approved and guarded by spirits of ancestors, the tribal community secures their blessing and protection, which sustains the growth and wellbeing (guipela sindaun) of the tribe and its members. Religious practices and rituals are not only preventing the clan from misfortune and death but also have positive dimensions, providing convictions that the enterprises undertaken by the community or an individual will be successful and beneficial.

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Now, while Gibbs suggests that religious rituals are directed at averting death, the Engan Lakau has argued that people of Enga are not afraid of death (*paka kumingi*), accepting it as a matter of fact. These contrary opinions require some clarification. Certainly, it generally holds true that death is a reality with which Enga people are quite familiar, and that it can be accepted by the individual and the community in a very peaceful and dignified way. Men and women who arrive at the conviction that they have fulfilled all their tasks and obligations in this life, that they have served their community well as young people, as parents and grandparents, are prepared to move from this world to that of their ancestors. The passage from this form of life to that of spirits is seen as a continuity and natural course of events. One does not think there is a need or a point to change it by offering sacrifices or performing religious rituals.

However, there is also a lot of truth in Gibbs' view. People are scared of sudden or premature death that comes as a punishment resulting from the guilt of an individual person or the community as a whole. If some of the religious taboos are broken by individual members of the clan or the moral code is notoriously violated by the community it is an offence that affects the protective shield provided by the ancestors. Evil powers are given the opportunity to strike and cause disasters of which the violent death of any of the members of the clan, as in battle is the most tragic. In such circumstances there is a need for a twofold religious action aiming at ensuring protective measures against misfortune.

The first of them is a ritual of expiation, which should be effective in providing individual protection. This may be in a form of the cult about which Gibbs writes. The

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1 Cf. A. Lakau, *Customary Land Tenure...*, op.cit., p.117.
second ritual, which has a bigger communitarian dimension, has as a goal the appeasement and restoration of the ties with ancestors and the re-securing of their protection. By organising and taking part in the relevant celebrations, which involve a lot of preparation, community work and the slaughter of a large number of pigs, the community and its members prove that there is again a spirit of unity in the clan, that they are doing their part in the best possible way to providing for gutpela sindaun and that they again deserve the support and protection of their ancestors.

3.2.2. Cult of Ghosts and Evil Spirits

Since people lost contact with Aitawe and the confidence that he is directly involved in their affairs, it was natural that they had to invent some means to deal directly with evil or malevolent forces, which were threatening their well-being and existence. Aitawe was out of reach but the Sky Beings and ancestral spirits could be approached to provide a protective shield against the attacks of the malevolent forces. The rituals and celebrations in honour of the Sky Beings and ancestral spirits were aimed at strengthening the ties between these beings and the clansmen. They also aimed at attracting them to enter and be present at the clan’s territory and to dwell among people, thus restraining the effectiveness of malevolent acts by ghosts and evil beings.

But there were also rituals trying to appease the ghosts and tame their destructive powers. Since it was considered that ghosts attack for specific reasons, ritual and sacrifice was seen as a way to either pacify the evil or satisfy the ghosts. There should be a clearer distinction between evil spirits and ghosts. Ghosts were the spirits of the dead people who for some reason did not enter into the world of the ancestral spirits but were still wandering in the clan’s territory seeking to harm people. They harmed
them not because they were evil by nature, but because they wanted to remind or force their clansmen to either complete the rituals necessary for their successful transition from this life to another, or because they were angry at a delayed payback for an injustice which was committed in their life-time, or because there was a need for revenge in the form of a sacrifice.

There is much literature concerning ancestors and other spirits in Melanesia and their role in the life of the tribal community as well as their position in the cult and traditional religion.¹ Enga has a very rich vocabulary concerning spiritual beings, ancestors, lesser spirits and ghosts who are part of the daily activities of the clan’s community and whose doings explain Enga cosmology. Adrianne Lang in the Enga Dictionary provides a list of names, which she translates as ghost, such as kupia talepa, timango, timango ituku, yama.² Another list of words – imambu, tombeama, wayange – she translates as spirit. Under the category of spirits she lists also other terms; ituku – spirit of a dead person, yanda wapu – spirits of war victims taking revenge, kyoo – evil spirit, kaima – spirits in Lake Wake, pututuli – non-human spirit.³

It is difficult to give a precise meaning to these words, as individual people give different descriptions and various regions and dialects have their own names for the same spirits. People living in the Kasap region, having been influenced in post-contact times by people from other areas of Enga who frequently passed on their way to

3 Ibid., p.182.
Porgera, use many of these terms interchangeably and in many instances have no clear idea which of them is original and which is adopted from the other dialects. The list and analysis of relevant Kasap Enga words, which were used in the past (even if shared with other areas of Enga), will be helpful to start drawing a picture of a local cosmology there.

**Imambu** — a spirit or soul that animates the body, keeps it alive and distinguishes a human being from an animal existence.

**Timango** — a spirit that is still alive after the body dies.

**Timango andaka** — a spirit’s house or a place where spirits go to rest after physical death. By no means is a spirit of the dead person automatically entitled to enter the **Timango andaka** and thus become an ancestor. Only persons who died a natural death, or give their life for the sake of a clan or community, and for whom the appropriate funeral rituals were held and the **tee** fulfilled, can find rest there and thus become helpful again to their clansfolk.

Spirits who did not gain access to the **Timango andaka** become malevolent spirits or haunting ghosts — **yanda wupu** wandering throughout the clan’s territory and seeking revenge on living members of the clan. **Yanda wupu** are victims of fighting who have not been properly buried or whose death was not adequately compensated in **tee pingi** (exchange of pigs after the death). This type of ghost can be equally harmful to his clansmen as well as to the clan of his killer(s). The other reason for a spirit to be banned from entering the place of his ancestors and become a dangerous ghost is a failure to fulfil burial ceremonies and rituals. It may happen in the case of tragic death — as for example when a person has drowned and the body was not recovered, or when a person has perished in the swamps or in the tropical forest. The ghost of such a person becomes
very dangerous and looks for an occasion ‘to bite’ one of his clansfolk, so as to make them more eager to perform rituals that would lead to the discovery of who is responsible for his death, to avenge his death if necessary, to hasten the compensation procedures, and thus release him to the ‘other side’.

When all the cultic and ritual requirements have been fulfilled properly and the spirit of a dead person enters the Timango andaka, he joins the pantheon of ancestors, which is a corporate body of spirits guarding over the clan’s territory, ethos and well-being. He joins with those who are keeping the integrity of the clan intact with their ‘blessing’, whereas a disaster may strike if they withdraw their protection.

3.2.3. Other Spirits

One of the commonest false generalisations made about the Enga religious system in the past was to put all types of spirits found in Enga cosmology into one bag and brand them with the name of ‘ancestral spirits’. While there is no systematic body of knowledge concerning spirits in Enga mythology and in practice people will often mix categories and give contradicting opinions concerning their origin and status the fact still remains that by no means all spirits can qualify to achieve a status of spirits of ancestors. In West Enga, where the environment is much harsher than in the East, where the mountains and bush are most inaccessible, where there are more swamps and rapidly flowing rivers, there are consequently a lot of different spirits to be feared. They can be called local spirits or as Theo Aerts proposes ‘nature spirits’.¹ They can take the form of animals, monsters or human beings inhabiting inaccessible places like

mountains, rivers and lakes or in some cases the lake itself can be considered as a sort of spiritual entity.¹

In the Kasap region one of the most feared and commonly blamed for causing misfortunes is *puriril*, the spirit in a form of a monster which can be spotted in the deep bush especially in mountainous or rocky areas.² It is said that it has the human posture of a dwarf, completely hairy and exceptionally ugly. It is a territorial spirit and it attacks careless persons, especially children or women who wander in its territory.

3.3. MYTHS AND SYMBOLS

3.3.1. Myths in General

One of the most important components of religious tradition in any given society or culture is a body of symbolic narratives known as myths³ or sometimes as dreams – as in the case of the Aborigines of Australia and some other Pacific peoples.⁴ They are distinguishable from other elements of religion such as cult and ritual, which can be classified as symbolic behaviour, and originate from or are associated with symbolic places or objects like sacred lakes, sacred stones, temples or carvings. As a rule they are not bound by the logic of time and space as they refer to the reality beyond ordinary human experience, dealing with the divine, worship, festive ceremonies and forms of images. With time the myth is elevated to the status of sacred reality and becomes a


² The same spirits called *pututuli* are known also in other parts of Enga. See: M. Dlugosz, *Mae Enga Myths...*, op.cit., p.63.

³ An explanation of the origin of the word ‘myth’ and its various understanding and interpretations see chapter four “Myth” in: W.E. Paden, *Religious Worlds*, Boston 1994, pp.69-93. Here we are concerned with a myth as a religious concept.

justification for laws and norms of a society. In certain circumstances the myth might be rejected, or replaced by another one that addresses more adequately the changing reality of life.

The mythology of some groups of people present a collection of highly elaborated stories relating to creation, divine or celestial beings, their family descent, their intervention in the origin of humanity or a particular tribe or clan. Myths point to a relationship between humanity and supernatural powers, which may be concerned with people's affairs, or hostile to them, or in some cases indifferent. Some myths contain information about famous people, who often achieve the status of heroes or half-gods, and others contain knowledge concerning important events or stages in the life of the tribe, clan or the individual person, such as time, local cosmology, the origin of death, the great flood, the social organisation, customs and institution of a given society. For illiterate societies myths are the basic elements of human culture and serve as the means of preserving and passing on to the next generations the important facts from the past and as such they may be taken for history. While studying and analysing myths it is important to be conscious of the fact that, although they generally contain narratives concerning simple people, at the same time they have a didactic function reflecting, expressing and exploring the people's culture and providing a blueprint for moral behaviour.

1 The romantic writers for example F. von Schlegel and F. Schelling elaborated on the concept of myth as a form of universal language and symbols containing spiritual truths.
2 For the first time these terms were used in Melanesian context by R.H. Codrington, see: The Melanesians: Studies in their Anthropology and Folk-lore, Oxford 1891.
4 Although according to the Encyclopaedia Britannica 'myth and history represent alternative ways of looking at the past' the history can be included in the myth and myth in the history, as is the case with 'the father of history' Herodotus. Cf. EB/BCD/Cache/2.
5 B. Malinowski, Sex, Culture and Myth, op.cit., p.286.
As this study is concerned primarily with the religious aspects of Enga society it is advisable to include some additional information about the position and relation of myth to religion. Generally, though not necessarily correctly, the myth is associated with religious rituals and symbols. According to some scholars myths explain or justify a group’s rituals – especially fertility rites, which in most instances contain mystical and symbolic elements difficult to comprehended by natural reasoning.¹ The members of the so-called *Myth and Ritual School* have suggested that myth was actually an important part of the ritual.² Concerning some of the African myths, P. Sarpong explains that although “these stories refer to God’s hand, his feet, children, river... but these figures are only a concrete way of expressing difficult abstract religious truths”.³ In examining the content and the role of myths in Enga it is necessary to remember that these myths are a product of a certain group of people expressing their convictions and culture, in which there is no sharp distinction between religious and secular reality.

### 3.3.2. Enga Mythology

The Enga, like other illiterate societies, possess quite an elaborate mythology, containing all the above-listed elements and categories of myths and covering all aspects of life: secular and religious; material and spiritual; mundane activities and spectacular celebrations. They serve as a history book, even as religious canons; they give ‘scientific’ explanation to the surrounding world and cosmos, providing answers to

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the persistent problems of life and death. The majority of myths are known and shared by all different groups inhabiting Enga, although there are some variations due to the different dialects and adaptations made to suit diverse local conditions. Noticeable differences occur in the mythology of Eastern Enga – being influenced by stories of the Melpa people – and Western Enga – closely associated with Huli and Southern Highlands cultures. In Eastern Enga there are slight differences between the stories from the Kandep area and from the region of Lagaip-Porgera, for the latter seem to be influenced by some narratives from people inhabiting the upper Sepik River region, with which they had some trading contacts.

Certainly at present the collection of myths is much richer and interesting than the collection of rituals, especially in West Enga, where the conditions of life are harsher and the people have to direct almost the whole of their energy and time to activities that guarantee survival. Here arises an intriguing question: why do they think that ritual does not provide a necessary means of survival, as do as well, for example, the Sepik peoples, who have elaborate systems of rituals in connection with almost every aspect of their life? Could it be true that existence forms the conscience? Enga inhabitants have to work hard and fight hard with the environment, climate and other difficulties in order to grow crops to sustain themselves and their stock.


Though the Sepik people may think the same about themselves it looks like (at least for an outsider) that it would be easier to survive in the Sepik conditions than in the mountains of Enga. One of the factors which may explain why there is such an impressive collection of elaborate rituals among the people inhabiting the area below the mountains is the fact that they have the possibility of obtaining food (in some cases quite a substantial quantity) from the water. There is not much need for humans to affect the conditions of such vast and powerful life sustaining resources as the sea or the huge Sepik River, and therefore their activities concentrate more on celebrating the ritual.¹ A ritual may assure good weather, good winds and a good catch. The better the ritual the better the effect. And a better effect means more instant food and therefore more spare time to develop even better rituals. Supposing, this to be true, then the Sepik peoples had more time to develop highly sophisticated and elaborate rituals, while Highlanders were occupied with the thoughts of survival: On the other hand, it still remains a mystery of how to explain the elaborate system of myths in the Highlands. If the Highlanders were so busy that they were not able to elaborate on rituals, why did they think it was worthy to spend the time on ‘inventing’ the myths?

One explanation may be that the weather conditions in Enga or in the Highlands generally favour the elaboration myths over rituals. In Enga the weather is for most part of the year wet and rainy.² There is actually one wet season with some less rain in June and July. Almost every day in the afternoon it starts to rain and it goes on until early morning. It is easy to realise that there are no adequate conditions for extended rituals as there is always pressure to speed up the action, because of the threat of rain. It is a fact

that people are used to it and it does not usually interfere with their normal activities, but when it comes to extended celebrations adverse weather is a major obstacle.

Enga people perform all their major rituals in the open air. Although they have a very advanced system of building houses, they never considered building social houses or constructions, which could provide shelter during rituals or celebrations. In these circumstances the dressing elements, ornamentation and body paintings which are very costly and require time and energy to make, could be easily damaged by the rain. The temperature often falls rapidly too, so for the people, who generally do not wear any protective clothing, it must have an instant and negative effect. The only way to keep warm is to be near the fire, which in view of the moisture cannot be kept in the open air. Practically speaking, it means that people are forced to spend more time in the vicinity of their houses, where they can find shelter and security from the cold and rain. This can present an excellent environment for creating songs, stories and myths, as well as passing them on to other people. However, such an explanation may clash with many official interpretations of myth, especially with the *Myth and Ritual School*, which claims that myths serve as interpretations of the rituals. Also functional anthropologists would object to this because, according to their school, myths should serve some other higher values in society and are not products of a wandering mind. But if myths are understood as an oral record of historical events and names, or as an intellectual reflection on the important issues of human existence, they may be considered as intended human activity, carrying out purposeful functions.

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1. The small houses built for *Kepele* celebrations and the bigger *Areanda* house for *mote* initiation were meant to serve as cultic houses to which only ritual experts or special group of participants had limited access.

It is a paradox that, while the Enga tradition as a whole was approached by colonial officials, missionaries, anthropologists and other newcomers with great interest and sympathy, myths were the least appreciated components of Enga culture, and during earlier contact there was not much study or systematic record kept of Enga mythologies.\(^1\) This probably should be attributed to the complexity of the Enga language and the variety of its dialects, and also to the fact that other elements of culture such as dress, body ornaments, paintings, carvings, dances and music were much more readily understood than myths. Even for those who started to learn the Enga language, an appreciation of Enga mythology was made more difficult because myths proper are mixed up with other different genders of oral tradition, such as fairytales, sayings, proverbs or historical reports. These differences are not easily identifiable even by the local speakers, or else the distinctions seem to mean little.\(^2\) Thus the first mentioned of these forms just listed gave an impression that Enga myths were only a product of a fantasising imagination, while the last makes them look like a boring account of facts and names of people and places.\(^3\)

The Enga language contains several terms that summarise the function of passing on to the next generation a popular knowledge and tradition in the oral form. The most popular form is the song (\textit{wee}), and the magical formulae (\textit{nemango}), either in ritual or for personal use. Facts, events, traditions and interpretations are contained in the \textit{atome pii}, which is a body of more or less historical accounts kept by tribes, clans or individual families. Another type of verbal expression preserved by oral tradition, often

\(^1\) The notable exception is cited above R. Lacey’s record of Enga oral traditions.
\(^2\) P. Wiessner and A. Tumu, \textit{Historical Vines...}, op. cit., pp. 34-42.
\(^3\) In the Judeo-Christian tradition this type of account is best exemplified by the genealogy of Jesus Christ given by Matthew in the passage read by the Catholic Church at the beginning of each Advent Season. See: Mt 1: 1-17.
confused with the myth,\(^1\) constitutes metaphorical legends (*kongali pii*), which can be referred to as analogy, metaphor, proverb, or, as generally described by local people in Neo-Melanesian: *tok hait*, or *tok bokis* (hidden talk). The collection of narratives to which the term myth could be applied most appropriately is described by the Enga phrase *tindi pii*, which would mean story or myth in its semantic frame indicated above.

For Engans the *tindi pii* are part of the sacrum, and can be told only by people who have the right either by birth or by office to pass them on, and by those observing prescribed regulations concerning the time, locum and recipients as well as a proper atmosphere (in the same way as applies to rituals). The usual place for telling the myth was in the akalianda, the men’s clubhouse, where the male members of the clan who underwent the rites of initiation gathered for their night’s sessions. The young men who were taking part in the various stages of initiation were told some of the myths in a secluded place during the Sangai initiation and in the Areanda during the Mote initiation.\(^2\) Women, children and young boys before initiation, who were not eligible to be present while the myth was revealed, could be ‘harmed’ by the message contained in the story. Persons entitled ‘to proclaim’ myths would take care that it was done in the community’s rightful territory and that the time of the performance would coincide with the activities of the spirits, who provide spiritual power to the story in order to have an effect on listeners and thus influence their behaviour.

The telling of a myth practically amounted to a celebration, to enacting the content of it in the presence of the congregation, for, as Eliade rightly noticed in more general terms, it is “by ‘living’ myth that one emerges from profane, chronicle time and

\(^1\) P. Wiessner and A. Tumu, *Historical Vines...,* op.cit., p.39.
enters the time that is of a different quality, a ‘sacred’ one’. It is because of these circumstances that the role and qualities of the person ‘performing’ the myth was so clearly defined and emphasised.

Recently two excellent elaborations upon Enga myths have been published by authors familiar with the Enga culture and Enga language and utilising to the full extend the categories listed above. M. Długosz, in *Mae Enga Myths and Christ’s Message*, provides a collection of the Enga origin myths and their thorough interpretation from the Christian perspective. Wiessner and Tumu in *Historical Vines* use mythology and other forms of oral tradition to reconstruct the past and compile the history of Enga society, and the development of such important social institutions as the leadership, *Tee* exchange, Great Ceremonial Wars (*Yanda Andake*), cult of the ancestors, and other religious rituals and celebrations.

Długosz classifies the body of Enga myths into the following categories, which generally fall in line with the general classification presented in the beginning of this section.\(^2\)

1. Myths concerning creation and cosmogony present the Creator – *Aitawe*, who created the universe and lent it to Sky Beings (*valyakali*) to populate and supervise it.

2. The origin myths that are concerned with the world’s affairs after the creation and multiplication of plants, animals and humans as well as development of social, religious and cultural institutions.

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3. Life and death myths that deal with the original gift of everlasting life and its subsequent loss through disobedience, mystery of suffering, destination of a person, and with the afterworld.

4. Myths of transformation that explain the changes taking place in the world and in the person in the various stages of life. They are strongly connected to *rites de passage* or stages of the life cycles and initiation ceremonies.

5. Myths about culture heroes that give an account of activities performed for the benefit of humanity by the heroic figures of superhuman or virtually divine nature, who exemplify the model for clansmen and especially for leaders of the community.

### 3.3.3. Symbols in Enga

Myths and rituals are inevitably connected with symbols. Sometimes myths and rituals could be described in themselves as symbolic expressions of the sacred reality.

Although there are many symbols in Enga culture here we concentrate only on those pertaining to the religious sphere. In this context the external form and matter of a symbolic object conceals an intrinsic nature, which points to a spiritual realm. Symbols, like other elements in the culture and religious tradition are not static and with time they may undergo various stages of transition or even disappear completely.

In Enga culture there are various groups of symbols with different levels of significance in practical application, both, in myth-telling and ritual celebrations. The fundamental elements of nature such as the sun, moon, storms and lightning are considered the most obvious symbols of communication between supernatural powers and creation. General components of the environment such as forests, lakes, rivers,

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mountains and caves are believed to possess supernatural powers or that they are inhabited by spirits and beings with supernatural abilities. While these general categories constitute the broad Enga cosmology, the particular symbolic elements shape everyday life where myth and ritual is practiced.

**Birds**

Birds are considered to be messengers and as such they occupy much more space in myths than in rituals. The *Laima* (cassowary) is the most valued animal after the pig. Due to its strength and virility it symbolises human courage, bravery and perseverance.¹ Someone with exceptional qualities in character and leadership may be rewarded with the nickname *Laima*. The other bird *Kambi* (eagle) symbolises fatherly care and protection. It is believed that it can even save people, especially children. The name *Kambi* is given by the father to the child who will inherit his social position. In East Enga the *Yaka Lai* (a type of parrot) is the symbol of good luck and blessings. It is particularly sought after during initiation ceremonies where its presence vouchsafes to the boys' ritual cleanliness. Because of the bird's liveliness it is believed that it never sleeps and therefore guards sacred sites and objects.

**Plants**

We can have a look at plants in Enga as having a two-fold meaning. Firstly, they are symbolising certain qualities and realities, secondly, they are indispensable in rituals and in magic. Centred around them and important to Enga culture are also myths and stories. Two plants seem to have particular importance, these are: pandanus (*karuka*)

and bog-iris (lepe). While the karuka plays a very important role as a food bearing tree, the lepe is a wild growing plant with no utilitarian function at all.

**The Karuka**

This plant is a type of nut producing tree which normally grows in clusters in the bush. Men also plant them near their dwellings mainly for their symbolic and protective role rather than for practical benefits. In the harvest season most of the population would move out of the village and live for a couple of months in the bush surviving almost solely on karuka fruit. Being a type of nut it contains a good dose of oil, which means that it is nutritious. But what is more important is that it also produces intoxicating effects which probably slow down the metabolic functions of the body thus enabling people to go without any other foods for a period of time. It is especially effective in its fresh form but the surplus can also be dried out by smoking it over a fire and used for a month or so. There are many stories connected with this time in the bush that can be attributed to the intoxicating effects of these nuts. Usually it is centred on brotherly quarrels and infighting, which would not occur in any other circumstance. Other stories concern encounters with snakes. The karuka tree is often inhabited by snakes, which are protected from predators in its bushy and thorny top.

**The Lepe Plant**

There are various types of lepe plants in different parts of Enga, but all of them are indispensable in initiation rites (Sangai). The lepe which is believed to have special sensitivity or even a heart (mona) and provides protection, strength and knowledge to people. During the initiation seclusion each man plants his own lepe which growth is

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conditioned by its owner's personal maturity and social standing. It can also be said that
the opposite is true, that the growth of the plant conditions the fate of its owner. The
leaves and flowers of the lepe are also used as a body decoration during celebrations
and rituals. It holds a very high status in Enga mythology, especially in connection with
Sky Woman and her role in introducing the Sangai into Enga society.

Animals

Generally there are not many animals in Enga especially in the western parts and at high
altitudes. It is no wonder that almost every animal has some symbolic relevance. The
role of pigs and their exceptional position in Enga culture has already been described in
the first chapter. Here we will refer only to one, but well-known instance in which we
can discover the basis on which this exceptional position of pigs is grounded in Enga
mythology. According to legend a creature in the shape of a red pig but with a human
personality saved one of the Enga clans from their enemies by sacrificing its own life.
Because of this mythical event red pigs (tambuak) hold a most prominent position
among all Enga animals.1 Other animals found in Enga such as possums and snakes also
have a symbolic meaning and are surrounded by many mythical stories. They have
ascribed to them powers and qualities, which enable them to serve as mediators between
the supernatural and the human. The other important role of animals is in the stories of
origin in which each clan seems to be linked with one of the animals living in Enga.

Rocks and Stones

Due to their lasting nature and durability rocks and stones have a special symbolic
meaning in cultural and religious traditions. In the Enga culture, rocks and stones of

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1 Cf. L. Kambao, 'The Discovery of Weapo Yahweh..., op.cit., pp.385-98.
unusual formation and shape are frequently mentioned in myths, where they symbolise and indicate the presence of spirits. It is well known that they also play a significant role in rituals. In the Kasap area rocky Mount Maip is considered a sacred site where the spirits of ancestors dwell and display their supernatural powers. As already mentioned special rocks *en route* from Kasap to Wabag symbolise and mark the journey of a mother and daughter who introduced the sweet potato into the region. The extremely important role of stones in the *Kepele* ritual is described at length in the third chapter, and we note stones in connection with divining fight outcomes in chapter six.

3.4. RITUAL AND ITS CUSTODIANS

3.4.1 Meaning and Function of Enga Rituals

There exists a general presumption among anthropologists that traditional Melanesian societies, especially in the Highlands of Papua New Guinea, did not have hierarchical structures, and that there was not an ordained priesthood or other forms for consecrating people to be exclusively designated for religious service. This opinion is shared also by some local scholars. Lakau states for example that the middle Enga peoples of Kaina Enga “lack any specialised priestly duties”, and this is a fair common opinion about Melanesian traditional religion across the board. Accepting such an opinion without further qualifications may create a false impression, that for Melanesians religious cults were not important, or that they were performed on spontaneous impulse and by persons hurriedly chosen for the occasion, when all evidence testifies to the contrary.

Researchers are now reacting to the prevailing view.

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4 For example: H. Whitehouse, *Arguments and Icons*, op.cit., pp.81-98.
Where are the roots of this apparent controversy? What drove anthropologists in the past to draw the above-stated opinions and what makes present scientists continue in the same view, even if this seems to contradict popular observations? Perhaps, the past attitudes towards Melanesian religion and its components could be ascribed to the evolutionary theory, prevailing among scientists in the nineteenth century, which placed the beliefs and convictions of the newly discovered peoples at the bottom of the ladder of the world's religions, even denying them any religious activities. It would seem logical that if a religion were still in its 'primitive' stage there would not exist any developed structure or hierarchy. At that time there were not as yet any direct scientific field research undertaken and the material gathered on the subject, even though vast, did not have much scientific value, because of its sensationalist character. And, as according to Evans-Pritchard, a majority of these evolutionary theorists "had never been near a primitive", and based their research on the materials received second-hand and often biased. It was therefore easy to formulate shallow statements that accounted for some of the external symptoms of the described reality but did not give justice to the depth of the problem.

The other important factor, which may partly explain past theories and opinions, was the great gap in the philosophy of Western and newly discovered cultures, quite

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3 E.E. Evans-Pritchard, *Theories of Primitive Religion*, Oxford 1966, p.7. One of the first scientists to visit the West coast of New Guinea was evolutionist T.H. Huxley on an expedition of H.M.S Rattlesnake in 1849. His contact with the natives, though, was very limited due to the over-sensitivity of the captain of the ship, who was influenced by the bad reputation of natives among the sailors and feared for the safety of the crew. See: T.H. Huxley, *Diary of the Voyage of H.M.S. Rattlesnake 1846-50*, (Unpublished Manuscript Collection, Mitchell Library, Sydney, B1079).
4 For example Spencer (a friend of Huxley) states in 1874 that the standard greeting for people inhabiting New Guinea is to 'touch the nose with the forefinger and thumb of one had, and pinch the skin on each side of the navel with the other; repeating at the same time *maga suga*'. G. Duncan, 'Ceremonial Laws of Intercourse', in: (ed.) H. Spencer, *The Data of Sociology*, London 1874, Vol.1.
different system of values, language concepts and symbols, which required from scientists a lot of good will and patient objectivism, if they were to make constructive syntheses and arrive at any valid conclusions. But that was not to be the case, and it would be inconceivable for nineteenth century ‘Eurocentric’ theorists, to even give a thought to the possibility that, in the near future in the Highlands of New Guinea, evidence might be found that would “completely alter all formerly accepted theories of the history of mankind”.¹ Such attitudes were to prevail for some time yet and, as Swain observes rightly, “even the notable achievements of Durkheim were constrained by the lingering positivism of the early twentieth century”.² If the past trend may be explained by scientists’ ideological imperatives, the present insistence on the absence of the idea of a person dedicated to performing religious ritual, or of a prescribed priestly duty and priestly function in Enga society, while many facts indicate otherwise, demands a deeper analysis.

The first explanation could be that Lakau is talking only about the Kaina group, which may be unique in this regard from the rest of Enga. But it looks as if he is convinced that this is valid for the whole of Enga, when he suggests that only Enga does not have these institutions, while “they are common in other parts of Papua New Guinea”.³ The second explanation is that old prejudice exists about the important role that is played in primitive societies by their spiritual leaders. In a society such as Enga, where Christian leadership still depends heavily on overseas staff, this attitude is enforced by a general mistrust towards foreigners, inherited from the colonial era.

¹ J. Goode, Rape of the Fly, Melbourne 1977, pp.4-5.
³ A. Lakau, Customary Land Tenure..., op.cit., p.7.
In spite of these subjective feelings the fact is that, as in the present, so also in the past, the religious leadership in Enga was well developed and provided care which satisfied the spiritual needs of the Enga people, not just their material longings and desires.¹

3.4.2. Function of Diviners - *Nemango Akali*

Although, as stated above, it may be assumed that there was no special group of people or authority that would usurp exclusive rights in religious matters in all the tribes of traditional Enga society, the office of *nemango akali* (normally translated ‘diviner’) possesses some characteristics and tasks that in other religions would be ascribed to the priestly class. Apart from their already-mentioned sporadic activities concerning the warfare, these ‘specialists’ were indispensable in performing many religious rituals for the benefit of their clans or for the whole tribe. They decided on the dates for performing *gote pungi* and *yakyu* – celebrations designed to pay homage and respect to the celestial beings; they presided over the ritual animal sacrifices offered to the ancestors such as *yan-ai pungi, ne'e pungi*; and they had a leading role in *yainanda yawege* – the fertility cults. They were also advisers on matters concerning the *tee* exchange and other important enterprises undertaken by the community or individuals. In general the *nemango akali* assumed a very special and unique status in traditional Enga society.

It is believed by people and probably by the ‘diviner’ himself that he is in possession of special endowments that enable him to gain an access to the supernatural world of the dead and the ancestral spirits. To him is ascribed the gift of discerning and interpreting the attitude and demeanour of the spirits in respect to the living. As Bernard 

Juillerat puts it: “this form of powers can lead in opposite directions: to life or to death; one excludes the other”.¹ He is looked upon as the one who has been appointed by the ancestors to function as the mediator between the two worlds, the visible world of the living, and the invisible world of the supernatural powers and spirits. He has in his possession nemango – the magical spells, which he acquired from the other nemango akali, either from within Enga or from its neighbours. The use of spells had to be reciprocated, either by other magic or most commonly by material goods, in order to be effective. Magic that was not paid for would not only fail to bring the expected fruits, but may actually harm a person to whom it was applied, even the nemango akali himself. This ‘logic of retribution’ as Professor Trompf calls it requires that all material and spiritual services should be reciprocated adequately, in order to keep the social balance intact and secure the effectiveness of undertaken enterprises. For some foreign observers it may create an impression of a cold-hearted materialism while in fact this is an underlying principle of the whole social system in the most of Melanesian societies, which defines the relationship with visible and invisible cosmos and its human and spiritual agencies.²

As with other functions in Enga society, admittedly, the office of nemango akali is not a thing to be inherited, yet in many cases a child of a diviner may become a diviner as well. An individual has to be gifted with the qualities of character enabling him to handle his duties properly. The diviner has to put in a lot of hard work and resources into acquiring the necessary knowledge of things with which he/she will deal; he/she has to gain access to magic and spells and above all has to be endorsed by the spirits of the ancestors. While the activities of the diviner are perceived as one of the

functions performed in the wider net of the sociological structure of the community, at
the same time it is a special vocation that cannot be self-assumed, for it requires
confirmation from supernatural authorities. Signs of being adept may occur suddenly
and in unusual circumstances, or perhaps it will be in the everyday occurrences that a
person discovers these powers in himself, so that people start to approach him, seeking
his advice or the remedying of events that cannot be grasped by applying intellectual
logic and ordinary day-by-day measures.

Following the basic principle of the local philosophy that no event can occur
without a cause, Engans cannot be satisfied with the answer that something ‘just
happens’, or that ‘natural’ forces could be accountable for such metaphysical events as
injury, unrecognisable sickness, sudden material misfortune, infertility (human or
animal), crop failure, natural disasters (floods, earthquakes, even Enga gigantic
landslides), or the most tragic of them all – death. All these events are associated with
some mystical, spiritual agencies that through mishap indicate the spirits’ displeasure or
anger over the matters being handled by the members of the clan or tribe. Although
most ills can also be attributed to an enemy, he will also be employing spiritual forces to
destroy the wellbeing of the community or an individual; and there is always the
underlying factor of one’s ancestral protective shield being broken or weakened if they
allow these misfortunes to take place.

Confronted by one of the above-listed situations, the individual person or the
head of the family or the elders of the clan will seek the cause and explanation of the
misfortune. As said, it is clear for any member of the community that evil spirits or
living ancestors are at work if disaster strikes, but it is the task of the diviner to
determine what is the cause of their anger or why the ancestral spirits withdrew their protective shield, leaving their clansmen vulnerable to attack. The reason for this displeasure could come as a result of an offence, be it deliberate or by omission, against some of the spiritual agencies. However, a misfortune will generally be associated with guilt or wrongdoing committed by one of the clansfolk. The most common sins that can be punished by the ancestors are: a transgression of the clan's obligations or taboos; or neglect of ritual duties or committing a crime against a clansman, which was never discovered and therefore not compensated. Even bad thoughts or a grudge against a relative can result in the punishment permitted by the ancestors, unhappy as they could become about the disunity among the members of the community.¹

To restore the harmony between the living members of the clan and their ancestors and to avert greater misfortune, the diviner has to find out what crime has been committed or which taboo broken, who is the trespasser, which spirit has been offended and what will be the appropriate compensation offered to the living and the dead. It is a difficult and risk-involving task, as the offended spirits may outpour their rage on any person approaching them and the people who contracted the guilt may feel very insecure and react unreasonably and dangerously. The diviner is also aware that any statement pronounced by him can cause further dissension if the indicated offender claims innocence, denies wrongdoing or is not willing to offer a sufficient expiatory gift to the ancestors, or refuses to properly compensate the person affected by his guilt.

While the diviner's knowledge is indispensable in the extreme situations indicated above, his advice is sought in many other cases where a person or community

¹ Cf. Case of John Popo's nephew, supra, p.37. See also: P. Wiessner and A. Tumu, From Inside..., op.cit., p.140.
is going to make an important decision, undertake a difficult project, or settle for the best actions in ambiguous or ‘bordering circumstances’. The diviner will consult the spirits of the ancestors to find out if the undertaking is going to produce the expected fruits, otherwise plans will have to be changed, even entirely postponed. It is believed that good and bad spiritual forces are always at work and can affect human activities, and it is therefore necessary to ensure protection and support from the ancestors to achieve success. In some cases, though, the evil spirits are so powerful that it requires the most respected diviner – sometimes even more than one – to change the destination or the course of things. Let us consider an example of the diviners’ importance to acquire a feel for the ‘arena of their activities’.

Yona was a woman in her mid forties, relatively well off, quite independent and influential in her village, especially among the women. She got when she was about 20 to a man from a neighbouring clan. Their first child died as a baby and the second – a daughter is now about fifteen. For some unknown reasons they could not conceive any more children, though they wanted to very much. As the husband was working for years in Bougainville they had the money to visit doctors and buy quite expensive medicine, but to no avail. Generally, it was assumed in the village that she was at fault. After the Bougainville mine ceased operations Yona’s husband returned to the village and started to ‘play around’ with a certain woman, known in Enga as a 2-kina meri (one selling her services for 2 kina). Not long after, Yona, who was still seeking medical advice as to her infertility was diagnosed with STD sickness. She claimed that the sickness must have been contracted from her husband and accused him as the one guilty of her barrenness. The matter went to the local court but no resolution was reached, as there was not enough evidence and both clans did not want to risk a division because of one problematic marriage. The diviner was called in to solve the matter. He was a young, charismatic figure from a neighbouring tribe but had some family links both with Yona’s and her husband’s tribes. After devoting his time to the investigation of the whole problem, contacting spirits and making offerings to them, he called the household and some members of both clans for a seance.

It was on one of these rainy, foggy and cold Sunday evenings that makes for a special Enga atmosphere, and some 20 people gathered around a small fire in Yona’s house. After some religious songs and prayers (almost all present here were baptised into Christian Churches), the diviner took over and started with his procedure. He addressed some questions to the couple and other people, listened to their explanations, sometimes interrupting by uttering some nemango words or impelling ecstatic silence – during which he consulted the spirits. After almost two hours he spoke out his judgment. The fact is, he said, Yona is infertile and she cannot conceive a child. But it is not her fault. But it is
also not her husband’s guilt, or better, not entirely his guilt. Actually there is an enemy’s hand behind this. As the husband’s tribe was involved in many local fights and he was supporting his clansmen with money earned at work, there were many enemies, wishing him all the worst, and, as he had not been present at the battlefield, they were not in a position to harm him directly. During the fights there were many casualties, but his tribe had not paid any compensation as yet. No wonder, then, that many people wished him the worst and employed their magic to bring misfortune on him and his clansmen, while the spirits of the killed people and their ancestors seek to discharge their rage as well. However, because the husband was absent from his territory for long periods the revenge that was designed for him befall on his wife, polluting her abdomen and in effect leaving her infertile. The diviner explained also that the ancestral spirits of the husband’s clan had withdrawn their protective shield because they were angry with their clansmen for not paying compensations, which they were obliged to make. It makes the ancestors ashamed of the state of affairs in the clan and the negligence of duties displayed by members of the clan.

The explanation was accepted with nods of approval and understanding and everybody present at the séance now looked at the diviner expecting him to suggest a suitable remedy. They were not left disappointed, as the diviner announced that he was going to perform an operation which would remove from the body of the affected woman the effects of magic that were preventing her from conceiving a child. He told her to lie down in bed and uncover the middle part of her belly, which she did by simply lifting up her ‘meri clos’. The nemango akali, mumbling words of magic leaned over the woman, his face touching her belly. He sucked the skin of her belly and began to spit out from his mouth things that he extracted from her – some hair, rubber, pieces of clothes and other rubbish. He repeated the action a few times producing a good handful of dirt that polluted her body. When he finished the procedure with her he turned to her husband suggesting that he should offer a pig to the ancestors and that his clan should pay compensations, which were due a long time ago, and that his wife surely would now be able to conceive and give birth.

After the séance the diviner was paid K.100, a pig was offered for the appeasement of the spirits, but unfortunately the husband’s clan was not able to meet the compensation demands expected from all the affected parties, so Yona still remains under the power of the curse and unable to conceive.¹

3.4.3. Function of Healers

The difference between diviners and healers could be best described, by borrowing the terminology from the Church’s language, as the difference between ordained and non-ordained ministers. To be a diviner was a vocation, a calling, and an appointment confirmed somehow by the ancestors or spirits. To be a healer was a job which required specialist skills and gifts, but there was no need for a special divine-inspired calling.

¹ Personal observation.
The healing activities were performed in the cases of sickness which fitted into a known pattern, and which occurred commonly or at repeated intervals. There was no need to discover the origin of the misfortune, or in other words ‘how it happened’, but rather to treat its effects, even if sometimes it required an investigation as to ‘why it happened’ to a given person. It can be said that healers fulfilled the duties of a doctor but they were also religious ministers, as anything that happened in the life of the society or an individual always had some religious dimension, and that was especially true in the case of sickness or other misfortune.  

While the diviners were only males – women not generally being present during the cultic rituals – the area of healing was an activity open to women, at least to a limited degree. They dealt with the lesser cases of ailments and with women’s sicknesses; especially those connected to fertility and the childbirth process. In general, healers specialised in treating the cases that can be ascribed to a mistake committed by people or explained by recourse to the ‘law of nature’. Such frequent ailments as headaches, toothaches, stomach upsets, was the domain of healers both male and female.

The male healers differ from their female colleagues in that they are in a position to offer sacrificial gifts to the spirits of the ancestors, an action which is not available to women because of the general fear of ghosts, prevalent and persistent among women in the culture. This fact has important implications in the process of

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2 Kyakas and Wiessner give one example of a healing fertility ritual, the *yako kaima*, in which a young girl’s presence was required in the opening phase. Cf. A. Kyakas and P. Wiessner, *From Inside...*, op.cit., p.138.
3 At present in Kasap a certain Klaras has big recognition and influence among the local population.
treated and cured sickness, especially in its more serious cases. The action of the healer is performed at two different levels. One is material, aimed at curing the sickness, that is, to eliminate pain connected with the symptoms of various illnesses. The second is spiritual, aimed at restoring the broken relationship between the material and spiritual spheres of the sick person's cosmos. As some of the Jewish authors of the Old Testament perceived, sickness, as a fruit of sin; similarly Engans see sickness as a visible effect of a broken relationship between the material and spiritual worlds, which are affected by human thoughts, actions and negligence. Thus a healer is not only concerned with the sickness as worrying 'independent development' to be terminated or cured, but adopts a more holistic approach, looking at a sick person as a human member separated from the community, who needs a healing of their relationship with other people, living or dead. In view of the above, it turns out that only males, who are able to offer sacrifices can be fully regarded as healers – but as there was no clear definition of a person eligible to carry out such an activity, this title may be applied by extension to other people, who specialised in the treatment of human physical ailments, always having some recourse to supernatural powers.

The main feature of the healer's mode of operation was the recourse to supernatural powers through magic spells without referring directly to the world of the spirits. While the diviners used their special accessory items such as a rod or sacred stone, healers applied medicines – mostly herbal or some traditional mixtures of organic powders and juices (or what in the modern approach to medicine we would call an alternative medicine). It is important to stress that although people, and especially healers themselves, made clear differentiation between the medicine applied and the magical spell, the understanding was that the first would not have a healing power.
without the latter. But, as with any case of magic, there was no rational explanation as to how this comes about, and there was no need for one. Wiessner, who examined this subject with women, notes how they, "could not explain exactly how magic spells were believed to work. Those used by men in healing ceremonies and fertility cults called on the spirits of the ancestors for assistance. Those used in everyday life did not". ¹

It was possible to apply some magical spells without using any other equipment, but any physical action of the healer would be meaningless if it was performed without the prescribed magical formula. Quite apart from healing cases, nemango were recited in love magic, in the garden work and as a preventive measure for bodily beauty and fitness. For example, a girl may prepare a sweet potato, which was bespelled while cooking, and then present it to a boy whom she would like to marry. People would use words of magic while they planted things in the garden to make them produce better fruits, special magical formulas were used while putting on different parts of decorations to make it look more impressive. As for cases of actual sickness or injury, a proper herbal medicine was administered with the accompanying use of appropriate nemango spells. Individual healers applied the same type of medicine to treat similar cases but the effectiveness of the treatment differed according to the strength of each one's nemango and the disposition of the sick person. Treatment materials most commonly used were tarangit (cordyline) leaves, lepe plants (acorus calamus), some type of clay soils, cold water and cutting of the skin to let the bad blood out.

¹ A. Kyakas and P. Wiessner, From Inside..., op.cit., p.138.
3.5. CULTS FOR ANCESTORS

3.5.1. General Concept

West Enga appears to pay more attention to the spiritual sphere than East Enga. In the East the myths concerning various cults are quite clearly distinguishable from the origin myths and are second to them in social importance. "In West Enga, origin myths for tribes and ancestral cults are often intertwined".\(^1\) In the East the cults and rituals, presided over mostly by the local big-men or occasional temporal specialists, tended to be more open and pragmatic, with the aim of securing affirmation of the Ancestors in the actual enterprises of the tribal community. In the West, highly specialised and respected – almost full time – ritual experts conducted rituals of mysterious and often esoteric character, with an emphasis on 'atonement' for the breaking of laws established by the ancestors, and for the appeasement of the spiritual world.

For the whole of Enga the cults and rituals in honour of the ancestral spirits were the way to secure the prosperity and continuity of the tribes, clans and smaller social groups, from whom they trace their origins. "Cults for the ancestors were the anchors of society".\(^2\) In the cults and rituals 'the practice', or the present life situation of the group, was evaluated by matching it with 'the ideal' – the ancestral times, laws and perfection. Celebrations for the ancestors gathered people from various groups and sections of the tribe, and reminded them about their common origins and unity represented by the common ancestor. The generous communal offering of gifts for sacrifice and a sharing in the one meal reinforced the basic principle that distribution and exchange lies at the basis of survival and development of the community. Because of their religious and

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1 P. Wiessner and A. Tumu, *Historical Vines...*, op.cit., p.179.
2 Ibid., p.179.
spiritual character, the cults permeated all other socially important activities and events like exchange, economy, politics, tribal fights, etc.

### 3.5.2. Yainanda of Eastern and Central Enga

The *Yainanda* was the cult for the ancestors, performed in the East and Central Enga, to restore the balance between nature and the people. Most probably the cult originated outside Enga in pre-contact times and was imported by migrating groups. Many of its features resemble the cults in neighbouring southern Melpa, described by Strauss and Tischner.¹ According to the myths concerning the *Yainanda*, there was not much variation in the form of the ritual and it was held in the same manner for generations.

The *Yainanda* was held when there was a mounting number of events signalling that the ancestors may be dissatisfied: such events being a decline in fertility and growth of crops, trees, animals and humans. Sometimes there was only a warning, in the form of discovering a new stone, dream, or a vision, indicating that the ancestral spirits are unhappy with the affairs conducted by the clan members, this sometimes being enough to trigger the performance of the ritual. The celebration was held initially in smaller communities, but if symptoms persisted, the feast was organised in the wider group.²

Generating ritual procedures, the men went first to hunt marsupials, the meat and blood of which were ritually indispensable. After the hunting, they gathered together on the ceremonial ground and prepared it for the feast by trampling the grass with their feet. At this time women and children were allowed to join in. They received the raw meat, which they took home for cooking at the end of the day. Meanwhile the

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core of the food was prepared for *mumu* (oven cooking under hot stones), and the sacred stones representing the ancestors were unearthed. When the *mumu* was ready the stones were rubbed with marsupial fat and blood and “and they [the ancestors] were given the food”. When this was done and the stones were put back in their place of rest, the participants shared the *mumu* and had a meal. At the end of the day the celebration was over. The same procedures were basically followed with both small and large numbers of participants.

3.5.3. **Kaima Cult in Western Enga**

The *Yaka Kaima* cult, one of the oldest cults in Enga, took its name from the spirit bird *Yaka Kaima*, whose painted image was used during the ritual. The connection between this aggressive bird and the ancestral spirits is not clear, but some myths suggest that the bird represented the occurrence of such dangerous events as cannibalism and the deadly sickness of leprosy. The cult was practised across the whole of West Enga from the north, where it originated outside Enga borders, to the south. It was performed mostly as a healing ritual, when there was a sudden sickness or death in the clan and was aiming at the appeasement of the individual ghosts, who, as it was believed resided in the lakes or pools.

In Kasap there were two pools: one red (from the water plants with pink flowers), where the male spirits resided, and one black (from the shade of nearby rocks), where the female spirits dwelt. At present the red pool is practically non-existent, due

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3. P. Wiessner and A. Tumu write (see: Ibid., p.185), that red lakes were considered to be dangerous, but the Kasap people hold that the black pool is dangerous because of the women spirits that stay there and lure the men into the water.
to drainage, which was done when the highway to the Porgera gold mine was constructed, but the black pool is still referred to as a special place to be avoided.

The cult, now extinct, had a secretive character and was conducted by ritual specialists. The male and female elements in the ritual have mirrored the social structure of the early West Enga society, where due to the sparse population the kinship structure included members not only of the patrilineal but also matrilineal descent. For the feast and the sacrifice pork was offered, and was assisted by special magical spells and formulae. The Monain tribe had its most sacred site where the Yaka Kaima cult was performed at the small lake in the high mountains near Linjing, the original location of the tribe. This may testify to the antiquity of the ritual. The following description of the procedure of the ritual was given by my informant Pius from Linjing.

When there was a death of a big-man or too many cases of leprosy or some other deadly sickness, the leaders asked the nemango akali from the Koneman clan to perform the ritual. Huts were built there for men from other clans of the Monain tribe. When they assembled they built a special ritual house not far from the lake. The next morning the pigs were killed and put into ground ovens. While the food was in ovens the men dressed in ceremonial attire and held singing. Two young men climbed the tree under which the image of the bird (Yaka Kaima) was held, to 'see the sun'. When they were on the top they shouted down 'We see the sun, we see the sun!'; and the men below directed by the nemango akali started the ceremonial dance around the tree and around the image of the bird.

When the mumu ovens were ready they were uncovered and divided into three parts. One part of the food was taken to the village for consumption by males and females. The second amount was taken to the ceremonial house where it was partly burnt in the fire and partly consumed by the ritual specialist and his assistants. The third part, which was mostly fat and intestines, was wrapped with leaves and tied with strong vine ropes to be offered to the ancestors in the lake. Before evening all the participants left the place and only the nemango akali with some of his assistants and selected men from the most affected clans remained in the cult house. When night fell one of them led by the nemango akali went to the lake to offer the sacrifice to the spirits. It was a very anxious and dangerous moment, as the ancestors may be so angry that they may not accept the gift, but raise the water and kill the man who was in the middle of

1 The lake is located in a deep and thick rainforest canopy, which practically blocks the sun.
2 A. Kyakas and P. Wiessner suggest that until that stage the women were permitted to stay in the area and even be active in some parts of the ritual. A. Kyakas and P. Wiessner, From Inside..., op.cit., p.138.
If the ancestors were satisfied they allowed the man to return safely to his place where he received a hero’s welcome. Not all were that lucky and some of them were taken because flash-flooding of the lake sometimes occurred.\textsuperscript{1}

The problem of the successful or unsuccessful offering may be explained by the nature of the lake, which is usually filled with water but from time to time almost dries out. After closer inspection it appears that there is an underground river coming through the lake. When the chosen man gave the offering he needed to deliver the sacrifice to the middle of the lake. The lake was dry due to a blockage of leaves, dirt and gravel in the underground river flow system. So, if it happened that the force of the water broke through the debris right where the man was standing in the middle of the basin, he died as a result of the flooding, because the Monain people could not swim. The story goes that sometimes the lake returned the man a few days after he was ‘eaten’ by the lake. It might happen that the man was taken by the water whirl into the underground river, carried by the current for a few kilometers, and then dumped in the swamps on the other side of the mountain. If he was not too exhausted, with some luck he might have braved through the swamps and return to the village.

3.5.4. Cases of Yama

A. Lakau asserts that Enga people are generally \textit{enda-akali aupiape} – good people, meaning that their ethos forbids them any recourse to such evil means as poisoning (\textit{tomagai}), sorcery (\textit{topoli}) or witchcraft (\textit{yama alupai}), and that they settle their animosities peacefully.\textsuperscript{2} While this is the prevailing pattern in the Enga society, it can

\textsuperscript{1} Personal communication with Pius.
\textsuperscript{2} A. Lakau, \textit{Customary Land Tenure...}, op.cit., p.116.
not be denied that there are many kinds of sorcery known to people in the past and still practiced today, these being, as P. Lawrence puts it, “to kill or harm human beings”.

3.6. THE KEPELE CULT IN KASAP-MULITAK AREA

3.6.1. First Descriptions of Kepele

The occurrence of the Kepele cult was noticed for the first time in Wage Valley and briefly described by Meggitt in 1956, where he classified it as one of many ancestral cults, describing only its external features. Some years later W. Blank in 1963 wrote in *Anthropos* about the Yupini figurines depicting the human form, which are an important element of Kepele celebrations, but he associated them with the fertility cults in the Laiagam area, without much reference to the other parts of Kepele. In his short article in *Anthropos* of 1967, H. Raich also elaborates in the same spirit on the Yupini as ‘another fertility idol’ from the Kandep area. By 1975, Neich was able to give an extended analysis of ‘Basketwork Fertility Figures’, referring again to the Yupini figurines and their distribution in Enga and neighbouring regions. Only by 1978, however, with Philip Gibbs’ research, do we get a detailed description of the Kepele ritual and associated magical spells from the Ipili area.

The core of the Kepele ritual presented by Gibbs can be described as follows: After all the people assembled at the *singsing* place the men under the leadership of the *Kepele akali* (Kepele specialist) moved to the Kepele ground, where six houses (*anda*) were built. Pigs and possums were killed and roasted and the first sacrifice from the

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pigs’ entrails, belly fat, and a special kind of tree oil with appropriate spells, were offered at the *kuakulianda*. The second offering was made in the *palipalianda*, where the leaders and mature participants shared in the pork, part of which had been sacrificed. Meanwhile, young men were assembled at the *okoaimanda* where they received explanations concerning the meaning of the ceremonies. During the night some pig’s fat was cooked and in the early morning it was offered to the ancestors’ stone *ewe* in the *ewanda*. Next the stone was wrapped with leaves and buried in the ground to rest.

After eating some pork, the participants moved to the *umaneanda*, where the *Yupini* figurine was placed. It was taken out again and after some dancing the figurine was fed with fat, and carried to the *Kepele* stone (representing the woman) at the back of the *palipalianda*, where the leaders made the figurine and the stone kiss each other (simulated intercourse). This act is repeated for four consecutive days.¹ On the fifth day the figurine was placed back in the *umaneanda*, and the *Kepele* stone was buried in the pit in the *tolinameanda* in a similar manner as described above (although in a more elaborate way). If the stone was satisfied and buried properly there was going to be a prosperous time for the clans involved in the rite. On the last day of the celebration men collected large pieces of bark from the *ipilaka* tree and assembled them under the walls in the *umaneanda*, on which various figures including two men, a woman, the sun and moon, a cassowary bird and a snake were painted.² The ceremonies ended with the ceremonial destruction of the *okoaimanda*.³

¹ In Enga as in many other Highlands societies one act of intercourse is not considered sufficient for conceiving a child.
² Gibbs acknowledges that he was unable to gather more information concerning these paintings, thus omitting the whole subject of *Mote* initiation, which is so crucial to the *Kepele* cult in West Enga.
³ The most recent publication on *Amb Kor* – a cult from the Mount Hagen area contains many elements similar to those described by Gibbs. See: A. Strathern and P.J. Stewart, “The Spirit is Coming!” A Photographic-Textual Exposition of the Female Spirit Cult Performance in Mount Hagen, Papua New Guinea, Pittsburgh 1999.
3.6.2. West Enga Kepele

One has to recognise, however, that Gibbs gathered information and undertook his research in the Paiela region, west of Porgera, inhabited by Ipili speakers. This is only the fringe of a much bigger, highly elaborated and esoteric religious cult, which for generations was cultivated and developed by the inhabitants of West Enga. Although the origins of this cult may be connected to the religious practices of some neighbouring Tari tribes, namely with the Dindi Gamu cult, Enga, and especially its Western part, became a home for Kepele, with the Engans own mythology, cult sites and specialists presiding over the celebrations. Only recently Wiessner and Tumu shed more light on this important ancient cult, and even admit that “the Kepele of the twentieth century was at once the most encompassing cult of Western Enga and the major ceremonial exchange network”.

The detailed study of the Kepele in Enga is very important to this thesis for a few major reasons. First, the Kepele was a network of exchanges linking various tribes of West Enga and playing an equally important social role as the Tee exchange in East Enga. Secondly, the Kepele cult and celebrations have been organised and directed by the highly specialised charismatic leaders (Kepele akali), who exercised a good deal of influence on the society generally, were paid lavishly for their services and have been perceived as respected professionals in the cultic and ritual areas. Thirdly, the Kepele cult was a religious ritual, which provided supernatural support from the ancestors in a desperate situation, when all other human means became exhausted. Fourthly, the Kepele in West Enga included Mote or initiation rites, which until the recent publication by Wiessner and Tumu was not even recorded. Finally, when these two did their

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1 P. Wiessner and A. Tumu, Historical Vines..., op. cit., p.211.
research into the Kepele subject, tribal fighting prevented them from obtaining
extensive information from the Laiagam and Kandep areas, leaving very important
centres of Kepele in Kasap and Mulitak virtually untouched.

3.6.3. Kasap Centre of Kepele

According to Wiessner and Tumu and the information gleaned from the Kasap-Mulitak
area, the ‘male Kepele centres’ did not cross to the other side of the Lagaip river.\(^1\) It
either originated in the Kasap-Mulitak area or ended there, depending from the point of
view of the informants. Naturally informants from Kasap are convinced that Kasap is
the “as ples bilong Kepele” (Tok Pisin for the place of origin of the Kepele) cult. They
may be justified in their claims, as one of the most important myths concerning the
origin of the Kepele that spread in the east part of Enga, contains the story about two
wandering women who started their journey at Kasap, went to Kanak past Laiagam, and
continued heading towards the East.\(^2\)

The place where various clans gathered pigs for display and counting, before the
Kepele celebrations, was called Kasap Yuutombe (literally belly button of the earth or,
centre or border/ground). The meaning of the Kepele is not known and people did not
even attempt to find one, instead concentrating on the description and functions of
Kepele. Gibbs states that the name Kepele “is used to refer to the whole ceremony, but

\(^1\) Those Kepele centres that had the ‘Skull House’ were called ‘male’ as distinctive from ‘female’ centres
that did not have such houses. See: Ibid., p.200.

\(^2\) P. Wiessner and A. Tumu distinguished three branches of the Kepele with their own mythologies. The
first from Kandep to Laiagam (sometimes called Alamane), the second which was the core branch
included Kasap, and the third in Porgera and Paiela valleys. See: Ibid., pp.201 and 203.
Kepele is also classed as a yama or one of the spirit beings". There was a general
conviction that the Kepele might become angry and harm or even kill people. In its
religious aspect the Kepele cult was associated with the cult of the ancestors, or more
precisely with the recently deceased male members of the clan. As such, its primary aim
was the appeasement of the spirits, but at the same time it was also a fertility cult
providing the benefits for the living members of the clan. In its social aspect it was a
highly developed and specialised exchange institution, which encompassed many tribes
and phratries, contributed to their identification and unity through sharing in common
meals, myths and Mote initiation rites. It governed tribal social and religious affairs
under the leadership of highly specialised ritual experts and influential local big-men.

When the clans experienced a prolonged period of unusual negative events such
as drought, floods, landslides, sickness among the people or pigs, unsuccessful marriage
arrangements or complications in compensation procedures, the leaders and the
significant members of the affected clans or the whole tribes gathered together to
discuss the situation and to find a remedy. When there was an agreement among the
majority of them that the spirits of the deceased may be responsible for these disasters,
the campaign was carried out to organise the Kepele celebration. It consisted of the
killing and the offering of pigs as expiation to the spirits of the ancestors. Leaders of the
most affected clans visited other clans and tried to convince them to offer their pigs in
the Kepele sacrifice.

1 P. Gibbs, 'The Kepele Ritual...', op. cit., p.43. A parallel may be made to the Catholic feast of Corpus
Christi which became so popular that it is more closely related to the celebration itself than to the
hypostatical union, which the feast is commemorating.
The use of a large number of pigs and the killing of them *en masse* in the *Kepele* cult in Enga is consistent with the general pattern observed in other parts of Papua New Guinea. Rappaport for example writes:

*The practice of killing and consuming pigs in connection with emergency and misfortune tends to provide physiological reinforcement when it is needed to those who need it (i.e., protein content). Ritual regulation of pork consumption makes all important contribution to a diet that maintains the population in adequate health at a high level of activity.*

Although, the explanation is apparently reductionist, and the procedures seem quite self-defending, except when there is great feasting and excessive eating in difficult times. Yet even this has practical reason behind it, as the big sacrifices of pigs at the time of disasters could have such positive implications on individuals and society. For the feast will:

- Give people immediate meat/food thus providing them with the energy necessary to overcome the negative circumstances and prevent further misfortunes.
- Reduce the population of pigs, which might contribute to the misery of people, if the herd was oversized: there may be more food spent on pigs than on humans.
- Consume pigs at a suitable time, while they were well fed during the good times, because they would waste away, if they were denied proper food in difficult times.
- Make people more mobile (without the burden of big pigs, which were difficult to transport), in order to find more food in other places.
- Enable people to concentrate more on themselves (in relation to food)) than on pigs.
- Prevent fighting – if there were no pigs compensation could not be executed, therefore it was not worth starting a fight.

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In what can be constructed of the original Kasap-based traditions, when the appointed
time arrived men and women from various tribes, some also from the other side of the
Lagaip river as far as Maramuni, gathered at Kasap.¹ For a few days there was a
singsing held at Kasap, until all the people assembled. When all the interested clans
arrived the pigs were counted, men put on their fineries and early in the morning
gathered at the Kepele Andaka near Aual creek (Aual Ipak), some two kilometres from
Kasap on the mountain slope.² Although the women were allowed to enter the Kepele
area and observe from a distance some of the elements of the celebration, like the
‘mating’ of the Yupini figurine with the sacred stones, only the men were allowed to
take part in the main events of the celebration, that is in the killing of pigs, in witnessing
the ceremony of the offering of sacrifice to Kepele and the eating of the pork.

But while women and children were excluded from the ceremony itself, they
were not denied the material benefits of the feast. A man who decided to offer some of
his pigs as a sacrificial gift for the Kepele cult (usually one pig for each male from the
immediate family, who died since the previous Kepele event) designated also one pig,
which was killed and consumed in the village by the members of the family, who were
not allowed to take part or share in the pork from the pigs killed at the Kepele
celebration.³

When all the men and pigs assembled at the gathering place (Kupilam Kepele
Anda), the Kepele okali (the Kepele specialist from the Koneman clan) marked each pig

¹ Some clans at Maramuni area have exchange ties with people of Kasap and Mulitak area and claim their
decent from the same ancestor as the Monain tribe.
² At present this ground belongs to Yanis Yornas and his son Beno, who have a garden there.
³ Apart from women and children who by nature were not admitted to the consumption of the pork
offered at Kepele celebration, also men who did not attend the Mote initiation were forbidden to eat this
pork.
with his divining stick. Immediately after the pig was marked the owner of the pig or his clansmen, if he had more pigs for offering, delivered the blow with the club and the pig was killed and prepared for *mumu*. Each clan had their own traditional spot in which the pigs were assembled and killed. When all the pigs were killed and divided into portions suitable for *mumu*, the solid meat was separated from the soft parts such as fat and intestines. Solid meat was put aside for roasting in earthen ovens in *Araanda* (tower house), while other parts remain outside.

After a few hours, when the meat was ready for consumption, the second oven was uncovered first, and the Kepele akali used some of the fat to rub the sacred stones (*endakane*). When it was done, the Kepele akali gave the order to uncover the first *mumu*, and the participants were then allowed to take their share from both ovens. After satisfying their initial hunger, the men collected their share and left the Kepele place for their original villages. There they shared the food and stories with their clansmen but only those who already underwent the *Mote* initiation.

### 3.6.4. Objects of the Kepele Cult

While the ceremony and ritual of the Kepele in Mulitak and Kasap are very similar or almost identical there is some difference in the main objects of the cult. In Mulitak the objects are described as *kyio-ui*, (*lit. cover it and leave it alone*). In the second Kepele house (*Yainanda*), where the solid meat was roasted, in one corner there were a few stones of round and eclipical shapes, and a few sticks from a tree known for its hardiness. The stones and sticks remained there all the time in the hole dug in the ground and covered by leaves and earth. When the celebration of the Kepele was held, the covering ground was removed and some new stones and sticks were added. On the
top of this the pig’s fat was poured and then everything was hastily wrapped with new leaves and covered with earth.

Because this ritual was accompanied by the fear that the forces dwelling in the sticks and stones may harm people present at the ceremony, the whole action was performed with a good dose of awe and a certain apprehension. Therefore there was, in fact, a real feeling of relief when it was all finished. The term kyio-ui (cover it and leave it alone) summarises well the approach the people had towards this part of the Kepele ritual.

In Kasap itself there were two cult objects of concern: a solid rock of oval shape, called endakana (stone-woman) half buried in the ground;¹ and the basket figurine called Yupini. The stone represented a woman, and the figurine a man. The stone remained permanently in the same place but the Yupini figurine was entrusted to the care of the Lakin sub-clan Pere. It is said that the first figurine was made by the founder of the Lakin clan, and whenever the old figurine became warn out, a new one was being produced by able people of the Lakin’s sub-clan Pere.² In the periods between the Kepele ceremonies, the figurine was kept in a special house built on the territory of the Lakin-Pere in the close vicinity of the endakanda, which remained on the territory of the Lakin-Painalenge sub-clan. For the ceremony of the Kepele, a special house (Araanda) was built over it, where after the killing of the pigs, the solid meat was roasted. When the earthen oven was uncovered, some fat was taken from it to rub the

¹ According to the information the stone was later offered to an expatriate (probably for some payment) and taken by him from Kasap.
² According to P. Wiessner and A. Tumu the first Yupini figurine was made by a man called Tauni from the Koneman clan in Mulitak. In Kasap, a specialist from the Koneman clan of the Monain tribe was responsible for Kepele celebrations.
stone on which the basket figurine of Yupini was placed. It was understood that endakanda and Yupini were mating and the fat was a symbol of a successful sexual intercourse, promising new life, energy and blessings to the clans experiencing adverse fortune and difficulties.

3.6.5. Skull Houses

In a distance of about one kilometer up the mountain from the Kepele ceremonial ground, and in relation to the Kepele cult there is another important cultic site referred to by the locals as Akali ayiombe anda yuu katenge Pakum (a place where human heads remain, Pakum). It is a place where, in the times before ‘the contact’, the people of the Monain tribe and some of its ‘brother’ tribes (phratry members) stored the skulls of their deceased clansmen as the final stage of the funeral arrangements. Similar places were found in other parts of Western Enga from Laiagam through Kasap towards Porgera but only on the West Side of the Lagaip river.

When a person died, after the period of mourning and crying, the body was buried in a hole on the clan’s territory, in a vertical-sitting position. The hole was deep enough to place the sitting corpse, with the head remaining above the ground. Under the chin and behind the neck two sticks were placed in such a way that they kept the head steady. While the hole was filled with dirt to bury the body, the head above the ground was covered with special leaves (pum) and with soft soil. The vine rope, which was

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1 Information about Kasap ‘Skull House’ was given to the author in 1996 by Joseph from the Tupin clan, Yanis from Koneman and Martin from Yandam.
2 Some clans from as far as Maramuni claiming their genealogical connections with Monain, deposited the skulls of their deceased in Pakum. Other clans from Maramuni carried the skulls to the nearby Ipakatupya on the other side of the Kera River, where the Sakate tribe had their ‘Skull House’, listed on the map by P. Wiessner and A. Tumu, Historical Vines..., op.cit., pp.188 and 210.
3 P. Wiessner and A. Tumu write that only a few tribes in Enga held a ‘Skull House’ for their deceased members and they even provided a map of their locations, but they did not know about Pakum akali ayiombe anda.
placed beforehand between the jaws and tightened around the head, was sticking out from the mound.

After a period of time the closest members of the family went to the tomb to check if the body had decomposed and to see if the head was separated from the corpse. This was done by pulling the rope. If the head was still connected with the body this procedure was repeated after some time. When the process of decay reached such a stage that the skull emerged from the ground, it was then cleansed of the remaining skin, flesh and hairs, wrapped in the leaves of *pum* and carried to *Akali ayiumbe anda yuu katenge Pakum*. In pre-contact times this was all done in an isolated area surrounded by bush and high *pitpit* grass. The skull was placed in the open under the tree in the company of other skulls.

When later the area was first patrolled by colonial officers, the practice was forbidden as dangerous from the hygienic point of view. The skulls were collected and buried on the bank of a nearby creek. The majority of them were later thrown into that creek, when the people started to cultivate the area and to make their gardens. There is still quite a good quantity of the remains from these skulls in both places, but people at present do not have any hesitation in using this territory for gardening.

There was a certain procedure prescribed for the transposition of the skull, which was supervised by the smaller local ritual experts. The male members of the family carried it with respect and awe, accompanied by a dose of agitation, but without fear. Women and children were not allowed to take part, as it was believed that they
were vulnerable to the attacks of the malevolent spirits, that of the recent dead themselves, wandering in the area.

Wiessner and Tumu advise that the ‘Skull Houses’, as they call them, played a very important role in the Kepele cult and that the Kepele centres that had Skull Houses were referred to as ‘male’, while all others were considered to be ‘female’. According to them, the celebrations in the male Kepele centres were held in cases of very severe misfortune and only after previous offerings carried out in the female Kepele sites did not produce expected positive changes. However, this situation applied only to the tribes which did not own ‘male Kepele centres’, and for whom the idea of collecting the skulls would be equally gruesome as for the reader. The tribes that had a Skull House on their territory got used to it and utilised it more frequently and in much less dramatic circumstances.

The Monain tribe people who owned both Houses performed its rituals in each of them for different purposes. While the rituals at the Kepele Anda as already described above were held for the benefit of the whole tribe or an even bigger area, and the offerings in the Skull House were more commonly performed to improve the clan’s or family’s internal affairs and wellbeing. After the transposition, when there was a case of sickness or misfortune in the family of the deceased, the head of the family decided to offer a pig as a sacrifice to the spirit of the ancestor. Sometimes there was not an actual sickness but only a prediction of it announced by the night cry of a kiyolo (hawk) that was enough to urge a man to kill the pig.
The pig was usually a healthy and fully-grown animal, that was taken to the Skull House and killed there a short distance from the recently placed skull. The blood and some fat was offered to the spirits by the owner of the pig, accompanied with words urging the dead person not to harm anybody from the family, or if somebody was sick already, not to take his or her life but accept the pig’s life instead. The meat and remaining parts of the pig were consumed by the males from the clan. Women and children were not allowed to touch the sacrificial meat because of the fear of the possibility of attack by the dead person. Abstaining from eating the meat, the women and children accepted it as a sacrifice for the benefit of the other members of the family.

In some exceptionally difficult times, when frost or prolonged rains devastated crops and animals, or when an epidemic sickness struck a larger number of people and the death rate rose significantly above the accepted average and the Kepele celebrations carried out in the respective tribes did not improve the situation, the ‘brother’ tribes, usually related through marriages to the Monain tribe, decided to make offerings at the ‘male Kepele House’, that is, at the place where they normally deposited the skulls of their deceased. They approached leaders of the Lakin clan (the leading clan of the Monain) on whose territory the Skull House was situated to mark the time for the ceremony of the Kepele and preside over celebrations.

The celebrations at Pakum drew together a large number of people not only from the Kasap and Mulitak area but also from the other side of the Lagaip river as far as Maramuni, inhabited by some tribes claiming their origin from the same ancestors as the members of the Monain tribe. The rituals at the Skull House are classified by Wiessner and Tumu as most dramatic and an esoteric part of the Kepele celebrations, in
which only the male relatives of the deceased, already initiated to the Mote secrets, were allowed to attend. After the proceeding rituals at Kepele Anda were completed, the men who were eligible to take part in the ritual at the Skull House moved to that area for the cremation of the skulls.

The ritual was supervised by highly respected specialists from the Monain tribe aided by recognised experts from other friendly clans in the area, especially from the Kandep region from which the Monain tribe claims its origin. Because the most important part of the ritual at the Skull House was the burning of the skulls, the place had to be well prepared for this. Since normally the skulls in Pakum remained in the open, there was a need to clean the area of grass and shrubs, gather the skulls which may be partly buried in the ground and build a pyre, which consisted of layers of skulls, firewood, some vegetables and herbs that are commonly used in preparing a mumu. It was done this way to ensure the increase in crops, to offer the sacrifice to the spirits of the dead men and for the practical reason of easing the odour of the burnt bones. All this was generously covered with the fat retrieved from the pigs previously killed and roasted at the Kepele Anda.

When the pyre was ready, it was symbolically fenced and behind the fence the men held the ritual mali, while Kepele nemango akali who remained inside the fenced area set fire to the structure. They recited spells and made sure that all skulls were fully cremated. If during the fire any of the skulls rolled behind the fence they were left to be eventually taken by the waters of the nearby creek called Angely, and then taken to the Lagaip river. The ritual was over when the whole pile of skulls was cremated and from that moment the spirits of the dead clansmen could join the ranks of the ancestral spirits.
and provide a protective shield to their living descendants, which was necessary for averting the present misfortune that threatened the clan's existence. While the participants dispersed with the feeling of relief after fulfilling the difficult and dangerous task, the ritual experts were paid handsomely ‘and began their journey home, heavily laden’.

*Kuiyip Anda – Place of Sacrifice for Minor Illnesses (at Pakum)*

Near the Skull House there was also *Kuiyip Anda*, the place where sacrifices were offered for minor illnesses or sores. When somebody in the family became affected by this type of misfortune the father of the family decided to offer a pig to the recently deceased family member, who may be responsible for the misfortune. He asked other men from his clan to come and prepare *Kuiyip Anda*. They had to go to the bush and collect special kinds of shrubs and plants and bring them back to Pakum. Here the material was used to erect a fence in such a way that the shrubs were tied together at the top, thus creating a kind of tent.

The area inside the tent was covered with leaves of the *pogera* tree and other decorative plants. A pig was brought close to the tent and the owner himself killed it by clubbing its head and slitting its throat. Immediately after it was killed it was thrown inside the tent so that the blood of the dying animal soaked into the leaves and flowers covering the floor of the tent. When all the blood was gone the pig was taken out of the fence, portioned according to the local custom and prepared for roasting in the earthen oven (*mumu*). The fat and all the soft parts were designated for consumption by the

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1 P. Wiessner and A. Tumu, *Historical Vines...*, op.cit., p.211.
women and children, the solid meat was for the men. When the celebration was over the
tent was left to rot. It did not take long in these wet and warm climatic conditions.

3.7. ENGA RITES DE PASSAGE

3.7.1. Concept of Rites de Passage

The subject of initiation is more complex than the bachelor’s cult or the initiation of
young boys into adult life, and is often too narrowly understood. Rites de passage is
probably the best phrase to cover the variety of ceremonial activities set in place to
mark all important stages in human life, and for both males and females. Rites de
passage are almost invariably accompanied by three important elements: rituals,
magical spells and taboos. Ritual includes special symbols and actions, like: moving to
seclusion, washing, dressing, decorating, dancing and feasting.\(^1\) Taboos consist of the
totally or partly forbidden activities whether to forestall harmful consequences or to
strengthen one’s personality and integrity. Magical spells provide the assistance of
supernatural powers or create a spiritual protective shield against the destructive power
of evil forces. All these elements are considered indispensable, as the rites de passage
are performed in the very critical stages of human life, and this demands that all the
necessary precautions should be undertaken and all available resources utilised to
ensure a safe and successful transition from one stage of life to another.\(^2\)

Melanesia and Papua New Guinea are famous for very elaborate and often
sophisticated rites of initiation and related rites of passage.\(^3\) Although in most cases

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\(^3\) For example: D.F. Tuzin, *The Voice of the Tambaran*, Berkeley 1980; F. Barth, *Ritual and Knowledge
initiation is a male affair there are notable instances of female initiation as well. In
most Melanesian societies these rites occur in a number of stages and are accompanied
by spectacular rituals and various symbols. Although the main aim of initiation can be
seen as introducing young people into the social structure of the given society, the
whole process has a very distinctive religious character and the spiritual dimension is
emphasised very strongly by the symbols and rituals applied. As H. Whitehouse puts it:

Initiation rites (along with a variety of fertility rituals that may incorporate
themes) are prototypically about religious revelation and this sets them apart, at
least in very broad terms, from certain other forms of ceremonial in Papua New
Guinea.2

The rite of initiation is meant to transform a person, through the applying of symbolic
actions, and the accessibility to secret esoteric knowledge by learning myths and sacred
stories, to be able to comprehend the mysteries of the natural and the supernatural, of
life and death, of success and failure. Initiates, besides achieving the status of full
membership in the community, receive also a freedom of mind and spirit to act as part
of the submission to the rules and regulations of religion and society. Once again it is
necessary to stress that, as, the religious and secular elements are interwoven in
Melanesian cosmology, so too in the initiation, the spiritual and intellectual knowledge
complement each other, leading to the self-illumination of the participants and
acknowledgment of the different stages of this knowledge.3 In practical life it leads to
the creation of some sort of hierarchical structure of the society, which is the basis for
the authority of elders, the respect for each other, and the division of roles and functions
of the society’s members.

1 Cf. B. Telban, Dancing..., op. cit., pp. 199-207; B. Gary, The Logic of Yandapu Enga Puberty Rites and
2 H. Whitehouse, Arguments and Icons, op. cit., p.20.
3.7.2. Enga Rites de Passage in the Various Stages of Life

Enga society has many rituals and celebrations marking such important stages of life as birth, marriage and death but probably the most interesting and important from the social and religious point of view are rituals and celebrations connected with the initiation of boys and young men into adult life. Interestingly, in contrast to other parts of Papua New Guinea where the subject of initiation attracted a lot of attention from such professionals as scholars or missionaries, as well as mere visitors, there is not much research done on initiation in Enga. It seems that there is not even one documented publication totally dedicated to this subject. While other themes like the lineage system (Meggitt), exchange (Feil), land tenure (Lakau) and warfare (Young) had been thoroughly examined, initiations generally are described only fragmentarily. Until recently only one type of initiation rituals, namely Sangai/Sangalu, has been the subject of interest, probably for its external, festive valor, which in any case does not seem to be as splendid as similar celebrations in the coastal areas of the country. Only recently Wiessner and Tumu have brought to attention two other types of initiation rituals, now no longer used. The first of these is called Sauipu (lit. hair come), which was held in stages that involved seclusion of boys in the bush, where they interpreted dreams, performed rites for growth of hair, skin and body, and the nurturing of special lepe plants. The second is a very important and much more esoteric initiation rite, called Mote, practised in connection with Kepele ritual in the West Enga.

The different forms of initiation ceremonies, as they used to be performed in the pre-contact era, ceased to exist after the introduction of Christianity, although according to witnesses there was no ideological pressure to eradicate this type of traditional activities and rituals. Actually, there was even a dose of encouragement on the part of
the Catholic and Lutheran missionaries to sustain some of the traditional forms of worship, and to use their symbols and actions as handy solutions for an inculturated Christian liturgy. There was certainly a condemnation of some ‘pagan’ rituals and practices but Sangai, the only known Enga initiation ritual, was certainly not considered as such by missionaries of the mainstream Churches. It was the Local Church leaders and catechists who insisted on terminating the Sangai practices, and neglected the premises in the bush in which Sangai was held.¹ In the last decade there seems to be some revival of the Sangai practices but it looks as though it is more a result of interest in folklore and external fascination with the traditional practices than the return to the original spirit of the initiation ceremonies.

To appreciate better the philosophy and significance of the male initiation ceremonies called Sangai, which by many are considered the most important event in Enga from the social and religious point of view, it is necessary to place them in the context of other life stages or life crisis celebrations still being observed. As an illustration let us cite examples of rituals in connection to marriage.

**Marriage Rituals**

There are rituals, regulations and magical spells connected with the marital contract. The young couple after their wedding goes to a special, secluded place, assisted by a nemango endakali (female and male expert in marital and fertility magic), for a period of up to two weeks. They are obliged to abstain from certain types of food, they can drink only fresh water, and they cannot go back to their village and are not permitted to see any visitors. The nemango endakali are performing religious rituals to ensure the

fertility of the couple and successful conception. They also teach them and give them instructions concerning their family life and future parental duties.

Before the couple can sleep together they have to fulfil one of the two important rituals, which ensures their spiritual unity. While the killing of pigs and eating of the pork is a communitarian or social stamp of the officially contracted and affirmed union between two members of different clans, in the seclusion of the bush and in the presence of only the spiritual world and its mediator, a ceremony of *enda lyonge katinge* takes place. It could be described in Christian terms as the sacrament of marriage permitting in effect the consummation of marriage. Both of these rituals although using different symbols have the same meaning of tying a spiritual bond between the spouses and creating a perfect unity. One of them is ‘taro planting’ the other one is ‘drinking of water’. Taro planting was more common in East Enga and drinking of water in the West, but both are accepted across the province as equally valid forms of the marriage ritual.

*The Taro Planting*

After one or two days in seclusion, under the supervision of the *nemango akali*, who also assists them with magical spells, the young couple prepares a small garden plot on which the taro plant will be planted. The spouses in their ceremonial attire sit on the ground facing each other, their legs spread and feet touching each other in such a way that the space where the plant will be placed is as it were fenced around. Now the spouses bend towards each other and with their hands dig a small hole into which they

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insert simultaneously a taro plant handed to them by the nemango akali, who is also aiding them with his magical spells and ritual formulae.

*The Drinking of Water*

The drinking of water also takes place in the early stage of seclusion of the young couple, and is undertaken in the presence and under the supervision of the nemango akali, thus providing this mundane action with religious significance and spiritual dimension. The nemango akali prepares water in a container made out of pumpkin shell and decorated with Sangai plants and hands it over to the newly married couple. They hold it together and first the husband takes a drink and then the wife. The container is held over their heads in such a way that it does not touch their lips but water runs down in a little stream and fills the mouth.

3.7.3. *Sangai* – Mai Enga Rite of Initiation

The most significant article on the subject is J. Schwab’s “Sandalu Bachelor Ritual among the Laiapu Enga”, in *Anthropos* 1995, edited by P. Gibbs. An Engan priest, M. Magnapem, gives many insightful ideas concerning Sandalu but unfortunately he himself did not attend the celebrations. Sister M. Dlugosz analysed the myths concerning Sangai from the Christian perspective.

This rite has been already very efficiently treated by the above-mentioned authors. It is a series of initiation rituals for boys and young men performed in utter seclusion, with women and children being utterly debarred from going anywhere near the initiation site. The very serious training includes the transmission of traditional knowledge – myths, magic, dream interpretation, taboos, gender relations, etc. The
climactic stage involves the dramatic public appearance of the bachelor initiates, who, by completing the series have earned the right to marry and be full members of the clan.¹ Recall here that this initiatory series is called interchangeably Sandalu and Sangai in various parts of Enga.

3.7.4. *Mote – West Enga Initiation Rites*

While the Sangai/Sandalu celebrations are recognised as an important initiation ritual in Enga and are already fairly well documented in literature, it is a common mistake to think that it is the only ritual of this type in Enga. Originally the initiation rites in West Enga were held in connection with the *Kepele* celebrations and were called *Mote*. *Mote* initiation was an introduction to esoteric knowledge about the spiritual world and celestial beings. Certain myths concerning the origin of earth and humanity and in practical life gave access to full participation in the *Kepele* celebrations with the rights to share in the pork which was sacrificed. Due to the fact that initiation was part of the most important religious event – the *Kepele* celebration – and the more advanced age of the participants, the *Mote* had much more secretive and esoteric character than the popular in the recent era Sangai/Sandalu initiation rituals. This may be one of the reasons why for the first time and only recently Wiessner and Tumu gave some detailed information concerning *Mote* rituals and their importance in Enga culture,² even if in 1975 Gibbs had already noted, without realising that he was dealing with a special type of initiation ritual, how during the *Kepele* celebrations “the young people are led to the *okoimanda* house where they are instructed by the older men on the meaning of the ceremonies”.³

² Cf. Ibid., pp.206-10.
The Mote initiation was an integral part of the Kepele celebrations and took place only on this occasion.¹ Only the men were admitted to the Mote when they reached the age that they were able to take part in the fights. Nowadays boys as young as ten might be seen on the battlefield, but the older generation says that in the past only grown men fought. Their age as having 'become men' could be estimated to be something like fifteen years. Because the Kepele celebrations were not held more often than every five years, the participants of the Mote could, therefore, be theoretically between fifteen and twenty years old. But in fact the age could be closer to twenty and even beyond that since the family of the candidate for the Mote had to offer an additional pig to the one, which had to be sacrificed for the spirits of the recently deceased. If there was not enough pigs, the young men had to wait for the next occasion.

During the interview on the subject of the Kepele ritual, Paul Pitambe from Mulitak said: And at the end of the day all young boys and men who did not attend the Mote went to Araanda (tower house) to take part in it.² Significantly, when asked what Mote was he did not give any explicit description, but tried to catch the religious importance and essence of it by making a parallel to the most sacred actions of Christianity, that is, to Baptism and Holy Communion. He said:

*Let me use an example. The Mote was what baptism is for us. It allows us to take part in Holy Communion. Only men who went through the Mote were allowed to share in the pork, which was offered as a sacrifice in the Kepele ritual. Only they were allowed to share the mana (knowledge, the way of doing) of the Kepele event in the clan's men's houses. Women, children and males that did not attend the Mote were excluded from sharing in the Kepele meals and were forbidden access to the knowledge of the Kepele.*

¹ Personal communication with Simion of Koneman from Kasap.
² The Araanda of Mulitak is the equivalent of umaneanda mentioned by Gibbs, where the secret paintings and knowledge were revealed (only during the night sessions) to the young boys undergoing the initiation process. See sufra, p.162. P. Pitambe is a son of the former Kepele specialist from Tiyu of Tekepain clan. Interview with the author.
Part II. MISSIOLOGICAL METHODS
AND PRINCIPLES
4.1. NEW EVANGELISATION – AN OLD MISSION OF THE CHURCH

The Second Vatican Council (1962-1965), revolutionary in many ways, proclaimed the mission decree which contains the affirmation that “the Church is missionary by its nature”. By this it does not really make any new claim, but reminds us of the basic Christian principle that faith should be witnessed to and shared with others. It demonstrated to the world a new and comprehensive conception of the Church, emphasising its missionary nature.

4.1.1. Revised Understanding of Church’s Mission

The task and the privilege of witnessing and sharing the ‘good news’ of salvation (Evangelium) was commissioned to the disciples by Jesus himself: “Go and proclaim the Gospel to all the nations” (Mt 28:19). This evangelising mission was a high priority and a constitutive activity for some individual Christians through the ages and for the Church as an institution.

At the very beginning, after Jesus’ Ascension when the ‘Eleven’ decided to complete their number and fill the place of Judas, we find that Peter, the leader of the early Church, announced: “One must be appointed to serve with us as a witness”

1 AG, 1.
(Acts 1: 22). On the very day of Pentecost Peter and the other disciples proclaimed the Gospel to the crowds gathered in Jerusalem with such conviction that around three thousand joined the Church (Acts 2: 14-41). The Apostles proclaimed the Good News in Jerusalem and Judaea, and St. Paul brought it to the people inhabiting Asia Minor, Rome, and maybe even Spain.

Through the centuries the Gospel was proclaimed *ad gentes*, to all the people and races all around the world. Some figures of early Christianity and the Middle Ages became signposts of the evangelising mission. St. Patrick became the evangelist of Ireland, St. Boniface to Germany, Sts. Cyril and Methodius to the Slavic people, St. Francis Xavier to India, Japan and the Moluccas. In the last few centuries the Gospel was brought to the people of the Americas, Africa, Australia and the Pacific by the united effort of the institutional Church. As far as the Catholics were concerned, Papua New Guinea received the gift of the Good News through the combined evangelisation efforts of the Congregation of Marists (SM), the Pontificate Missionary Institute (PIME), the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart (MSC), the Divine Word Missionaries (SVD), and other missionary Congregations who arrived in Papua New Guinea later after WWII. Similarly, this institutionalised approach towards mission and evangelisation was characteristic of other mainstream Christian denominations, especially the Anglicans, Lutherans and Methodists.

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1 In the Catholic Church it was done through the service of special groups of people who dedicated their lives to the proclamation of the Gospel as members of Religious Congregations, male or female. Thus the Jesuits evangelised in Japan and South America with the famous Paraguay mission, the Dominicans in China, the Franciscans in present-day USA, the Benedictines in Australia.


3 Cf. G.W. Trompf, *Melanesian Religion*, op.cit., pp.142-43 (Anglicans, Lutherans, Uniting Church, etc.).
As said above, the Second Vatican Council initiated a process of renewal whereby the content and methods of this primary component of the Church’s mission we call evangelisation were adopted afresh to the present needs of the world. Viewed from the perspective of present dogmatic theology, evangelisation is an act of testifying and proclaiming the Good News of humanity’s salvation through the person of Jesus Christ. From the pastoral perspective evangelisation means the power given by God to people (individuals and communities of persons) to bring about welcome transformations in the quality of human life and improvement to the whole of creation.

After the Council, the next turning point for evangelisation came with the 1974 Synod of Bishops in Rome and with the study document entitled *The Evangelisation of the Modern World*. After the completion of the Synod, as customary, Pope Paul VI issued an Apostolic Exhortation, *Evangelii Nuntiandi*, which became the *Magna Carta* of evangelisation. It brought yet another great lift to the recent evangelising temperament, bringing a change of emphasis from the visible and quantitative approach toward a concentration on the person’s individual conversion and improvement in quality of life, both spiritual and social. This last element brings evangelisation in touch with the real life of an evangelised person ‘here and now’, thus giving its proper holistic and universal character, as it was meant by Jesus. Jesus not only proclaimed the coming of the Kingdom but actively contributed to its development by providing food for the hungry, by attending to the needs of the sick, healing people’s broken lives, and urging changes in unjust or corrupt social institutions.

Fifteen years later the present Pope John Paul II proclaimed the Encyclical *Redemptoris Missio* (1989), in which he provides a comprehensive program for a
fruitful proclamation of the Good News in the contemporary world. He coins a new
term for these activities, calling them *re-evangelisation*, which soon became a
thoroughly developed program for the proclamation and implementation of the Gospel's
values in various socio-cultural situations. The program became popularly known as the
New Evangelisation Program.

The Pope introduces the meaning of this term earlier in his *Declaration concluding the Synod of European Bishops* (1987), where he states:

*This evangelisation is consciously called new because the Holy Spirit constantly
shows us the newness of God's word and spiritually renews people. It is also
new because it can identify itself with any given civilisation; the Good News of
Jesus Christ can radiate on all cultures*.

In one of his homilies the Pope explains further what the New Evangelisation Program
means in practice.

*New Evangelisation is a proper answer to the signs of the time, to the needs of
people and societies as they come to the end of the second millennium. It is also
a new dimension of justice and peace, with culture being progressively more
deeply rooted in the Gospel, and a new human being generated in Jesus Christ.*

The Pope is conscious that some enthusiastic 'progressivists' may be carried away by
the 'new ideas', and also that some 'traditionalists' may feel offended by the idea of
'renewing the Gospel', and so he tries to keep emotions in balance. In his inaugural
speech for the opening of the Fourth Conference of the Bishops of Latin America, in
Santo Domingo (12th October 1992), John Paul II said:

*Newness of the Gospel does not permit any change of the content of the
evangelical proclamation, because Christ is "the same yesterday, today
and for ever". The Gospel should be proclaimed truthfully and without
distortions. If it is to be a true evangelisation, there is a need for
proclamation of the name and teaching, life and promises, kingdom and
mysteries of Jesus from Nazareth, the Son of God. New Evangelisation is
not meant to create a new Gospel whose author would be human, and
also not an evaluation of the content of the Good News with the desire to*

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1 DSBE, p.9; see also: EN, 19; ChL, 34.
adapt it to the demands and morality of present times. New Evangelisation is a responsibility for the gift, which God gave to us in Christ, in whom we are able to recognise the truth about God and Man, thus receiving new life.¹

A revolutionary aspect of the New Evangelisation program has been fully revealed in the next encyclical Christifideles Laici (1988). It reveals the profound fact that the laity now shares the responsibility and privilege of being evangelists, or evangelisers in their own right, a role acquired by virtue of the sacrament of baptism. Educated and inspired afresh, Catholic laity now engages in something comparable to the laity in other Western, especially charismatic and evangelistic Churches (in other words, it is something that was not characteristic of the ‘Catholic manner’ before). Thus, the New Evangelisation has introduced a shift in the responsibility of proclaiming and implementing the values of the Gospel away from a hierarchical and universal ‘Roman’ Church and its institutions toward Local Churches, Christian communities, and individual Christians. The Pope writes:

In the present circumstances the lay faithful have the ability to do very much. Therefore, they ought to do very much towards the growth of an authentic ecclesial communion in their Parishes in order to reawaken missionary zeal towards non-believers and believers themselves who have abandoned the faith or grown lax in the Christian life.²

While earlier the necessary obligation of proclaiming and expanding the Gospel relied heavily on ordained ministers, at present a strong emphasis is put on the fact that the duty of proclaiming the Gospel rests on all Christians. It is a result of the commitment incurred at the sacraments of baptism and confirmation. As Patrick Brennan rightly notices, “evangelisation is the central mission of the Church in general, and of individual Christians in particular”.³

¹ OR 12/1992, pp.24-5.
² ChL, 27.
To be able to adopt the most effective and fruitful way of proclaiming the Gospel the particular Churches have to evaluate their situation and identify the best ways of carrying out the task, so that it could transform the life of individuals and the whole of society. In this presentation we concentrate on the Papua New Guinea example of Enga. The Christians in the Catholic Diocese of Wabag in the Enga Province of that country gather every five years to evaluate the previous Pastoral Plan and propose a new one. In 1992 they gathered again in Par, and during discussions it was proposed that the program of the New Evangelisation should be incorporated into their long-term Diocesan Pastoral Plan. Opinions were split, as many considered that it was too early to talk about re-evangelisation, when in fact there is still a group of people who are not as yet baptised, and the mission proper seemed to apply to them more than to any other group. After prolonged discussions and not without opposition, the motion was moved and the New Evangelisation program was entered into the Diocesan Plan. It was recommended that an Evangelisation Team should be formed to offer courses preparing individual Christians for a one-to-one evangelisation, thus stressing the importance of personal involvement of laity in the spread of the Gospel. The analysis of the motives behind this decision as well as the thorough analysis of the whole concept of the New Evangelisation as pastoral program, will be the topic of this chapter.

4.1.2. Situation of the Church in Papua New Guinea

We find that the Encyclical Redemptoris Missio (No 33) enumerates three recipient “situations” as perceived from the evangelising point of view.

1. The group which embraces people and socio-cultural contexts, in which Christ and his Gospel are not known, or lack sufficiently mature Christian communities.

2. The faithful Christians, who possess the earnestness of faith and Christian life, inhere and act in the Church’s communities, influencing the society with the testimony of their lives and are conscious of being responsible for their mission in general.

3. The transitional situation between the mission activity directed *ad gentes* and pastoral activity.

This third situation may occur among people, especially in countries with a long Christian tradition and in young Churches, who, despite having been baptised have lost their sense of faith, became inactive in religious matters, or do not consider themselves as members of the Church. In such a situation the necessity arises for a specific action by the Church, that is, by Christians from the second group listed above, and this is the action which the Pope calls re-evangelisation or a New Evangelisation.

Although it may sound paradoxical, the Enga Christians who wanted it had a valid point in insisting that the program of New Evangelisation should be included in their Diocesan Pastoral Plan.¹ At the moment there are many arguments for placing Papua New Guinea in the last-listed category rather than in the first (people who have not heard the Gospel), because:

1. According to the Constitution, Papua New Guinea is nominally a Christian country (at least from 1975).²

2. There is a general tendency among Papua New Guinea people to become Christians (according to the census over 95%, say they are).³

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¹ Cf. Chapter Five, Infra, p.286.
³ T. Aerts, *Traditional Religion in Melanesia*, op.cit., p.IX.
3. People who are not baptised remain outside Christianity not because they do not know about the Gospel, but because they do not want to make the commitment, or because of differences between Christian codes and local culture, such as polygamy (not accepted by the Catholic Church), keeping pigs for compensations (against the SDA Church), fighting (against the teaching of Christianity).

4. There are people who cannot decide which Church they should join, because of the rivalry between various Christian denominations, but they are fully aware of Christ’s teaching and they attend religious services of various Churches.

5. There is a group of people who have once been Christians yet are now living outside the Church, because they returned to old religious and ritual activities which clash with Christianity, such as, engagement with witchcraft, *sanguma* (black magic), or poison (even if for personal and very specific reasons).

6. The general conviction among the people is that Papua New Guinea should be a Christian society and those living outside Christian communities are under constant moral and social pressure to join in or be isolated.\(^1\)

7. The majority of Christian denominations in Papua New Guinea are established already and function as fully independent units. The Catholic Church in Papua New Guinea has a fully established autonomous hierarchy and this means that it is not considered any more as a mission Church. It is no longer under the jurisdiction of the Roman congregation of ‘Evangelisation of Faith’ (*Propaganda de Fide*) but of ‘Christian Doctrine’, with its representative in the person of the Apostolic Nuncio permanently stationed in Port Moresby.

\(^1\) Cf. Ibid., p. 143.
Since we have now established that it is appropriate to place the Papua New Guinea Catholic Church in the third group (people which should be re-evangelised), let us look into those paradigms of the New Evangelisation that are most applicable for the Papua New Guinea case, and deal with them closely.

4.2. CONCEPT OF NEW EVANGELISATION

The traditional concept of evangelisation underwent some stages of development in the recent history of Christianity. Until the Vatican Council (II) evangelisation was understood as a mission proclamation.¹ In the documents of the Council, any proclamation of the Good News was awarded the title of “evangelisation”.² *Evangelii Nuntiandi* even equates evangelisation with Christianity.³ In the teaching of John Paul II evangelisation is understood as the total mission activity of the Church, thus becoming “its one and only mission”. Drawing from the teaching of the present Pope we see that different concepts of evangelisation are currently being generated. One powerful understanding is that evangelisation is a “debt” of the Church to the Good News. This concept has become especially meaningful to the people in the Pacific area and bears a lot of familiar connotations for Christians in Papua New Guinea where the logic of retribution constitutes the foundation of social and religious order.⁴

Evangelisation understood in the above-listed aspects takes on a new image especially because of the demands of recent times. There are different opinions concerning this newness. Some claim that this renewal of the concept of evangelisation will enable the Church to answer in a positive way to the call of the times, if there can

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¹ AG, 6.
² LG, 35; ChL, 6.
³ Cf. EN, 7; RM, 33.
be found a right solution to the problems of organisation and equipment. For others the stress on evangelisation has created an opportunity to go back to the concept of kerygma (the primary New Testament teaching), and express it in a new theological language and purify it from all kinds of cultural accretions (elements). Still others spot the problem in the shortage of evangelisers, whose numbers should somehow be increased.\(^1\) The Pope himself went on to explain, however, where the practical newness lies. "The newness of this evangelisation program refers to the new enthusiasm, methods and means of influence".\(^2\) Let us reflect next on this ideal.

### 4.2.1. New Enthusiasm

A new enthusiasm should characterise the person who administers the evangelical message. The Pope lists three virtues necessary to possess this *new enthusiasm*. They are deep faith, pastoral love along with truthfulness to the proclaimed message, and the conviction in the victory of Christ’s truth. These virtues should become a reality in the proclamation of the Gospel.\(^3\)

> In the Gospel of Luke, Christ says: "I have come to bring fire to the earth and how I wish it were blazing already!" (12: 49). New enthusiasm has to find its source in Christ. The close contact with him and listening to his word with faith enkindles the flame in hearts, as the disciples from Emmaus experienced it. (Lk 21: 49). A new evangeliser has to be a person who experienced an encounter with Christ, fell in love

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\(^2\) OR 12/1992, p.25.

with him and wants to infect all with his enthusiasm, through faith and friendship.\(^1\) It is one who can say: “We have found the Messiah - the Christ” (Jn 1: 41).

Evangelisation will be carried out with new enthusiasm if Jesus himself will be on the lips of the evangeliser. It is clearly visible at the scene of the miraculous fishing. Without Jesus, Peter was working in vain for the whole night. When Jesus “entered” the boat, “they netted such a huge number of fish that their nets began to tear” (Lk 5: 6).

The new evangeliser in his enthusiasm also has to be a herald of the truth. The truth of Christ on the lips of those proclaiming it should enlighten others’ minds and hearts, thanks to the tireless and public proclamation of Christian values.\(^2\)

### 4.2.2. New Methods and Means of Evangelisation

According to Pope John Paul II, new methods and means of expression should be able to address the following questions: How can the Gospel be proclaimed so that it may be comprehended by contemporary men and women? What language and literal forms should be utilised? How does one enter the culture that is going to be evangelised? How do we proclaim God in a secularised world? To questions put in such ways the Pope adds that each “answer has to be coherent, accurate and convincing, able to fortify the Catholic faith in its fundamental identity, in its individual, family and social aspects”.\(^3\)

From the above queries one can notice that the methods and means are to address the challenge of expanding the evangelical message and at the same time allow a new look at the changing situations of a given people.\(^4\) In *inter alia* the methods and principles of

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New Evangelisation have to include the engagement of lay people, take a different perspective at the Parish as “Community of communities”, and emphasise in its overall action the option for the poor and other disadvantaged groups. Let us ponder each of these methods and principles in turn.

The Engagement of Lay People

In some Church circles, a saying became popular about lay people that they are “the sleeping giant”. Looking for a way to engage and employ this exceptional power of the laity in the process of evangelisation constitutes the fundamental aspect of the new method.

A New Perspective on the Parish

The activation of the above-mentioned “sleeping giant” can be achieved by a new emphasis on the communal dimension of the Church. While it is still valid that the Parish constitutes the fundamental area of the Church’s activity, the fostering of activities concerning various social groups is limited and has not yet allowed the full dynamic of evangelical development. The Parish should be awakened and revitalised by the activities of small groups. It has to become the Community of communities, requiring an always-new dimension and new dynamism, thus making it a successful instrument of New Evangelisation. There is a general need for new Parish structures which will:

Incorporate more democratic procedure, honour the experience of lay ministers and bring them into the decision-making process. The aging clerical machinery

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2 More on these subject: Infra, pp.214-18.
3 Cf. DSBE, 5.
4 Cf. ChL, 26.
will have to be replaced with new structures. In fact there will have to be a real and thorough ecclesiastical perestroika.¹

Drawing from the documents of the Magisterium of the Church and on other literature it is possible to sketch an ideal of a truly post-council Parish, which will be achievable, meeting the socio-political and religious conditions. It should be a Parish well advanced on the way to full, comprehensive and deep evangelisation. It takes place if:

- Awakens and preserves the desire for ongoing education in the faith;
- Builds the Church as civilisation and culture of love
- Embraces with Christian reflection the fullness of human and social life;
- Reaching all, not only those who regularly attend church.²

The Option for the Poor

The option for the poor is without doubt a necessary element in the new methods of evangelisation.³ The social problem of the poor has become even more visible than ever before. In the evangelical efforts the poor have to be present in the Church not only as an object of attention, but as the subject taking the responsibility for themselves and the environment. The option for the poor can not be narrowed only to the material sphere but should be understood in a wider sense as an integral human development encompassing material, intellectual and spiritual needs. On the other hand the application of the option should be ‘down to earth’, avoiding over-intellectualisation, or a camouflaging of the real problem, as reflected in slogans of the Communist type, intriguingly noted by Fr. Szweda in his elaboration within his forthcoming book.⁴

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³ Cf. NMI, 21.
⁴ For example: ‘People without tradition and culture are poorer than those without food’, or ‘No true development is possible without a commitment to the growth of a people’s intellectual potential’. See: J. Szweda, forthcoming.
Other Disadvantaged Groups

The Pope in his various writings and speeches tirelessly puts the problem of other suppressed groups in society and in the Church on ‘the agenda’. He takes special interest in the situation, vocation and the role of women. To the burning issue of feminism, with its positives and negatives, he dedicated the Apostolic Letter *Mulieris Dignitatem*. The New Evangelisation program stresses the fact that women are increasingly contributing to the progress of society and Church and that they have indispensable rights to play an active role in the process of evangelisation.¹

The Pope has addressed modern youth and their concerns even with a noticeable tenderness, and encourages those responsible for them (parents, teachers, leaders) to give them a fair chance to develop their potential. “Young people seek to find happiness in different signs, pictures and even visions; they are easily persuaded by new religious phenomena and all sorts of sects”.² Often the propaganda of atheism or the process of secularisation prevents them from ever encountering the good news of the Gospel.³ However, the many young people who seek to find answers to their questions cannot be overlooked. In and around the Church the searching for a relationship with Jesus Christ by these young people is characterised by a radical yet at the same time demanding stand.⁴ The Pope also mentions children, their right to life, family and education.

Groups of Special Interest and Care

The Parish Christian community should be aware and attentive to the needs of the various groups of people who may require immediate social justice and material help

¹ Cf. ChL, 49-51.
² DSBE, 1.
³ Cf. DSBE, 3.
⁴ J. Michalik, ‘Nadzieja Młodzieży’ (Hope of the Youth), OR 1/1992, p.18.
before they can be offered the message of Jesus. The process of evangelisation for such groups as the sick, elderly, victims of tragedy, immigrants, ethnic minorities, prisoners and the unemployed has to be very sensitive and in many cases must be adjusted to the special situation of these people.¹

4.2.3. Renewal in the Ritual and Liturgical Expression

In December of 1979 the Pope addressed the members of the Renewal in the Spirit:

*Music, words and gestures are the true expression of the faith. These new ways of expression, I can tell you, are in some sense revolutionary. The faith is usually identified with some sort of wisdom or knowledge, but it is also the matter of the heart; but this way of expressing the faith was till now rather poor, kept to a minimum, almost absent.*²

Today the Church realises that the contemporary world has not understood it, because of its long inured rites, structures, language and ways of expression. Liturgy, as representation of the faith, was not easily readable for most people. Admittedly, even today, some of the Mass prayers are very difficult to understand even for a significant circle of believers. It is especially true about the ‘young generation of video pictures and video games’, conditioned with sensationalised images, for whom the traditional rituals, signs and symbols in the liturgy no longer speak in a powerfully meaningful way. The leaders of Parish life have to realise that the video games which occupy most of the free time of older children are of an interactive type, where the young person is exercising his/her skills and power (or so they think) and the Church’s static and passive service will not attract their attention nor satisfy their spiritual needs. Parishes have to reconsider the traditional way of worship and try “a synthesis of music, drama, preaching, positive theology, and often in an alternative place to Church, to engage this

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¹ Cf. ChL, 53
The adjustment of the liturgy to the mental requirements of contemporary people became therefore one of the most important principles in the program of New Evangelisation.

4.2.4. Evangelising the Human Cultures

Among other objects of evangelisation the program of New Evangelisation lists the cultures, or better still the various civilisations, human cultures, traditions and customs, in and by which human conscience and morality are being formed. From the nineteenth century, with the development of anthropological sciences, so much emphasis was put on issues of inculturation, that for some time the culture became a value in itself. It was vested with such undisputed reverence that many saw it as almost a religious reality that could not be questioned, yet alone evaluated or critically assessed. The Church and many mission workers were caught up in this trend, or at least for some time, and did not show the courage to stand up against these positivist ideas, accepting many of them uncritically.

These attitudes were best expressed in the popular prayer of the Church, which invoked God to help the Church to accept “mission countries with the entire richness of their culture”, often understood as a static, idealised form of primitive innocence. In that way there was no justice given to the dynamics underlining each culture and its positive and negative elements, necessarily connected with any human activity and so also with culture. From the one hand it was an escape from the responsibility of evaluation and from the other hand there was a hidden element of superiority and possessiveness in the

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1 P.J. Brennan, Re-Imagining Evangelisation, New York 1995, p.156.
2 Cf. ChL, 44. For the wide Christian approach towards culture, see: L.J. Luzbetak, The Church and Cultures, Chicago 1963.
statement implying - that we accept them. After the Second Vatican Council a balance between cultural values and Gospel values was regained, and now one of the guiding principles in the program of New Evangelisation is ‘inculturation of the Gospel and Christianisation of culture’.¹

The concept of inculturation indicates a process in which the values of the Gospel are proclaimed, nourished and allowed to grow in the culture that either has not as yet been confronted by them or their presentation has not been sufficiently attractive to be considered appealing or challenging.² Although, the inculturation brings the Good News of God’s inclusive love in a new context, it acknowledges and respects the ways in which the Holy Spirit had been at work before.³ An interesting, although somewhat controversial example of inculturation by Jesus is given in the Gospel of Mark, in the scene of the healing of the dumb person. “Jesus put his fingers in the man’s ears, touched his tongue with spittle…sighed…” (Mk 7: 31-32). The man is cured in his own context by Jesus – the bringer of the Good News. Jesus brings in the world totally new powers and reality but at the same time he respects traditional ways of dealing with sickness and healing.

4.2.5. Ecumenism and Dialogue

The respect given by New Evangelisation to human cultures is extended to other Christian denominations and religious beliefs. The Pope writes:

*Inter-religious dialogue is a part of the Church’s evangelising mission, which should not detract in any way from the fact that salvation comes from Christ and that dialogue does not dispense from evangelisation.*⁴

² Cf. NMI, 40.
³ In theological language it is known as *preparatio evangeltica*.
⁴ RM, 55.
Dialogue is not a proselytising activity and its aim is not a conversion of one of the
parties, but rather the uncovering of the “seeds of the Word”, \(^1\) a “ray of that truth which
enlightens all humans”, \(^2\) which is found in individuals and in the religious traditions of
humankind. The Encyclical *Redemptoris Missio* extends the meaning of the dialogue
from mere words and discussion among ‘professionals’ of given religions, and brings it
into the practice of the everyday life for ‘ordinary people’ in their communities. It calls
for:

*A dialogue of life, through which believers of different religions bear witness
before each other in daily life to their own human and spiritual values, and help
each other to live according to those values in order to build a more just and
fraternal society.* \(^3\)

### 4.2.6. Attitude Towards Politics

Though the Church does not connect itself with any political system, it is responsible
for the formation of human society, a duty from which it can not dispense from. It does
this above all through its social teaching, which belongs to the tasks of the New
Evangelisation. \(^4\)

The Vatican Council II teaches that the Church has to fulfil a religious and not a
political mission. \(^5\) Nevertheless the Church fulfils the prophetic and kerygmatic
function, which – as stressed by John Paul II – belongs to its evangelical mission. In
relation to this function it has the right and the duty of evaluating the existing political
situations and of indicating the direction of renewal in the spirit of the Gospel and

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\(^1\) AG, 11 and 15.
\(^2\) NA, 2.
\(^3\) RM, 57.
\(^4\) Cf. DSBE, 10.
\(^5\) Cf. GS, 42.

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socio-ethical principles. On this matter, note the comments of the Filipino theologian Santos:

In new conflicts between Church and State the Church of today finds itself fighting no longer for its temporal possessions and prerogatives, but for the concerns of its flock, which at times cannot help but border on the temporal as well. The Church after all is a community of men and women who are not mere spirits, but individuals of flesh and blood. The issues most important to them are also moral issues: justice, freedom, peace, and the equitable distribution of goods. Hence, the Church must speak.

But the Church should avoid entering into dangerous or too intensive political matters, which in some cases can result in individual politicians abusing the authority of the Church. Some decisions made by politicians are far removed from Christian values, and yet they want to be seen as having the backing of the authority of the Church. So, in accordance with the indications of the Church’s Magisterium and social teaching of John Paul II, the Church in the New Evangelisation should intensify the strictly religious functions, such as: proclamation, liturgy and deacony.

Cardinal Jaime Sin, one of the most recognised politically-engaged figures in the Church’s hierarchy, describes the basis for the socio-political activities of the Church as follows:

Any analysis of the present status of Church-State relations will be defective unless the people are also brought in. It is this trilogy of Church-State-People that must be considered in any comprehensive study of the Philippines social scene. For the Church and the State to enter into any dialog without reference to the People is to engage in a sterile power game, whose overriding concerns are the interests of institutions and not of people.

\[1\] W. Piwowarski, 'The Background of New Evangelisation', op.cit., p.40.
\[2\] F.R.S. Santos, 'The City of God is the City of Man', in: (ed.) A.D. Maramba, Seven in the Eye of History, Manila 2000, p.423.
\[4\] J. Sin (Card.), 'Church and State in the Philippine Context'. Lecture delivered before the faculty of Arts and Letters, University of Santo Tomas 1982. Selected Writings on Church-State Relations and Human Development, Manila 1984, pp.2-3.
4.2.7. Biblical Foundation of the New Evangelisation

As much as the New Evangelisation has to be open to conditions of contemporary situation, in the sphere of spirituality, culture, politics and economy manifesting themselves in the education, pluralism, evolution of systems of values, and to the individualisation of faith and form of lifestyle, still its foundation and point of reference has to be the Bible and the tradition/teaching of the Church. Discussing the concept of New Evangelisation and making efforts to find its deeper meaning, it is necessary to reach for the Bible, as the most inspiring and fundamental Church source.¹ It contains the word of God, which is invariable and through which is expressed the basic message: ‘God loves you, Christ came to you’. It is possible at the same time in the context of the Scriptures to understand better the signs of the time and the appeal of the era directed to the Church. Both, the Old and New Testament are equally important for the successful implementation of the Program of New Evangelisation.

The Proclamation of God’s Message in the Old Testament

The Old Testament is an image of a society specially chosen by God, though one that was repeatedly tempted by the superficial wellbeing of its neighbours and thus struggled with the Law given by God. God does not want his chosen nation to be lost and therefore he sends his prophets, who called for repentance and renewal. The law of God remains unchangeable. It is only the form of expression that changes. Along the course of Israel’s history in the Old Testament new enthusiasms are added, and those who directed the nation changed the methods of proclaiming God’s law. There is evident a certain futility of old proclamations and the desire for a continual renewal and

fruitfulness of the attractive, engendered new announcements of the purpose. This is best visible in the books describing the Babylonian exile (in the years 586-538 BC).

The Babylonian exile amounted to a grave crisis for the national community; it involves the loss of the land 'promised' by Yahweh, and the collapse of the Davidic dynasty, along with the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple, the only place of the cult for the true God. The people of the Covenant felt the isolation in the pagan environment very deeply: “Yahweh has abandoned me, the Lord has forgotten me” (Is 49: 14). An individual Israelite despairingly says: “My lasting hope in Yahweh is lost” (Lm 3: 18). The prophetic words, which used to lift the spirits, now seem to be insufficient for the Israelites condemned to a life in a then secularised Babylonian world. The old evangelisation it could be said: had failed.

Among these people experiencing exile lived the prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah and their disciples, who were not spared from the painful experience of their nation. It was they, who with their new methods and forms of expression, started to proclaim: “Can a woman forget her baby at the breast, feel no pity for the child she has borne? Even if these were to forget, I shall not forget you” (Is 49: 15). They announced words of comfort: “Israel, my servant, Jacob whom I have chosen, ...do not be alarmed, for I am your God” (Is 41: 8-10). At the beginning people did not react positively to the prophetic call: “Who has given credence to what we have heard? And who has seen in it a revelation of Yahweh's arm?” (Is 53: 1). The prophets then undertook the task of new evangelisation for the chosen nation: “Shout fearlessly, say to the towns of Judah, 'Here is your God.' …Here is Lord Yahweh coming with power!” (Is 40: 9-11). So: “Listen,
you deaf! Look and see, you blind!” (Is 42: 18). In this new type of evangelisation of
Isaiah and Jeremiah and their disciples three elements could be distinguished:

1. **A new experience of God.** God is called Father, Mother, Bride, Creator of the world
and Israel, he is the First and Last; with the might of his word he is liberating,
leading, saving his people. In this experience the exiled Jews meet once again the
God of their fathers, the same one from ages, they discovered that God always, now
as before, is a God of loyalty, solidarity and love. Such an experience of God
contained in the proclamation enabled Israelites to receive the new evangelisation.

2. **A new perspective on the past.** A new experience of God allowed the revision of
the proclamation of the Word from the time of the kings. It allowed for the
reevaluation of attitudes, which in many cases were very far from the desire of
Yahweh. “God’s people” would no longer enclose itself in the borders of a chosen
nation, but also embraces pagan peoples. The Disciples of Isaiah and Jeremiah,
while always faithful to authentic tradition, crossed over the borders of previous
convictions, dreaming about a new world. “See how the former predictions have
come true. Fresh things I now reveal; before they appear I tell you of them” (Is 42:
9). God himself is the originator of the renewal: “No need to remember past events,
no need to think about what was done before. Look, I am doing something new,
now it emerges; can you not see it? (Is 43:18-19).

3. **A new perspective on the present.** The situation seemed to be hopeless. Invaders
occupy a Holy Land, Jerusalem is destroyed, the holy place contaminated, the small
group of the pious lost in the powerful imperium. Although dispersed in the world,
Israel not only blossomed, but also discovered its new, life-giving mission, heard the call directed to itself by God: “I, Yahweh, have called you in saving justice, I have grasped you by the hand and shaped you; I have made you a covenant of the people and light to the nations” (Is 42: 6).

This new evangelisation started by the prophetic disciples outlived them by a hundred years. But the Book of Nehemiah gives again reports of the lack of enthusiasm, the declining of proclamation and the concentration on external forms of cult and tradition.

**New Evangelisation as Implemented by Jesus**

In the final phase of the history of salvation the Servant of Yahweh – Jesus from Nazareth – starts to implement God’s salvific plan. Participating in the Sabbath’s liturgy at Nazareth’s synagogue (Lk 4: 14-21) and presenting his messianic program there, he clearly refers to ‘the new evangelisation’ of Trito-Isaiah (Is 61: 1-3; 58: 6). In the first chapter of Mark’s Gospel we find the words of Jesus: “The time is fulfilled, and the Kingdom of God is close at hand. Repent, and believe the Gospel” (Mk 1: 15). Jesus helps people to see the surrounding reality with a fresh outlook and teaches them how to recognise “the signs of the times” in wise and practical terms (Lk 13: 1-5). His metaphors express the critical evaluation of contemporary existence, and also of religious life (Mt 21: 28-32; Lk 10: 29-37). Jesus’ experience of God is perfect, because Jesus is the Son of God. The objective of his mission is the salvation of all people and to convince them that “The Kingdom of God is among you” (Lk 17: 20-21).

The vulnerable people, on whom burdens beyond their capacity were imposed and who were considered to be religiously ignorant and sinners (Jn 7: 49; 9: 34), receive, thanks to Jesus’ deeds and words, direct access to God. The key to the Good
News and the Kingdom is through faith, trust in the Gospel, or rather in Him, who himself became the Good News and who reveals God to us. “I am the Way; I am Truth and Life. No one can come to the Father except through me” (Jn 14: 6). This truth concerns also contemporary humanity, which, thanks to the New Evangelisation, should repent in order to receive the truth of Christ. Evangelisation makes sense only if it is a proclamation of Jesus Christ, who is received from the Primeval Father. Our analysis of the essence of the Holy Scriptures encourages us to look at the reality and challenge of the New Evangelisation from the position of recipients to whom it is directed.¹

4.3. RECIPIENTS OF NEW EVANGELISATION

Analysing the Council and post-Council documents of the Church, it can be concluded that the evangelising activity of the Church is conveyed to recipients who fall into two categories: general, and particular. In the general category, the whole world of today is looked upon as the recipient of evangelisation.² In the particular category the recipients of evangelisation are those “who do not know Christ’s Gospel”; those “who belong to non-Christian religions”; and those “who already embrace and follow Christian faith”.³

4.3.1. General Recipients

The category of ‘general recipients’ encompasses all the conditions, embodied in people, that influence human life on spiritual, physical, cultural, political, and socio-economic levels as well as various aspects and elements of this reality, in which every

² Cf. K. Majdański, ‘Mözliwość Ewangelizacji w Cywilizacji Współczesnej’ (Possibility of Evangelisation in Contemporary Civilisation), Chrześcijanin w Świecie, 48(1976), p.154. See also: GS, 2; EN, 1, 18 and 49.
³ EN, 51 and 53.
person awaiting the New Evangelisation lives. This reality is characterised by secularism, pluralism and subjectivity.

Secularism

In *Christifideles Laici* in the fourth paragraph John Paul II writes:

> The present-day phenomenon of secularism is truly serious /.../ I myself have recalled the phenomenon of de-Christianisation that strikes long-standing Christian people and which continually calls for the New Evangelisation.

In secularised reality man stands up to religious reality. The surroundings, in which he lives, bring so many challenges that it is difficult to find time to think about God and his own destiny, marked with transcendental characteristics. Even death itself, which normally makes everything relative and puts life in its true perspective, has lost a lot of its dramatic impact. There has also been a lot of casual and uncommitted talk about abortion, euthanasia, and the tragic death of many, together with other events of life. It is not that God’s existence has been negated, which is the idea of purposeful secularisation or of a ‘secularism’, promoting the idea of the uselessness of God.1 Humans do not ask any more whether God exists or not; people live as if there were no God. It is the result of a secularisation process, whose task is to “free” different levels of social life and their view of the world, from the reign of religions and Churches.2

In secularised reality, the term “freeing yourself” applies not only to God, or to His and the Church’s laws; it also pertains to commonly respected connections such as family, school, nation, society. These connections are now replaced by the fascination

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of the successes of progress, overwhelming visions of a wealthy and pleasurable society, geared towards consumption. In turn, the result of this fascination is the loss of ability to differentiate between humanity and nature, between law of spirit and matter, thus between the Creator and his creation. For here, it is very near to the moving from technological experimentation to experimenting with human beings.\(^1\) So the Church of today stands in front of a huge task to oppose the reality which is not only against God but also against humanity.\(^2\) It includes:

- Religious indifference, which causes people to reject God, and putting in God’s place other “gods”, which supposedly allow people to be first.\(^3\)

- Conviction of people’s helplessness in the face of “the spirit of the times”, which often is against Christian values. In the fast pace of changes, critical mentality toward everything, together with feelings of fear and helplessness people loose their trust in everything. It may even seem that religion is not able to tidy up such a life and thus from this secular perspective religion looses its importance.\(^4\)

- Fruits of secularisation, which have characteristics of institutions and validated principles such as ideology, economical power, technocratism, aggressiveness of mass media; as well as intensifying conflicts: violence, terror, wars.\(^5\) In Papua New Guinea it results in rascalism, political violence and terror, tribal fighting and various forms of cargoism.\(^6\)

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1. It became very clearly visible in the whole debate concerning the problem of cloning. See also: J. Krucina, ‘Świat, do którego Jesteśmy Poslani’ (The World to Which We Are Sent), *Chrześcijanin wŚwiecie*, 1(1992), pp.16-7.
Pluralism

Pluralism as a reality being faced by the contemporary Church, was taken by Vatican Council II as a fact, from which one cannot turn away,¹ because it deeply influences the teachings of the Church. Throughout the ages the Gospel was proclaimed, almost without exception, in cultures based on common values. Also missionary activity had characteristics which excluded any type of influence of other values on the newly arrived Christian culture. Today, transformation occurs in the mentality of the recipients that are subjected to religious influences of the Church. Now the Church stands before a “society of choice”.² In such a society, named as pluralistic and democratic, the Church has lost its traditional place and it is seen as one of the segments of society.³

The experience of long-time pluralistic countries proves that the prevailing feature of their society is production and consumption. Peculiar enforcement of “having and possessing” complicates access to the transcendental world. In pluralistic societies religious practices are limited to small groups such as the family, the extended family, and friends. The level of public life is mostly free from religious influences. Individuals can express their religiousness in the sphere of private and personal relationships.⁴ The mentality of pluralistic societies, limiting the religiousness of individuals into private circles, tolerates Church and religion as long as it remains within the limits of its specific activities.⁵

¹ “Pluralism is a complex and competitive process, which occurs in two forms: hidden and official. The hidden pluralism has its place only in the human mind. The official pluralism has the backing in the social structures.” W. Piwowarski, The Background..., op.cit., p.41. See also: LG, 13; GS, 60.
³ Cf. W. Piwowarski, The Background..., op.cit., p.41.
The Church, however, being holistic by its nature, addresses the whole spectrum of issues of contemporary people and the world. It is difficult therefore for the Church, to bend to the demands of a pluralistic society, and to keep strictly to specifically prescribed spheres of life. Religion and Church cannot resign from a right to influence all spheres of life of individuals and society. It cannot allow the Gospel to become one of the many attractive propositions on the market with other ideologies and commodities attracting people.

The attractiveness of New Evangelisation included in the new enthusiasm, new forms, and new expressions is to go towards this increasingly diverse and mobile contemporary society, with awareness of possessing Christ’s message, without which it would be difficult to understand human life. Pluralistic society as a recipient of New Evangelisation is not an easy forum, as it is affected by the various forms of religious life and diverse tendencies toward unspecified progress. Various streams may signify the teachings of different Churches: from liberal to fundamentalist, from left to right, from traditional to charismatic. In such a pluralistic society, there has to be a strong purport of the truth; “God loves you, Christ came for you” - which stands at the core of New Evangelisation.

Subjectivity

One of the consequences of secularisation and pluralism is a strikingly subjective attitude toward religious matters as well as a partial belonging to community that adhere to objective truth. Modern day focus is on individual opinions. People also take such a

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2 ChL, 34.
3 Secularization, pluralism and subjectivism create also an image of new paganism, which for the Church’s subjects describes the recipient named here as ‘secondary’.
stand in relation to the Decalogue. They begin to see it as a norm, which is out of touch with life, and inhibiting progress. This conflict between Christian ethical norms and new legitimisation of behaviour through public opinion and utilitarian behaviour, becomes a great obstacle for the Church and evangelisation. Subjectivism also leads to the selection of some of the Christian truths. This assumes a partial belonging to a Christian community. Such a position, however, is not in line with Christ’s demand.¹ Subjective attitude towards Christian values indicates a lack of deeper understanding and a lack of interest in transmitting them to others.² The further effect is a dissonance between faith and life, an incoherent picture of the world, an acceptance of inconsequence and impotence in religious matters. Morality shatters and mutilated faith is revived only occasionally.³

4.3.2. Particular Recipients

As already stated the Pope, mindful of all circumstances in which “only one mission of the Church” is realised, distinguishes three areas and thus three different groups of recipients of this mission of evangelisation.

1) Sensus stricto mission, called Ad Gentes. This form of mission by the Church in the precise sense of the world constitutes evangelisation, through which the first announcement of the Crucified and Resurrected Jesus Christ takes place, followed by a call to faith. It should still constitute a big part of pastoral activities in Papua New Guinea, since the figures show, one third of the entire population has not yet been affected by the Gospel.

³ Cf. S. Wilkanowicz, ‘Sekularyzacja i Ewangelizacja’ (Secularisation and Evangelisation), in: The Task of Evangelisation, op.cit., p.32.
2) Pastoral activity of the Church. The faithful included in this form of mission should deepen their faith through the participation in catechesis.

3) New Evangelisation. The mission of the Church in this situation should cover those who were baptised some time ago but lost the sense of faith and active contact with the Church. It applies in the first place to the Church in Europe but may also be relevant to Christians in mission countries, like Papua New Guinea, where many people who received baptism do not have enough knowledge of the Good News to sustain them in the daily practice of the faith.

As it can be noticed, despite this differentiation made by the Pope, it is impossible to separate completely these forms of the Church’s activities, and there is no space for making a sharp division between the recipients of evangelisation. The Pope himself writes in the same document:

*The boundaries between pastoral care of the faithful, new evangelisation and specific missionary activity are not clearly definable, and it is unthinkable to create barriers between them or to put them into water-tight compartments.*

Taking under consideration the teaching, which can be found in the papal documents it can be said that a particular recipient of New Evangelisation is a person, who has been baptised, but who has lost the living faith, or who does not feel as belonging to the Church any longer. For such persons, after the evangelical renewal, the task is to implement Christian values into their own reality, which surrounds them. The primary recipient refers to the actual person. The secondary recipient on the other hand includes all the conditions, embodied in people that influence human life on spiritual, physical, cultural, political, and economic level.

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1 RM, 34.
4.4. SUBJECT OF NEW EVANGELISATION

One of the most important principles of the programme of New Evangelisation is the conviction that evangelisation is not the privilege of only certain groups in the Church, but the task of each person, who through baptism has become included among God's people. The Holy Spirit working in people is indeed the principal agent of the whole mission of the Church. ¹ This presence remains the foundation of the great dignity of the human subject. A person, thanks to Christ's grace, is called to cooperation with God. Being included in the activity of the Church, a person should feel privileged and at the same time obliged to give testimony of the faith and of the Christian life, as a service to one's fellow people and as a due response to God. All the baptised have the foundation for being evangelising subjects through their membership in the Church, from bishops through to evangelically lay persons. All groups involved – bishops, clergy, religious, theologians, laity – should also be evangelised. ² That means that they are both the subjects and the objects of evangelisation. While there is nothing new in perceiving all these groups as the object of evangelisation there is certainly a new paradigm in the program of the New Evangelisation, namely the lay faithful as the subject of evangelisation.

4.4.1. Revised Concept of the Role of the Laity in the Church and Society

The definition of the laity underwent many changes in the history of the Church and it needs some clarification before we can proceed with further investigations and suggestions about its role in the Papua New Guinea Church. Let us see how the modern Church's documents describe it and what is presently understood by the term laity. The traditional definition of the lay faithful was presented in the form of a negative

¹ Cf. RM, 21.
² PDV, 1
statement, encompassing all those who were not clergy or religious. Starting with the Vatican Council, Catholic theology sought to overcome this negative understanding and create a more positive definition. The Council’s main document *Lumen Gentium* states positively, that “the Christian lay faithful fully belong to the Church and to its mystery”, and without giving any official definition, describes the laity as:

*All the faithful except those in Holy Orders and those who belong to a religious state approved by the Church. This means that the faithful who by baptism are incorporated into Christ, are placed in the People of God, and in their own way share the priestly, prophetic and kingly office of Christ, and to the best of their ability carry on the mission of the whole Christian people in the Church and in the world.*

During the Bishops’ Synod on the Laity, the first from the twelve questions presented for discussion was: *How can a positive description of lay Christians best be given in the context of an understanding of the Church as communion?* In the postsynodal Encyclical *Christifideles Laici* John Paul II gives the synthesis of the Synod’s discussion on this subject. He emphasises the fact that the union with Christ through faith and the sacraments of Christian initiation is the basis for understanding the lay faithful dignity and identity. The Holy Father does not give his own definition of the lay person but cites words from the Scriptures. The Christian can repeat in an individual way the words of Jesus: ‘The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he has anointed me to preach good news to the poor. He has sent me to proclaim release to captives and recovery of sight to the blind, to set at liberty those who are oppressed, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord’ (Lk 4: 18-19; cf. Is 61: 1-2).

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1. LG. 31.
4.4.2. Laity as a Special Subject of New Evangelisation

As stated, the Exhortation Christifideles Laici contains the teaching concerning lay people and their place in the contemporary world and in the enterprises of the universal Church. In the appeal ending the above Exhortation we read:

*A great venture, both challenging and wonderful, is entrusted to the Church – that of re-evangelisation, which is so much needed by the present world. The lay faithful ought to regard themselves as an active and responsible part of this venture, called as they are to proclaim and to live the Gospel in service to the person and to society.*

The new situations – equally in the Church and in social, economical, political and cultural life – demand today the engagement of lay people with a special force. There is an ever-growing conviction that the allowing of passive attitude, such as was adopted by lay people in the Church in the past, was a fault, and in the present it takes the form of a serious offence. The sharpness of this offence becomes clearer, when it is realised that evangelisation is a privilege and the task of each Christian. The lay faithful in being full and right members of the Church, accept a vocation proper to them, that is “to seek the kingdom of God by engaging in temporal affairs and directing them according to God’s will”.

According to the Exhortation Christifideles Laici – to understand their position in the Church – we should look at the “lay faithful” from the position of a threefold reality:

- baptism regenerates us to the life as “God’s children”;
- unites us with Jesus Christ and with his Body, that is with the Church;
- anoints us in the Holy Spirit, making us spiritual temples.

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1 ChL, 64.
2 Cf. ChL, 3.
4 GS, 11; LG, 31.
5 Cf. ChL, 10; LG, 34-35.
Analysing the participation of the lay faithful in the life of the Church, we take under consideration their active engagement. However, there will be no action if the lay faithful have no consciousness of who they are and to what they are called to by Christ. In other words they have to be conscious of their esse in the Church. If the lay Christians will realise this, they will act and spontaneously engage in the agere of the Church. However, first what is needed is a consciousness of the issue and later a concrete action.1

This statement determines the goal of the New Evangelisation that is the formation of the awareness of the lay faithful. In such formation the following should be taken under consideration:

- the doctrinal formation, through systematic catechesis;
- the introduction to the social teaching of the Church;
- the encouragement to develop individual, human values.2

A proper formation shows clearly the range of activity for lay people in the Church and in the world. Pope John Paul II clearly and concisely describes this range of activity for the lay faithful in the Church and in the world as required by the program of the New Evangelisation:

- the rulers of the nations, who should tirelessly strengthen the basic values of social coexistence: the respect for the truth, bonds of solidarity, human rights, honesty, dialogue and the participation of the public in the decision-making at all levels;
- the representatives of the world of culture, who by their intelligence, good will,

2 Cf. EN, 70; ChL, 28-43.
creative work should put the foundation of authentic, integral humanism that will present Man with the true and undeniable dignity as a child of God;

- the workers and employers, who should coexist in the real and true solidarity, fighting poverty, unemployment, the unwise waste of natural resources, the creation of the conditions for labor worthy of humans;

- all the families, who are “the sanctuaries of love and life” should become the domestic Churches, the sources for radiating the faith, the schools of Christian life, the place for building a more brotherly and solidarity society;

- the sick, aged, lonely, victims of violence, unemployed, homeless and prisoners call to remorse and give an impulse to form a more just division of goods.¹

Reflections on the theme of the subject of the New Evangelisation are summed up in the statement of the Synod of European Bishops for which the subject of the New Evangelisation was the basic theme:

*The New Evangelisation will become possible only, if all Christians, conscious of their prophetic vocation, will feel called to continue this enterprise. The first servants of the Gospel with the bishops are of course priests and deacons, who carry the load of daily pastoral duties in the Christian communities. The religious members, thanks to whom the bulk of the first evangelisation of Europe was done, and their communities, should give the whole of Europe the example of life founded on evangelical radicalism /.../. And as clearly admonishes the Exhortation Christifideles Laici, also the lay faithful are called to work for the benefit of the New Evangelisation.*²

4.5. CONTENT OF NEW EVANGELISATION

Vatican Council in the Constitution on Divine Revelation teaches:

*God graciously arranged that the things he had once revealed for the salvation of all peoples should remain in their entirety, throughout the ages, and be transmitted to all generations. Therefore, Christ the Lord, in whom the entire Revelation of the most high God is summed up commanded the apostles to preach the Gospel, which had been promised beforehand by the prophets, and

¹ OR 12/1992, p.14; see also: ChL, 46-54.
² Cf. DSBE, 5.
which he fulfilled in his own person and promulgated with his own lips. In preaching the Gospel they were to communicate the gifts of God to all men. This Gospel was to be the source of all-saving truth and moral discipline.¹

This recommendation applies also to the contemporary proclamation of the Gospel, which according to John Paul II should take place under the umbrella of New Evangelisation. This evangelisation proposes the clear proclamation, fitting to different conditions of temporary life, to:

rights and duties of every human being, family life...life in society, international life, peace, justice and development – a message especially energetic today about liberation.²

To cope with these demands, the content of New Evangelisation, according to John Paul II, has to include three elements of doctrine-pastoral nature, which constitute the base of New Evangelisation: Christology, Ecclesiology and Anthropology.

The deep and solid Christology, based on healthy Anthropology and connected with correct Ecclesiological vision will enable to stand up against the challenges that the contemporary world puts before the Church.³

This is not an easy challenge, but the Church is able to fulfil it if it deepens its own identity, shows itself to the world as a permanent source and object of renewal, while at the same time displaying his ever growing vitality in all forms of its activity.

Addressing this challenge will itself be a testimony for the Church and the world. The world needs such testimony, because it implies the turning of attention to Jesus, who is the foundation, centre and apogee of all Church’s activity.⁴ He is also a source of understanding of human vocation and hope for the better future of humankind.

According to the suggestion from the Pope’s teaching, in our analysis of the content of

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¹ Cf. GS, No 7.
² EN, 29.
⁴ Cf. EN, 27.
New Evangelisation we will discuss in turn the Christological, Anthropological and Ecclesiological elements of the New Evangelisation program.

4.5.1. Christology of New Evangelisation

The contemporary world being fascinated by the intellectual achievements of man, with less or more consciousness tends to see human life only in its horizontal aspect. The satisfaction of immediate needs, concern for individual and local interests, shapes the attitude in which not only the laws of God are forgotten but the whole truth about God’s existence is questioned. Many people tend to adopt a style of thinking and acting as if God does not exist. This is why New Evangelisation is presenting to contemporary man a message about God, who in a certain point of history entered earthly existence in the person of Jesus. Placing Jesus Christ in the centre of the Church’s teaching makes this teaching clearly Christological. The New Evangelisation adopts this model of proclamation. The truth, that God loves you, that he came for you in the person of Jesus, becomes the nucleus of this evangelisation. This exceptional mission of Jesus is one of a kind and places him in the centre of God’s plan of salvation. And God’s plan of salvation is to “renew everything in Christ” (Eph 1: 10).

New Evangelisation fulfilling God’s plan of salvation has to meet the expectations of people’s spiritual need. These expectations are contained in the following values: truth, freedom and communion. Only Jesus Christ proclaimed in the evangelical manifesto can satisfy these values. Christ-God who became man is the whole truth that liberates us through the gifts of the Holy Spirit and introduces us into

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2 Ch., 34.
3 Cf. NMI, 29.
full communion with God and with other people. This leads to the conclusion that the Christological proclamation of New Evangelisation has several important functions.¹

Transmission of Truth about the Incarnation of God’s Son and about Man Himself.
The perfect humanity of Jesus Christ expresses the whole truth about man, because, whilst adhering to the concrete environment, culture and time life does not need to contradict God. For this reason, according to John Paul II:

_The starting-point of New Evangelisation is a conviction that in Christ can be found a limitless richness, which cannot be exhausted by any culture and from which people can extract from without restrictions in order to enrich themselves._²

It is not however, enough to examine the manifesto of Jesus Christ to emphasise Christian values such as justice, peace, freedom, etc., and implement them in social life and yet neglect reflecting on Jesus Christ, the person. Such an attitude excludes the truth and reality of evangelisation. It is the duty of New Evangelisation to stress the truth that Jesus Christ is the only Saviour. Any “reductionist Christologies” short cutting the Gospel of Jesus Christ have no place among the tools of New Evangelisation.

The Incarnation of Jesus Christ containing in it the union with each person, apart from any culture or epoch, being a perfect example and pattern of inculturation of the Gospel, determines for the contemporary Church an invocation to transmit the whole richness of the Gospel to people living in contemporary culture and reality.³ The taking on of this challenge should be firm with the full consciousness of possessing the truth answering all human problems.

¹ Cf. DSBE, 4. See also: M. Azevedo, ‘Spirituality of New Evangelisation’, Vita Consacrata, 3(1990), pp.255-64.
³ Cf. RH, 18.
Revealing the Salvation Accomplished by Jesus, which in its Essence Becomes Liberation of Man

One of the main topics of the Synod of European Bishops was the matter of understanding and accepting the concept of freedom. The work of this Synod concentrated around the words of Saint Paul: “So we could be a witness of Christ who made us free”. The possibility of free reflection on human life leads to the truth, which at the end (finally) brings us to Jesus Christ. Christ once said: “you will know the truth and it will make you free” (Jn 8:32). In the speech to university students in Rome John Paul II interprets the words of Christ as follows: “We are not free thanks to using our freedom; we are free only then, if exercise of freedom is controlled by the truth”.\(^1\) Christ revealed total truth with the expression of his whole life. And this is why, if the object of New Evangelisation wishes to bring the treasure of freedom to contemporary man, it must act in the light of this truth and this truth proclaim.\(^2\)

New Evangelisation demands above all, strong conviction to faith in Jesus Christ and unequivocal proclamation of truth about him and also “confess his sacred Name, this only Name, thanks to which we became saved and liberated from the power of sin and death”\(^3\). Taking into consideration the impotence of all contemporary ideologies in overcoming temptation of going against God’s will, which oppresses rather than grants freedom, the pressing mission of New Evangelisation is to bring again to contemporary people the liberating manifesto of the Gospel.

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1 OR 1/1992, p.63.  
2 Cf. Ibid., p.65.  
Revealing God's Son in whom Humanity Finds its Dignity, Entitling to Communion with the Triune God and with Other People

The Vatican Council states in its Constitution:

Christ did not bequeath to the Church a mission in the political, economic, or social order: the purpose he assigned to it was a religious one. But this religious mission can be the source of commitment, direction, and vigor to establish and consolidate the community of men according to the law of God.¹

Following the anxiety of the human heart (compare the famous saying of St. Augustine: Anxious is the heart of man till it rests in God) people have to reach to the Evangelical Manifesto showing Jesus Christ, who humbled himself (com. Ph 2: 7). In this way, through Jesus Christ, humanity enters the mystery of God's life, which in essence is a communion of three Persons.

In order to show the proper way to communion – community, the New Evangelisation has to show the Christ-Servant, who being obedient to the Father, humbled himself, in effect giving back to humanity a full dignity. And this dignity is necessary to create a true community. There is no value in community, when collectivity is imposed on people. The true community-communion is born and lasts only, if each person treats her/his own dignity and the dignity and otherness of fellow-people as treasure.² Undertaken by the Church the great project of New Evangelisation has as its goal “to proclaim the Good News about Jesus Christ” (Gal 1: 16). As a conclusion of the above analysis and according to the text of Redemptoris Missio this project should manifest itself in:

- Directing the consciousness and experience of all humanity towards Christ in whom inculturation of the Gospel was accomplished.

¹ GS, 42.
² Cf. RM, 15.
- Revealing the Mystery of Redemption, which was a moment of unification of Christ with each person, bringing full liberation.

- In Jesus Christ God made himself known to humankind. This final self-revelation is the Good News, that is the full truth about God and also about humanity.

- Considering the value of all nations in relation to Christ.

- Revealing God's plan "to bring everything together under Christ, as head, everything in the heavens and everything on earth" (Eph 1:10).

4.5.2. Mariology of New Evangelisation

The ideas of the New Evangelisation in its present form are the product of John Paul’s II teaching, who almost always includes some Mariological content. Generally it can be said that Mariology of the New Evangelisation is a Mariology of the Vatican Council and in the teaching of John Paul II with definite Christological accents. The new post-conciliar vision implies the formation of proper attitudes in regard to Marian piety.

Biblical Roots of Marian Piety

The participation of the Blessed Virgin in the economy of salvation is already marked out in the Old Testament. The first parents, contaminated by sin, hear the prophetic promise telling of the victory over the serpent. The nation of Israel is waiting for Emmanuel, who will be conceived by a virgin. With Mary comes the fullness of time and the new economy of salvation, when the world received the Son of God through her human nature.

2 Cf. TMA, 43.
3 Cf. II Synod of Polish Bishops op.cit., pp.40-1.
The New Testament presents Mary as full of grace, accepting the saving will of God with her whole heart. Mary, as the model for accepting Jesus Christ under the influence of the Holy Spirit, is for the Church “the Star of the First and New Evangelisation”. In the *Evangelii Nuntiandi* Pope Paul VI calls Mary “The Star of Evangelisation”, and John Paul states in the *Redemptoris Mater*, that “Mary does not cease to be a leading Star for all, who still pilgrimage through the faith”. For the Church undertaking the task of New Evangelisation in the contemporary world, Mary should stay a “Star”, for in her was materialised the ultimate reality of Evangelisation. In turn, the experience from the history of the Church demonstrates that Marian piety is a basic element of evangelisation, for “Mary is a living Gospel”.

**Association of Mary with Jesus and His Mission**

In the mission of Christ, the woman Mary, who accepting with faith the Word of God and inseparably linking her life with the life of her Son became “the first and most perfect follower of Christ”. In the contemporary activity undertaken by the Church, when pervasive secularisation tries to weaken the faith of Christians, negating any references to the transcendental, the figure of Mary becomes an example and an inspiration for believers. Mary the mother of the poor and the hope of the oppressed, the dawn of the civilisation of love, justice and peace, indicating the horizons of the true brotherhood among all people, in the time of New Evangelisation shows and presents Jesus Christ, the only Saviour of the world.

1 OR 12/1992, p.31.
2 EN, 82.
3 RM, 6.
5 MC, 35.
6 Cf. Chl., 2.
7 OR 12/1992, p.16.
Mary – the Mother of God, who occupies a privileged position in the mystery of Christ, has also “an active and a model presence in the life of the Church”.\(^1\) The Church continues the religious path of Mary, who “excelled on the path of faith and preserved faithfully her unity with the Son till the cross”.\(^2\) Mary is the image and prototype of the Church not only in the motherhood, virginity, spiritual life, in the love for Christ and man, but also through her influence as a champion of life becomes the model of the evangelising Church.\(^3\) As a result, the Virgin Mary is not only the first who was evangelised, but becomes the first evangeliser after Christ.

*Through the same faith, which made her blessed... Mary is present in the mission of the Church, present in the activity of the Church and who introduces into the world the Kingdom of her Son.*\(^4\)

**New Understanding of Mary’s Role in the Evangelising Mission**

The new approach to Marian piety is expressed in the conversion of a previous *adagium* (saying) “through Mary to God” to “with Mary to Christ”.\(^5\) Mary not only trusted in the Word which was revealed to her in the course of the Gospel, but from the beginning she dedicated herself to this work of evangelisation, constructing and merging into the mission of her Son, the great Evangeliser. During the prayer at Pentecost she accompanies the young Church inaugurating its evangelisation. Also today she is present “and shines as the Star of evangelisation implying the renewal, as “Hodigitria” showing before us the road to Christ and to full unity of his disciples”.\(^6\) For this reason, any member of the Church should look at her and be at one with her, because she is in the Church as the model for unveiling the signs of God’s will.\(^7\)

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1. RM, 1.
2. RM, 2.
4. RM, 28.
6. DSBE, 11.
Mary – the Mother of God and the Church

The basic and the most important privilege, which describes the proper position of Mary in the history of salvation, and at the same time in the New Evangelisation is her motherhood of God (Theotokos).\(^1\) Mary is the Mother of the Church, because by fulfilling the will of the Father she gave human life to the Son of God, from whom the whole of God’s people draws grace and dignity. Her own Son intended to extend the motherhood of his own Mother, pointing from the cross towards his beloved disciple as her son. It was also a desire of the Holy Spirit that She, after the Ascension of the Lord, would stay in the cenacle at prayer and keep vigil with the apostles until the day of Pentecost, in which the Church was born, coming out of its hiding.\(^2\)

4.5.3. Ecclesiology of New Evangelisation

The Church – Mystical Body of Christ – acts in the world as “light of the world and salt of the earth” (Mt 5,13-16). In the service of the world, in the various moments of history, it fulfilled this duty with less or more success. It was conditioned by the weakness of human nature, which is not alien to members of the Church. However, the Church always conscious of the fact, that its Head is Christ, gained strength and a bigger vitality answering the expectations of the time. A very general view on the reality of the Church, starting from the first centuries of Christianity till the contemporary era, permits to distinguish four stages in the vision of the Church.\(^3\)

The Biblical stage is described in the Acts of the Apostles: “One Spirit and one heart. The whole group of believers was united, heart and soul” (Acts 4: 32). In such an

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\(^1\) Cf. LG, 62, 66.
\(^2\) Cf. II Synod of Polish Bishops, op.cit., p.25.
The idea of Church, all members of the community had a consciousness and were fulfilling their proper assignments. The medieval era produced the super-hierarchical vision of the Church. The characteristic of this vision is the sentence expressed by Pope Innocent III at the Lateran Council IV (1215): “Lay people are obliged to listen, not to rule”. The new stage in the Church starting in the nineteenth century was characterised by the return to biblical sources and to patristic teaching to extract the true and full picture of the Church. The efforts undertaken by theologians and the statements of the Popes resulted in the development of the vision of the Church, which received its full shape at the Vatican Council II. The Second Vatican Council returns above all to the biblical vision of the Church.¹ According to the Council:

*The Church a community composed of men, who, united in Christ and guided by the Holy Spirit, press onwards towards the kingdom of the Father and are bearers of a message of salvation intended for all men.*²

The program of the New Evangelisation promotes and develops the Ecclesiology of the Vatican Council II. In the speech delivered for the opening of the Conference of Bishops from Latin America in Santo Domingo, Pope John Paul II said:

*These are some of the duties that stay before the Church in the era of New Evangelisation. Your Conference has to draw the face of the Church which is alive and dynamic, which grows in faith, sanctifies itself, loves, suffers, engages in the problems of the world and has its hope in the Lord, according to the teaching of the ecumenical Vatican Council II, which has to constitute the basic point of reference in life and activity of each pastor.*³

The contemporary world needs a Church which is holy, because as Pope Paul VI expressed “the world needs witnesses not teachers”.

Such perceived obligations of the Holy Church towards the world, forces us to look at its reality from three points of view: *Ecclesia-Mysterium, Ecclesia-Communio,*

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¹ GS, 6.
² GS, 1.
³ OR 12/1992, p.29; see also: DSBE, 10.
Ecclesia-Missio. Ecclesia-Mysterium and Ecclesia-Communio represent two realities that constitute its identity, its esse. The consciousness of this reality is a base for analysis of the next reality of the Church, which is the activity, or in other words: the Church’s agere, which in turn is the prime concern of this thesis.

**Ecclesia-Missio**

God the Father, immemorial Principle of everything – calls the Church through his everlasting will to save all peoples. The central and decisive event in the accomplished economy of salvation by God was a salvific event of Christ. Christ calls the Church as the People of God who not only constitute a community of life, love and truth but also undertake the function of a tool introducing the salvation of the world. Dynamism of the life of the Church rests on the transmission of truth and love and in witnessing God’s presence in the world. The task of the Church is to effectively bring the whole of the world to God.¹

The present day, in which people face great changes and challenges, requests intensified action from the Church.² To satisfy the desires and demands of the heart the Church has to face the contemporary challenges, and push forward to new frontiers, both in the initial mission ad gentes, and in the New Evangelisation of those people, who have already heard Christ proclaimed.³ The action of the contemporary Church that is, its agere, which is the action of the Church of the New Evangelisation should be expressed within the following undertakings:

- The acceptance and fulfillment of the ever-actual call of Christ: “Go, therefore,

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¹ Cf. II Synod of Polish Bishops, op.cit., p.16.
² Cf. RM, 11.
³ RM, 30.
make disciples of all nations; baptise them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit” (Mt 28: 19).1

Emphasising the unity and universality of God’s Church united within the unity of Father, Son and Holy Spirit who leads to mutual exchange of the richness of multiplicity of nations and is present among all people of the earth.2

The mutual exchange of gifts between various Churches should become a testimony of accepted and actualised New Evangelisation, as the Churches can not last in separation or form only a formal unity.3

The concern for the renewal of everything in Christ (Eph 1: 10) in the territory of established Christianity, can not exclude the responsibility for the mission call ad gentes, since “New Evangelisation of Christian peoples will find its inspiration and ground in the dedication to the mission activity”.4

The Church of New Evangelisation is an ecumenical Church, where mutual forgiveness and openness for each other will allow to fulfill the appeal of Christ “so all may be one”.5

The phenomenon of migration, which takes place in the world, invites brotherly conversation with other people, with simultaneous recognition of their desire for religious development. “In this pluralistic environment the Church does not opt for relativism but for sincere and cautious dialogue, that not only does not weaken the faith but strengthens it”.6

The Church, despite being favourably disposed towards a democracy understood

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1 Cf. DSBE, 3.
2 Cf. LG, 1, 4, 13.
3 Cf. DSBE, 6.
4 RM, 2.
5 DSBE, 7.
6 DSB, 9.
in a proper sense, does not identify itself with any political system.\(^1\)

- The Church being the community of many nations and crossing over any particularisation, recognises and acknowledges the national values.\(^2\)

- The Church can not be inert towards natural environment in which man lives.\(^3\)

The analysis of the mystery of Holy Church in the above-presented three points: *Ecclesia-Mysterium, Ecclesia-Communio, and Ecclesia-Missio*, all permit to display the characteristics of the spiritual (internal) and external nature of the Church in the contemporary world.\(^4\) *Ecclesia-Missio* in New Evangelisation is a Church directed by the concern and responsibility for man, entrusted to it by Christ himself. “This man, as the Vatican Council II says, God wanted – as the only creature – for himself, and towards whom he has his own plan; he wishes to give him a part in eternal salvation”.\(^5\)

*The Church, at once ‘a visible organisation and a spiritual community’ travels the same journey as all mankind and shares the same earthly lot with the world: it is to be leaven and, as it were, the soul of human society in its renewal by Christ and transformation into the family of God.*\(^6\)

Such characteristics as openness for each man, responsibility of all the subjects of the Church for evangelisation and using the achievements of the epoch creates a new model of the Church in comparison to that of the past. It challenges the existing traditional Christian communities to work towards the renewal of their image and at the same time opens vast horizons for the Church’s communities in the newly evangelised countries such as Papua New Guinea and the Local Church in Enga.

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\(^1\) Cf. GS, 76.
\(^2\) Cf. DSBE, 10.
\(^3\) Cf. CA, 51.
\(^5\) RH, 13.
\(^6\) GS, 40.
5.1. SHORT HISTORY OF EVANGELISATION OF PAPUA NEW GUINEA

5.1.1. Initial Stages of Catholic Evangelisation in Papua New Guinea

The evangelisation process among the inhabitants of the Papua New Guinea islands started in 1847 with the arrival of French missionaries from the Marist Congregation at Woodlark Island (north of Samarai) and in 1848 they moved to Rooke Island (east of present-day Madang), but due to the sickness of the personnel and conflicts with the local people the experiment was short-lived. On 16 July 1848 the bishop J. B. Collomb and other priests died from the effects of malaria on Rooke and the remaining priests encountered so much hardship and misfortunes that they had to withdraw in 1852.

In the same year missionaries from the Italian Pontificate Missionary Institute arrived at Woodlark Island. They started the evangelisation work with enthusiasm but soon met the same fate as the previous group. One of their priests died and another, the famous Fr G. Mazzuconi became seriously ill and retreated to Sydney for treatment. The remaining personnel could not cope with the extra workload, and both mounting

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1 The Society of Mary (Marists) was founded in 1836 by a Frenchman, Father Jean C. Colin.
2 A detailed elaboration on the ‘prehistory’ of Catholic evangelisation in Melanesia was done by Fr R. M. Wiltgen, The Founding of the Roman Catholic Church in Oceania 1825-1850, Canberra 1979.
tensions and developing animosity with the local people forced them to leave the post. Unfortunately Fr Mazzuconi was not aware of what had happened and when he recovered and returned to the post in September 1855 he was ambushed and killed.

It took the next 25 years before the next group of Catholic missionaries arrived to continue evangelisation amongst Papua New Guineans. By then Protestant Missions had entered the region, for instance the Methodists began their apostolate on the Duke of York Island in 1875 and the London Mission Society along the Papua Coast from 1871. The first new batch of Catholics were French priests coming to work initially among the French recruited by the Marquis de Rays for the newly established colony of New France, but these soon gave missionary services to the local people as well. In 1881 a diocesan priest arrived from Australia to the southern coast of Papua New Guinea to scout around for the best spot for mission activity in this area. The successful work of the above missionaries prompted Rome to consider sending more missionaries in order to continue a more intensive evangelisation of Papua New Guinea on a regular basis. The Missionary Congregation of the Sacred Heart was given the mandate to continue the work of evangelisation and to establish a structure for the Catholic Church. Two priests and a brother, members of the MSC assisted by one lay missionary arrived at Matupit Island, not far from the present Rabaul, on 28 September 1882, and the next day they celebrated their first Mass on New Guinea land. The date 29 September became the Commemoration Day and St Michael to whom this day is dedicated became the Patron Saint for the Papua New Guinea Catholic Church.

1 He was Fr John Can from Queensland.
2 The Missionary Congregation of the Sacred Heart (MSC) was founded in France in 1854 by Fr Jules Chevalier.
The missionaries were stranded for the whole of the next year to this island because of the power struggle between Germany and England, both nations wanting to take possession of the Papua New Guinea territory. After the Anglo-German treaty in 1884 and the division of the territory between German New Guinea and British Papua, the Catholic missionary post became part of the German colony and missionaries were not allowed to evangelise on the British side. In order to be able to evangelise on the British side, a new group of MSC missionaries arrived in October 1884 at Thursday Island, and in July 1885 they established a mission post at Yule Island, which became their headquarters. The next year the first missionary sisters from the same congregation (OLSH) started evangelisation work on Thursday Island, and in 1885 for the first time arrived on Papua New Guinea soil at Yule Island. They were to play a very significant role in the process of evangelisation of the Papua New Guinea people. The year 1884 became a landmark for the mission work in this territory because the Holy See recognised the Apostolic Vicariate of Melanesia, and Fr A. Navarre became its first bishop.

From this time the evangelisation process took an organised and systematic form and was supported by the parallel development of the structure and administration of the Catholic Church as well as a growing number of mission personnel. Soon the progress in the spreading of Christianity became so significant that new administrative units had to be established. Rome was well attuned to the evangelisation needs of Papua New Guinea and responded swiftly to the problems. In 1889 the Melanesian Vicariate was divided into the Apostolic Vicariate of New Britain, which a year later was changed into

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2 For a more detailed account of the mission work carried out in this Vicariate and on the person of Bishop Navarre see: T. Aerts, Ibid.
Neu-Pommern (the German part) and Vicariate of Papua (the British part). Bishop Navarre remained the head of the Vicariate of Papua and was elevated to the position of archbishop. As a result Fr H. Verjus MSC was appointed as his Bishop Coadjutor and Fr L. Couppe MSC as a Bishop for Neu-Pommern.¹

The German authority expressed some objections to the fact that a Frenchman became the head of the Catholic Church in their colony, and steps were taken to ease the situation. It was decided that the mainland of New Guinea, which was under German colonial administration, would be exempted from the jurisdiction of the bishop of Neu-Pommern and would receive the status of an independent unit. Thus the Apostolic Prefecture of Kaiser Wilhelmsland was established by the Pope in 1896 and from the recommendation of the Congregation of Evangelisation it was entrusted to the newly established and flourishing German religious institution called The Missionaries of the Divine Word.² Already in August of the same year six missionaries from this Congregation arrived on the coast of New Guinea at Madang but moved to Tumuleo Island near present Aitape, from which they started their evangelising mission.³ An experienced missionary J. Limbrock, who was previously working in China for some thirteen years and had then been appointed an Apostolic Prefect for the Kaiser Wilhelmsland Territory, led them. In 1899 the mission group was strengthened by the arrival of missionary sisters from the Congregation of the Holy Spirit, who contributed

¹ For the full account of the work of Bishop Couppe and others under the German administration from 1885 until 1914 see: R. Jaspers, Die Missionarische Erschliessung Ozeaniens, Munster 1972. More information concerning the founding period of evangelisation in Papua can be found in: G.W. Trompf, Melanesian Religion..., op.cit., pp.163-87.
² The Society of the Divine Word (better known as SVD from Latin – Societas Verbi Divini) was founded in Holland in 1875 by the German, Fr Arnold Janssen.
³ This change of place was due to the pressure by Protestants from the Rhenish Mission, which was already well established in the Madang area. See: G.W. Trompf, Melanesian Religion..., op.cit., p.168.
greatly to the evangelisation process – initially in this region and later in the whole country. In 1906 the SVD headquarters were transferred from Tumuleo to Alexishafen some twenty kilometres from Madang, which became the centre for the work of evangelisation in the mainland of Papua New Guinea for years to come.

In 1897 there was another adjustment made in the Melanesian Church’s structure. Bougainville Island and the South Solomons became a separate entity, these being further divided in 1904 into the North Solomon and South Solomon Apostolic Prefectures. The South Solomon Island Prefecture headed towards independence while the North Solomons remained part of the Papua New Guinea Church. The north was entrusted to the Marist Congregation whose work of evangelisation was so successful that soon the whole area accepted Christianity especially through the Catholic Church.¹

Meanwhile the evangelisation in Kaiser Wilhelmsland progressed to such an extent that there was a need to divide it again in order to meet the needs of the Local Church. In 1913 the Roman Curia issued a decree in which the territory was divided into East and West Wilhelmsland Apostolic Prefecture. The East remained under the SVD auspices and the West was entrusted to the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, who had already contributed greatly to the evangelisation of the Pacific Islands, especially Hawaii.² Unfortunately, before the latter could assume the responsibility for this new post, the First World War broke out and impeded their coming. During the next four years mission work in the whole region of the Wilhelmsland declined significantly, as some of the present missionaries,

¹ Cf. T. Aerts, _Romans and Anglicans..._, op.cit., p.31 and 53.
² The Congregation of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary (known also as ‘Picpus Fathers’ from their main house at “rue de Picpus”) was founded in France in 1800 by Fr M.J. Pierre Coudrin.
predominantly German, were expelled or interned by the Australian government, while new personnel was not forthcoming and resources depleted.

After the end of the War it took a few years until the Australian government—now in control of the whole Island under the mandate of the League of Nations—became convinced that the mission workers of whatever nationality did not pose a threat, and thus the resumption of evangelisation activities was allowed. In November 1922 the East New Guinea Prefecture was elevated to the rank of Apostolic Vicariate and Rome appointed F. Wolf as its Bishop. He also exercised jurisdiction over the West New Guinea Prefecture until 1928 when Fr J. Loerks SVD was appointed as Apostolic Prefect. Due to some opposition from Bishop Wolf it took five years for Fr Loerks to receive his ordination as Bishop and then assume the office of Apostolic Vicar of Central New Guinea (in 1933). Similarly changes and developments occurred in the process of evangelisation in the British part of New Guinea. In 1922 the name for this area was changed into the Apostolic Vicariate of Papua, that is, until 1946, when it became the Apostolic Vicariate of Port Moresby. It was from these two Vicariates that the first steps leading to the evangelisation of the Highlands were attempted.

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1 He died from wounds sustained during the bombing of the Japanese ship, the *Dorish Maru* in 1944, when over fifty Divine Word Missionaries were killed. A detailed elaboration of Bishop Wolf’s contribution to the evangelisation of Papua New Guinea can be found in J. Nilles, *Bishop Francis Wolf Divine Word Missionary*, Kundiawa 1989.

2 He was executed together with over sixty Catholic priests, brothers and nuns on the Japanese destroyer *Akikaze* in 1943. See: G.W. Trompf, *Melanesian Religion...*, op.cit., p.176.

3 After the death of Archbishop Navarre the Papuan Vicariate was headed by Bishop Alain de Boismenu from 1912 until his retirement in 1945. His successor was Fr Andre Sorin who was ordained Bishop in 1946 and directed the evangelisation process in the Vicariate of Port Moresby until his death in 1959. See: T. Aerts, *Romans and Anglicans...*, op.cit., pp.26-37 and 54.
5.1.2. Entry of the First Missionaries into the Highlands

As the evangelisation work in the coastal areas of Papua New Guinea progressed, and in some areas it was already well advanced, the attention was directed towards the interior of the island. Some regions more proximate to the coast were opened up from the 1910s, but because of its inaccessibility, as already mentioned, the central core of the Highlands was not explored until the 1930s – either by missionary or government personnel. In 1933, after the brothers Leahy, who were Catholics, accomplished their exploratory trip into the Highlands, they convinced Bishop Wolf that missionaries should be sent to the newly discovered peoples to carry out evangelisation work among them.¹

In the middle of 1933 some of the missionaries already working in the mountains at the border between coastal Madang and the Highlands of Chimbu made a one month reconnaissance patrol into its territory and ventured as far as Kerowagi before returning to their mission station at Bundi.² Early the next year an official missionary party, consisting of two SVD priests, one brother and over 70 carriers and catechists was organised from Madang. It headed for the Wilya near present-day Mount Hagen, where the brothers Leahy had their camp.³ The mission group left Madang at the beginning of January 1934, first by ship to Bogadjim and from there by foot to Bundi. After some rest, assisted by the priests who had already been in Kerowagi, they moved into the Chimbu territory by following the Simbu river. They entered the Wahgi Valley and opened a camp there among the Chimbu people at Mingendi. After one month’s trekking, they reached the Mogai on 28 March near the airstrip built by the brothers

¹ M. Mennis, Hagen Saga, op.cit., pp.42-3.
² They were: Fr A. Schaefer, Fr A. Cranssen and Br. A. Baas. See: A. Schaefer, Cassowary of the Mountains, Rome 1991, p.60.
³ Ibid., pp.63-4; M. Mennis, Hagen Saga, op.cit., pp.44-52.
Leahy close to present-day Mount Hagen. After a few days, however, they decided to return to Mingendi, establish a mission station there in the bush, before carrying out evangelisation work in the Mount Hagen area. Fr W. Ross, the American priest who was the leader of the group together with Fr W. Tropper and Br E. Frank, stationed themselves at Mingendi while the other missionaries returned to Bundi. One month later, however, prompted by rumours that the Lutherans were on their way to Mount Hagen, Fr Ross and Br Frank left Mingendi and hastily returned to Wilya. Because of the competition between various denominations at this time they did not want to risk losing the territory which they had claimed.

After they arrived at Mount Hagen they were well accepted by the local people and immediately started a very fruitful evangelisation program. Fr Ross was responsible for pastoral and spiritual activities, while Br Frank was in charge of the administration of the schools and trade stores and the construction of churches, classrooms and other buildings. In one of the mission’s journeys through the Chimbu territory unfortunately Br Frank became caught up in a local tribal fight, was wounded by a number of arrows and later died in hospital in Salamaua. After this accident the government restricted the entry of new missionaries to the Mount Hagen area and Fr Ross remained alone at his post for the next three years – in which time the work of evangelisation understandably slowed down. By 1937 government restrictions eased and new Catholic missionaries arrived in the area. They were: Frs Fuchs and Noss

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2 There was some competition between Fr Ross and Fr Schaefer as to who the actual leader of the expedition should be. See: W.A. Ross, ‘The Growth of Catholicism in the Western Highlands’, *Journal of the Papua and New Guinea Society*, 2(1969) and A. Schaefer, *Cassowary...,* op.cit., p.68.
5 A few weeks earlier another missionary, Fr Morchheuser, had been killed in the same area. See: Ibid., pp.71-91; M. Mennis, *Hagen Saga*, op.cit., pp.66-68; M.J. Leahy, op.cit., pp.236-9.
assisted by Br Bonaventure Marcinek. One of the first projects was to move the mission station from Wilya to its present location at Rebiamul. Mission activity extended to other people around the main station and by 1938 eleven outstations were established, encompassing the area from the Baiyer River to Ulga. At the end of 1941 another American missionary Fr Bernardin, later Archbishop, arrived to assist Fr Ross. The work of evangelisation was resumed with new enthusiasm but it was cut short by the Japanese attack on Australian territory, and in January 1943 the two priests were forced to abandon their post and move to Australia. They returned in September 1944 but for the next three years government restrictions prevented them carrying out evangelisation work outside the boundaries of the two previously established centres.

From 1947 the restrictions were lifted and they spread the Gospel into the remaining areas of Mount Hagen and neighbouring Highland regions of Mendi and Enga.

Although the Mendi Diocese presently belongs to the Mount Hagen Metropoly, the first missionaries who evangelised there came from the Papuan Church. In 1953 the bishop of Port Moresby sent a report to Rome to express his concern that the shortage of personnel disallowed a vast number of Highland people in the northern part of his Vicariate access to the Good News. Rome responded positively by recruiting new missionaries from the Franciscan Capuchins in the USA. To prepare the way for them in September 1954 two missionaries were sent from Port Moresby to the Mendi territory. They arrived by plane to Mount Hagen and walked their way to Mendi

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1 The two priests, who were Germans, had to withdraw to Alexishafen in 1939 due to a disagreement with Australian government authorities. See A. Schaefer, *Cassowary...,* op.cit., pp.102-3.
township. They were received enthusiastically so they promptly started evangelisation and educational work among the local people. Some catechists and teachers arrived from Chimbu and Madang to support this work. Mission centres were soon opened in Tari and in Lake Kutubu and later in Yalibu and Erave. In November 1955 the first group of six Capuchin missionaries arrived at Mendi joined by another three the next year. It was at this same time when the first two missionaries were walking to Mendi from Mount Hagen that another missionary, Fr P. Taphanel, who was also a geographer and anthropologist, made his way to Mendi from the Papua side. After a journey of a thousand kilometers he arrived in Yalibu in 1955 and joined the other missionaries. In 1958 the Capuchins took the responsibility for the evangelisation work in Mendi and with the increasing number of converts, in 1966 it was elevated to the status of a separate Diocese.

5.2. ROLE OF THE LAITY IN CHRISTIANISATION OF ENGA

5.2.1. Unique Laity Involvement

It was a unique situation that the laity in Enga became empowered and involved from the very beginning, and in a broad and systematic way in the process of Evangelisation. The lay people of Enga were the first to bring the “good news” of the Gospel to their clanspeople. In many cases they had already established Prayer Centres in their area even before a missionary was allowed to visit the region. After the government ‘derestricted’ successive parts of Enga to a mission and business activities, the people of Enga were given the opportunity to choose from the Christian denominations the one that they thought best reflected their social, cultural and religious attitudes and

1 Cf. Z. Kruczek, 50 Yia Bilong Katolik Sios, Indore 1997, p.57.
2 Fr M. Schmidt became the first Bishop of this Diocese.
aspirations. With the arrival of the missionary, they were his active “entourage”, influencing greatly his movements and decisions. It was at their discretion to offer the land of their choice for the mission station and other projects associated with the process of Christianisation, such as schools, hospitals, etc. After the initial visit by the missionary they were running the mission station in the role of catechists, teachers, prayer leaders, and other vital services. With the settlement of the missionary, in addition to the above-mentioned activities, they were active agents of evangelisation in their areas, as Church leaders and in other extraordinary ministries. The role and changing pattern of the laity’s involvement in the process of evangelisation in Enga could be presented in the following phases.

**Stage One 1933-1963**

The “first contact” with the Gospel. Individual people in contact with missionaries in Mount Hagen and in ‘derestricted’ areas of Enga bringing the Gospel message to their communities.

*Highlight:* Establishment of Prayer Centres among various clans of Enga, led and served by local people.

**Stage Two 1947-1965**

The crucial role of the local people in the success of the “official” stage of Christianisation of Enga, by assisting missionaries in their pioneering mission trips, as catechists, teachers, prayer leaders, carriers, cooks and so on.

*Highlight:* The first mission patrol into Enga in 1947 and establishment of the first Parishes.
Stage Three  1965-1972

The active role of lay people in establishing typical Church’s structure: Deaneries, Parishes and outstations. The significant involvement in the process of accepting and sharing the Gospel values.

*Highlight:* Over a hundred thousand people accepting Christianity.

Stage Four  1972-1982

The era of great participation in religious movements, especially in the Better World Movement and Charismatic Renewal. The shift from the process of Christianisation to the process of Evangelisation.

*Highlight:* Development of Basic Christian Communities.

Stage Five  1982-1992

The adaptation of the SAIDI program for evangelising mission among Engans and extended involvement of the laity in this process – the first two Diocesan Plans.

*Highlight:* The establishment of the Wabag Diocese in 1982.

Stage Six  1992-2002

The incorporation of the New Evangelisation Program into the SAIDI framework and invigoration of the laity’s zeal in renewed evangelisation.

*Highlight:* The celebration of the 2000 Jubilee Year.

5.2.2. Christianisation of Eastern Part of Enga

The first Catholic missionaries entered the Enga territory in 1947, soon followed by the Lutherans. Although the first Catholic expedition to Enga was led by the pioneer

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missionary of the Highlands, Fr Ross, the title of the ‘father of evangelisation’ of Enga is awarded to Fr Gerard Bus, a young missionary from Holland who had not long since arrived in Papua New Guinea. He spent a few months in Banz for introduction to the mission work and assisted Fr Ross in the historical trip to Enga. In October they left Mount Hagen, crossed the Hagen Range and went up the Lai river. They arrived at Wapenamanda, learning that the government was planning to build an airstrip there, so it was decided that the mission station serving as the headquarters for Enga should be established in the nearby area. On the 21st October they reached Wabag and also visited the area past Wabag as far as Kopen, which was on the border of the area restricted by the government. They decided to stage a mission post at Kopen to facilitate further penetration into West Enga when derestriciton would be declared. On the return journey by way of the same route the small compound in Pompabus, one hour’s walk from Wapenamanda, was singled out as the place for the first permanent mission station in Enga. Back in Mount Hagen it was agreed that Fr Bus would be assigned to initiate and coordinate the evangelisation work in the newly reconnoitered region.

In February 1948 Fr Bus arrived in Wabag by plane from Mount Hagen and took up a permanent post at Pompabus. However it is an exaggeration to state that he settled there permanently, since the next decade was for him one great journey across Enga country proclaiming the Gospel message to its inhabitants. In July, assisted by an Australian lay missionary J. Crotty who later settled in London, Fr Bus made a pioneering trip from Hagen through the Bayer River region to visit the eastern parts of Enga. Soon after this journey he established mission stations in Pumakos, Pina, Welya
and Wabag, where the evangelisation process had a more or less systematic form with the help of catechists who received training in the formation centres on the coast.¹

The education system, which was always seen as an integral part of mission activity, was initiated by an American, Fr B. Fisher, who went to Enga in 1949 and coordinated his work with Fr Bus. More than 30 primary schools in the area were opened between Lai and Ambum rivers over the next three years.² Fr Fisher took residence in Kopen where a semi-permanent mission station was opened and the headquarters for the Catholic Education Department established. With the increasing number of converts and the development of various mission projects there was a need for more personnel to cover all the needs. In 1953 Dutchman Fr J. Donkers arrived and took up post in Pumakos, and the American Fr J. Padlo arrived in Kopen to become the Education Coordinator for Enga. Meanwhile Fr Fisher negotiated for a piece of land in nearby Sari, which eventually became a permanent mission station and as well as a starting-point for the evangelisation of the Lagaip area. In 1954 Fr W. Kelly arrived at Par and started yet another project, which now constitutes a major part of mission work, namely the Health Department. In nearby Yampu he built the first leprosarium, which in the coming years catered for many patients and contributed greatly to the suppression of this dreadful disease, until then an incurable disease for the Engans. The leprosarium soon came to be in such demand that Fr Kelly moved permanently to Yampu and the newcomer Fr C. Howard took his place in Par, which by now had an airstrip, the priest’s residence, school and the first coffee plantation in Enga.

¹ Although administratively the Bayer River area belongs to the Western Highlands Province it is inhabited by people speaking the Enga language. Fr Bus repeated this route again in 1952 and sent a detailed report about the conditions and people of this area to the bishop in Wabag. See: G. Bus, Letter from 30.11.1952, Manuscript, in: AWCD, however, the Baptists also established a strong mission there.
While the evangelisation work was in progress there was also a development in the structure of the Papua New Guinea Church to provide sufficient support and supervision for evangelisers and the people of God. As said above, the first entry with the evangelisation mission to Enga was conducted from a base in Mount Hagen. This action was supervised by the mission’s Headquarters in Madang, which belonged to the East New Guinea Vicariate, even though Enga formally remained in the boundaries of the Central Vicariate. As it happened, at the time of the first entry into Enga territory, the two Vicariates were run by the same Apostolic Vicar Fr W. Baar. When these two bishoprics received their respective Bishops – Fr S. Appelhans for East New Guinea and Fr L. Arkfeld for Central New Guinea – Enga was placed directly under the jurisdiction of Bishop L. Arkfeld, and it was he who supervised the first stages of evangelisation and provided the programme and the personnel for its implementation.

In 1952 a new adjustment was made that separated the west part of the Central Vicariate, granting it the status of Apostolic Prefecture, while the rest of the remaining part was renamed the Apostolic Vicariate of Wewak with Bishop Arkfeld being its head. By 1954 under his guidance the process of the evangelisation of Enga was already in full swing and preparations had been made to bring the Gospel message to the last part of Papua New Guinea, the Lagaip district.

When in 1947 the first missionaries visited Enga they could not move beyond Kopen, due to the government regulations forbidding entry to the Western parts of the territory. This caution was based on the presumed hostility that Engans had towards any newcomers. While the East part of Enga was considered safe for mission and business activities the rest of the territory was restricted, allowing only the administration authorities to operate. It took the next 20 years before expatriate missionaries could visit
the last part of Enga. In this specific condition an interesting situation occurred in which local people took the role of initiators of the evangelisation process into their particular region and clans. Though missionaries were prevented from visiting the restricted parts of Enga, the news of a new religion and beliefs reached the local people very fast, producing great interest among them. Some left their traditional places and went personally to listen to the new teaching; some were sent by the elders from the villages to go and see what the new ‘religion’ was about.

In 1954 the area between Kopen and Laiagam was at last declared safe, and the evangelisation process was immediately extended to this region. Among other denominations the Catholic Church established a permanent mission station near Laiagam in Wanepap; the leaders of the Kaimul tribe had then sent representatives to Kopen to invite Catholic missionaries.¹ Fr Bus himself, assisted by Fr Fisher from Sari-Kopen, made the first visit to Wanepap and accepted land from the leaders for the mission station, which until now served as a battlefield for the Ambai, Waliang and Kulip clans. At the end of the same year Fr Bus settled in Wanepap, while Fr G. Schubbe – newly arrived from Chile – took his place in Pompabus. Due to the fact that Fr Fischer had to take his holidays for health reasons Fr Bus was forced to coordinate the evangelisation programme in the Parishes of Sari and Wanepap. By 1956, however, he could move back to Sari, because fortunately a new missionary from Germany, Fr W. Blank, arrived in Enga and after a short period of introduction took responsibility as Parish Priest and evangelisation in the Laiagam area. He supervised the catechists who gathered the catechumens, and, after teaching them basic Christian doctrine, organised a small network of education centres where children learned the basic skills of writing.

¹ Personal communication with Dominic Yapi and Joseph Kanak, who were the emissaries to Kopen.
and reading in Tok Pisin. He also opened new outstations in the area between Laiagam and Kepilam and supplied the local people with basic goods through a small trade store, which operated in Wanepap.

In 1961 the government opened for mission activities the area south of Kepilam towards Kandep and west of Laiagam as far as Tumundan, and also in the northwest corner of Enga around Maramuni. Fr A. Krajci, the Parish Priest of Londor in Ambum Valley took care of the Maramuni area and organised a mission patrol there in the second half of August. Fr Blank was on the coast on his retreat when the derestricion of the rest of Lagaip was announced. He had to make up for lost time but in a short period of time made two extended mission trips into the new derestricted areas.

5.2.3. Introduction of Christianity to the People on the Left Bank of the Lagaip River and in the Kasap-Mulitak Area

Fr Blank’s first trip from the 7th to 12th August 1961 was to the Mulitak area located north-west of Kasap. It was a difficult mission since other denominations had already entered the area, made contact with the local people and established their presence there.¹ In fact the Lutheran and Seventh Day Adventists (SDA) Churches had European pastors already settled in Mulitak. In these circumstances it was easy to run into conflict with them, and as a result with the government, which tried to prevent any proselytising competition. Nevertheless, the trip was quite successful, thanks to some people who were already previously in contact with Fr Blank and were determined to accept only the Catholic Church. Such was the case with the whole of the Kasap area, which had already a few active catechists and prayer leaders working among them, and even had

¹ Cf. W. Blank, Patrol to Mulitak Area, August 7th-12th 1961, Typescript, in: AWCD.
built the priest's residence. The whole Monain tribe, as well as a significant part of Sakar and Tekepain, were determined to be accepted by the Catholic Church, so there was a need to establish permanent worship centres, organise a network of catechists and start education work. Fr Blank was doing his best to fulfil all these tasks and was determined to look after this area until a priest would be available to settle permanently in the Mulitak area.

Immediately after the visit to Mulitak, Fr Blank undertook another pioneering journey to the Kandep plateau. He started from Wanepap on 22 August, went to Kepilam which was on the border of the previously restricted area, and from there he headed towards Kandep. As in the case of Mulitak, the region was already visited and claimed by representatives of various other denominations. Yet again clans, even whole tribes, who had already sporadic contacts with Catholic Missions, either in other parts of Enga or through the local catechists already operating before the derestriction, were especially waiting for the representatives of the Catholic Church, and did not wish to accept any other Church.¹

The task of Fr Blank in this situation was to visit these people, install the catechists and teachers who would be responsible for the evangelisation and education process and supervise the whole Wanepap mission, which at one stage covered the area equal to half of the present Diocese of Wabag. In February 1962 the Bishop sent another missionary to Enga, in this case Fr G. Theis, who settled in Pindak and took

¹ In some cases it was a political decision not to accept the denomination which was already accepted by the enemy tribe and there were known cases of changing the religious allegiances according to the political situation in the area. Such was the case with the clans in Pumakos area, which resulted in the total destruction of the most developed Catholic Mission Station in 1992. See: A. Krol, Pumakos Parish till 1982, Alexishafen 1991.
over the responsibility for evangelisation in the region of Kandep. In July Fr Blank was forced to write to the Bishop of Mount Hagen, asking for the adjustment of borders in this territory. The 1885 treaty between Germany and England made division between New Guinea and Papua, yet in the new Catholic mission territory some groups of people near Pindak, which formally belonged to Fr Blank’s Parish did not speak the Enga language, and would normally be part of the Huli people, to be served by missionaries from Mendi. On the other hand, people as far as Winja were Enga-speaking and expected missionaries from Mount Hagen, even if administratively on the fringe of the Mendi Vicariate.

In the middle of 1962 Fr Blank organised another pioneering mission patrol towards Porgera-Paiela, which already had been recognised as a gold-rich area. He did not walk there personally but prepared a party of carriers and catechists who were led to Porgera by two missionaries from Mount Hagen: Fathers A. Roesler and A. Steffen. They started from Wanepap on 2nd July and remained on the journey for the whole month. They estimated that there were about two thousand inhabitants who, through the previous contacts with government officials, gold prospectors, and itinerant missionaries, had already learned a good deal about Christianity and in most cases had made up their mind as to which denomination they wished to accept. The Porgera region has been penetrated and claimed by Lutherans, Apostolic and SDA missionaries and only one group of people around Mungulep was waiting for Catholics, although Lutheran and Apostolic pastors were already evangelising in the area. The remote and

1 Cf. E. Steffen, Report on Porgera–Paiela Exploration: 2 July-3 August 1962, Typescript, in: AWCD. In 1964 Fr Steffen led one more pioneering mission trip this time to Lake Kopiago, which formally belongs to the Papua side but at that time it was more accessible from Mount Hagen through the Enga territory. There he established a network of mission outstations, which were looked after by priests from the Mount Hagen Diocese until in 1982 when the region was incorporated into the Mendi Diocese.
inaccessible terrains of Paiela remained still virtually untouched by any missionaries and people gladly embraced the Catholic Church. The missionaries conducted evangelisation work, which involved instructions to the catechumens, organising a network of Church Leaders, choosing appropriate spots for Church and school buildings, and distributing medicine to sick people. Because there was no hope of establishing a permanent station for the priest in the immediate future, it was decided that there was a need to recruit five young boys from each clan and take them to the school in Wanepap to obtain some education and religious instruction and to become evangelisers among their own people. Through them the evangelisation in the Paiela region was continued and supervised from Wanepap until 1964, when Fr P. Granegger took a semi-permanent post in Paiela.

5.2.4. Early Period of Evangelisation of the Kasap People

As was already stated Christianity was brought to Kasap for the first time around 1958, three years before the area was derestricted. Previously, there was a serious armed conflict between two tribes inhabiting the terrain. After police intervention in one fight, a man from the Pere clan (Monain tribe) was arrested and transported to prison in Wabag, which was at this time the District Headquarters for Australian Colonial Administration. The Pere clansmen decided that Tana, the younger brother of the jailed man, would go with him to see where he would be placed and thus be of help to him.

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1 It seems that they acted only on first impulse since a year later Fr Blank who was visiting this region writes that they could not stop at Madanakate as was planned, because it became Lutheran. See: W. Blank, Patrol 24 October-14 November 1963, Typescript, in: ACD, p.2.

2 In 1966 Porgera and Paiela region became a separate Parish with Fr A. Sommhorst appointed as Parish Priest settling permanently in Mungulep.
In Wabag, Tana met Fr Kelly, a missionary from USA, who was the Parish Priest in nearby Par and at the same time was serving as a chaplain for the prison and hospital in Wabag. ¹ Tana learned a little bit of the Tok Pisin language and attended religious instruction classes conducted by Fr Kelly. After 15 months Tana went back to Kasap and started to organise centres for Christian worship, first within the area of his native tribe Monain and later in the territory of his mother’s tribe Tupin. ² He was in contact with Fr Blank, the missionary priest in the nearest derestricted area at Wanepap (20 km from Kasap), and with his approval organised a network of so-called prayer leaders, or as they were known in Tok Pisin, beten boi. They, after having been instructed by Tana in basic Christian doctrine, were sent to preside over prayer meetings and to instruct catechumens in the neighbouring villages. They were in occasional contact with Fr Blank, who conducted some courses and pastoral meetings for them and also supplied them with some goods, like basic clothes, soap, cigarettes and razor blades.

The reports show that more than ten prayer groups were established in the territory of four tribes (Monain, Tupin, Mulapin and Sakar), covering an area of 20 km in diameter across the Kasap area.

There were as yet no conversions at this time, but many people were interested in their teaching, and thus willing to receive the missionaries when the area became derestricted. Things progressed so well in Kasap, that in 1959 the local ‘big-man’ sent his young son to Wanepap to stay with the missionaries, to learn about this ‘new way’ and to give the most accurate report possible to his clansmen. A young man, whose traditional name was Mara, and who later was baptised Markus, returned with such a bright description, that the Lakin clan decided to accept the Catholic religion. They sent

Markus back to the Wanepap Mission with an invitation for Fr Blank to visit Kasap as soon as possible. Markus was to stay in Wanepap to learn more about the new religion and also the Tok Pisin language. He also became a cook for Fr Blank and as such assisted him in the first mission patrols to the newly derestricted areas of Mulitak, Porgera and Kandep.

Meanwhile, the Lakin-Pere sub-clan pushed on with their plan to establish a Catholic Station on their territory. They built a Church in Kapal, the village of Titus Tana, under the latter’s instruction. This act was seen by the local police as a breaching of the law, which forbade any mission activity in the restricted area. The police burned the Church and Tana was tried and sentenced by the district court in Laiagam. With the help of Fr Blank he was cleared, as he was a native in his own area, and restrictions applied only to foreigners performing their mission activities. When Tana went back, he mobilised the people once again and a huge new Church was built in place of the first one. Smaller buildings serving as chapels were also erected in each of the above mentioned villages. In the meantime Fr Blank, who was already planning a trip to the Mulitak region, sent ahead a young man from Wanepap, a certain Sakarias from the Malowan clan, to organise a base from which the patrols into the area could be conducted.\(^1\) Sakarias was already baptised and trained in basic Christian knowledge and completed an elementary course in writing and reading. In addition to preparing accommodation for the priest, he was assigned to supervise the evangelisation process started by Tana and organise a group of young people to teach them basic skills in writing and reading in Tok Pisin.

\(^1\) Cf. Ibid., Memoirs S.
According to information he himself has provided, Sakarias arrived in Kasap in 1960, but instead of taking his working place with Tana in Kapan he stayed in Kasap with Mara’s family, whom he knew from Wanepap. In Kasap he immediately decided to erect buildings, first a sleeping house for the priest, and next, one designated to serve as a kitchen. At the same time he gathered around him a group of young people to whom he taught basic Tok Pisin and literacy. When work on the priest’s accommodation was finished, he convinced the local men to help him build a classroom, which was completed in the same year. Inhabitants of Kasap seemed to be very cooperative and Sakarias soon established himself as an important figure among the Monain people.

When Fr Blank visited Kasap for the first time, as it can be read from his diary he was quite impressed with the job done by Tana and his co-workers. Unfortunately, he found that the Church building was actually too big for the present needs. In addition it was situated on a swampy mountain slope, making it difficult to access by motor vehicles during the rainy season, should a road ever be built. He decided – probably with some persuasion from Markus – to move the Church to Kasap, where a local ‘big-man’, Markus’ father offered some ground and where Sakarias had done quite a good deal of work already. This location seemed to be more accessible and big enough to accommodate the Church, the priest’s residence, a health centre and a community school, which was always a priority for missionaries. There was also sufficient ground to make a garden for the catechist and teacher, who were stationed there permanently, since Fr Blank’s first visit to Kasap. Sakarias, who by now gained a reputation among all clans of the Monain tribe and was their spokesman in relations with the local colonial government, was appointed an area catechist, to supervise the work of some ten

help catechists, who were posted in each community in the area. He was also a contact person between them and Fr Blank, who supplied the necessary help materials and the fortnightly pay distributed by Sakarias. At the same time he was a teacher in the newly established school in Kasap.

Tana’s sub-clan was visibly upset by these decisions, but in a short time in the beginning of 1962 there was a fight between them and a clan of the Tupin tribe, and they had to abandon their residence and move permanently to Kasap. The area left was reclaimed by the Tupin and some of the ground was soon offered to the Seventh Day Adventists Church, who established there a successful Mission Station, Community School and other lesser projects. It is still one of the most flourishing Seventh Day Adventists stations in the area. It recruits adherents mostly from the Tupin tribe, though there is a group of followers from Koneman, one of the Monain clans, who married many women from Tupin after their prolonged fights. The Tupin women belong mostly to the Seventh Day Adventists Church, and being very strong in their religious convictions, they did not convert to the religion of their husbands, as is customary, but are attending Church services in Koimal – often taking their children with them.

At the end of this year Fr Blank made a second visit to Kasap, accompanied by Fr Imre Szabo, a young Hungarian missionary just arrived in Papua New Guinea from Austria. It was decided that Fr Szabo would take care of Kasap, but he needed to spend a few months in Wanepap for the orientation period. After this visit, Fr Blank decided that the workload put on Sakarias was too big and he sent in a new teacher, Alphons Palitu, who was also from the Wanepap area.¹ Alphons was to be solely responsible for

¹ *A Collection of Memoirs...*, op. cit., Memoirs A.
the school, and Sakarias was to concentrate on the evangelisation work, although it soon became obvious that the latter was too much involved in projects connected with government programmes to be able to fulfil his position satisfactorily.

March 1963 marks a new era in the history of Kasap and its evangelisation. Fr Szabo took up residence in Kasap, where he spent the next twenty years. By the decree of the Mount Hagen Bishop, Kasap became an independent Parish unit, part of the Lagaip Deanery from October of the year 1963. The Bishop’s decree defined the borders of the newly erected Parish and Fr Szabo was appointed its first Parish Priest.

5.2.5. History of the Kasap Parish to 1989

It was fortunate that the newly appointed Parish Priest was a man full of enthusiasm and energy as the initial stages of evangelisation are always demanding and very taxing. There was a need to be active in areas such as Christian instruction and liturgy, pastoral care, education, health, agriculture and development. The first tasks were to conduct religious classes and instruction for catechumens, establish prayer centres in neighbouring villages, and organise a network of catechists and prayer leaders. By 1965 there were about two hundred entries in the Parish baptismal register. By 1970 all the major outstations on the left bank of the Lagaip river were already established. These were: Mulitak, Tumundan, Wakapip and Linjing. On the right bank there was already a centre in Kulipanda and in the next two years Kililam and Kipuai were added.

Significant progress was made in the area of literacy and education. The informal classes run by catechists soon gave birth to and became bases for regular

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1 E. Misik, Letter to Fr Imre Szabo SVD, October 16, 1963, Typescript, in: AMHCA.
teaching and registration of the primary school in Kasap. Permanent classrooms and houses for teachers were constructed under Fr Szabo’s personal supervision. In 1981 another school was established in Kililam outstation. Beside the primary program for children there were also numerous literacy and numeracy courses for youth. A small group of young boys who completed elementary training was sent for further education to the Catholic High School in Madang. Others had the opportunity to attend various vocational training courses at a centre in Mount Hagen. The girls were also given the opportunity to learn sewing, cooking and husbandry at courses run in Kasap by volunteers from Austria.

Other areas saw significant achievements. The most important was in health, especially in the eradication of leprosy. This was accomplished through systematic patrols into bush regions to supply medication to patients in the early stages of the disease, as well as transferring the advanced cases to the leprosarium in Yampu. Another achievement came with examples of self-reliance with mission stores providing the first step in the process of attaining financial independence.¹

The process initiated by Fr Szabo was carried on by his successors. In 1982 he was transferred to Wabag and Fr George Schubbe became Parish Priest of Kasap. Since this was the first change of Parish Priest, the Kasap Parish understandably experienced some tensions, which eventually led to Fr Schubbe’s resignation the following year, and to the appointment of Fr Anton Krol as the next Parish Priest. He remained in Kasap until 1990, when the author himself was appointed Parish Priest.²

¹ We will deal with this subject in Chapter Seven. Infra, pp.365-80.
² In 1996, the author commenced his studies and was replaced by Fr Marian Cieciwa who held this position for the next five years. After a short period without a Parish Priest (at this time Fr Z. Kruezek was providing pastoral care), in early 2002 this position was filled by Fr Bogdan Świerczewski.
5.3. METHODS UTILISED IN THE FIRST STAGE OF EVANGELISATION

With the establishment of the Diocese of Wabag,¹ the Catholic Church in Enga was presented with a rare chance and the challenge of upgrading its institutional life and administrative modes. It could adopt such methods of evangelisation that would be faithful to the ecclesiastical tradition and goals but at the same time could incorporate the latest achievements of modern thought, identifying and addressing the needs and anxieties of the local communities and preparing Enga Christians to participate fully in the Gospel life and transmit its content. Due to the pioneering conditions the mission personnel consisted predominantly of a younger generation of missionaries educated and influenced by the spirit and ideas of the Second Vatican Council, having struggled in the past with the archaic forms of the former administration in Mount Hagen.² This group of clergy was determined to bear the pain of a thorough examination of options available to make sure that the one finally adopted would be free from the shortcomings of the past, that it would have the features of a long-lasting and adjustable program, and guarantee the optimal process of evangelisation.

Under the leadership of the newly appointed Bishop,³ missionaries and local leading Christians were involved in the extended process of screening the many existing possibilities for effecting their dreams. The Movement for a Better World and the Charismatic Movement presented themselves as the most efficient way of evangelisation, not only for Enga or Papua New Guinea but for many other parts of the

¹ The Diocese of Wabag was established by the decree of Pope John Paul II from the 18th of March 1982. See: AAS 74(1982), pp.646 and 763-64; Sacra Congregation pro Gentium Evangelizatione seu de Propaganda Fide Decretum. Prot. N. 1163/82; die 18 Mensis Marti Anno Domini 1982, Typescript, in: AWCD.
² Cf. Z. Kruczek, A Decade..., op. cit., p.34.
³ Fr Herman Raich, Austrian missionary working in Enga since 1964 was appointed the first bishop of the newly established Diocese of Wabag. See: AAS 74(1982), pp.646; Joannes Paulus Episcopus Servus Servorum Dei Dilecto Filio Hermanno Raich..., die Duo Devesima Mensis Martii Millesimo Nongentesimo Octogesimo Altero, Typescript, in: AWCD.
world. The advantage of adopting one of them lay in the fact that they were well
developed in the Universal Church, some Dioceses in Papua New Guinea already
implementing them as the main form of pastoral activities and some of their ideas
already being known and practised in Enga.

5.3.1. Movement for a Better World

The Better World Movement was the fruit of the Latin American Theology of
Liberation, but the theory and ideology of it became a very controversial issue among
theologians and Local Churches and was never fully incorporated into the doctrine of
the Catholic Church, the Better World Movement – in fact a practical implementation
of this theology – became a respected and successful tool in the process of spreading
and practicing Gospel values in the Local Churches. Very soon after its initiation, the
movement became an attractive alternative for many Local Churches as it was aiming at
creating a healthy balance between the hierarchical and universal Church, between
ordained and non-ordained ministries, and rediscovering the role of lay people by
putting the emphasis on the local Christian communities, called by the theoreticians of
Theology of Liberation – Comunidade Eclesia de Base – the Basic Ecclesial
Communities (CEBs). The origin of the CEBs can be traced to the early Christian
community, which motivated by their love for Jesus and inspired by his Word and Spirit
gathered to worship, to pray, to share and to serve. After the Vatican Council of 1966
confirmed the social responsibility of the Church, CEBs started to flourish in Latin

The theology of Liberation is a specific type of theology that came from Latin America in the 1960s
as an answer to the particular social, political and economical situation of those countries. The principal
thinkers of the movement are among Catholics: Gustavo Gutierrez, Leonardo Boff, Jose Marins, Jon
Sobrino and Rubem Alves and Miguez Bonino among Protestants. The most important works on the

The Vatican had issued several documents concerning the Theology of Liberation, at the beginning very
critical but easing gradually its judgment. See: R. Malilin, Basic Ecclesial Communities

America, which at that time was faced with severe civil uprising as a result of unjust structures and systems. In 1975, the encyclical *Evangelii Nuntiandi* stressed the importance of CEBs by identifying them as centres of evangelisation whereby the “evangelised became the evangelisers themselves”.¹ When the Theology of Liberation ran into conflict with some of the Church’s authorities and traditionalist theologians, the name Small Christian Communities was developed to avoid being dragged into the conflict between the Theology of Liberation and the Vatican Congregation of (de) Propaganda Fide.

Africa caught the fire of the Small Christian Communities’ program, and the material for action and teaching aides, especially in the pictorial form for illiterate and semiliterate communities were systematically produced by the LUMCO centre in South Africa. Although practical action constituted the backbone of the program, it was always stressed that any activity should be anchored in the teaching of Jesus recorded in the Holy Scriptures. The knowledge, understanding and sharing of the content of the Bible constituted an integral part of the apostolate of the Better World Movement issuing out of Small Communities.

The movement was first introduced to the Church in Enga in the early 1970s by individual missionaries who came across it in their previous work in other parts of Papua New Guinea.² It was positively received by the majority of the mission personnel and by the Enga Christians, because it was easy to learn how to run the program, the content being very much down to earth, and it was addressed clearly to grassroots.

¹ Cf. EN, 53.
² The influence of this movement is visible at Church Conferences which took place in Alexishafen and Goroka and documents they produced. See: *Ol Saming Bilong Tingting Na Toktok*, Typescript, Goroka 1973; *Ol Bikpela Wok Bilong Yumi*, Typescript, Goroka 1975.
people – making them at the same time object and subject of evangelisation. The
process of the training of local leaders for the program, which always remains a major
problem in a largely illiterate society such as Enga, was also simplified thanks to the
above-mentioned pictorial teaching aides offered by the LUMCO, which were
extremely beneficial. The Pastoral Centre in Par conducted several courses for the
mission personnel and for lay people teaching them how to transplant and follow up the
program into their Small Christian Communities. The effects of the movement were
clearly visible in the life of the local Christian communities and individual Christians in
Enga.¹ It helped them to realise that the idea of Church does not relate to some mythical
institutions and persons such as Deanery, Diocese, Bishop, and Pope in some distant
places like Rome, or even Mount Hagen, but in the first place it lies with the very
community in which they are living and their fellow people with whom they are dealing
in every day relationships.

People learned how to express their faith through the charitable actions and
spontaneous prayers and songs, which were crucial to the movement’s program. But
undoubtedly the biggest successes that the movement accomplished was in bringing the
Bible to the grassroots people and teaching them how to combine the idealism of the
Holy Scriptures with the practical ethos of their daily affairs.²

5.3.2. Sande Pepa – Sunday Papers

The method of meditating and sharing the Bible, so called ‘Seven Steps’ propagated by
LUMCO outlived the Better World Movement and is still used by Enga Christians in
the modified form of ‘Sunday Papers’. At the Diocesan Evaluation Conference in 1988

¹ A Short History of the Diocese of Wabag, Typescript, in: AWCD, p.3.
it was decided that *Sande Pepa* for Bible sharing should become one of the priorities in the process of evangelisation in order to increase knowledge of the Bible among the Enga Catholics and to deepen their faith. *Sande Pepa* Bible sharing entailed a form of weekly meditation, for prayer meetings were based on the Sunday Scripture readings, with the participants preparing courses of action for themselves and for their community. It became a very fruitful example of the involvement of lay people in the preparation for Sunday liturgy as well as creating a forum for reading scriptural texts and studying the Bible in the local linguistically-ideological context. What was even more important, the *Sande Pepa* team held a series of workshops to prepare the Biblical texts to be studied, thus generating a forum in which the principles of inculturation were implemented, integral to the practice of proclaiming and understanding the Gospel.

Until 1990 the *Sande Pepa* meetings were organised either in the form of spontaneous reflections and sharing centred around the Gospel pericope prescribed by the liturgical calendar for the following Sunday, or they followed the material organised in seven steps prepared by the Diocese of Aitape (used in the Sepik). At the Diocesan Assembly in May 1990 it was suggested that there was a necessity to prepare *Sande Pepa* specifically for Enga Christians, which would include Enga religious and cultural context, especially the newly created Diocesan Pastoral Plan. The Plan was to use examples from local life, making them easier, understandable and more meaningful, and to add a suitable picture encapsulating the pericope’s main motive so as to help people who are illiterate to visualise and memorise Gospel passages.¹

¹Ibid., pp.39-40. See also: *Documents of the Wabag Diocesan Assembly 1990*, Typescript, in: AWCD.
The responsibility for the work was put on a team of four missionaries (three priests and a sister),\(^1\) who recruited a group of leading local Christians from their Parishes. The work proceeded at a series of meetings in Par, during which material was prepared for the next ten or so consecutive Sundays. The papers were very helpful for the local prayer leaders running the meetings in their communities and soon it was decided that the material should cover the whole liturgical calendar for all Sundays of the Liturgical Year A, B and C. The remaining material was divided into three parts, one each for each missionary and his local team to elaborate, while Sister Miriam Długosz took care to arrange the pictures, which were very ably drawn by a local artist William Ambo. Once the whole material was organised it was edited by Sister Jennifer Bailey and published in three separate booklets in 1991.\(^2\)

5.3.3. Charismatic Renewal and Its Origins

*Divine Spirit, renew your wonders in this our age as in a new Pentecost, and grant that your Church ... may increase the reign of the Divine Saviour, the reign of truth and justice, the reign of love and peace. Amen.*

This prayer of Pope John XXIII which opened the Second Vatican Council would love to be seen by ‘charismatics’ as a prophetic vision of the great renewal in the Catholic Church and their vocation and role in it.\(^3\)

During the session preparing the draft of the Constitution of the Church some members of the Council entered into heated discussion concerning the notion ‘charism’. In the Catholic theology there were two schools of thought on the subject: the first, defining the charism as rare and extraordinary gifts of grace, and the second seeing it as

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\(^1\) The author was a member of this team.


useful gifts to equip even ordinary people for various kinds of service in the body of Christ. The first school was represented at the Council by Cardinal Ruffini, who was of the opinion that in our day there are not many people gifted with charisms, and that such gifts are extremely rare and altogether exceptional. The second school was represented by Cardinal Suenens, for whom "charisms are of vital importance for the building up of the mystical body".

In the course of discussing the subject, the theology represented by Cardinal Suenens seemed to be overwhelmingly shared by other members of the Council and became accepted and defined in Paragraph 12 of the Constitution on the Church.

*It is not only through the sacraments and ministrations of the Church that the Holy Spirit makes holy the People, leads them and enriches them with his virtues. Allotting his gifts as he wills (1 Cor 12:11), he also distributes special graces among the faithful of every rank. By these gifts he makes them fit and ready to undertake various tasks and offices for the renewal and building up of the Church, as it is written: 'the manifestation of the Spirit is given to everyone for profit' (1 Cor 12:7). Whether these charisms be very remarkable or more simple and widely diffused, they are to be received with thanksgiving and consolation since they are fitting and useful for the needs of the Church. Extraordinary gifts are not to be rashly desired, nor is it from them that the fruits of apostolic labours are to be presumptuously expected. Those who have charge over the Church should judge the genuineness and proper use of these gifts, through their office not indeed to extinguish the Spirit, but to test all things and hold fast to what is good (1 Th 5:12, 19-21).*

The above statement of the Council, although very revolutionary for some Catholics, did not come as a big surprise for those who are familiar with the twentieth century theological trends. Already during the years 1895 and 1903 the founder of the Oblate Sisters of the Holy Spirit, blessed Elena Guerra, wrote over ten letters to Pope Leo XIII urging him to foster devotion to the Holy Spirit. He responded to this by ordering that the solemn *novena* (special prayers on nine consecutive days) be made to the Holy

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2 LG, 12.
Spirit prior to Pentecost by the whole Church. In 1897 he published an Encyclical on the Holy Spirit, prescribing the novena before Pentecost in all Parishes of the world. Soon after he wrote a private letter to all the Bishops which was sent together with a copy of the Encyclical urging them to respond more wholeheartedly to his request. The response to the Pope’s request, however, turned out to be rather halfhearted.¹

Almost at the same time, at the end of 1900, the Reverend Charles Parham with Agnes Ozman, prayed for the gift of baptism in the Holy Spirit.² This event and date is generally accepted as the starting-point of the Pentecostal movement and Church, which soon became the third largest among the Christian movements in the West along with Catholic bloc and Protestantism. The main feature of the Pentecostal movement was the experience of the presence and power of the Holy Spirit, combined with the gifts of tongues and prophecy. In 1957 the mainline Protestant Churches in the southern states of the USA accepted the Pentecostal Renewal and fostered it as part of their mission.

5.3.4. Charismatic Movement in the Catholic Church

From there the movement³ became transplanted into the Catholic Church in 1967 through some students of Duquesne University in Pittsburgh, who introduced the idea into their prayer meetings.⁴ It swept through all continents and recruited its members from all age groups but became particularly popular and was identified mostly with the

³ The theorists of Charismatic Renewal oppose any classification of this phenomenon as a movement, claiming that the movement is characterised by the founder(s), beginning and eventually an end of it. Charismatic Renewal is supposedly initiated by the Holy Spirit and will be always present in the hearts of believers. See: V.M. Walsh, *A Key to Charismatic Renewal in the Catholic Church*, Indiana 1983, p. 12. With due respect to the people involved in it, from the sociological point of view Charismatic Renewal contains characteristics shared by other movements and here it will be referred to as one of them.
younger generation of Christians.\textsuperscript{1} It became officially known as the Catholic Charismatic Renewal and claimed 60 million followers in the late 1980s. The international office is based in Rome and the structure has a National Service Committee in each country.\textsuperscript{2}

At first it was accepted by individual bishops, but soon it became recognised by the Church authorities. In 1975 the Pope Paul VI addressed participants of the International Conference on the Catholic Charismatic Renewal with these words of encouragement:

\begin{quote}
This authentic desire to situate yourselves in the Church is the authentic sign of the action of the Holy Spirit. This is a day to open yourselves to the Holy Spirit, to remove what is opposed to his action, and to proclaim in the Christian authenticity of our lives that Jesus is Lord.
\end{quote}

Pope John Paul II is similarly affirmative when he said to the leaders of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal on 11\textsuperscript{th} December 1979: "I am convinced that this movement is a very important component of the entire renewal of the Church". In the Encyclical \textit{Christifideles Laici} the Pope acknowledges that charismatic gifts are not restricted to any 'privileged' spheres in the Church.

\begin{quote}
There is no lack of charisms today among the laity, both men and women. Such gifts are gifts for the whole Body of Christ provided they truly come from the Spirit.\textsuperscript{3}
\end{quote}

Although it was sometimes narrowly associated only with such external activities as the loud praying in tongues, interpretation and prophecy, falling prostrate (called 'resting in the Spirit'), and exceptionally long prayer meetings, the movement has a very deep spirituality concerned with personal holiness through total surrender to Christ and

\textsuperscript{1} At present, as many of the original members are still active in the movement, the average age of participants grew significantly, creating a picture of a stable and respectable organisation, lacking probably the original youthful fervour and appeal, but richer in experience and resources.

\textsuperscript{2} Australian Alan Panozza currently chairs the International Office in Rome.

\textsuperscript{3} ChL, 24.
fullness of life in the Holy Spirit – and is rooted firmly in the Bible. Charismatic Renewal has brought new life to the Church and this is evinced in the music at Sunday Masses, the hunger to love, read and understand sacred scripture, the desire and the outreach to evangelise, emphasis on physical and emotional healing, the practical application of the principle of discernment of spirits, the growth of Covenant Communities and the many renewal programs that are taking place in the Church. One of the most important pastoral achievements of the Charismatic movement in the Church’s life is the awakening of the idea that Catholic Parishes should evolve into real Christian communities if they are going to play an active role in the evangelising task among contemporary people in this changing world.

The emphasis on the Holy Spirit and ‘his’ gifts and the open, ecumenical character of the movement soon proved to be a very powerful tool as an evangelising force in the mission of the Church.

*Members of many denominations are led to pray and worship God together. This is done in a way which does not involve any denial or diminution of anyone’s doctrinal commitments.*

As early as 1976 The President of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops in the USA, Archbishop Bernardin, indicated the important role that the Charismatic Renewal may have in the process of evangelisation.

*I invite you to join me as active partners in the Church’s evangelising mission. Together may we humbly open our minds and hearts to the Spirit. May we use the many talents and gifts God has given us to proclaim the Good News: to make Jesus known and loved.*

2 An Address to the National Conference of the Charismatic Renewal, 28th May 1976.
5.3.5. Charismatic Renewal in Enga

It is an interesting phenomenon that while the Charismatic Movement swept throughout Enga leaving very clear imprints on the Enga people (not only Christians) and their spirituality, there is actually no individual or group of people claiming credit for the introduction of the movement into the area. Not even any particular Church operating in Enga is trying to usurp this honour. As G. Teske puts it:

_The movement was not spread by any one person nor did it evolve around any one person. It spread from person to person, picking up new leadership in each community with much cooperation but did not develop a specialised or centralised group of leaders. It was very much a spread by contagion and not via organised proselytising._

From the information gathered from people and written sources it can be concluded that the charismatic activities occurred almost simultaneously in various Churches in East Enga at the beginning of the 1970s.\(^2\) Pentecostal Churches were very soon overcome with charismatic ideas and activities while Catholic priests and catechists similar to their Lutheran counterparts adopted a more cautious attitude.\(^3\) Since the movement was very ecumenical in character a good number of Catholics attended the interdenominational prayer meetings, seminars and retreats so that by the end of the 1970s the Catholic and Lutheran Churches of Enga were also inflamed by the charismatic spirit.\(^4\) In 1982 in the year when the Catholic Diocese of Wabag was established it was decided at the diocesan meeting that the Charismatic Renewal should become an integral part of the general program of pastoral activities in the Diocese.\(^5\)

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Fr Krol, who was one of the leading priests in the Charismatic Renewal in Enga has provided a detailed description of the early stages of the movement in East Enga where he was at this time working as pastor in the Pumakos Parish. In 1973 a small group of Christians in the Pompabus area became involved in the charismatic activities taking place in the Apostolic Church and the news and rumours of miraculous healings spread. Low-key activities were carried out for a few years, but in 1977 there were big assemblies of up to 800 people, organised by Catholic women. The assemblies were predominantly religious in character with Bible readings and sharing, prayer meetings with some visible charismatic characteristics, and a social element also manifesting with the large distribution of food (in which men and children also took part).

Until this time there was not as yet any official pronouncement made on the subject by any of the Church's authority, but at this stage (1977) the Parish Priest of Pompabus was approached by the organisers of the assemblies and he could no longer ignore what was happening in his Parish. He decided to gather the leading persons of the movement and give them a course with a biblical foundation of the charismatic gifts. This helped the movement to become more specific and independent since until then it was connected and mixed with other already established groups or associations existing in the Parish such as the Legion of Mary. After the separation the meetings became more emotional, almost violent and some clear charismatic gifts such as speaking in tongues, apparitions, resting in the Spirit became commonly experienced.

From that time the movement spread rapidly into neighbouring Parishes, involving whole groups of Christians and in some cases even whole communities and outstations. Charismatic meetings held during the daytime and evenings until late (some

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times called ‘Six to Six’ from ‘6 PM to 6 AM’) became a common feature of Enga Christianity and had a profound effect on people and their life and behaviour. They freely expressed their emotions – especially ones of happiness and joy; they took on a special glow in their eyes, produced glottal sounds, and moving their arms or the whole body while singing. If the meetings were held in the open they looked at the sun, lifted their arms in which they kept rosaries, Bibles or holy pictures. There was a lot of attention paid to the gift of the Holy Spirit in glossalalia as opposed to the commonly known gifts of the Holy Spirit. In their prayers, which were emotional and associated by heavy shaking, sweating and quaking, the people asked to receive the Holy Spirit. After this they were exhausted and tired, and they often fell to the ground and rested in the Spirit for a long period. There were noted cases of mental instability immediately after such experiences, but fortunately given time people regained their emotional balance days later.

Although the prolonged prayer meetings became a trademark of the Charismatic Movement there were also other activities organised by people involved in it. For the purpose of extended and undisturbed prayer people withdrew from village life to retreats lasting a few days, or to camps either in the bush or mountain tops, as they do for the Sangai initiation ceremonies, during which there were also many dreams and visions experienced by the participants. At the end of the gathering they would erect crosses or rename mountains with some biblical names, like Tabor or Golgotha. For educational purposes there were seminars and courses during which participants were instructed in theology and Scriptures by pastors, catechists and other diocesan workers especially invited for such occasions.

1 On such occasions Enga people can go into a leemanimani (semi-sleep) state during which they claim to receive a message by means of visions and dreams.
There was more work than usual done around the mission stations and Church's compounds as well as the cemeteries. In some cases the latter were specifically cleared and adorned and became a place for a prayer meeting or gathering, during which the faith in the resurrection was more explicitly pronounced, and expressions of joy and happiness made through dances - a still more exciting occurrence. Some groups made a taboo of crying and wailing for the deceased because death marks the beginning of eternal happiness for the person who died. Some people decided to give up the habit of smoking or drinking although there was no pressure to practise any special mortification. Some people neglected the work in the gardens, however there were more cases of a closer collaboration in the garden work in order to have more time for charismatic activities.

There was also another important activity within the Charismatic Movement that has had lasting effects on the lives of Enga Christians. While developing the charismatic character of the meetings, there was also a lot of emphasis on the importance of the Bible for its participants. A large number of Bibles were sold and even illiterate people thought it was important to have one in their possession. The reference to the Bible is traditionally associated with the Protestant Churches, but in Enga the Catholic Church also emphasised the role of Scripture in the process of evangelisation and encouraged the study and readings of the Holy Texts. During the charismatic meetings there was a lot of Bible readings done by catechists, school graduates and by lay people generally. It was remarkable to find how ordinary Christians could easily find appropriate readings and references across the whole New Testament. Such readings were discussed, shared and spontaneously improvised into hymns or short songs, either in the traditional tune or modern pop music accompanied by guitars.
From the very beginning the Charismatic Movement had a very ecumenical and unifying character. For the meetings and gatherings organised either in the churches or in the open space of a particular group, people from different clans were invited to join in. In many cases the enemy clans forgot their animosities and prayed and celebrated together. The movement was the same in the Catholic and Protestant Churches, and people from different denominations felt free to attend combined services and celebrations. There was a lot of visiting and discussion between the members of the different Churches but there was no jealousy or rivalry. Fr Krol noted only one case of the conversion of a woman from Catholicism to Lutheranism because she received the gift of the Spirit in this Church.

At the end of 1979 the Charismatic Movement started to show signs of decline in East Enga, but before this happened a small group of active women from Pumakos decided to carry the idea to the Kandep area some two days walk in South-West Enga. The introduction and development of the Movement in this area is described in detail by Rev. G. Teske in the above-cited article – ‘Holy Spirit Movement, Kandep’.

5.4. SOUTH-EAST ASIAN INTERDISCIPLINARY DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE (SAIDI) PROGRAMME

This programme of missiological strategy, founded by Sister Jacqueline E. Blondin, MIC, has been most successful in the Philippines. From there it was ‘imported’ into Papua New Guinea. In 1983 the Papua New Guinea Province of the Society of Divine Word, searching for a way to renew its zeal in mission and pastoral tasks held a general meeting of all its members involved in mission work in the Papua New Guinea field.

1 The concise history of origin and progress of the SAIDI can be found in the booklet, P.R. Getigan, 25 Years of SAIDI. Occasional Paper, Manila 1975.
The first goal of the meeting was to evaluate the implementation of the Second Vatican Council’s recommendations about the process of evangelisation. The second, even more important goal was to formulate a comprehensive plan of mission action in view of the fast-changing socio-political situation, both socially and ecclesiastically.

Since there was a danger that during the meeting some partisan issues might dominate over the general picture, it was decided that a workshop should be conducted and enriched by input from outside. Thus M. Guazon and S. Getigan two priests from the Philippines, who were involved with SAIDI, were invited to present the programmed methods developed by this Institute and to conduct the preparation of a plan for renewal of the Congregation’s evangelising mission in Papua New Guinea. The workshop meeting turned out to be highly inspirational and was received positively by all participants. As an outcome, the revamped ‘Mission Statement’ for the Congregation in Papua New Guinea was drawn up. The strength of the new ‘mission’ lay in the fact that, while preserving the original goals and charisma of the Congregation, it was now firmly rooted in the local culture and at the same time addressed the challenges of contemporary society and the Church in the nation.

As the Enga missionary personnel consisted almost a 100% of SVD priests and brothers, and affiliated Sisters of the Holy Spirit, it was obvious that the workshop and its results echoed very strongly in the region. Since this was a time of some heated discussions and disagreements as to which one of the previously described movements should be adopted by the Diocese of Wabag "so that the evangelisation of the Enga

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1 Cf. Z. Kruczek, A Decade..., op.cit., p.90.
people could progress”,¹ the SAIDI programme presented itself as a handy alternative. It did not have the baggage of past failures and controversies; it did not originate in any ‘suspicious’ environment; and it had the advantage of being developed and tested in conditions more similar to Papua New Guinea than any other strategy.

5.4.1. SAIDI – Its Origins and Principles

The organisation SAIDI, being predominantly a secular institute, began its activities in the Philippines by training teachers to apply various secular technologies, especially audio-visuals and related methods for instruction and learning. It soon developed as a Graduate School for Instruction Development and Technology (ID & T) and Organization Development and Planning (OD & P).² It provided training for administrators, organisers and directors in areas of process of planned change and organisational growth. The institute attracted the attention of various Christian groups and organisations, the Church eventually becoming a field of activity for SAIDI and its technologies.

The most independent units within the Church’s administrative system are its Dioceses. The Diocese being an independent organisational and territorial body serves at the same time as a model of the Church in microcosm. The head of the Diocese, the Bishop, could be seen as a ‘pope’ in his juridical competencies. In principle, the Bishop exercises his office in collaboration with his priests, religious and laity, but his own

¹ Z. Kruczek, A Decade ..., op.cit., p.90.
² In the occasional publication, printed on the occasion of the ‘silver jubilee’ of the Institute, we read: “In the course of her studies, Sr. Jacqueline realised that the Philosophy and basic principles of the Instructional Development program and its Systems theory could be efficiently adapted for Organization Development programs, to benefit business executives of Asia. Therefore she conceived the idea of broadening the thrust of SEMI (the first program she developed) by adding courses in Organization Development and Planning. This was the origin of the Southeast Asia Interdisciplinary Development Institute (SAIDI).” Cf. P.R. Getigan, 25 Years of SAIDI, op.cit., p.4.
leadership style is usually fundamental for determining the Diocesan patterns of activity. Sometimes his leadership may be too autocratic, or alternatively the cooperating parties may be too slack, leaving too much to the episcopal office. If the leadership is one-sided or the roles of action are not evenly distributed, then the evangelisation programme is put in jeopardy.

The SAIDI “Program of Organization Development in Diocesan Pastoral Ministry” has been especially designed to ensure an even distribution of tasks, obligations and leadership responsibilities in *missio Dei*. The whole program is implemented in the following phases.

1. Initial Consultation Workshop

It is a meeting of a core group (bishop and selected representatives from priests), evaluating the situation of the Diocese and preparing the Diocese for the process of pastoral planning.

2. Building Communities of Faith (BCF) Retreat-Seminar for the Clergy

This spiritual exercise aims at establishing an authentic Community of Faith, which is a *conditio-sine-qua-non* for introducing the pastoral plan in the Diocese.

3. A Pastoral Planning Workshop for the Diocese

It is a large workshop involving the Bishop, Priests and representatives from the religious and laity focusing on the pastoral situation and needs. A corresponding pastoral plan of action is being drawn.

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1 The following description of the stages involved in the SAIDI's Program of Organization Development in Diocesan Pastoral Ministry is based on the article by: M.R. Guazon, ‘SAIDI: OD Ventures into Dioceses and Religious Communities of the Church’, *SAIDI Journal*, 9(1995), pp.20-5.
4. The SAIDI OD Process Workshop

The members of the core group selected at the previous meeting consolidate the Diocesan Pastoral Plan and become familiar with the SAIDI OD principles for planning and organisation, so that they can make use of it in the future by themselves.

5. Regular Consultation Workshops

These workshops are designed for the core group to define all the details of the Diocesan Plan as well as programming the timetable for its implementation and ways of supervising and evaluating.

6. Presentation of the Pastoral Plan

The completed version of the Plan is presented to the people of the Diocese in a special ceremony and thus it becomes the official pastoral programme for evangelisation.

These lengthy and elaborate phases of preparation of the Diocesan Pastoral Plan aim not only at formulating the best possible final version of the plan, but also enable the core group and those associated with it to acquire knowledge and methodology for introducing this process at the various lower levels of the Diocesan structure. It is especially hoped that those directly involved in pastoral activities would be able to introduce the organisational process for pastoral planning and change at the Parish and Basic Christian Community groups.¹

There is no master plan or matrix of the SAIDI program, which can be copied or adapted as a blueprint.² Each individual Church group and community has to work out its own plan, using SAIDI’s expertise and methods and principles of Organizational

² M. Dlugosz who played a vital role in implementing the SAIDI programme in Enga, writes: ‘SAIDI is not a ready plan itself, but a method for arriving at a structure which can guide ongoing planning and an integrated response to new situations’. M. Dlugosz, Mae Enga..., op.cit., p.23.
Development (OD) for approaching the reality and the goals meant to be achieved. It is a three-phase Model of the Organization Planning System (OPS) leading to a clearly outlined plan of action and the means of its implementation and evaluation. While the OPS is understood as a “tool for planning and decision-making”, it still requires a skilful “craftsmen to use this tool fruitfully”. This can be done only through participation and lived experience, as originally maintained by Jacqueline E. Blondin, the founder of the SAIDI Institute. It is a systematic tool aiming at developing a plan of action and its implementation, allowing for an unstructured and flexible time frame and plans.

BLONDIN ORGANIZATION DEVELOPMENT MODEL

**SITUATION ANALYSIS**
- Define System Boundaries
- State Vision-Mission

**SYSTEM ANALYSIS**
- Assess Conditions
- State Problem
- Identify and Prioritize Needs
- Propose Courses of Action

**PLAN FORMULATION**
- Determine GOAL/S
- Construct OBJECTIVES (TPO-EO)

**ORGANIZATION DESIGN**
- Construct ORGANIZATION Chart
- Define Roles and Functions
- Establish COMMUNICATION and CONTROL NETWORK

**EVALUATION SCHEME**
- State EVALUATION PURPOSE
- Establish MONITORING and ASSESSMENT PROCEDURES

**PLAN SYNTHESIS**
- Establish TIME LINES (Gantt Chart)
- Identify PRELIMINARY STEPS FOR IMPLEMENTATION
- Write Plan of Action

Diagram arrows indicate the flow from one step to another.

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The first phase (see Plate No 1), the defining and analysing of the situation and boundaries of the system, requires the identification of a general macro-system and related systems with concentration on the actual subject matter of the plan of action – the focal system. This is done by describing the nature of the organisation or group of people to which the plan would apply and by constructing a chart that illustrates the focal system in relation to its subsystems and to the macro-system. Once the focal system is defined, there is a need to state the purpose of its existence by outlining the values expected to be found and lived by every member – the *vision*, and statement of *mission* – or commitment and purpose of the organisation. Once this is done there is a need to identify the *root-cause problem* that is being addressed, to determine and prioritise relevant *needs*; and to propose *courses of action* appropriate to known problems and needs. In their investigations participants have to observe the rules of *systematisation, compatibility* and *wholeness*, and spell out *positive and negative indicators* and *judgements* on these subjects. Additionally, in proposing courses of action members should have the knowledge of the given potentials (*capabilities*) and limitations (*constraints*) in the focal system.

Phase two aims at the development of the operation design. Once the situation is thoroughly assessed it is necessary to determine and charter the direction in which the focal system is heading, or in other words to formulate the *goals*. In order to bring the goal from the sphere of abstraction to practicality, participants have to construct a hierarchy of Terminal Performance Objectives (TPO), which is supplemented by a corresponding list of Enabling Objectives (EO), thus outlining a comprehensive plan of
action. As the next step, an organisation design has to be developed to allow all members of the focal system to participate fully and in an organised way in the process of implementation of the plan of action. This is done by constructing the *Organization Chart*, by a clear definition of roles and functions and by establishing a communication-control network.

Phase three is directed towards consolidating the plan of action by designing the strategy for evaluation of the plan and defining the time limits for its implementation. The evaluation is an integral part of the plan and should include the object and purpose of evaluation and establish the monitoring and assessing procedures. It should be noted that there are two types of evaluation: *formative*, at various stages of the implementation of the plan; and *summative*, at the final stage of implementation. As to the time line for implementation, it has to be precisely defined and aided by the so-called *Gantt Chart*, which accurately apportions the various elements of the plan into appropriate time frames. Finally, when all the components of the plan are formulated and taken care of in regard as to when and who should implement and evaluate them, the whole plan is then written in an easily read, flowing form.

From the pastoral perspective, the SAIDI program could be described as a general socio-pastoral method for achieving a plan of action in the particular circumstances of local Churches and Christian communities.¹ Fundamentals on which the program was based were the Holy Scriptures, the documents of the Second Vatican Council, and the riches of traditional cultures with their values, symbols, customs, etc. Before any decision could be taken to implement the program, however, it was to be

ensured that its participants were familiar with relevant Biblical references, were
conscious of the Church’s teaching on the subject being addressed, and finally were
ready to take up a critical yet positive attitude towards the given group of people,
society and community receiving the project.

The practical success of this very broad method requires a lot of energy,
commitment and involvement from the whole given Christian community as well as its
individual members. It cannot be looked upon as one, defined and specific action but as
a process in which the community is given a chance to recognise its strengths and
weaknesses. Participants in this program have to describe the actual condition of the
community – read the “indicators”, evaluate the situation, and arrive at the conclusions,
whether positive or negative. Then, they have to pass a resolution to improve upon the
positives and eradicate the negatives. To achieve this in practice, there is a need to have
a vision, something that would be highly desirable by all but at the same time,
intriguingly enough, a vision of such ultimate value that it becomes unattainable! Once
the vision is specified there is a need to identify the problems as to why the vision
cannot be achieved, or what it is that obscures the ideal. In order to find the way to
solve the problem it is necessary to identify the resources across certain groups,
including those resources, both material and human, which are outside and inside the
local areas involved, and to examine their strengths and weaknesses. As a result of
comparing the ideal to the resources it is possible to identify the needs and set a broad
goal – which means, in the situation treated by this thesis, the evangelising program.
Finally, after the goal is set there is a preparation of the plan of action for achieving the
goal by setting the time frame and dividing the work among those involved.
One of the most important features that has attracted Engans to the SAIDI programme (from 1983) is the fact that it acknowledges the device of consensus as the way of settling disputes, and does not tolerate the principle of voting. Even if achieving a consensus on such complicated issues as religious ones requires a lot of patience, time and discussion, this is the way that Engans have settled their disputes for generations.¹ This allowed them to commit themselves to decision-making in which each participant contributed to some extent. The consensus method enabled people to be engaged in dialogue, moves of tolerance and the making of concessions, and gave them the feeling of ‘owning’ their decisions. The SAIDI program was inclusive of such sentiments.

The additional strength of implementing the SAIDI lay in the fact that the Diocese of Wabag was the first to introduce it to the pastoral field in the whole of Papua New Guinea, and could develop its content according to local needs and circumstances without having to be worried about its achievement in comparison to other Dioceses. Unfortunately, however, this pioneering role turned out to be a greater burden than anticipated, as none of the other Papua New Guinea Dioceses followed Wabag in accepting it. The Enga Church faced the task of elaborating the smallest details of the programme and found itself in a sort of isolated position, being unable to compare the results of its efforts with other Dioceses or Local Churches in the nation.²

*Even so, at the beginning, enthusiasm for SAIDI was very high and a series of meetings, workshops and seminars were conducted. Hundreds of local people participated and received instructions on how one transmits the SAIDI strategy to the people.*

² None of the other Dioceses adapted the SAIDI program, and the SVD Congregation did not proceed with it any further either.
grassroots level. They were also encouraged to collect opinions and information which were later used in creating a coherent and effective plan of action, resulting in a fully developed Diocesan Pastoral Plan.

5.4.3. SAIDI Program Introduced to Enga

From 12 – 16 September 1983 the Diocesan meeting took place, Fr Emmanuel Guazon being invited to familiarise Engans with the concept of SAIDI, its principles, methods and procedure. Since one of the key concepts for the SAIDI programme is the “Vision Statement”, it was important for the Catholic community in Enga either to adopt one from the many existing ones in the Church or to formulate their own. The Engans, being always eager to explore new possibilities, enthusiastically embarked on the task of formulating their own “vision”. Although the context was biblical and theological, the core of the formulated vision was clearly anthropocentrically: *A Community filled with joy, sharing in the fullness of life with the Father through Jesus Christ in the Spirit.* The anthropological character of this vision soon became overemphasised when, for the purpose of easier memorisation, it was abbreviated to only – *The Community filled with joy* – and in such form popularised among the Enga Catholics.

Once the “vision” was established, the representatives from each Parish of the Diocese discussed the subject of the “mission”, that is, what it would take for Enga Christians to have the ‘ideal’ implanted in their minds and hearts, and what tasks should be performed in order to bring the Christian Community closer to the state foreseen in

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the vision statement. The preparation of the mission statement was done in stages during which very vivid discussions on the actual state of the Church took place. Fortunately the natural tendency of the local participants, delegated by each Parish, to engage in lengthy discussions was mitigated by reflections on the scriptural texts and the necessity to arrive to practical conclusions, as indicated by the SAIDI programme. During the discussions participants acknowledged that there are certain areas of Christian life in Enga that are not as yet anywhere near reaching the ideal, a fact of life that hindered the achievement of the stage outlined in the vision. These areas of incompleteness were described as: bearing witness to Christ, growing and celebrating as a joyful community; living and sharing the fullness of life; deepening the life of prayer; practising forgiveness and reconciliation; service and availability; and the respect for the culture and faith of other people.

Therefore there was a need to work thoroughly and zealously in these areas and implement in them the authentic Christian spirit. Thus, it was possible to arrive to a mission statement, which read:

"We the people of the Diocese of Wabag, called by God to share the fullness of life, commit ourselves to grow into a community filled with joy by celebrating Christ and to readily present Him in our lives, especially in prayer, forgiveness, service, care for the disadvantaged, availability, acceptance and respect of the person, community, culture and faith."²

Once the vision and mission statements were formulated, which are seen as the theological aspects of the Local Church, there was time to critically discuss the actual situation of the Local Church in the Diocese in its material aspects.³ The projected functioning of the Church demanded that each institution and person fulfilled their task

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and was active in their field of responsibility. It also required that the Diocesan institutions and people employed in them would be able to recognise the needs and be responsive to the needs of Church members. Finally, it suggested that the members of the Church at various levels should work collectively — (Tok Pisin: *wok bung wantaim*), as indicated by the principle of cohesivity — (Tok Pisin: *wanbel*).

Analysis of the present situation of the Church in Enga resulted in defining 278 indicators. These indicators became the materials for further critical discussion, which led to the reaching of conclusions, both negative and positive. Negative conclusions or problems were tabled into three groups, labelled subproblems. All these analysis resulted in finding and defining the root problem, which was described as follows.

*The Good News has failed to penetrate into the lives of the people because of self-centered attitudes and insufficient unified planning with limited suitable training and follow up, together with communication gaps, poor involvement of the people, and weak commitment of the Church workers*.

In order to eradicate the “root problem” there was a need to utilise all the positives (resources) already available to the local Christians, either inside the Diocese or outside it. The main asset is the Church itself — the Papua New Guinea Church in general and the Diocese of Wabag specifically. The Diocesan resources were analysed more thoroughly and listed into two groups, the first containing human resources, and the second material ones. The human resources consisted of Bishop, priests, religious sisters, lay missionaries, catechists, Church leaders, leaders of various ministries, teachers and workers employed full-time by the Diocese. The category of the material resources was subdivided into two groups: buildings and finances. The first of these two included Diocesan Offices, Pastoral Centre in Par, eight Youth Centres, and over twenty

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1 *Plen Bilong Daiosis Bilong Wabag 1983*, p.11.
primary schools. Beside those, each Parish had its own buildings serving the local communities. In the financial subcategory were included finances available either to the Diocesan Church in general, or to individual Parishes and Christians. The possible income was obtained from mission stores, collections, various subsidies from overseas Churches, organisations and religious congregations, and money received from the government in various forms and for various purposes. There was also another powerful resource, which did not fit the above categories but was very useful for the purpose of evangelisation, namely radio sketches. It was recommended that the radio should be used more extensively and effectively.

Once the full and thorough evaluation of the reality of the Enga situation was accomplished the time arrived to compare it with the ideal. The comparison revealed the visible discrepancy between the two, with the reality obviously lacking some essential qualities to match the ideal. These imperfect elements were identified as conversion, cooperation which should be characterised by full information, and finally a holistic formation and training. With all these elements established, there was a need to develop the suitable means to eradicate or at least minimise the discrepancy as far as possible.
The participants, having the full picture of the Local Church, were able to establish a practical goal:

To work together forming a spiritually strengthened community, learning, sharing and growing as one, actively involved as Christian people in life and service.

Setting up the practical goal inevitably called for practical action, which would employ all the available human resources, utilise all material resources, and set timetables for fulfilling the tasks. Thus the participants prepared a full plan of action, in which each
ORGANISATIONAL CHART FOR WABAG DIOCESE SINCE 1983

Bishop

College and Consultants
Diocesan Assembly
Diocesan Conference
Council of Priest
Finance Board
Diocesan Pastoral Co-ordinating Council

Vicar General
Diocesan Office
Finance Office
Holy Spirit Centre Par (HSSP)

-Liturgical Commission
-Worship Committee
-Ministries Committee
-Committee for the Churches

-Formation Commission
-Education Board
-Catechists Committee
-Vocations Committee
-Renewal Committee

-Service Commission
-Development Committee
-Communication Committee
-Women and Family Committee
-Health Committee
-Youth Committee

Ambum Deanery
Keman Lendor Par Sikiro
Kompim Sangurap Sari

Lai Deanery
Pina Pasalakos
Maramuni Pompabus

Lagaip Deanery
Porgera Wanepep
Kasap Mariant Mang

Out-Stations
Basic Christian Communities
Families
Christian individually and as a member of the Christian community had a particular task to attend to. The Diocesan Plan read as follows:

Within three years, from September 1983 to September 1986, in the spirit of pastoral zeal, and the use of available human and material resources, and overcoming the demands of the usual pastoral work, and the difficulties of geography and distance, the Bishop, priests, religious, missionary volunteers, Church workers and all the people of the Diocese of Wabag, who have committed themselves to building up the Local Church will work together, forming a spiritually strengthened community, learning, sharing and growing as one, actively involved as Christian people in life and service. This will be realised only if: ongoing formation is fostered in the Diocese, communication and co-operation are developed at all levels of the Diocese, suitable training and follow up are organised and conducted in the Diocese.¹

### 5.4.4. Organisational Structure of the Diocese to Implement the SAIDI Program

A great deal of work by the participants was now devoted to the development of a coherent plan of action that would cover all the above listed areas of the Church’s life, distribute the assignments, and name who would be responsible for their fulfilment. The most burning question concerned the problem of the Diocesan administration and its hierarchical structures, and their abilities to carry on the tasks indicated by the Plan. The traditional hierarchical structure, with Bishop, Deans and Parish Priests as the main agents of evangelisation, was seen by some as outdated and not working sufficiently in the conditions in which the young Enga Church was found. However there were no other alternatives developed, and what is most important, only this type of structure has the approval and the provisions of Canon Law, under which the Church’s life normally operates. It was decided, then, that there would be another parallel structure introduced into the Diocese, to oversee the implementation of the Plan and to attend to the needs connected with the newly formulated mission statement.

The Plate No 2, shows the structure of the Diocese as perceived by the 1983 Diocesan Plan. It combines the traditional Diocesan structure with the new institutions introduced by the SAIDI programme to care for a deeper and faster evangelisation process. The traditional Diocesan model, sometimes called hierarchical, includes the Bishop, his Vicar, College of Consultors, Council of Priests, Finance Board and the Diocesan Curia — the body of various Diocesan Offices. In this case, however, and for more fruitful pastoral care the Diocese was divided into three Deaneries, each headed by a Dean; and sixteen Parishes with 24 priests working in them. Parishes consisted of a number of outstations, which were divided into Basic Christian Communities incorporating neighbouring families. (In Enga circumstances they are more appropriately called — haus man, extended families). As part of the Diocesan structure there were also two formation institutions, a Youth Centre in Par and Catechist Training Centre in Pumakos.

The SAIDI programme incorporated the majority of the above-listed institutions, except for the position of Dean, which for some unknown reason was left totally out of the Plan. This move becomes even more intriguing when it is realised that Deans themselves were taking an active part in the meeting and in many instances they spearheaded the SAIDI programme. They graciously accepted the outcome of the meeting and ceased their privileges, to allow the SAIDI programme to work better, or so it was hoped.

The new Diocesan Plan introduced the idea of the Diocesan Assembly and the Diocesan Conference, which could be identified with the Diocesan Synod recommended by Canon Law, but as yet not introduced to the Wabag Diocese. Seemingly a new concept was introduced to the Diocesan structure by establishing
Commissions and Committees, although the first could be seen as partly substituting the Deaneries and the latter taking the role of the curia departments. Certain committees were established during the meeting, some as a response to the needs identified in the process of preparing the Plan, others renamed to suit the pattern, and some accepted into the new structure under their existing name, as for example the Education Board. The ideal was that each committee would have its own office with an employed full time officer. The practical difficulty was, that if it were to be a lay person, s/he needed to be paid wages, but as the financial resources were always scarce in mission conditions, some of these positions had to be filled either by priests or religious members. This was imposing additional duties on them, and they were not always able to dedicate the necessary amount of time and energy to this work, and it also ran totally against the idea of empowering the laity. In these circumstances there were cases where some of the committees had a problem with recruiting enough people to allow the committee to exist, while others became almost immediately bureaucratised and experienced an unhealthy competition for paid positions.

The Diocesan Assembly was the highest authority responsible for coordinating the evangelising activities in the Diocese. The Diocesan Assembly meeting was scheduled once a year, and for practical reasons the number of participants was limited to a few representatives from each Parish. But, since nominally, every Catholic of the Diocese was entitled to take part in the Assembly, and there are over sixty thousand Catholic Christians in Enga, there was a need to select a smaller group, which would supervise and attend to the everyday matters connected with the implementation of the evangelising plan at the grassroots level. For this purpose, the Diocesan Pastoral Coordinating Council (DPCC) was established, consisting of some elected members,
some ex officio, and some appointed. Among others ex officio members were the chairpersons of the three Commissions, elected to that position at the combined meeting of all Committees, of which the given Commission consisted. The idea behind this was to have a direct connection between DPCC, Commissions, Committees and Christians at the grassroots level.¹

The other important body introduced by the Diocesan Plan was the Diocesan Conference, consisting of full time workers in the Diocese. Two Diocesan Conferences were scheduled before and after the Diocesan Assembly, during which the participants discussed a particular topic relevant to the evangelising mission, under the guidance of experts in the given field, invited for the occasion. Finally, there was a fourth Diocesan Meeting at the end of the year, called an Evaluation Meeting, which as the name indicates was devoted to the evaluation of the implementation of the evangelising programme at the various levels of Christian life in the Diocese.

5.4.5. Second Diocesan Plan

The second plan was very much a continuation of the first. At the Evaluation Meeting in October 1986 it was recognised that there was a tremendous amount of work done in the Diocese as a result of the SAIDI program implemented in the field of evangelisation. It was acknowledged that the effects of evangelisation were especially noticeable in such areas as Christian liturgy; new conversions; training; and responsibility for the Local Church. Admittedly there was an even deeper consciousness than before that there was yet a lot to be done to bring the reality closer to the ideal, but there certainly was also a visible development. While the 1983 Plan was prepared mostly by a group of expatriate

¹ Some changes were suggested in 1991. See: Minutes of Diocesan Conference, March 26-28, Par, in: AWCD, p.4.
mission personnel, at the meeting preparing for the 1986 Plan three quarters of the participants were representatives of the Local Church, chosen from all the respective Parishes of the Diocese.\(^1\) It was also strongly felt that now was the time to proceed on a much larger scale with the evangelising mission at Deanery, Parish and community levels.\(^2\) The reason for this was quite explicitly stated by Fr Doug Young:

\[
\text{Despite the effectiveness of our vision and its ability to call all levels of the Diocese to growth as a community, our plan has had limited success in promoting ongoing renewal at the Parish level or the level of the basic community itself.} \quad \text{\(^3\)}
\]

There were five areas of the evangelising mission on which the Diocese of Wabag wanted to concentrate: education; liturgy and sacraments; marriage and family life; mutual cooperation; and finally the dramatic changes that occurred in the province and in the Local Church. To make this plan of the evangelising mission more accessible to the illiterate Enga Christians, these targeted areas were metaphorically called “stones”, and each of these stones was exemplified by an especially drawn picture (separate drawing). It proved to be a very successful way of introducing more sophisticated ideas and topics to illiterate people at the grassroots level.

5.4.6. Third and Fourth Diocesan Plans

The highlight of the third Diocesan Plan was that after a series of lengthy and intense discussions on the issues confronting the Church in Enga, the participants agreed on a call for a New Evangelisation. But the already-mentioned process of over-emphasising the anthropological element in the vision caused it to backfire, and this became evident during the preparation of the third Diocesan Plan. While everyone agreed on ‘the joy’, there was a rift concerning the question as to how people should experience this joy. As

\(^1\) \textit{Plen Bilong Daiosis Bilong Wabag 1986}, p.39.
\(^2\) Ibid., p.40.
\(^3\) D. Young, 'Becoming a Community of Joy...', \textit{op.cit.}, p.324.
the tribal unit started to lose its importance in Enga society, the shift was being made towards the individuals and their immediate families. This led to demands from the participants at the workshop for a change of the vision, by substituting the *community* with the *family*. There was a heated discussion, which ended in a row, as to which of the forms should be used. Since according to the SAIDI program the vision could not be changed, the whole Plan was put into jeopardy. The Bishop, who proposed an amendment to the vision, as to include the word *family*, finally solved the deadlock. The corrected final version runs as *The Community as family of God filled with joy*.

Although this solution was accepted only to avoid any further disagreement, by ‘chance’ it brought back some balance between the anthropocentric and theological character of the vision by placing God in the vision. The fact remained, though, that the conference did not really address the present-day underlying currents among the Enga people that brought on the change of attitude towards the original vision. If more attention had been paid to this problem the participants would have found that it was only revealing the proverbial ‘tip of an iceberg’.

The revolutionary changes from outside inevitably caused equally great changes in the Enga community and they transformed also the meaning and role of the community itself. Undeniably, in the past there was strong identification with the larger ‘tribal’ community, and especially with one’s clan community. Nowadays there is a trend towards a stronger association with a more nuclear community such as the family, or with the newly introduced but more defined groups, such as one’s Christian denomination, professional or peer group. The communitarian life is fast changing and the individual members of the community and their families are forced to manage their

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own affairs. Although, traditionally the clan community still plays an important part in
the local politics, fighting, marriage arrangements, compensations and funerary rituals,
there is a visible shift towards associating these obligations with individual members
and their immediate families. The most obvious example of this shift can be seen in the
marriage arrangements, where some professional men working in the gold mine are able
to meet all costs of the marriage from their wages. There is also a whole new area of
responsibilities in the life of Enga people, namely the cost of education for their
children, a problem that did not exist before, or if it did, it was in a totally different
form. The following example may illustrate the situation.

N was a medical orderly working in the Muliak Health Centre. His two
tenaged children attended high school, as he was able to meet the cost from his
wages. Unfortunately he lost his life in a car accident. A large compensation in
pigs and money was paid by the owner of the car and his clanspeople. It was
accepted and distributed by the leaders among themselves. But they refused to
pay the school fees for his children, arguing that this was the obligation of the
individual parents. The children were forced to withdraw from their school.¹

In view of this changed situation in the Enga Church and society it is not surprising that
the participants insisted on revising the existing Diocesan Plan, including new factors
that were challenging the people. Much greater changes in the Mission Statement and
all other components of the Plan followed the amendment in the vision. The new Plan
was to span a six year period. During this time there were six main areas to be targeted:
1. Strengthening Christian marriage, family and youth.
2. Cooperation and renewal.
3. Increase in education in the areas of liturgy, sacraments and evangelisation.
4. Awareness in Christian leadership and proper use of political power and money.
6. Compatibility of the traditional culture with Christian values and ongoing changes.

¹ Personal communication with the mother.
ORGANISATIONAL CHART FOR WABAG DIOCESE SINCE 1992

Bishop

College of Consultors ————> Vicar General

Council of Priests ————> Deans

Finance Board ————> Diocesan Office

Diocesan Conferences:
- General Conferences
- Diocesan Assembly
- Evaluation Meeting
- Diocesan Pastoral Coordinating Council

Committees:
- Worship Committee
- Committee for the Churches
- Lay Apostolate Committee
- Education Committee
- Bible/Catechesis Committee
- Vocations Committee
- Renewal Committee
- Development Committee
- Committee for Stopping Tribal Fights
- Communication Committee
- Marriage and Family Committee
- Health Committee
- Youth Committee
- Associations

Movements

Deaneries
- Parishes
- Out-Stations
- Basic Christian Communities
- Families

Holy Spirit Centre ————> Catechist Training Centre

Education Officer ————> Development Officer

Family Life Officer ————> Health Service Officer

Youth Officer
The revised plan (see Plate No 3) also brought changes in the methodology and in ways of presenting its content and ideas to the whole Christian community. The targeted areas were renamed as 'roadblocks', as the previous symbol of 'stones' seemed to be too static and not providing enough provisions for human intervention. There was also a set of new drawings prepared representing each roadblock. The concept of the roadblock was explained as follows:

Let us imagine the following scene: the car on its way meets all kinds of obstacles: wet conditions makes for a slippery road, causing landslides, bridges may be damaged, rising rivers may flood the roads. Besides these natural events people might organise holdups, stealing possessions and money. All this can prevent you from reaching the destination. The same applies to the Good News, various obstacles can impede its implementation and effectiveness. It could be said that the main roadblock is that Gospel values have not been taken to heart by Christians in Enga.¹

After the evaluation of the vision and mission statements the participants of the meeting dedicated some time for reflection on the administrative structures in the Diocese and Parishes, and on the makeup of the SAIDI program in the Diocesan Plan. Unfortunately, as the major effort connected with the previous stages of the workshop drained energy and enthusiasm, the structure was changed somewhat hastily thus jeopardising a fruitful implementation of the many good ideas included in the new Plan. One of the major setbacks was the abolition of the commissions which severed links between the DPCC and the committees.²

In 1998 the fourth Diocesan Plan was formulated for the period to 2003.³ While in general, it was a repetition of the evangelisation program from the previous Plan, there was much greater attention focused on the details and practical implementation, as

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² This was actually only the official incorporation of the change already proposed in 1990. See: A Proposed Renewal of Diocesan Structure, Typescript, in: AWCD.

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well as two new elements. The first new element was the celebration of the new
millenium and the negative and positive aspects associated with this significant event.\footnote{For the expectations and fears connected with the millennium experienced by Engans and other Melanesian societies, see: J. Bieniek and G.W. Trompf, 'The Millennium, not the Cargo?', 
_Ethnohistory_, 1(2000), pp.113-32.}
Although this event had some outstanding ideological connotations at the time,
nevertheless, it is now a thing of the past and has not had any major lasting pastoral
implications.

The second element introduced to the fourth Plan is of much greater importance
and it may have the potential to revitalise the evangelisation process in the Diocese and
give the SAIDI programme its original effectiveness as envisioned. This important
element was a return to the concept of Basic Christian Communities, originally
introduced to the Diocese by the Better World Movement.\footnote{Cf. _Plen Bilong Daiosis Biolong Wabag 1998_, p.12.} As the BBCs are a force and
a vital instrument for evangelisation,\footnote{Cf. _RM_, 51.} the backbone of the SAIDI pastoral program,\footnote{Cf. _P.R. Getigan, 25 Years of SAIDI_, op.cit., p.34.} and
its successful application in the evangelisation process, particularly in the Philippines its
place of origin,\footnote{Cf. B.G. Fabricante, _Lay Empowerment in the Basic Ecclesial Communities of the Diocese of Tagum in the Year 1998_, PH.D. Dissertation, SAIDI Manila 1998, pp.12-32.} there is a good prospect that this component can revitalise the
implementation of the New Evangelisation program in the Wabag Diocese. The
potentials of this will be discussed further in connection with the recommendations for
future planning in chapter eight.
Part III.

“BECOMING A COMMUNITY OF JOY”

- PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS
CHAPTER SIX

MEANS OF EVANGELISATION AND INCULTURATION IN ENGA

6.1. HIERARCHY AND ADMINISTRATION

After Papua New Guinea gained Independence the Catholic Church did its best to adapt to changes in secular administrative structure. After the introduction of the provincial system in the country, the Church adjusted all borders of the existing Dioceses to coincide with the borders of the Provinces. When government administration made changes in the local structures the Church followed soon after. That was to be the case in 1980, for, after a few new provinces in the Highlands were established, the Church also erected new Dioceses, among them the Diocese of Wabag, which borders are identical with the borders of the Enga Province.

Moreover the Church's smaller administrative units, such as Deaneries and Parishes, were modified to suit both traditional and political divisions. In Enga there is at present four Deaneries and sixteen Parishes with the last adjustments being made about ten years ago. But the constant changes and divisions have been taking place in the Parishes, which are the smallest components of the Diocesan structure. They comprise of outstations and communities, which have a lot of room for accommodating novelties, and are almost independent in managing their affairs. The other Christian Churches and denominations also introduced their own structures, in some instances
covering large and various regions, over which many local people have obtained comparatively impressive decision-making positions.

6.1.1. The Hierarchical Structure of the Diocese of Wabag

The Catholic Diocese of Wabag was established in 1982 by the decree of Pope John Paul II.¹ For the previous 32 years it was part of the Diocese of Mount Hagen, but because of the great differences between the two regions it was always sensed that this unity was artificial and temporary, creating only a legal and not a factual combination. The specific characteristics of Enga – such as the one common language, endogamous culture, similar set of beliefs and convictions as well as territorial consistency being clearly defined by the high mountains and rugged rivers – demanded that it should be regarded as an autonomous entity. First, as indicated above, the government administration recognised the need for such separation, and so in 1980 from the western fringe of the Western Highlands Province the Province of Enga was created² – thus opening the possibility for the Catholic Church to proceed with a similar act.³

The process of creating a new Diocese in the Catholic Church requires some specific conditions and usually takes a long period of time. But the Enga situation was in a way exceptional, as it was not a case of establishing a new Diocese from scratch but rather simply the partitioning of the existing larger Diocese of Mount Hagen into a few

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² In April 1963 the first Local Government Council with 34 elected councilors was established in Wabag and the Enga Area Authority was constituted. In 1973 the Enga District and Area Authority was established and in 1974 the Enga Province started to be recognised as a semi-separate administrative unit. In 1978 Interim Enga Provincial Government was appointed but from 1980 became a fully independent Province with the elected Premier (Denley Tindiwe from Kandep). See: N. Scott and K. Pitzz, ‘The Administration of the Department of Enga Province’, in: (eds) B. Carrad, D. Lea and K.K. Talyaga, Enga: Foundations for Development, op. cit., pp.276-90.

³ The Catholic Church trying to prevent people from confusion and unnecessary fragmentation generally follows the borders established by the government administration.
smaller ones.1 The historical role of Mount Hagen in the process of the early evangelisation, as well as its dominant role in the present times in the Highlands region, was acknowledged by the raising of its ecclesial rank to that of Metropoly. In the Church’s language this means that the head of a number of Bishoprics holds the title Archbishop, and enjoys some privileges as well as duties in relation to the Metropoly’s constituent Dioceses.2 In the case of Mount Hagen these Dioceses are Goroka, Kundiawa, Mendi, Wabag and Mount Hagen itself.3

The township of Wabag was chosen as the See (headquarters) for the new Diocese, from which the official name of Diocese of Wabag derives. It was the Headquarters for the Provincial Government, having a good road connection with Mount Hagen, and possessing an airstrip (at nearby Wapenamanda) with regular flights to Port Moresby. The surrounding area was densely populated, with a good number of energetic Catholic communities. There was already an established Catholic mission station at Sangurap, which by 1980 was elevated to the status of an independent Parish with Fr. H. Raich as Parish Priest. He was also the Bishop’s Vicar for the Enga Province. With the establishment of the new Diocese he received the appointment as the Bishop of Wabag.4 The new Bishop was born in Austria in 1934 and as a young man joined the missionary Congregation of the Divine Word. After ordination in 1962 and a year of pastoral work in Munich in Germany, he received an appointment for mission work in Papua New Guinea and from 1964 was posted in West Enga in the newly de-

1 Almost at the same time two other Dioceses: Kundiawa and Mendi were separated from Mount Hagen as independent units.
2 To illustrate the case I will mention the case of Goroka, where the Bishop resigned and disappeared for some time. As he did not abdicate formally there was no possibility to appoint a new Bishop, therefore, the Archbishop of Mount Hagen presided for a couple of years over the Goroka Diocesan Council.
3 ‘Sacra Congregatio pro Gentium Evangelizatione sea de Propaganda Fide’ op.cit., pp.646, and 762-763.
4 AAS 74 (1982), p.646; Ioannes Pausus Episcopus Servus Servorum Dei dilecto Filio Hermano Reich..., 18/03/1982, Pontificatus Nostri Quatro, Manuscript in: AWCD.
restricted area of Kandep. He established a mission station in Mang where he was working until his transfer to Wabag, and the indications to him of becoming the first Bishop of Enga. As a motto of his service as Bishop he adopted the saying in the local language of which he is a fluent speaker: *Jisas Krais Kamongo* (Jesus Christ is Lord).1 This sentence may be trivial for most Westerners, but for Engans it has a very deep social and religious meaning, as explained above in the paragraph about the leadership in Enga.2

Each catholic Diocese has a hierarchical structure, which can be presented as a triangle where the bottom line represents the biggest number but the least authority. The top represents the Bishop, who is practically accountable only to the Holy See, although he is a member and cooperates with the collegial body called the Bishops Conference, which coordinates and evaluates the progress of evangelisation in the whole country.3 According to Canon Law, in each Diocese a Bishop’s College of Consultors should be established, which is to be consulted in matters concerning the Diocese, and in some important cases the agreement of the Council is required before the Bishop can make a final decision.4

Although the number of priests working in the pastoral field in the Diocese of Wabag should be regarded as small, even on the Papua New Guinea scale, thanks to the Bishop’s commitment to coordinate the evangelisation program in the best possible collegial manner, his Council reflects a wide spectrum of the Enga pastoral reality. The

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2 Supra, pp.91-3.
members of the Bishop’s Council include: his Vicar General, three Deans, the Chairman of the Priestly Senate, the Superiors of the Priestly Congregations working in Enga, the Diocesan Finance Coordinator, and the Chairman of DPCC. Normally the Council holds quarterly meetings, although in some circumstances the Bishop calls the members of Council for extraordinary meetings to discuss urgent matters. Canon Law also makes provisions and regulates another collegial body in the Diocese, called the Priestly Senate, which deals and represents matters, which concern the priests working in the pastoral field.

In order to run Diocesan matters more efficiently, its territory is divided into smaller units called Deaneries, with the Dean supervising the affairs of each Deanery as well as having specific administrative powers granted them by Canon Law.¹ Each Deanery consists of a few Parishes, which are the only independent units in the Diocese.² The Parish Priest is appointed as the spiritual and administrative leader of each one. The Parish Priest is aided by the Assistant Priest(s) or other priests working in specific areas of pastoral ministries in the Parish such as catechesis, chaplaincies or others who are involved in the pastoral program and the process of evangelisation but any decision making role on their part is limited. In some cases there is no Parish Priest but an appointed Administrator, who has the same powers as the Parish Priest except that his appointment is for a limited period of time and can be terminated by the decision of the Bishop. The Administrator is usually the only priest residing in the Parish, although this can not be regarded as the rule.

¹ Cf. Ibid., Can. 553-555.  
² Ibid., Can. 515-552.
Because of the shortage of priests in mission countries, Assistant Priests are rarely available to support Parish Priests, though it is possible that there will be a second priest at the station for his a so-called *introduction period*. A person ‘on introduction’ is a newcomer to the country or to the area who is not able as yet to assume independent posts and is gaining necessary experience. According to the Pastoral Plan of the Wabag Diocese, the time for work under the supervision of an experienced missionary should be three years, but due to an acute shortage of mission workers this introductory period rarely exceeds one year.

While in the past it was not such a disadvantage, at present the Local Church is expecting much more from foreign pastoral workers, whose task is not to introduce the new religion, as used to be the case, but to strengthen the local Christian communities and indicate the direction in which the local Church is heading. These new dimensions of Christian mission, as well as the high standards set for missionaries within the present religious, economical and political realities and emphasis on inculturation, demand that present day mission workers should be well accustomed with the local culture, traditions, convictions and language.

**6.1.2. Administrative and Liturgical Languages**

As it was stated above, Papua New Guinea has over 800 languages and dialects, and it takes a great deal of time, energy and resources on the part of missionaries to cultivate them and to nurture them, not only in the oral tradition but also in the written form. From the beginning of mission activities, efforts have been made to adopt the vernacular for the preaching of the Good News and to translate the Bible into the local

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languages. But it was soon realised that because of great diversity and multiplicity of cultures and languages, it would be necessary to choose one of them and use it in liturgy, in schools, and as a common means of communication between neighbouring tribes. The first attempts to apply the vernacular to the coastal areas were only partly successful. Experience showed that it was easier for people to accept as lingua franca, a language invented abroad than one of the local ones, as it was seen as an imposition of the influence of one tribe over the others. Tok Pisin was then widely introduced, first on the coastal region and later in the interior of Papua New Guinea. Tok Pisin or Neo-Melanesian, as it is called nowadays, was already used for some time by foreign traders and sailors in business contacts with the inhabitants of New Guinea Island. When it started to be used in the Church its development reached such a scale that it became one of the three official languages spoken in the whole country. In 1992 the whole Bible was for the first time ecumenically translated to Tok Pisin and soon became a standard version for the Liturgy in all Churches in Papua New Guinea.

In Enga, Tok Pisin was introduced by government officials who in the majority of cases came from the coast and it was strengthened by mission workers, such as the catechists, who in the first stage of evangelisation were also recruited mostly from among the coastal Christians. But soon there was a split between the two main Christian groups evangelising Enga, namely Catholics and Lutherans in the approach to

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1 A few months after the first SVD missionaries arrived at Tumleo Island on the Aitape Coast in 1896 Fr Erdweg reported to his Headquarters in Holland: “All we could do for the mission so far, besides praying, was to study the local language”. P.B. Steffen, “Arrival of the Divine Word Missionaries in Papua New Guinea”, Mi-cha-el CSMA, 3(1997), p.45.
2 Cf. Ibid., pp.50-90.
3 Cf. P. Biskup et al., A Short History of New Guinea, op. cit., pp.3.5-4.
4 One of the greatest theorists and contributors to the development of Neo-Melanesian language is Fr Frank Mihalic SVD, who composed the most comprehensive grammar and dictionary of this language. See: F. Mihalic, The Jacaranda Dictionary and Grammar of Melanesian Pidgin, Brisbane 1971.

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this subject. While Catholics spent much time and resources educating people in the use of Tok Pisin, seeing in it one of the most powerful tools for communication with the outside world and providing better chances for faster development, Lutherans who were putting much more stress on the process of localisation, turned again to the local Enga language. It proved to be more fruitful in the process of individual conversion, as well as a better means for the preaching of the Gospel.

6.2. PASTORAL STRUCTURE OF THE DIOCESE OF WABAG

The Catholic Church of Enga or the Diocese of Wabag as it is officially called in the Church’s administrative language is an independent unit within the bigger structure of the Catholic Church of Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands.1 It is lead by Bishop Herman Raich who was appointed as Bishop at the same time as when the Diocese was erected. He is aided by an Assistant Bishop, the first local priest of Enga Fr Arnold Orowae who has the rank of the Vicar General and Bishop’s deputy.

6.2.1. Deaneries

Following the requirements of Canon Law the Diocese is divided for administrative purposes into Deaneries – with appointed Deans in charge. In the Diocese of Wabag Deans are automatically members of the Bishop’s Council, which in fact is the only practical function that they exercise in the present situation, otherwise their position is nominal and honorary. Although Canon Law empowers them with a variety of faculties and tasks,2 there is not much provision for their services in the Wabag Diocesan Plan, as the stress is put on various Commissions, Committees and their chairpersons.

2 See above, p.5.
From the beginning there were three Deaneries in the Wabag Diocese: Lai, Lagaip and Ambum. There have been no major changes into this structure since the Diocese was established, but at present there is a tendency for the Parishes of Ambum Deanery to meet in two smaller units referred to as Upper and Lower Ambum. This practice is dictated by the geography of the area and by the size and number of mission personnel working in this Deanery. While the legal position of the Dean, as already mentioned, is limited by the specificity of the Enga Diocesan structure, his individual personality and charisma may have a significant influence on the Church’s personnel and evangelisation process in the Deanery. The role of Deanery is especially visible during the four Diocesan meetings scheduled by the Diocesan Plan. During these meetings Deaneries gather into groups to discuss issues, which are common to the Parishes constituting them, they prepare liturgies, run programs, and take care of social events.

After these meetings the Deans are overseeing and spearheading the implementation of pastoral policies and resolutions in their respective Deaneries. Each Deanery organises its own meetings, workshops and seminars, giving in-service to people involved in preparing and evaluating the local evangelisation program. There are various pastoral and educational centres in each Deanery providing formation in an ongoing or periodical setup to Christians from the Parishes in their care. They organise transport for participants attending these meetings as well as providing the means for some of the local Christians to attend the evangelical events at a Diocesan or national level. Sometimes the Deanery delegates a person or two for a special formation program, which may be too expensive for one Parish. Connected with the Deanery centres are Deanery teams who conduct an outreach evangelisation program in the

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1 Cf. Z. Kruczek, *50 Yia...*, op.cit., p.130.
Parishes constituting the Deanery. Priests from the Deanery support each other during such special events as retreats, and seminars, when there is a need for increased priestly services. The Deans organise informal gatherings of mission personnel to celebrate special feasts and personal occasions. There is quite a significant collaboration and a developed youth program in each Deanery. Each Deanery has a Deanery Youth Coordinator (DYC) who is coordinating and supervising the activity of the youth in Parishes. He is organising at a Deanery level various spiritual, educational, recreational, cultural and sporting activities.

6.2.2. Parishes

Nominally the Diocese of Wabag has seventeen Parishes although practically there are only sixteen of them since Porgera and Paiela have always had only one Parish Priest in charge of them both. The present Parish structure remains unaltered since 1976 when the Parish of Sangurap was established by Bishop Bernardin to provide for the spiritual needs of Christians in the rapidly growing Provincial Headquarters town of Wabag.

Although all Parishes remain in the same Enga administrative borders they have many features that diversify them greatly. Firstly there is a problem of language. Porgera and Paiela people speak the Ipili language, which although having some similarities to the Enga language in structure it does not allow a direct communication. It is a special challenge and obstacle in the pastoral and evangelising work since it requires that the missionaries who work in Enga would have to study in addition the Ipili language. The same applies to people from Enga who would need to learn the Ipili

1 Plen Bilong Daiosis Bilong Wabag 1983, p.17.
2 Cf. Z. Kruczek, A Decade..., op.cit., p.33.
language if they wanted to undertake the evangelising mission and service amongst Porgera and Paiela people. The other fifteen Parishes speak the Enga language but the differences in the dialect are so significant that in many cases people have difficulties in understanding each other properly or are even ashamed to use their dialect in order to avoid mistakes or being ridiculed in public.

The divisions in language follow the division in culture and customs. Apart from the Porgera and the Paiela there are four major cultural groups in Enga: Mae, Yandapu, Laiapu and Syaka. While from the outset it appears that basically all of them create quite coherent and distinguishable social and cultural units, it is not so in practice. The differences are quite distinguishable when it comes under closer inspection and in practical life. It is safe to say that the most obvious differences between Parishes occur between the Parishes of East and West Enga. There are ten Parishes in East Enga and nominally six in the West. To classify the biggest Parish territorially, namely Wanepap, as belonging to the West, seems to be questionable. Although its Western part definitely belongs to the West, people inhabiting the Eastern part speak the dialect characterised by pronoun *indap*, which is the trademark of the Mae Enga. Though the salt trade centre of the Yandap area is located within the borders of Wanepap, people of the Sambe tribe which make the core of the Catholic population of this Parish have always associated themselves with the East. Through multiple marriages the tribe is related to the tribes inhabiting the Mae Enga region. There are also many cultural and ritual differences between Eastern and Western Enga complexes. These are especially visible in the celebrations and rites used in them. The *Kepele* ritual is the trademark of the West as is

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1 Fr A. Orawe told about the commotion he caused in Pumakos Church, when he used a phrase from his area, which has totally different meaning in the Pumakos area. Personal communication.
the Sangai initiation ritual. The East has Sandalu/Sangai initiation ceremonies and a chain of ritual exchange, referred to earlier in this thesis, called Tee. There are also agricultural differences. The East, being situated in the lower altitudes, has a more hospitable climate and a much bigger food production. This applies not only to the quantity but also to the quality and variety of products. West Enga still attaches a lot of attention and cultic importance to hunting, especially possums, the necessary element in initiation ceremonies. In the West there is still the practice of collecting fruits (especially pandanus) from the bush to make up for the shortage of food in some of the months during the year.\(^1\)

Historically Christians of East Enga are in semi-permanent contact with Western culture from at least 1947 while the West only from 1963. West Enga, through contacts with the Maramuni people, was influenced by concepts of ‘magic’ from the Sepik area. The West of Enga, especially in its Northern part, starting from Kasap through Porgera to Paiela, has recently been extremely influenced by the gold rush and tied up in its problems.\(^2\) Land disputes, resettlements and compensations, flood of migrants and visitors, cash economy, shortage of food and accommodation, crimes (rascalism), guns, prostitution, alcohol and gambling are growing rapidly in the West.

The Porgera Parish experiences various problems with Church services and in conducting a regular evangelisation programme.\(^3\) Apart from two local languages there is an increasing number of newcomers who can speak only Tok Pisin and English. There is no permanent Church congregation due to the great fluctuation of people.

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\(^3\) Personal observations and communication with Frs E. Osiecki and A. Sobot, Parish Priests from Porgera.
There is a huge disproportion in the amount of money offered by the people present at the liturgy. Some expatriates and local land owners will occasionally give even a fifty dollar note while for others the ten toea offering recommended by the Diocese would still be difficult to fulfil.

In Porgera there is a major problem with the relatives who come to visit the workers of the mine hoping to receive enough money to pay for their return fare. In many cases, due to the large number of visitors, and the expensive living in Porgera these people remain stranded there. They have no means of supporting themselves; there is no proper accommodation available; and there is no possibility to return to their villages. In many cases they have already arrived on borrowed money and they are afraid to return to their place for the fear of facing the people to whom they owe money. Every day there are tens of people knocking at the Parish office and asking for assistance. Most of them are in genuine need but it is impossible to care for all of them. Besides, there are many cases of dishonesty where the money received is used for other purposes rather than for their return journey.

Lately some Dioceses introduced the concept of clusters, which are groups of a few neighbouring Parishes in order to coordinate the pastoral activities in the area in case there were not a sufficient number of priests. Some Parishes could even become priestless as is the danger in the near future. The concept of clusters though generally similar to a Deanery structure seems to have some psychological advantages. The cluster is a smaller and more compact unit thus easier to manage and coordinate. It is organised on the basis of a free association rather than on an administration decision. The head of the cluster is elected by the priests from the given cluster and confirmed by
the Bishop. But it also has very clear limitations. The head of a cluster does not possess any jurisdiction to enter into the affairs of other Parishes or even to obtain the necessary pastoral information to be able to run its business should it become suddenly vacant. Practically only the Parish Priest who has an Assistant Priest could be the head of a cluster, as he would have more spare time to offer for the sake of the cluster. If there is any Assistant Priest in the cluster in which a Parish becomes vacant there is no reason for him to supply another Parish but he should rather be appointed the Parish Priest in that Parish. If there is no spare priest to fill the vacancy the smaller Parishes could be combined and served by their own Parish Priest rather than being lead in the liturgy by a visiting priest, who is not a member of the community.

Membership

Traditionally, the Parish was a territorial unit, now it has a more personal character. A person becomes a member of a Parish community by the virtue of baptism and remains such unless s/he moves to another area or decides to change Parishes. Jurisdiction over the members and Parish affairs is exercised by a Parish Priest appointed by the Bishop.

The example of the limitation of such a situation in the mission field became evident in the case of Wanepap Parish, which was established in 1954. Fr G. Bus, the pioneer missionary of Enga, became the first Parish Priest and was replaced by Fr W. Blank in 1956. The Parish had its border with the Parish of Sari on the north-east, and on the west and south (it was not clearly defined as that area was still restricted for mission activities). It reached as far as the old demarcation line between New Guinea and Papua drawn by the colonial governments of Germany and Britain in 1884.¹

It meant that theoretically the area of Wanepap Parish covered an area equal to half the present Diocese of Wabag. Practically the activities of the Parish Priest ended in the neighbouring Laiagam – west, and Kepilam - south, as the rest of the area was still restricted for mission workers. But according to Canon Law the Parish Priest of Wanepap was solely responsible for the evangelisation of the whole area, and without his permission no other Catholic priest or missionary was allowed into the field.

When the area west of Laiagam and south of Kepilam became derestricted in 1961 the Parish Priest was not present in his Parish as he went on his yearly spiritual retreat and afterwards took his holidays. Meanwhile, under Government supervision, missionaries from other Churches namely Lutherans, Seventh Day Adventists and Apostolics advanced to the derestricted area claiming successive villages and tribes. The Government, trying to prevent an unhealthy competition, organised the entry of all the different denominations at the same time and forbade any proselyting activities by other denominations in the villages which had already accepted one of the Christian Churches. Had the Catholic priest been present with others the pattern would be repeated in every fourth village. But he was not, and the possibility of Catholic presence in that area would have been almost lost, if it was not for the fact that some villages like Kasap were waiting specifically for them. But in other places the best opportunities were missed and when Fr Blank finally arrived he had to settle for the outback territories not claimed by other denominations. It is reflected now in the localisation of the main stations (Parish Headquarters) which are usually situated in much less accessible locations than their Lutheran and Seventh Day Adventists counterparts.

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At present the system of a Parish structure can still be counted as one of the major obstacles in the expansion of Catholicism in that area, as the Parish Priest is still the only person who holds all the powers in the running of Parish affairs. Any changes concerning the borders of outstations or erecting new centres of worship are under his auspices and any amendments to the Parish borders are reserved to the Bishop. Local catechists tend to centralise the power as well and in many cases prevent ordinary Christians from performing public evangelising activities. It is in stark contrast with for example the Seventh Day Adventists Church, which erects new independent units whenever there is even a small group of practising followers, and a leading person who can hold the position of Pastor.

6.2.3. Outstations

Due to the territorial vastness and inaccessibility of the terrain Parishes in the Wabag Diocese are subdivided into smaller units popularly called *outstations*.¹ These units have no Canon Law recognition but are acknowledged by the Bishops of Papua New Guinea. In the Parishes of other countries there may be one or two worship centres with their own Church, which are called filial. Some outstations in Enga have their origin in the competition with the main Parish station or as a result of inter-clan fighting and tensions. But generally they are being established as an answer to the genuine pastoral needs of the community and as an important means in conducting evangelisation on the local, village or community level.

An average sized Parish such as Kasap may have around ten outstations with the possibility of some of the outstations being suspended or dormant and new outstations

¹ See Plate No 2.
emerging in other areas. Nominally the Bishop should be approached before the new outstation can be officially announced but in practice it is the Parish Priest who judges the necessity and profits of the project. The initiative usually comes from a group of concerned local Christians or Church leaders, in some cases being inspired by the Parish Priest or external circumstances, such as agricultural migrations, concentration of people, resettlements and others. Sometimes an outstation may be split into two smaller ones if the number of Christians increases to such an extent that the existing worship centre is not able to accommodate the participants.

There is a need to respond quickly to needs of the moment otherwise people may be forced to look for other options available to them. Such was the case with the Koneman clan from Kasap. Koneman is one of the bigger clans of the Monain tribe. It has its residence on the left bank of the Lagaip river, opposite the Tupin tribe. Tupin claims that it used to be its residence in the past but Koneman forced it out of their land to the other side of the river. There were always tensions between Koneman and Tupin but since the river was quite large and difficult to cross there was not much possibility of direct confrontation. In 1965 the colonial government decided to build a bridge over the Lagaip river for an alternative route from Porgera to Wabag. By chance the location for the bridge happened to be the territory of Koneman on one side and Tupin on the other. Pax Australiana prevented any major break out of fighting but as soon as the colonial authority released its power to the local government the inevitable happened. Tupin invaded Koneman starting a long-lasting and devastating armed confrontation between clans residing on the opposite banks. In the fighting many people from both sides died and for the first time even children and women were killed. The police had to

1 Such was the case with Paindak – the newest outstation in the Kasap Parish established in 1994.
2 Personal communication with Fr Imre Szabo.
intervene, fighting was suspended and the bridge had to be pulled down to prevent any further escalation of fighting.

Koneman lost in the fight quite a good number of its own warriors as well as many of its supporters from other clans of the Monain tribe. Because of the large number of casualties and destruction of the property the clan was unable to pay compensations to its supporters. Koneman became isolated from other clans and its people feared to move beyond the territory of the clan. It was certainly a hardship preventing economic development, education and job opportunity. But one of the most important issues was Sunday worship.

Koneman like the other clans of the Monain tribe was Catholic and attended the Sunday worship in the Parish Church on the Lakin territory. Due to the tensions resulting from the post-war situation Koneman men were afraid to come to the Church, and even women and children felt insecure to enter Lakin's territory. They sent a message to the Parish Priest to organise a prayer centre on their own territory but neither Parish Priest nor Parish Council saw it beneficial to split the worship into small groups. There was also a danger of setting a precedence for those involved in the fighting that they would get special treatment as a reward for their fighting. When Koneman men learned about the situation they sent people to Seventh Day Adventists' headquarters and requested that a Pastor be sent to them to start a separate worship centre. It was obvious that the Seventh Day Adventists who did not have too many centres in the area were only too happy to use the occasion to put their post into the stronghold of Catholics. They did not send a Pastor but appointed one of the Koneman men to the ministry, and thus the Seventh Day Adventists took over the whole clan from the Kasap
Parish. Almost all people converted to the Seventh Day Adventists Church and attended their liturgical services. While the majority of them returned to the Catholic Church once the matters of compensation became settled, there is a small but dedicated group that keeps the Koneman clan divided into two denominations. A similar situation occurred not much later with another clan – Pindain.¹

For the Catholic mission there are a few questions that should be answered. Why could Seventh Day Adventists immediately appoint a Local Pastor? How is it possible that they did not have any problem with establishing a new worship centre? There is a need within the Catholic Church structure administration for more flexibility and understanding of the local politics, situation and undercurrents. Even today in order to establish a new outstation there is a need to get the Bishop’s concession.

In the next sections we will consider what exists in the Diocese of Wabag by way of local lay leadership, to show how the local people are involved in the important processes of evangelisation and inculturation. Beyond this preliminary descriptive account will come later arguments with regard to praxis and the improvement of conditions through missiological evaluations – in the next chapters.

6.3. THE LOCAL CHURCH LEADERSHIP

6.3.1. Leaders in Inculturation – Enga Culture and Language Study

In this last decade, there is a strong call on the part of the government for the cultivation of local cultures, customs, and the use of vernacular languages. The Catholic Diocese

¹ In the ambush ten people were burned alive and there were not enough resources to pay for compensations. The Pindain people were too afraid to move outside their territory and decided to have their own worship place.
of Wabag recognised this as a sign of the times and put a lot of effort to participate in the process. A special committee called "Enga Culture Group" was organised to promote and preserve the local culture. The committee set out to collect all available material in the area of traditional myths, stories, songs and customs. Since the committee consisted of members from various parts of the Diocese it served as a forum for the exchange of ideas and values, resulting in the appreciation of cultural differences and thus contributing to the unity of the Enga people.

The committee was also crucial in spearheading the preservation of the local language. They conducted a series of courses in which the local speakers taught the missionaries the basics of the Enga language.\(^1\) The Diocesan Plan directs that newcomers entering Enga for pastoral work should make an effort to familiarise themselves with the local language and the clergy is formally ordered to spend half a year learning *Enga tokples* (local language).\(^2\) In reality, as with many other good things, allowing six months for the studying of the local Enga language, would be looked upon as an unnecessary luxury, and this policy has never been put into practice as the Diocese lacked the personnel to pull it off.\(^3\) Normally missionaries have to learn the local language while they carry out their pastoral duties in various Parishes. Obviously, the effects cannot be sufficient and generally the mission personnel are not able to communicate satisfactorily in the local language, though they have a passive knowledge of it, and are able to pass on basic information through it to the local people. It also helps them to use newly translated biblical texts in the process of evangelisation.

\(^1\) Personal Communication with Fr T. Somhorst and the catechist Alphons from Kililam.
\(^3\) In practice, due to the shortage in mission personnel, there were only a few missionaries that were given this opportunity. The one who took advantage of this was Dr M. Dlugosz a Polish Sister who spent a few months with the tribe of Lait near Par Mission Station and became quite fluent in the local dialect.
Although foreign missionaries were not able to contribute much personally to the translation of the Bible into the Enga language, the Diocese supported the idea, and through its local members and financial aid, worked alongside the Lutheran Church which had spearheaded the project. In 1988 the translation of all the books of the New Testament was completed and published as an ecumenical translation under the title *Enga Baipolo*.\(^1\) It was anticipated with expectation and received with great enthusiasm by both Churches. Festive celebrations were organised in most of the Parishes at the launching of the book, but its impact on pastoral activities in the Catholic Church was and still is limited. In the first place the majority of catechists, who are using the Bible, were educated in Pidgin English and they do not feel comfortable in reading the local language.\(^2\) Secondly, although the translation is based on the Irelia dialect of East Enga (Lutheran Headquarters), there are concepts and idioms borrowed from other Enga dialects, for the purposes of attracting people across the province. In practice, it created a mixture with which any one group of Enga people can not fully identify and therefore there is nobody to spearhead its usefulness and to serve as a valid interpreter.\(^3\) But certainly as there is an increase in the local clergy and a bigger number of people being taught basic skills in vernacular literacy, the *Enga Baipolo* will be better appreciated and utilised in the Church’s service and will exercise greater influence in the area of ethics and morality.

There is a lot of work yet to be done by the “Enga Culture Group” in the area of language used in the liturgy. It would be similar to the work, which was once done with


\(^2\) As the older generation of Enga catechists is semi literate they memorise many of the important parts of the Scriptures. As the written Enga language is a very recent phenomenon the younger generation feels more comfortable with the Bible in Tok Pisin, which they translate *ad hoc* into their local dialect.

\(^3\) Even people living in Wabag who are familiar with the Irelia dialect claim that they do not understand fully the translation and that it belongs probably to some other part of Enga.
the switching from Latin to the vernacular. In the present situation in most Parishes in Enga the liturgy is still conducted in Neomelanesian language. Although it is one of the easiest to learn among other official languages and the fastest growing means of communication for the multi tribal society of Papua New Guinea, the fact remains that the majority of rural people, as those in Kasap would not have sufficient knowledge of it, to enable them to take an active part in liturgical celebrations. There is an urgent need for the translation of liturgical texts and official prayers. It is also necessary to convince people that the local language is equally suitable for the Church’s public celebrations and to teach them the right responses in the vernacular. Overall there is definitely a need for missionaries to use the local language in the liturgy more extensively than is done at present.

6.3.2. Members of the Communication Committee

Although it is a very recent phenomenon, nevertheless it is one of the fastest growing markets and forums for exchanging information.1 The first means of communication for expatriates was the wireless radio, that later developed into a whole network connecting the entire mission personnel through the service of Christian Broadcasting Fellowship.

For Engans the real use of mass media came with the establishment of the Enga radio station. Although, often out of service due to tribal unrest, compensation claims, acts of vandalism or simply because of the lack of electric power, the radio soon started to have a great impact on people’s lives. In times of elections people living even in the remotest places in the bush would try to acquire a radio transmitter so as to follow the process of counting votes. Quite often the radio is used to advertise local events,

celebrations and special occasions. It became fashionable to send messages via aerial waves to individual people, asking them for contact, to return to the village or for sending some money for *tee* exchange.

From the beginning of its operations Enga radio was used by various denominations for proclamation of God’s Word and for propagation of Christian doctrine and values. Religious programs were especially popular among young people, who would find in them a new approach to life, modern religious songs and music and a lot of evangelical enthusiasm. Catholic people in Enga were always attentive although passive listeners to religious messages. With the introduction of the New Evangelisation program in the Diocese of Wabag, there arose recognition of a need for more active participation.\(^1\) A group of young people was sent in 1992 to the Communication Institute in Goroka to learn how to prepare religious material for a radio broadcast. When they returned a special Communication Committee was formed to cooperate with the religious section of Enga radio.\(^2\) Soon there was a special Catholic edition to the already existing Christian program. At first, individual people were invited to share their faith experience, but soon various groups and even whole Parish communities were taking part in the program.

There are also other types of communication becoming popular among Engans that could be utilised in the process of evangelisation. In recent years the video became the most fashionable medium.\(^3\) In many villages there are *haus piksa* – buildings

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\(^2\) This Committee was established in 1982 but was dormant from 1986. See: *DPCC Joint Meeting 4 April 1986*, Typescript, in: AWCD, p.2.

\(^3\) The Church reacted to this immediately by establishing the Video Department in the Communication Institute in Goroka. See: M. Markowicz and F. Seran, 'The Role of the Church in the Film Industry in Papua New Guinea', *Mi-cha-el CSM4*, 2(1996), pp.78-85.
especially designed for screening video movies – and people have to pay for entry, allowing the owners to make quite a substantial profit. The most popular movies are of the action and horror genre. As there are no regulations regarding entry fees or rules concerning the rating of movies, the video phenomenon gives rise to many local tensions and problems. The most acute problem is the wasting of time and the neglect of duties. There are also problems with money, which is wasted while it should be spent on bare essentials. When problems surmount it often leads to general village unrest, which usually results in the burning of the *haus piksa* and the loss of equipment.

The Wabag Diocese recognised very early the need and possibilities of video technology in the spreading of the Gospel message and values. There is quite an extensive video library operating and has been continually updated since 1985 in the Diocesan Centre in Par. Some members of the Communication Committee were sent to the Communication Institute in Goroka to participate in a course to learn skills in operating video equipment, and in recording and preparing short video reports for local use. In 1990 the Communication Committee, in cooperation with the Diocesan Youth Office, established a video-recording centre in Wabag and it has become very active.

6.3.3. Leaders of the Parish Pastoral Team

According to the Diocesan Plan, each Parish should have a Pastoral Team aiding the priest in pastoral ministry and coordinating and assessing the process of evangelisation at the Parish level. The members of the Team have to be people involved in the Church’s pastoral work and have extended knowledge of both current pastoral issues in the Church in general and pastoral needs in the Parish in particular. Ideally they should

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have previous experience in various ministries in the Parish before they can be called to become members of the Pastoral Team.

The Diocese provides extended courses and workshops in an ongoing formation for the members of Pastoral Teams.¹ They are educated in the Scriptures, basic doctrinal truths, moral theology and apologetics. They are informed about some of the requirements of Canon Law, especially in the area of the Sacraments of Marriage, Baptism of adults, and interdenominational coexistence and cooperation. A special emphasis is put on practical theology and pastoral issues, such as Liturgy, Ecclesiology, and Catechetics. As practical theology is meant to address every-day problems of the individual and community, the members of the Pastoral Team are instructed in such subjects as Cultural Anthropology, Integral Human Development, and Social Justice. For a proper assessment of human and pastoral needs of the Parish congregation they are familiarised with the activities of all other ministries in the Parish. Apart from the purely pastoral involvement they are also expected to keep some administrative records.

It is expected that the members of the Parish Pastoral Team should be people of mature faith and a healthy spirituality. They should be prayerful and respectful towards the Church’s teaching. They should be skilled in such areas as communication, group dynamics, thus animating, facilitating and coordinating the process of evangelisation as it is outlined in the Diocesan Pastoral Plan. In their private lives they should be good family people, full of commitment and responsibility. While they are expected to be ready to carry out services to others, at the same time they should be people of such

character and integrity that they would naturally receive respect, dignity and reverence from their fellow Christians.

6.3.4. Parish Board

The Parish Board consists of the leaders of the outstations and some of the most active groups in the Parish such as youth, women and others. It is a body, which prepares strategies and coordinates various activities in connection with evangelisation understood in its broadest sense. Since its members represent a cross section of people and regions of the Parish it is able to discern the various needs of the Parish community and facilitate solutions to the many problems facing the people. The Parish Board should be supervising the process of evangelisation in such a way as it is presented in the programme of New Evangelisation which means taking the holistic approach. The leaders of the Parish should be responsible not only for the proclamation of Gospel values but also for their implementation. Members of the Parish Board should undertake the leading role in the task of transforming their lives and the lives of their respective communities in the light of the Good News. To fulfil this task the Parish Board is involved in spearheading the activities of Christian life in all its vital aspects that is in the liturgy, education, social justice, healthcare, etc. In other words, the supervision of the Parish Board covers the area of all human needs: spiritual, psychological and material.

6.3.5. Catechists

The importance of this office and people who exercise it is best described by one of the pioneer missionaries into Enga, Fr Frank Mihalik who states that "in primary

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1 Plen Bilong Daisis Bilong Wabag 1986, p.38.
evangelisation in Papua New Guinea the catechist was the kingpin.\(^1\) This simple statement proved to be true throughout the whole forty years of evangelisation in Enga. It holds true today, except that the people carrying out this function became much more sophisticated thus the area of their influence widened. While in the past they were the first teachers in basic Christian doctrine and literacy, nowadays they are one of the better educated people in the area. They are responsible not only for Christian teaching but also for the administration of the Christian centres numbering in some cases up to several hundred people.

At present there are over one hundred catechists, some with full training, others still in training (sometimes called catechist helpers), involved in the process of evangelisation in Enga.\(^2\) There is a Diocesan Catechist Coordinator overseeing an ongoing formation program for catechists in the Diocese and working as a liaison person looking for opportunities to increase the cooperation between catechists, Parish Priest and the respective communities. There is a separate Catechists Committee in the Diocesan administrative structure, caring for matters concerning the spiritual and material wellbeing of catechists and their families.\(^3\) Until 1992 there was a full-time Catechist Training Centre operating in the Wabag Diocese offering a full time three year program for candidates, preparing them to carry out the evangelisation task as catechists.\(^4\) For the last decade the training of new candidates was organised in the block courses that were being offered on a regular basis in the Diocesan Pastoral Centre at Par or in various Deanery centres throughout the Diocese.

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\(^2\) Cf. OI Wok Helpim..., op. cit., p.16.
6.3.6. Church and Community Leaders

In Enga the term Church leader or Christian Community leader denotes a person who is actively involved in promoting or supporting Christianity. In the early stages of evangelisation the function of a Church leader was closely connected with the function of traditional local big-men, who either spearheaded the introduction of Christianity into the area themselves or cooperated with missionaries and actively encouraged their clansmen to accept Christian beliefs. Now it is imperative that a Church leader is not only a baptised person but also outstanding in the practice of Christian values and morality, and there is no more discrimination regarding gender.

6.3.7. Catholic Women Coordinators

Catholic women are elected or appointed to coordinate the various activities of women’s groups in the Diocese.1 They are expected to be able to promote awareness of the role and the responsibilities of women in Christian society and in the Church, and the importance of taking a more active role in the evangelisation process of the Church’s apostolate. In cooperation with their leaders they organise programs of activities and of ongoing formation at Diocesan, Deanery and Parish levels. They need to encourage fellow women to act collectively, to formulate a common program, and to unite in pursuing goals that will benefit women in general, rather than members of their immediate families. They have to teach them to collaborate and speak out against injustices taking place in society, without condoning members of their own social groups (which is a common place problem). They need to recognise the needs and attitudes of women at Parish and community levels and present them to the leaders of the Diocese for discussion and inclusion in the Diocesan Plan. They are also to assist in

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1 Cf. Diocesan Pastoral Coordinating Council (4.03.1986), Typescript, in: AWCD.
teaching women ways to create healthy discussion between their roles as women, mothers, wives, sisters, etc.

The women's leader is expected to have certain qualities that will enable her to carry out the outlined tasks. She must be an outstanding member of the Church and community and in a position to make a full commitment to this work. She needs to be honest in her dealings, as she may be responsible for a large amount of money coming from membership fees, government and Church subsidies. She is expected to have an understanding of the problems confronting local women and identify with them. She should be compassionate, a good listener, caring and understanding. She needs to have good knowledge and appreciation of the traditions and customs of the local culture, but realise that changes are coming. She also needs to be open to the new ways that Enga faces today, and not be afraid of them.

There are various problems that the Diocesan female leaders and Enga women in general are confronted with and need to address:

- To overcome the clan's relatively confined mentality and act in a more global manner.
- To overcome the traditional concept of the role of women who work behind the scenes or exercise their influence through the male members of their clan.
- To be able to speak in public
- To maintain women's solidarity versus clan or tribal solidarity

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1 _Wok Helpim..., op.cit., p.19.
2 The role-models are provided by many women from other parts of Papua New Guinea. See: A. Turner, _Views from Interviews. The Changing Role of Women in Papua New Guinea_, Melbourne 1993.
- To overcome mistrust and split opinions amongst various groups, clans and tribes in the Parish community
- To avoid being manipulated by those in politics, either by those already elected or by those seeking election
- Maintaining integrity and objectivity in conflict situations, which is rather difficult for temperamental Highlands women
- To be able to combine the role of leader with other demanding and time-consuming tasks in the family
- To convince the authorities with inbred Western concepts of democracy, that in Enga female leadership like the male is gained, not simply by election or appointment, but through merits achieved by hard work and exceptional qualities, recognised as such by members of the local community
- While there are many means of help offered for women’s advancement by the government, educational institutions, social organisations and other secular agencies, it remains an acceptable paradigm for Christian women that formation in faith and practising Christian values remains the most solid basis for improving the status of women in Enga society and in the Local Church.

6.4. NON-ORDAINED MINISTERS

6.4.1. Bible Readers – Lectors

The role of lector is to proclaim God’s Word contained in the scriptures. In normal circumstances it means reading the first and second readings taken either from the Old Testament or the New Testament. The proclamation of the Gospel during official celebrations is reserved for people who have received ordination.
In many Parishes of Enga, due to difficulties with learning the local language, a native reader has to read the Gospel. There are special courses preparing lectors to fulfil their ministry in the most beneficial way. First, the emphasis is put on the awareness that Scriptural texts, which are proclaimed, are inspired by God, and are of great importance for the spiritual formation of the congregation. Second, the training of lectors has as its ultimate goal to develop a deep love of the Scriptures, prayerful reflection on the sacred texts, reverence and respect for the message contained in the Bible and for its Author.

From the liturgical point of view, it is important that Bible readers should have a basic knowledge of the books of the Bible, should be familiar with the lectionary for the various seasons of the liturgical year, and should be able to apply directions concerning the selection of readings as indicated in the liturgical calendar. When it comes to the actual presentation of the readings, lectors are taught the necessary reading skills, such as comprehension, pauses, speed, loudness, intonation, etc. With the introduction of modern technology, lectors have to be able to use microphones and loud speakers. Sometimes video cameras are used to help them to keep the right posture and gesticulation.

As there is a lot of inventiveness among Enga people the readers are encouraged to include local customs and elements of local culture into the proclamation of the Word. There are Bible processions before the readings, during which the Bible is presented to the whole congregation; there is usually a prominent place or stand where the Bible is placed. During the procession there are special songs and liturgical dances or movements often accompanied by dramatisation.

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1 Cf. Ol Wok Helpim..., op.cit., p.9.
People are very happy to accommodate various forms of symbolic actions, songs, and dances, but lectors should be careful not to over-emphasise the procession above the actual proclamation of the Word. The other danger is that some of the symbols imported from the coastal areas are not easily readable or meaningful in the Highlands. It is necessary, then, to make proper selections and adjustments.

Theoretically, there should be quite a significant number of persons, especially of young people, who should be able to read, but, as in other places all over the world, there is a big difference between reading privately and reading in public, especially in the Church. One person may have difficulty with articulation, another may be too nervous, and some are too shy to speak in front of large number of people. There are also additional difficulties in Enga. In school, students study in English, while in the Church the Scriptures are in Tok Pisin, and the majority of people know only the local language. So it is not just simple reading, but an improvised translation of the text, and this demands quite unique skills. Besides, in societies so traditional as Enga, the privilege of speaking in public places comes with age, and many of the young people do not feel comfortable in speaking in the Church, where all clan or tribal elders are gathered.¹

For these reasons the Sunday readings have to be prepared much earlier, and in such a way that they should be understandable and appreciated by the listening congregation, since there is a great difference between the reading of a passage of any text and the proclaiming the Word of God. The preparation of the readings is directed by the catechist and in the majority of cases the lector memorises the whole passage of

Scripture. It is therefore not necessary, for the lector to know how to read. Quite often
the reader is a mature man, holding a significant position in society, who undertakes the
task of learning by heart the whole scripture passage from the Old Testament or the
Gospel so as to deliver it proudly during the liturgy. It has a very important influence on
the listeners, who come to realise that the responsibility for the proclamation of the
Word of God rests not only on a few lectors who share among themselves the duty of
reading throughout the whole year, as occurs in some Parishes of established Churches.

6.4.2. Altar Servers

In the past altar servers provided a link between the priest celebrating the Eucharist and
the people attending. In the time when Latin was used in the Church, altar servers (only
males) would memorise the responses to the priest’s invocations and thus keep up at
least some dialogue in the liturgy. Unfortunately this distorted form of liturgical
participation was prolonged in Papua New Guinea, where not only Latin but also
German and English were used in the liturgy, incomprehensible to the majority of the
congregation. Again, this has been a case where only altar servers would be able to take
some part in the liturgical action by reciting memorised texts.

At present altar servers, equally male and female, play an important role in the
liturgical celebration. They carry out many functions, which help the liturgy to flow
better. It is usually their duty to make the necessary preparations before the Eucharist.
This includes preparing the altar, sacred vessels, candles, flowers, liturgical books, and
the gifts of bread and wine. They should be able to adapt adequate colours and dress for
the various liturgical seasons. During the liturgy they assist the celebrant and
congregation by engaging in liturgical dialogue, and by being attentive to any need that
may arise during the celebration. At the conclusion of the liturgy, altar servers are expected to clear away the utensils used in the celebration, storing them in the appropriate place in the sacristy.

6.4.3. Minister of Sunday Worship

The office of the Minister of Sunday Worship has been known in the Church for some time, and it is an extraordinary ministry in the absence of the priest. In the Papua New Guinea Church situation, due to the shortage of priests, the role of the Minister of Sunday Worship is so vital that it became almost an ordinary ministry.¹ In the majority of outstations the regular Sunday Service depends entirely on the local Minister of Sunday Worship and therefore his role is regarded almost as a permanent ministry. Traditionally, according to the Church’s custom and local culture the ministers were males only, but recently this situation has changed, although not without opposition, and some of them are women.

The main role of the Sunday Worship Ministers is to organise and coordinate Sunday Worship. This is done on a regular basis except when the priest comes to celebrate Holy Mass. Although they are leading they are required to prepare and conduct the service in cooperation with all other ministers such as lectors, special ministers of communion, the music leader, altar servers, ushers, preacher, and others. They need to be able to take on different types of services – Communion Service for example, Bible Service, Holy Hour, and so forth. The Diocese provides ongoing formation and inservices for the Leaders of Sunday worship to give them a deeper understanding of their ministry and to make their service more effective and appealing.

¹ Cf. Ol Wok Helpim..., op.cit., p.10.
It also helps them to come to a better understanding of the teachings of the Church and of Christian leadership. Various skills are expected from the people involved in this ministry. They must be literate, able to study the readings for the services and be able to select a proper theme for the appropriate season. The minister has to be creative to use different teaching aids and techniques, as for example pictures, dramatisation and other aids. They have to be convincing public speakers and be able lead people in prayer, as well as be people of integrity who are able to convince others about the necessity and spiritual development resulting from communal worship.

6.4.4. Prayer Leader

The function of the Prayer Leader combines pastoral and spiritual qualities. The main role of a Prayer Leader is to help people to appreciate the value of prayer and to lead them in prayer. The person in this ministry should be aware of the different types of prayers and be able to transmit this knowledge to the faithful. The Prayer Leader is active at the local level usually in his/her extended family, Basic Christian Community, and the outstation. In the past, the role of Prayer Leaders was probably more visible, as they were people responsible for making the first contact with Christianity. Their duty was to gather, for informal prayer meetings, those who showed signs of interest towards the Gospel. They not only led the prayers but also provided basic evangelisation and catechetical instruction. In present times they are dealing more exclusively with prayer, as other aspects of evangelisation are in the care of other special ministers.

Prayer Leaders have to show qualities of leadership but, since their service is of a spiritual nature, they should be ready to coordinate their activities with the authorities

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1 Cf. ibid., p.5.
of the Church and other local leaders. Since they are operating at a local level they need to be persons of good repute and on good terms with all members of the community. In most cases they are required to carry out their mission to individuals and to small groups of people, but they should be capable of presiding over a bigger gathering, as sometimes there may be a larger number of visitors attending the prayer session. At present it is necessary for the Prayer Leader to be a good communicator, as well as literate, so as to use various resources to help make the prayers more inspiring and meaningful. With advanced technology and the availability of loudspeakers, tapes and lately CD's they need to be confident and progressive enough to take advantage of these media. They should also be ready to utilise various musical instruments to which the younger generation has become accustomed.

Since New Evangelisation emphasises the Biblical foundation of our faith it is necessary for the Prayer Leader to have a personal interest in the Bible and reasonable scriptural knowledge to enkindle the interest of participants. The Prayer Leader should be familiar with the liturgical seasons and be able to adapt suitable types of prayers and accompany them with a selection of suitable songs. S/he should be familiar with the general and local prayer books, different devotions such as the Stations of the Cross, Novenas, Rosary, etc. It is also important that Prayer Leaders would be able to accommodate the present needs of individuals and the community into the communal prayer, as with prayers for the sick, for the victims of natural disasters, crimes, etc. Sometimes they are required to assist with prayers at the graveside and therefore require sensitivity and compassion toward the people involved.

6.4.5. The Music Coordinator

This is one of the most important and responsible ministries in Christian worship. Music has always been understood as an integral part of the Church’s liturgical action, to such an extent that already in antiquity the saying became popular that “he who sings prays twice”. Christians of various cultures and in successive ages developed different kinds of liturgical music, but it was always felt that sacred music is distinct from all other musical types.

The music coordinator is required to be well versed with what is available in music, hymns and songs and be able to make appropriate selections to enhance the liturgical seasons, as well as to educate the music ministry in such a role. In the traditional Church community the person responsible for liturgical music could be required to spend years of study in preparation for this role. It would normally be expected that the music coordinator would have extensive knowledge in the history of Church music, be able to appreciate musical instruments, and see the purpose of using them in the liturgy. Ideally the music coordinator should be able to master the use of at least one instrument and conduct the singing of the congregation.

In Enga the expectations put on the music coordinator are naturally much lower, but still there is a good deal of preparation for the candidates to this ministry. The person responsible for the Church’s music should be able to know where the music, hymns and songs fit into the liturgy, especially in the Mass, and be able to make appropriate selections of hymns and songs. As the New Evangelisation program stresses elements of inculturation in the liturgy the music coordinator has a leading role in

1 Traditionally this saying is attributed to St. Augustine.
2 Cf. OI Wok Helpim..., op.cit., p.11.
accommodating traditional trends in Church music. This seems to be already adequate in Enga, as seen in the example of the Kasap Parish liturgy.

The music group assembles well ahead of time outside the Church to warm up and practise. At the start of the celebration the whole group enters the Church, singing and dancing to the accompanying rhythm of kundu (a type of drum), which is practically the only instrument used with traditional singing. Traditional singing sounds like chanting on one tune and repeating a few lines of the same text, which in most cases will have been composed ad hoc. In some instances it could be compared to Austrian yodeling. Those Sunday liturgies in which the youth participates can not occur without guitars and percussion, even if the latter is made out of a kerosene drum covered and bound with rubber from an old tyre tube.\(^1\)

Although traditional tunes are in most cases still conducted by singsing leaders of the older generation, the elders nowadays have to give in to the younger generation when it comes to music. The youth have better voices for singing, use more interesting instruments, sing songs that are more rhythmical, and modeled on American Christian rock, heard on radio and seen on TV whilst in town. Rhythmic religious songs become immediately popular, they are sung not only in Church but also on different occasions, because there are not many traditional non-religious, popular songs, that are suitable – for example – at a picnic.

At the beginning, these songs were sung in English, as it is taught in schools. Now there are a lot of songs in Tok Pisin, which is spoken in many neighbouring regions of this country, although in the Highlands it is limited to a simple dialogue with people from outside and not used as yet for intertribal conversations. People of Kasap Parish speak the Enga language, but even though it is the biggest language group in New Guinea, only 250,000 people speak it. Though the Church tries to keep Enga traditions alive, and even though the missal texts are translated into Enga, Tok Pisin

\(^1\) J. Bieniek, "Posylam Was", loc.cit., p.116.
remains the liturgical language. Most songs are now being composed as well as sung in this language. Many of these songs have been translated from English, many have been composed in other regions of the country where Tok Pisin is used as an everyday language. But even in the Kasap Parish we find very talented young people, who put together texts and compose the melody. Most of these songs have been composed for a special occasion. From time to time they happen to be so original and with such a catchy tune that they are translated into Enga and become local hits.

6.5. RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS AND ASSOCIATIONS

6.5.1. Background Remarks

Because of the very high academic standards expected from the clergy, the localisation and leadership in the Catholic Church in Enga differs significantly from other Churches especially from the Lutherans and Seventh Day Adventists. While these other Churches put stress on the localisation of the hierarchical structure, the Catholic Church's priority of localisation has been concentrated more at the grassroots level, that is, of the Parish community (or as it is sometimes called the Local Church). As already stated, the Wabag Diocese is divided into 16 Parish units, which in turn are divided into outstations, sometimes as many as fifteen (to take Wanepap Parish as an example), with Kasap having a moderate ten. Although outstations are officially the smallest recognised units in the Diocesan structure, in practice they consist of various hamlet communities sometimes with their own separate worship centres, Church leaders, catechist and lively Christian congregation. From such a grassroots level, some powerful local religious Movements have originated in the last decade. While the God Triwan Movement, the most influential of these Movements in the eastern parts of the Wabag Diocese, has already been well documented by Frs A. Krol, D. Young and
P. Gibbs, here we will have a closer look at the origins, ideology and structure of a younger version of that Movement from the Kasap area.¹

### 6.5.2. God Triwan Human Divide Movement

At the beginning of 1989, the author working as acting Parish Priest in Kasap received a letter from one of the isolated outstations in the mountains at the very end of the Parish, which, due to its remoteness could be visited only once every three months. The letter stated that the catechist posted there was not performing his duties adequately. Many times he was going out for long periods, leaving the community without service. The people suggested that he should be dismissed and a certain Samson to take his position.

Samson was described as a young, enthusiastic, pious man, who was very suitable to take that post. It appeared that he was also sufficiently educated, since he had completed grade six in Kasap Catholic Community School. The biggest advantage was that Samson, though not married, already had a house and garden and was living permanently in Linjing. The letter was signed by Samson himself (!) and it was obvious enough that he came across as a person who had a considerably high estimation of himself. On the other hand, this was understandable, since it was highly unlikely that anyone else in this deep bush village would possess his level of education.

As it was the author's first year as a Parish Priest he consulted his ecclesiastical supervisor for advice. The latter suggested making a change and posting Samson as the new village catechist. On the next patrol to Linjing we held a Church Leaders meeting and we learned that the community was really in favour of appointing Samson to that

position, although fierce opposition was met by the former catechist and his family. After much discussion it was agreed that the old catechist, would receive a severance pay of K15 from the community. To placate him he was also given the position of main celebrant at funerals, which he performed quite well, as was generally acknowledged.

Samson, even if he knew how to read and write, was not knowledgeable in the Catholic religion. He was therefore sent for a one-month pastoral course and later he also completed a Bible Course. He always showed interest and was eager to update his knowledge. Despite our earlier objections he turned out to be very humble and a calm person. Contrary to the general character of the Enga people, who are very expressive and impulsive, Samson proved to be of a meditative and composed nature. He also showed strong commitment and dedication to his job.

Despite the village's location in the high mountains, five hours walking distance from the nearest road and the people there earning practically no cash, Samson mobilised his community to work on the construction of a new Church. It was a very difficult task as all the materials had to be carried on people's backs, but because of Samson's persistence the project was completed. There was a very big feast held, with people invited from the whole Parish to celebrate the end of the work and the blessing of the new Church. Everybody appreciated the well-organised celebration by the people of Linjing under Samson's leadership. Apart from Catholics there was a good number of Lutherans participating, with their Pastor being K___, whom Samson seemed to treat with much reverence. After the distribution of the pork as is customary the people delivered many speeches during which Samson announced he had a very important
message to communicate. As there was not enough time he advised them that he would come to each village separately to share the news.

A long time passed but Samson had not communicated anything. Instead, we received the news that he, K____ and a young woman had secluded themselves in a house which Samson had built near the new Church. News spread that they had experienced extraordinary visions of great importance to the whole community, and maybe even the whole of Enga Province. To be exact, it had been the two men who received the visions, while the lady was just taking care of them in the house.

When they emerged from isolation, Samson took the whole community into the bush for a one-week retreat. Before they left he promised them they would participate in the revelation he had received. During the retreat, Samson produced a stick, which he claimed he had received from God. In the dream he was instructed, that the stick symbolises the Holy Trinity, in Tok Pisin: *God Triwan*. It was also the sign of the power that was given to Samson to help accomplish the great tasks to which Samson and his people were predestined. At the same time (1992), he announced the beginning of a new religious Movement, which he called *God Triwan Divided Human Movement*. The first part of the title, the Tok Pisin part, has Samson imitating a prior ‘Revitalisation Movement’ in East Enga, which in turn derived this epithet from Mount Hagen.¹ But Samson’s Movement is none the less distinctive both in the second part of the title and in his aims. The main aim of the Movement was to secure prosperity for the whole of Enga by completely eradicating all tribal fighting and introducing an era of peace.

¹ For Revitalisation Movements see A.F. Wallace, ‘Revitalisation Movements’, *American Anthropologist*, 2(1956), pp.264-81. It is unfortunate that, on previous occasions, we did not document the connection between Samson’s Movement title with the wider concern.
This combines social vision and spiritual concerns more patently the original, more charismatic, *God Triwan* Movement from Pumakos.

When they returned from the bush, Samson took a couple of men from Linjing and visited some nearby villages proclaiming his message. People did not pay too much attention to Samson's teachings as he was seen as one of many such preachers wandering around in these times. After a few weeks he changed his tactics, sent his companions back to Linjing and he himself arrived in Kasap and paid a visit to the Parish Priest. He announced he was going to relinquish his job as catechist. He explained that he now intended to remain in Kasap permanently, as he claimed to have been instructed by God to start work in his own clan, Lakin. As he owned a piece of land in Kasap, he started to build a house just in front of the entrance to the Mission Station. At first he was building the house himself, but soon, as is customary, a couple of young boys joined him. The first man who supported him was his uncle, who was a prominent man in the clan. He also owned a store in the village.

As Parish Priest, the author did not feel comfortable about having competition right outside his door! So before they completed building he worked out a plan to change Samson’s mind. It was arranged with a priest from the neighbouring Parish to offer Samson a well-paid job as catechist. Reluctantly, he accepted the offer, but his mind was preoccupied with his project. He spent that weekend in the new place, but during the week he was back completing the house. The people were not happy with this arrangement, although Samson was, so after a month he was dismissed. When the author realised that nothing could change Samson’s mind, he decided that by becoming involved in the new activities would to some extent contain what seemed to be going...
on. The number of people involved increased (to around 40) but at the same time opposition grew. The matter was brought forward at the Parish Council meeting, and opinions were divided.

To avoid a bigger split in the community the author had to address the problem before the public in Church. He decided (in late 1992) that it would not be wise to condemn the Movement, as it would only attract more attention, like it often does in cases like this. He pointed out, that any initiatives leading to the improvement of people's lives are welcomed by the Church, but they have to be confirmed by the Church's authority. In this case Samson and the people who wanted to join him should contact the Parish Priest and the Parish Pastoral Council. A Diocesan Movements Coordinator was already in place, to whom they should properly refer their activities and seek advice as to how to relate their program to the wider work of the Diocesan Church. There was no clear response to these recommendations.

After a few months, however, Samson and his group renewed their activities and started teaching among the people. In the beginning they gathered small groups of people in particular akati anda (men's houses) belonging to clans which sympathised with the Movement's ideas. In the first phases the driving force was generally male, but soon after the first women joined the Movement. At present, women make up a significant part of the whole Movement and play an important role in its development.

Samson's teaching met with a favourable response in many parts of Kasap Parish, and soon he established his agencies in almost every sub-clan. Seeing that the numbers in his Movement increased considerably Samson decided to delegate some of
his power and started to organise a more formal administrative structure. He appointed three people from each sub-clan to be responsible for gathering the people for teaching, prayers and organised work. This work generally concentrated on the building of a small hut, which would be used for accommodating the symbols of the Movement and also to provide a meeting place for the local leaders of a given sub-clan. The huts played the role of a “temple” but were not large enough to house the whole fellowship, and during bigger gatherings the whole congregation would stay outside with only the leaders meeting inside.

The author had a mixed reaction to this process of erecting new buildings. In general he was not opposed to the establishing of these centres in areas where previously no places for worship were set up, and even encouraged the local Catholics to participate in these projects. He made an effort to be present at the opening of each such “temple”, and usually conducted a rite of blessing. However, the situation was different in areas where the official structure of the Church already existed, especially if there was an organised centre, which is called an outstation, with catechist and permanent Church buildings. The author felt that erecting an additional place of worship would be nothing more than a duplication and could provoke unhealthy competition, which could result in a division of the community, as has happened in other Parishes with other Movements. Despite having the support of Church leaders, in some cases the stubbornness of some members of the Movement led to the establishment of their “temples” right alongside already existing Church compounds.¹

¹ Only after researching the Kepele cult the author realised that these ‘temples’ were very similar to the huts built for the Kepele rituals.
Although Samson had the sole intention of proclaiming a spiritual manifesto, some individuals began to see opportunity for external profit and began using the Movement for their own gain. The first sign of difference of views among Samson and some of his associates was the establishment of the Monain Steering Committee (MSC), which later became a sort of political wing of the Movement, with its own Constitution officially registered with the Laiagam Council Chambers. Samson opposed this project from the beginning, but a few influential members of his Movement decided to form the organisation, which consisted of twelve people, representing each of the twelve clans, which made up the Monain tribe. There were no women elected to MSC, which may indicate that this organisation had still more of a social and political character than the God Triwan Movement, which was at least based on religious foundation, with women playing a very important role and being actively involved in the proselytising activities from the beginning.

Though the official goal of the MSC was to ensure that Samson’s ideas were implemented into the practical life of the society, it soon became apparent that it would exercise more authority and strongly influence the political and social life of the Monain tribe and have an impact on the Local Church. Samson was not invited to become a permanent member of the Committee, although he was present at most of the meetings. The underlying tensions in the Movement, indeed in the whole tribe, became even more obvious when soon after the MSC was formed another group of members called for a new organisation. This was the Monain United Committee (MUC), with a similar

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1 Cf. Monain Steering Committee (26/05/94), Typescript, in: AKCP. Minutes and reports from the meetings of the Monain Steering Committee were collected by the author and archived in the office of the Kasap Catholic Parish.

2 Only in 1996 the MSC appointed Samson to represent the God Triwan Movement as a full member of the Committee, together with three councillors representing the local communities. See: New MSC Member Appointed (21/01/96), Typescript, in: AKCP.
program to MSC, but consisting of a younger generation and introducing the spirit of organisational competition. According to the author's observations the MUC did not hold as much authority and experience as MSC and did not play a significant role, but somehow it was always present in the background and has survived until now.

The MSC, having in its ranks experienced and influential people from respective clans, shortly showed their impact in the region. Not only did its members spread Samson's message within the tribe but took over the role of the official representatives of the Monain ad extra. Many people who had reservations about Samson's religious ideas now had no scruples about joining the Movement, claiming that they were now happy to support the political and social program of MSC.

The MSC wasted no time, and started to implement various policies in accordance with Samson's program. First of all they limited the number of places where card playing and other forms of gambling could be carried out and later on completely prohibited these practices as they were not compatible with Christian teaching and harmful to the wellbeing of the whole tribe. Card gambling was a serious problem, which Parish Priests had condemned on a number of occasions, as it consumed a lot of time, which could have been focused on work and involved a significant number of both men and women and a good amount of money was lost every time. It was also known to cause domestic violence and in some instances inter-tribal tensions. Thus the author was pleasantly surprised when the people generally adhered to this restriction.

1 The most important persons behind this project were Tony Kiuk and Denis Palitu, two educated young men from Kasap.
2 Cf. MSC Meeting 3, Resolution No. 14 (20/03/94), Typescript, in: AKCP.
The next restriction was placed on the Sunday markets, which, usually operating before and right after the liturgy in the vicinity of the Church, was normally accompanied by loud bargaining, excitement and a potential for disagreements – often leading to general commotion. In fact, because of the markets, people were frequently late for the celebration and in many cases were looking to leave the Church before the liturgy ended. The author had already perceived this problem but did not know what measures to take to remedy the situation, as he thought it would give some people a chance to make a little bit of a profit. However, it now looked as though others were also tired with this situation and just needed an excuse to end the weekly ritual. The MSC provided the solution.

These two restrictions were relatively easy to administer as they were met with a sympathetic reaction from the majority of people, but there was a third that proved the MSC was gaining wider power and authority not only among ordinary persons but also within the tribal establishment. It had become a custom that the village court conduct its hearings on Sunday afternoons and people looked forward to this occasion as it provided a form of entertainment and a departure of everyday routine. It was however accompanied by a great amount of emotion, quarrelling, with accusations usually generating feelings of hatred and dissatisfaction – and occasionally a fight. It completely ruined the idea of Sunday being the Lord’s Day and the Christian message that was proclaimed during the liturgy. But as it had become a ‘sacred’ local institution the author did not dare to intervene, though he always thought that any other day of the week would be much more appropriate than Sunday. So he was full of relief and admiration when some MSC members turned up to put this problem on the Parish agenda as in need of rectification. They found strong enough arguments to convince the
members of the village court that it would be more profitable for the whole tribe to leave Sunday for the Church services and strengthening of family ties, and for the hearings to be held on another day.¹

Evaluation

This Movement, though met with suspicion, nonetheless provided opportunities for:

1. Some young men to become leaders in their sub-clans
2. For leaders from the lower sub-clan to compete with the traditional leaders from the higher sub-clans
3. Some people who have been outside of any religion to make up for their past laxity without going through the process of reconciliation or instructions
4. Get recognition/position among otherwise ‘faceless’ or en masse clan/tribe members
5. Women to be socially active and profitable and achieve some status in the community
6. For some people to expiate (or atone for) their past wrongdoing
7. Discharging energy which otherwise might be used to carry on some asocial activities.

Note here how Movement itself already spontaneously links with the pre-existing Enga social structure and relates them to the Church. This provides both an empirical and practical cue for the missiologist who can then seek to mediate appropriately indigenous culture and the challenge of the Gospel – with its projected ‘Community filled with joy’.

¹ Most of the above has been presented in J. Bieniek, ‘God Triwan Movement’ (Case Study – Part I), Mischeel CSMA, 3 (1996); J. Bieniek and G.W. Trompf, ‘The Millenium…’, loc.cit.
6.5.3. Other Movements and Associations

The *God Triwan* Movement from East Enga gave birth not only to the Kasap Movement described above but also to a few other smaller but equally active local Movements. The first to emerge was the *Diwai Kros Muvmen* that was originally part of the *God Triwan* Movement but soon became an independent organisation when it acquired around a hundred followers in the township of Wabag. The principles were very much the same as the Movement from which it originated, but the emphasis shifted from the Holy Trinity to the salvific action of Jesus through his death on the cross. Hence the trademark of the Movement became the worship of the cross, which was expressed in practice by erecting a wooden cross in front of each house.¹ The members of the Movement were divided into spiritual retreat-giving groups and for some years these were quite active in many Parishes throughout the Diocese. At one stage the Kasap Parish became the second biggest centre of this Movement, and its influence was evident in increased spiritual workshops, retreats and courses in which many people took part. Especially active were the outstations on the right bank of the Lagaip river, where the Movement had great success in evangelising traditional marriages and preparing them for sacramental marriage.² By 1995 the Movement started to lose its influence due to internal leadership problems – which led to a new group emerging, called *Diwai Kros i Win Muvmen* (Conqueror Movement). When the rivalry between these two Movements became too intense, the Bishop was forced to ban the offspring Movement, which also adversely affected the original group, leading to a decline in its activities.³

² In 1993 in the Kililam outstation there was a celebration of Marriage Validation in which fifteen couples married previously according to the local custom, renewed their vows witnessed by the local Christian congregation. See: *Tapela Bilong Sekan*, Manuscripts 1993, in: AKCP.
³ Cf. Z. Kruczek, *A Decade...*, op.cit., p.89.
There was also another group that sprang from the original God Triwan Movement called after its founder, a certain Kris, the ‘Christopher Group’, which was also known as the ‘Jesus Carriers Movement’. The group and its leader soon ran into conflict with the main Movement and with the Parish Priest of Pumakos. This led to their withdrawal to one of the outstations and the limitation of their influence to this particular area.

The increasing number of Indigenous Movements and their many followers prompted the Diocese to take more notice of this phenomenon, make provisions for including them in the evangelisation process, and provide necessary pastoral care and guidelines. The Diocese appointed Fr Doug Young as ‘Coordinator for Movements’ and the Bishop issued a special document in which he dealt with problems and expectations in connection with local Movements as well as outlining specific rules in relation to the movements in the Diocese. At the same time, by recognising the need for Enga Christians to affiliate to a group, to experience and share their faith in a setting less formal but wider than the Parish structure, the Bishop recommended that the groups previously active, that is, the Better World Movement and Charismatic Renewal, should reinvigorate and attract new members. It was also advised that the groups already acknowledged by the Church and active in other Dioceses should be encouraged in Enga. In that way the Legion of Mary, the Blue Army and the Association of Lay People were soon introduced in the Diocese.

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1 The Catholic tradition has it that St Christopher carried Jesus across the river. See: A. Welborn, Book of Saints, Chicago 2001.
3 Cf. Dia ol Lida bilong Wanwan Mwmen, Typescript 1993, in: AWCD.
5 The Legion of Mary in Kasap, and the Blue Army in Wanepap, were introduced under the auspices of the respective Parish Priests, while the Association of Lay People became a Diocesan project.
The issues concerning Movements became the main agenda for the Diocesan meetings throughout 1999, and it gained new meaning when it was recommended during the Diocesan Evaluation Conference that the program, or as it is also known Movement of New Evangelisation, should be incorporated into the Diocesan Pastoral Plan. In 1991 the Diocesan Evangelisation Team was established to familiarise the Diocesan personnel with the principles of New Evangelisation, prepare a strategy for outlining and implementing the program at the local level, and train Parish Evangelisation Teams, especially in the area of 'one-to-one' evangelisation process. For the next ten years the New Evangelisation sparked pastoral activities on such a wide scale that in their own right this phenomenon could be called the New Evangelisation Movement. With this emergence, the lay people truly took a golden opportunity to reclaim the role of evangelising and enriching Christian community life. This has been a time (from 1992), after a so-called 'decade of struggles', of actualising the kind of lay participation that this thesis is meant to uphold and certainly abet for future consolidation.

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In this chapter we draw together the consideration of practical organisational matters attempting to show how pastoral planning has been and should be better implemented at the local Parish level, with particular reference to the experience at Kasap. One cannot be completely exhaustive in planning for all contingencies, in this chapter we will focus on select key areas of activity already identified in consecutive Diocesan Pastoral Plans and awaiting practical attention on the local Parish level. For each key area we provide detailed account and discussion of one case study – judiciously selected on the basis of the scale of lay people's involvement.

7.1. THE INCULTURATIVE PROCESS: SOCIO-LITURGICAL INCULTURATION

The Liturgical Congregation

In Catholic practice consideration of inculturation properly begins with worship life and 'texts' of the gathered community. The Mass provides a cul tic centre for community (communion), because this is a most sacred focal point or interface in which the people of God, waiting together to be the 'community of joy', is most ready to receive blessing

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from God. Thus discussion of inculturation should first begin with the issue of translating and adapting the liturgy.

In the first decade of the Wabag Diocese a lot of effort was made by the Diocesan Pastoral Centre to translate the liturgical texts into the Enga. In 1992 the whole text of the Mass in Enga was prepared and printed and presented to each Parish.¹ The idea of having the whole Mass in the vernacular was met with mixed reaction. There were a few problems that had to be solved before the project could be carried out at the local level. Firstly, the texts had to be adjusted to the local dialect; secondly, celebrants had to learn the new Mass texts; and thirdly, there was a question about those participants who spoke different tokples. Therefore the implementation of the project was left to the discretion of each Parish community.² To the disappointment of those spearheading the project, only a few Parishes actually accepted and adopted the texts for the use in their Eucharistic meetings. In Kasap Parish the use of Enga texts became part of the major project of inculturation in the spirit of the New Evangelisation.

Tokples in the Liturgy

The trend to ‘localise’ the liturgy was enforced by the determination of the Parish Priest to have all liturgical celebrations in the vernacular. Although, as already mentioned, there were some liturgical texts and scriptures translated into Enga, it was not enough to cover all needs and special occasions. Besides, the texts were compiled at the Diocesan Centre in Par, which meant that they were in the East Enga dialects. It was almost impossible to use them as they were, in the western parts of the Diocese.

¹ Cf. *The Order of Mass in Enga*, Typescript, in: AWCD.
In order to address these difficulties in Kasap, a special Committee was formed to adapt the already existing Enga texts to the local Tayoro dialect, to translate more texts needed for various liturgical celebrations, and to assist lectors in their preparation for weekday and Sunday scripture readings.\textsuperscript{1} To appreciate how hard these tasks were, it is essential to understand the complexity of the social situation in the Kasap area, where traditional and modern ways of life constantly intertwine. According to the traditional etiquette it was seen as impolite for young men to address their elders publicly, and the young women would not even dare to appear in public. But it was only the younger generation that through education had the skills to read. It meant that at liturgical celebrations the traditional social relationships would be undermined by the fact that lectors delivering the scriptural texts publicly were young people – and in most cases female!

To provide a counterbalance it was necessary to involve representatives of the older generation, especially those representing traditional leadership. To accomplish this the Committee established an ongoing program in vernacular literacy for leaders of the clans, who took turns in delivering the scripture readings at Sunday liturgies (viewed by some as a rather risky exercise!) Due to the complexity of the written Enga language the majority of readers preferred to memorise the whole Scripture passage based on the text in Tok Pisin, rather than go to the hardship of acquiring the arcane art of reading. Nevertheless, it was an encouraging experience for members of the Local Church to see their traditional leaders also taking leadership roles in the liturgy. To bring the liturgy even closer to the spirit experienced in past indigenous religious celebrations, traditional chants and tunes were adapted to the liturgical needs, and intoned during the celebration

\textsuperscript{1} Especially helpful were Robert Kupri who previously attended training in the vernacular in the Lutheran school, and Kris Wan the local tokples teacher.
by members of the local Women’s Club. The Parish Priest made an effort to ensure that the texts ascribed to the presiding priest were also delivered in the vernacular.

Acolytes

The Ministry of Acolytes was known and utilised sporadically in mission work in Enga since the end of the Second Vatican Council, but it was only from the 1990s that acolytes started to play a vital role in Parish liturgy. According to the Diocesan guidelines the candidates should be of outstanding Christian character and show certain qualities assuring their fruitful ministry.¹ They should be practising their faith, be in a monogamous marital relationship, not be involved in fights, and ready to offer their services to the various groups without any tribal prejudices.

Although there were no restrictions on women joining this ministry, only one outstation – Kililam, opted to delegate this work to women.² There were some practical reasons why it was felt that it would be difficult for women to carry out the duties of this ministry. The most obvious was the fact that women were always surrounded by children who often needed to be breast-fed during the lengthy liturgical celebrations. In some areas of Enga it was required that a woman should seek permission from her husband to perform any role in public. There was also the underlying problem of the possible ritual pollution by menstruating women in a leadership role. The other factor that contributed to the small number of women in this ministry was a relatively high percentage of women in polygamous relationships around the Kasap region.³

¹ Cf. Ol Wok Heliim.…. op.cit., p.4.
² This unique situation might be explained by the fact that most of the Catholic men were outsiders married to local women.
³ Due to the large cash flow from the gold mine in Porgera many young girls would associate themselves and live in semi-permanent relationships with workers coming from outside, who were already married.
In Kasap, a series of workshops was conducted for the formation of new acolytes. They were instructed not only on how to conduct the service, but also educated about the need for hygiene, as they were distributing the Eucharistic bread and wine to hundreds of people. There was a need for them to observe personal hygiene as well as keeping clean the utensils and linen used in the liturgy. As people insisted that acolytes should wear uniforms or Western-type clothes, rather than the traditional attire, it was important that they would be aware of the necessity of keeping their clothing clean and presentable.¹

Liturical Assistants

As most of the liturgical ministries recommended by the Church were guarded and defined by the Diocesan guidelines and policies preventing and limiting the fuller involvement of some individuals and groups in the liturgical action, there was a need to create new possibilities. In Kasap it was decided to include in the Sunday celebration people who would assist in the liturgy alongside the ordinary ministers. This move was to ensure that the liturgy would become more open to the elements of traditional culture, such as dressing, bodily decorations (bilas), songs and dances. There was a hope that this particular position would bring Christians in polygamous ties closer to the Church and even enable them to take a more active part in liturgical action. In practice each clan took turns in assigning two men and two women in full traditional attire to assist at Sunday worship. Their role was to assist at the altar, taking part in the Bible procession, presenting the gifts for the Offertory, and initiating the traditional 'tune' for the thanksgiving hymn after Holy Communion.

¹ It was not an easy task, considering that for some of them (especially older men) it was the first time they wore clothes other than their traditional leaves of tanger.
Generally this initiative was met with interest and appreciation, especially from those who were prevented from joining other ministries, but there were also some constraints which were hard to overcome. The first of them was in an increasingly commercialised approach towards *bilas*, with the set prices for hiring of various elements of traditional body decorations, plus the time-consuming task in preparing for the event. The next was the ‘purist’ attitude of some of the local and expatriate Christians objecting to the inclusion of elements associated with traditional ‘pagan’ celebrations, especially since magical spells or *nemango* were used when dressing. There was also an objection from the ‘fundamentalists’, who questioned the presence of polygamous people so close to the centre of liturgical action. There was also an increasing awareness of human sexuality and the feeling of shame on the part of the younger generation, as well as some cases of exhibitionism among elderly participants.

**Body Positions during Liturgical Celebrations**

The process of inculturation in the liturgy requires not only goodwill and knowledge of liturgical principles but also an intense study of local symbols, signs, and forms of expression.\(^1\) It is easy to misinterpret the externals. Such was the case with the newly arrived priest on the New Guinea scene who was one of the convenors at the Melanesian Orientation Course in 1992. While presiding at a liturgical celebration he suggested that he and all participants should be seated during the entire celebration because this was apparently the Melanesian way of celebrating. He was wrong, as it turns out – certainly in the Enga case. This incident at the Orientation Course prompted the author to research into this matter in Kasap Parish with the purpose of helping people to participate more comfortably in the Eucharistic and other celebrations.

\(^1\) L.J. Luzbetak, *The Church and Cultures*, op.cit., pp.59-134.
A special Committee was formed to gather information on the subject and make recommendations. The investigation resulted in quite a large amount of data being collected. We would like to present these findings below in order to demonstrate how complex the problem of inculturation actually is. To summarise the recommendations and include some of the author's own annotations:

1. Standing upright while delivering a speech

Anyone who is delivering a speech does this in a standing position, pacing from place to place, and often gesturing with hand movements and facial expression.

2. Standing at celebrations

Never would anyone be sitting during a *singsing* ceremony. Participants of the ceremony, while dancing and singing occurs, stand in a parallel position, sometimes in a straight line or in a semi-circle. The singing and dancing includes hand clapping, hitting the *kundu* drums, lifting their heels off the ground, whilst bodies are swayed in a rhythmic motion. The lower half of the body is more involved in the motion, while the head stays in a stationary position. The dancers whistle, which they previously did with their mouths, but nowadays using whistles. This makes the event louder but not necessarily more attractive for onlookers.

3. The standing position during the *tee* ceremonies

During the exchange of pigs in the *tee* ceremonies or other acts of compensation, people directly taking part in the events, whether receiving or accepting the gift, remain in an upright position. They are always in motion, as the receiver usually runs up to the gift-

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1 The Committee consisted of: Robert Loap, Sebastian Kareo and and Anton Nangu.
giver yelling loudly ‘chiwi-chiwi’! This ejaculation is a sign of satisfaction and respect, often accompanied by a thank-you hug and occasionally a dance of joy around the giver, who sometimes joins in. The same joyful ritual is expressed during *mumu* in which food instead of presents is distributed.

4. Standing position during disputes

It would never happen that people who are disputing or arguing would be sitting. For contentions are made only in standing positions. The arguments and disputes are emotive with lots of dramatic acts and over-exaggerations. This makes it interesting to the observer, who should watch these acts from the sideline, as the perspective is better and the distance makes it safer. When emotions run high it can become dangerous, as most of the participants carry weapons such as axes and bush knives with them all the time.

5. Standing position in the fight

It is hard to imagine warriors sitting during a fight, since even small disputes and quarrels are acted upright with the whole repertory of gestures and motions being displayed. In any battlefield warriors are not allowed any time to rest, as they have to be alert at all times. The only people who may have the comfort of sitting during the battle are independent spectators enjoying the excitement from a comfortable distance.

6. The kneeling position

This is not a typical position, and it is only practised during the *mumu* event. Men, and sometimes women, kneel in a squatting position on the ground with the meal just taken out of the earthen oven (*mumu*) in front of them. People who distribute the *mumu* by
cutting the meat in small portions also kneel in a squatting position, to eliminate the
danger of cutting their limbs. This position allows men to hold down their laplaps with
the knees, preventing such clothing from contaminating the meat.

7. Squat position

This is basically a low squatting position, which makes the person practically sit on
his/her heels. This sitting position is displayed by people participating in social events
such as meetings, courts of law, and other gatherings and functions. In this way they
display respect for the person who is speaking. The same applies to those only expected
to watch and listen to traditional rhetorical performances.

8. Sitting position (1)

The sitting position is an exception to the rule, since as it is shown above that no one
ever sits in a Westernised position. Mothers are the exception, being allowed to sit only
while they attend to their young child. This is considered an exhausting duty, and
therefore, they are allowed to sit with their legs stretched out in front and with the baby
placed on their laps. It is of interest that you do not find Enga people outside sitting in a
‘lotus’ position because the ground is so often wet and muddy.

9. Sitting position (2)

The only occasion when the male is expected to be seated in a public forum is when he
his reprimanded in the men’s house. This usually applies to young men (sometimes to a
mature man), who committed a crime. He sits on the ground with legs crossed and arms
crossed on his chest. Of course on other ‘private’ occasions in a house sitting is hardly
precluded.
10. Sitting position (3)

This position was invented for the sole purpose of the liturgical congregation. It looks as if someone decided to make people ‘sit’ in Church so as to prevent them from taking up any other position during celebrations. Since it was visibly unpleasant to sit on the bare cement when not wearing clothes, timber pews were constructed. But to avoid being accused of not paying any attention to inculturation, these pews were only five or six inches high. Theoretically people sit on them, but in fact they are squatting since their knees reach their chins. Some people are using them as stools on which to squat down on without being bothered to sit.

As seen from the data above it would be totally wrong to generalise about Kasap people as using only the sitting position at gatherings. It would be also wrong to make an arbitrary decision as to which of the above-listed positions should become obligatory during liturgical celebrations. It will take some time yet and further discussion before a consensus can be reached and even more before it can become accepted as a uniform Enga Christian tradition.

7.2. THE EDUCATIVE PROCESS: VARIOUS MEANS OF EDUCATION AT THE GRASSROOTS LEVEL

At the very first moment of contact with Christianity the people of Kasap became immediately involved and benefited from the Church’s program of education.1 Markus Mara, who was sent by his clan to visit the Catholic Mission in Wanepap, became enrolled in the course of basic Tok Pisin, literacy and numeracy, which was run

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1 In fact, in the whole of Papua New Guinea “Christianity was associated with literacy from the first”. See: C. Swatridge, Delivering the Goods..., op.cit., p.13 and ff.
by Fr Blank and his helpers. Soon a few other boys from the Kasap area joined the
program. The first act by Fr Blank during his visit to Kasap was to establish an
educational centre for young people. He sent one of his catechists Sakarias to look after
the newly established mission station and to gather the Kasap youth to start a teaching
program. They built the first classroom from bush materials in which regular classes
started to take place, first in an informal, occasional way, but soon after with a formal
primary school being established.

Primary Schools

The Kasap Catholic Primary School was recognised by the Department of Education in
1963 and it soon became one of the better-attended schools in the area. In the 1990s
there were about 400 students enrolled. Meanwhile there were another two primary
schools opened in the Parish, both on the other bank of the Lagaip river, one in nearby
Kililam, and the other in remote Kulipanda.

For the first few years there were some expatriate lay missionaries teaching
casually in the Kasap school. But generally there was always local teaching staff in
charge of the school. Two permanent classrooms were built personally by the first
Parish Priest Fr Szabo, and the next two were added when a professional carpenter, Br
Bonaventure Marcinek came to Kasap (1970-73) to build the Church and other mission
buildings. The next Parish Priest, Fr Krol, supervised the building of another double
classroom. In the times when the author was in charge of Kasap Parish there were two
additional double classrooms built, while the Youth Club hall was also turned into

1 They were Austrian volunteers: Agnes Kolecknek (1970-72), Gerti Hirschmann (1971-77), Rupert
Kampmueller (1972-76) and Paul Laninger (1977-1980).
a classroom and a teachers meeting room. For over 30 years the Kasap school was teaching pupils in six grades but in 1996 it was 'topped up' to teach also grades seven and eighth. To accommodate the increased number of students it was necessary to open two other centres for primary teaching in the area, one in Pakum and one in Paindak. In both these places new classrooms were built where children attended their first two years of education. Two years later the centre in Paindak was moved to nearby Togop closer to the main road. The funds for classrooms in Pakum and Togop were raised by the Saint Michael Mission Society from North Ryde Parish in Sydney.1

The school in Kililam did not enjoy such good fortune. Due to many tribal fights it was often suspended and even partly damaged. There were three permanent classrooms built in the early 1990s by a local carpenter, Bruno. There were also two permanent houses built for teachers. Tensions surrounded this project as the local population belonged to the Seventh Day Adventists Mission and many of their leaders saw the Catholic school as a danger to their existence. But as long as there was also a small but committed Catholic community consisting of two clans, which migrated into the area, the running of the school was justified. In 1998 these clans left Kililam and returned to their place of origin and the school met its inevitable fate – it was burnt completely and ceased to exist.

In 1994 a third primary school was established in one of the fringe outstations, in a remote mountainous area in Kulipanda. To create this school a lot of hard work was carried out by the Local Church leader Alfons and catechist Markus Yangiat. The local Christian Community built bush material classrooms and houses for teachers, and the school received a dedicated principal in the person of Michael Limbao, who previously

1 Cf. Application for Funds for Paindak School, Typescript, in: ASMMS.
played a vital role in keeping the school in Kililam operating. The school immediately got an enrolment of over a hundred students, but due to the remoteness of the place it was always hard to provide a proper teaching staff. A constant shortage of qualified teachers had to be compensated for by the dedicated work of the Local Church leaders and skilled young people from the Parish, who helped in the running of classes, including lessons in basic writing and reading – both in the vernacular and in English. In 1999, thanks to another fund from the Saint Michael Mission Society, a permanent classroom was built, as well as a teacher's house.

It is a difficult task for a mission Parish to keep the schools running, as it involves a lot of administrative and time-consuming duties. There is also a need for a constant financial supply, qualified human resources, and what is most important in the Enga scene – a cooperation of the local communities. Schools operating under the umbrella of the Catholic School Agency work in close cooperation with the Government Education Department and follow the curriculum developed by this department. The Government provides the teachers' wages as well as some financial aid for the upkeep of materials, whereas the mission is responsible for the whole project, expenditures and accounts, and deals with the everyday situations of school life.

There is a lot of tension and rivalry between the neighbouring tribes and clans as to where schools should be, since it is seen as a prestigious and money-making project. Once a school is established there are various problems in the relationship between teachers and their families coming from outside a given area and between the village community. For some unspecified reasons there are quite frequent animosities between

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1 Cf. Wabag Catholic Education Board Guidelines, Typescript, in: AWCD.
teachers and their wives, who, being extracted from their clans and traditional gardening economy, lose their traditional position and often become frustrated with their new status. There is also competition between teachers themselves, as they come from different backgrounds. Therefore there is a constant need for counselling, organising retreats, and involving teachers and their families, especially wives, in various ministries in the Christian communities in which they are working.

Kindergartens and Tokples Preschools

The kindergarten idea was brought to the Wabag Diocese by the Austrian volunteer Rosemary Walch. Under the supervision of the Diocesan coordinator some Parishes started to organise a network of kindergartens. At first it was on a volunteer basis, as some young people went to the Diocesan centre for short courses, which prepared them for the work with small children in their Basic Christian Communities. With time the system became more sophisticated and the teachers were remunerated for their work with small but regular wages.

In Kasap the first to start the kindergarten was Chris Wan, who in 1991 was sent by the Parish Priest to attend the Diocesan course for kindergarten teachers. He started to gather children who did not attend school and almost immediately there were about 50 of them. To accommodate such a large number of pupils there was a need to transfer the Parish hall into a temporary classroom. In the beginning they followed the program set out for the kindergarten, which was mostly centred around games and recreational activities. But since the majority of participants were of a higher age than in regular kindergartens, and since Chris was quite skilled in writing and reading in the vernacular, he soon started to teach children these skills.
At about the same time there was a strong movement in the government education system to foster the vernacular, and there were courses organised by the local Provincial Government. Chris attended a month-long course and after returning to Kasap he became officially employed by the primary school and started to teach in *tokples* preschool. The work in the kindergarten was continued by Monica ___ and Rosa___, who also attended the Diocesan course for kindergarten coordinators. The idea of kindergartens became so popular among the Kasap Church leaders that soon each outstation had its own kindergarten group with a paid teacher. For many years the Diocesan coordinator Maria Aisi, provided professional input which was vital to the development of the whole project. Under her supervision, by 1992, a vivid kindergarten network was established with a centre in almost every outstation of the Kasap Parish. Local Kasap youth became involved in community work, offering their services and natural skills to over 250 youngsters enrolled in the kindergarten program.

**High School**

With a growing number of students going through primary education it became apparent that there was a great need for a secondary school in the area. The Local Church leaders formed a special committee for the project and were unanimous in pressing with the idea for a Christian high school (by 1992). The Parish Priest was supportive and presented a scheme to the Diocesan Education Coordinator who became enthusiastic about the project. The Bishop did not reject the idea but was concerned about finding proper staff and funding. The local government was also sympathetic to the project but would not make any commitment until the Diocese was prepared to incorporate the project into its educational structure.

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1 From 1993 the Monain Steering Committee took patronage over the project. All documentation concerning the establishment of the High School is kept in the Archives of the Kasap Parish.
To solve the stalemate the Parish Priest contacted the superior of the Congregation of Saint Michael in Mount Hagen who agreed that the project was in line with the Congregation’s apostolate, and indicated that there was a possibility of having someone appointed in the future to work in this area. He suggested that at the moment the Parish Priest should continue investigating the possibilities of establishing the project. The Local Government was satisfied with these arrangements and passed a resolution to submit an application for funding to the National Government. The National Government was non-committal but referred the project to the Enga Provincial Government, which initially approved the project on a ‘kina to kina’ financial scheme, which meant that each kina raised for the project would be met with the same from the government.

In order to secure necessary finances the Parish Priest contacted various Church organisations, one of which was the above-mentioned Saint Michael Mission Society in Sydney, which expressed interest in assisting with the project. In 1996 its representatives visited Kasap to familiarise themselves with the needs and the locality of the intended school.1 The project was positively assessed, and after their return to Sydney they arranged for a complete architectural plan to be drawn up.2 The plan was presented to the local Enga authority and accepted.

There was initially an option of three sites, which were offered by various clans interested in having such a prestigious project operating in their territory. After many deliberations the Committee selected the site at Laypiak, as the most suitable and feasible. The reasons behind this decision were as follows:

1 The representatives were Fr Kevin O’Grady, Mrs. Nadia Caravello and Mr. Peter Maciejczyk.
2 The plan was prepared voluntarily by the Sydney architect Mr. Bogdan Piotrowski.
1. The land belonged to one of the clans of the Monain tribe spearheading the project.

2. It was situated on a plateau separated from the main dwellings, with the potential for expansion.

3. There was a stream capable of providing enough fresh water for the project and could even be used for a small hydro power station.

4. The ownership was limited to two small sub-clans, thus simplifying the necessary negotiations and resettlement.

When matters at the local level became settled a submission was put to the Provincial Government for the purchase of the land. The reply was that the Government was supporting the initiative, but before the transaction could be made, there was a need to survey the terrain. As the Province did not have their own surveyors it was suggested that a submission should be made to the adequate department in Mount Hagen to carry out the job. The Mount Hagen authority replied that this project was not budgeted and there was no money to cover the expenses. The Committee decided to approach the Porgera Gold mine, which had their own surveyors, who was willing to participate in the job but needed the necessary authorisation from the appropriate Government body.

By 1997 correspondence was circulating between the Parish, and various offices in Wabag and Mount Hagen, but the decision, as is the case with any administrative office, was delayed.

Meanwhile there was an election in Enga and a change of local government. The candidate from the neighbouring tribe won the local seat and expressed interest in having a high school in his village. Using his connections he gained from the Provincial Government permission and funds to carry on with the project. With this decision it was
obvious that Kasap was outmaneuvered, as it would not be feasible to run two high
schools in the same area. As mentioned above, the main activity of the Committee
concentrated successfully on upgrading the Kasap primary school and developing other
educational centres in the area. What eventuated, to conclude, was a Government High
School in Mulitak, but not one in the Catholic area.

Adult Education

Adult education was always an important part of the evangelising activities of the
Church. It was directed towards total human development, encompassing the spiritual,
physical and intellectual spheres of the human person. The spiritual side was nourished
by the program of pastoral care, and the intellectual side by education. The courses,
workshops and training sessions organised by various groups in the Diocese have
created an ongoing process of intellectual and spiritual formation, as well as the
development of skills and abilities and a widening of knowledge and perception. Further
opportunity for education was created by an involvement of the Diocese in adult studies
through the College of Distance Education.

There were two centres of distance education operating in the eastern part of the
Diocese and one in Wanepap on the western side.\(^1\) By 1989, unfortunately, the
Wanepap centre ceased operation due to tribal unrest, thus leaving a large number of
students without access to further education. To address this need the Parish Priest of
Kasap approached the Diocesan Education Coordinator with the proposal of
establishing a substitute centre for young people where they would be able to continue
their studies. After consultation with the Bishop and other relevant bodies it was

accepted as a worthwhile Diocesan project. The Parish Council agreed that the former store compound could be utilised and used as classrooms. Since there was a need for some refurbishment as well as necessary equipment essential funds had to be found. In the first instance financial assistance was received from the Diocese of Wabag, the Congregation of Saint Michael, and some individual donors. At a later stage there was also some help from the Porgera Joint Venture operating from the gold mine.

There was also a need to secure staff to supervise the Centre and its study program. Fortunately, one of the newly arrived priests from the Congregation of Saint Michael was free and willing to take up this duty, so he was appointed by the Bishop as Director of the Centre. This enabled the Diocese to lodge an application to the Provincial Education Board for a formal registration of a new College of Distance Education (CODE) Study Centre – in Kasap. As it turned out, a two-year period of probation as well as other conditions were required for the Centre to be fully recognised. As it was impossible to meet these conditions immediately, a decision was made to establish a Vocation Centre as a Diocesan project, which had the same aims as the Study Centre while avoiding the restrictions imposed by the Education Board.

The Vocation Centre became a place where twelve young men from the Wabag and Mendi Dioceses, who completed Year 10 but did not qualify for senior high school, were able to continue their education as boarders. Local students from the Kasap area also gathered daily at the Centre to continue their education under the supervision of the priests and volunteers. All these students were formally registered with the CODE Study Centre in Wabag and this enabled their marks to gain recognition by the National

Education Department. The Vocation Centre operated under this arrangement for two years until Fr Święczewski was appointed as Parish Priest in the neighbouring Parish of Wanepap. Since there was no other person to take on this role on a full-time basis, the author, as Parish Priest of Kasap, supervised the project for the next three years. In these circumstances there was no possibility to register the scheme as an independent CODE Centre as originally intended. In 1997 Fr Marian Cieciwa, who became Parish Priest of Kasap in that year, kept on the supervision of the studies of the local youth, but the Vocation Centre had to be suspended. In the beginning of 2002 Fr Święczewski returned to Kasap as Parish Priest and immediately started to work in revitalising the whole project.¹

7.3. CASH ECONOMY AND SELF-RELIANCE: TRADE STORES

‘Philosophy’ of Trade Stores

The origins and the ‘philosophy’ of trade stores were first underlined by the idea of development and service to local populations in Melanesia. It was only in later stages of missionisation that it was supplemented by the desire to gain some profit in the sense that it could lead to self-reliance of a particular mission station. With time some mission stores became quite large shopping centres by local standards, run by specialists in trading, either expatriate or local, and independent of local mission stations. The profit from these enterprises helps to facilitate charitable and pastoral projects in the Diocese.²

The mission trade stores were for a long time the most accessible practical school to teach how to run small business by local people. Almost from the beginning

¹ Personal communication with Fr Święczewski.
² Such is the case with the large wholesale store in Bogia in Madang Diocese, where an SVD Brother is employed as full time manager.
the local men were employed as storekeepers and sales persons, and they were taught the basics of counting, calculating the profit, bookkeeping and evaluating market needs. They became accustomed to the work time drill and learned the principle of the cash economy, as opposed to the exchange of goods. For many people the store’s business regime was the first instance of experiencing the suspension of the sacred rule of their society, that is, their wantok sistem (‘relatives come first’), because making money had to be put before meeting the constant pressure of relationships. It was surely a tough lesson, which the people had to learn, if they were to survive the influx of the cash economy that was inevitably entering their local cosmos. As the income was considered to be owned by the community, the Parish or the local Christian finance committee made the decisions as to how the money should be spent.

The expatriate missionaries, especially those coming from the Western capitalist countries, for whom social development was equally important as the pastoral care, did not spare time and energy to keep this project in constant progress. They were personally involved in supplying goods from wholesalers in Mount Hagen, personally supervised the stocktaking, and kept control over cash income, which usually at the end of the day was brought by the storekeeper to the Parish Priest’s safe box. A lot of work was done to educate the local finance committee to distinguish the difference between the turnover and the income, and how to direct the income for other projects, rather than distribute the money among the people. In most cases the local mission trade store was the first project owned by the local community, which benefited the local population and was serviced and protected by the local people.
Enga Trade Stores

When the author started working in the Diocese of Wabag the Church-run trade stores were at the height of their development. The stores were owned by Parishes and administered by respective Parish Priests. The external conditions and the attitude of the mission personnel favoured very much the whole project. Enga was experiencing a relatively long period of peace, the road connection with Mount Hagen from which the goods were being supplied had been recently upgraded, and there was an unusual high cash flow to the province due to the gold rush in Mount Kare and Porgera. For the mission personnel a working ideal presented itself to keep the money in the province, to provide products and commodities to the local population, who until then did not have the means to acquire them. There was also a common agreement that a variety of goods would create new needs in the society, thus preventing people from wasting money on alcohol, cigarettes and gambling.

The money from the profit was also seen as part of the local contribution to the mission budget. Its allocation for other projects was given at the discretion of the local finance committee, thus involving the local people in financial responsibility and accountability. In some cases the store business was a cover-up for the injecting of money from outside Christian sources into the local community. It was meant to help local people, without addicting them to handouts and grants, which in the past facilitated the cargoistic mentality and expectations, developed in the situations where large quantities of goods were coming to people without any or a minimal need to work or pay for them. In 1989 practically each outstation in the Diocese had its own trade store supplied by means of the mission transport, or in some situations by plane, as was the case with Paiela and Maramuni.
Kasap Trade Stores to 1989

In the main mission station in Kasap there was the largest store employing two storekeepers, John Yonas and Jessi Kewak, both from the Tuyop clan. It is an interesting fact, that the Tuyop clan does not belong legally to and within the Monain tribe but is only related to it by marriage. Due to tribal fights it was relocated from its own territory and is still being hosted by one of the Monain clan, Lakin. This situation made it easier for the men from Tuyop to resist the pressure of the wantok sistem and get dragged into some dishonest dealings involving store goods or money.

The goods were brought from wholesalers from Mount Hagen by the Parish Priest who would regularly make two trips a week to provide a new supply of basic commodities as well as some small ‘luxuries’ demanded by people. On each trip there was usually a good number of people who wanted to have a free ride to town, but the Parish Priest would limit this to those who had a genuine need, especially the sick who needed to go to hospital or see a doctor. It was necessary to reduce the number of those wanting to go, as usually they wanted to return by the same means, thus taking up space in the car. Secondly there was always the danger of some sort of tribal unrest on the way to town, which might put in danger those travelling. In the rainy season it was better to return home before three, to avoid the cargo being damaged by rain.

The big store had three compartments, a storeroom, a shopping area and a small room used by the storekeeper as a bedroom, where from time to time he slept for security reasons. There was no immediate danger that any of the enemies would break in but the precaution was taken in case some of the young boys might be tempted to try their luck, which eventually happened – but we will deal with this later. We may add
that similar stores, but of a much smaller size were built and operated in each major outstation – five in total. The local catechists worked also as storekeepers. This arrangement provided the catechist and his family with additional income, as usually there was not enough land available to offer it to them for gardening. The stores were supplied by the Parish Priest who would bring in the goods, do the stocktaking, celebrate the liturgy, and later attend to the pastoral needs of the community. It was a deliberate coincidence to bring the goods and at the same time have the Church’s service, as this occasion attracted more people curious about things being brought to their village.

According to Parish Priest the stores were doing reasonably well, even though there was always some discrepancy between the value of the goods delivered and the money received from the storekeeper. The Parish Priest had his own measure of losses and as long as it was kept in these limits he considered his employees to be honest workers. The profit made in the smaller stores would just suffice to pay the wages of the catechist-storekeeper, balance the losses, and ideally cover the cost of transport. But this was never strictly observed, since, as was already mentioned, the guiding principle was not so much to make a profit but to provide the service for the community and to introduce people to the system of self-reliance. To keep things working, the Parish Priest would from time to time secretly deposit some money from his own resources or private grants to keep the store going. The intention was not to mislead but to encourage people to treat the project as their own and not to count on outside aid.

Let us illustrate the situation with two cases from 1989. The first is from Lakae outstation, where the store always recorded losses but it was just in the limits set by the
Parish Priest. The Parish Priest repeatedly made the threat that the storekeeper would be fired if he did not perform better, and the catechist-storekeeper expressed his outrage at being suspected of dishonesty. Finally the Parish Priest gave him 'just one more chance' and there was an apology and a promise on the side of the storekeeper that he would try his best in the next month. Although the situation kept repeating itself all over and again there were no real changes made. The outstation was situated in a remote area of the Parish, and there was no candidate among the available catechists to take up the post.

On the other hand the catechist/storekeeper working there was not all that eager to be transferred to any other place, as he was already settled quite well. He was promoted to the position of catechist from the first group of *beten bois* without any formal education, and at present it would be difficult to find him a place in any other Christian community.

A much more serious situation occurred in the Mulitak outstation, where quite a big mission store was operating since the time the mission station was established. In the beginning, as all other stores, it was looked after by the local catechist. With the rapid growth of the local Christian community and increased pastoral needs, it was decided that the present catechist would keep his position as storekeeper, and another catechist would be employed to care for the pastoral work.

The storekeeper employed two of his wantoks to help him with the *bisnis*, but only a few months later the store ran up such a big debt that even the most sympathetic of Parish Priests could no longer accept such a situation. The local finance committee and the Church leaders held a few consecutive meetings but no solution was found to eradicate the problem. Moreover, the meeting revealed a big rivalry and animosity...
among the local clans who were unable to handle the new circumstances under which the store was now operating. Every day the situation worsened and there was a danger of a bigger conflict erupting in the community that was unable to find the proper mechanisms to control this type of joint-venture enterprise. In this situation the Parish Priest was forced to stop delivering any more goods to the store, since it would result in further loss of money. When finally the whole stock was exhausted he suspended the store business until the storekeepers and their clanspeople, who directly benefited from the dishonest dealings in the store, would compensate the losses.

The decision was difficult because it was clear that the culprits would escape without any consequences, while the deprivation of this important service would punish the Christian community. There was a general opposition among Christians to the idea of closing the mission store, where prices were much lower than in other local stores. But it was met with approval by the local big-man and an influential Church leader, Lukus, who hoped that after the suspension some of his clansmen might get the job of looking after the store, and convinced his people to accept the decision of the Parish Priest.

The Era of Closing up the Stores

Although as said above, the operation of the mission stores was in full swing in the eighties, the situation started to change in the early nineties. The most important factor was the eruption of tribal fights across the province that adversely affected the whole development process in Enga, and especially the mission trade stores. The best example illustrating this situation was the mission store in the neighbouring Parish

\footnote{Cf. J. Bieniek and G. W. Trompf, 'Nation under Curfew'..., loc.cit.}
Wanepap. The mission store was in operation there from 1958, that is, almost from the beginning of the Catholic mission station. It was one of the biggest stores in the area, very well supplied and run under the then Parish Priest Fr Zdzislaw Kruczek. In 1988 Fr E. Osiecki became the assistant priest in Wanepap and he assumed the role of store manager, although Fr Kruczek still helped with the supplies until the end of 1989, when he left for his two years studies overseas.

The store had a good turnover and a good income due to the central location at the crossroads between Wabag, Porgera and Kandep. The profit from the store provided wages for storekeepers, helped to finance the catechists, and also as an innovation introduced by Fr Kruczek, provided an amount of K50 per month towards allowances for each priest working in the Parish. (The author received K100 for his two months stay in December and January 1988/9). Unfortunately, a tribal fight broke out in Wanepap just before Christmas 1989 and, as a measure of disapproval for this action, the priests decided to suspend the operation of the mission store until peace was restored and a proper compensation would be made for the lost goods. When peace was restored about half a year later, to the priest's outrage there was no talk about any compensation for the store, and he made the Parish council announce that the Wanepap mission store ceases to exist.

It was for the first time in the history of the Enga mission that such a decision was taken, and there was a loud outcry from the people of Wanepap, as well as a generally negative perception by the mission personnel of the Diocese. It was seen as a betrayal of a very important assignment and service, traditionally connected with the mission. But Fr Osiecki, known for his extreme measures at times, especially when it
came to deal with tribal fights and increasing *rascalism*, stood by his decision and the store never resumed its operations. Rapid changes, which affected Enga in the next few years and the new situation in which the people of Enga found themselves, proved that he was right. The need arose to reassess the mission activities, to set new goals and to renew pastoral priorities, which eliminated the business of trade stores from the list.

Kasap Stores from 1989

In the second half of 1989 the Kasap Parish Priest Fr Tony Krol went on a six months home leave and medical treatment. The author who was at this time in Kasap for a one year introduction to mission work became the priest in charge, and Fr Osiecki from Wanepap was appointed as acting Parish Priest for Kasap to help out with more complicated matters. Soon there was a need for his intervention. One of the local big-man’s sons entered the store and held up the storekeeper demanding money and goods. The matter was brought to the local court where Fr Osiecki requested proper compensation. The court ordered that a pig to the value of about K300 be handed over. The big-man agreed with the court’s decision but delayed the payment. Under pressure from the local people it was agreed that the store would operate conditionally. If there were any other case of subversion the store would be closed.

There were no further problems of this kind but external circumstances changed dramatically, signaling the end of the mission stores in this region of the Diocese. First of all, the cash flow from the Porgera gold mine and improved road connections with Mount Hagen saw the springing forth of local enterprises and especially the number of local trade stores starting operation in the villages. Although the mission store was still much cheaper, many of the people went to buy in their own stores, either to support
their wantoks or because they could buy on credit. The next problem was connected with the general decrease in the law and order of the Province and an increase in rascalism and robbery on the roads. Regular hold ups became common and there were spots notorious for rascals' activities. Not far from Kasap, for example there was a gang operating near Wara Kera, lead by the former local MP 'paying back' for not being re-elected. As this was the only route from the town it became a real struggle to make it with the cargo, without being challenged. A few times the Parish Priest narrowly escaped the trap, after being warned at the last moment by some local people, who did not want to run into trouble with the mission. It was equally dangerous to leave Kasap, as many people would know that the Priest would be carrying money from the store with him. In one instance the car was being seized from the Parish Priest with a demand for ransom. After a day of negotiations the local community recovered the car.

The increase of tribal fighting and 'rascals' created a real danger for those traveling on the road and it became ever more difficult to find people to go to town to help with loading of the cargo and guarding it. Tribal tensions became so acute that it was safer for the missionary to travel alone rather than be accompanied by local people. Even in the town itself there were gangs of young people who would use any occasion to steal from the cars. Initially they started to steal the cargo from the pick-up cars, later they were breaking into locked cars, taking cargo and cash.

With the introduction of the prohibition of alcohol in 1989 there was a need to establish a checkpoint at the border between the Western Highlands and Enga. At the beginning it was fulfilling its role quite efficiently but with time it became a screen for semi-official rascal activities. As there was no money to pay the workers, the
checkpoint was operated by the local people, who used every occasion to get something from the travelers for their work. There were some cases when during the search of the cars some of the items from the cargo went missing, the search became so nasty that there was always the danger of a brawl erupting between the often drunk workers (after they had consumed the seized alcohol) and travelers. When the ban on the carrying of knives and axes was introduced in 1996 there were even more causes for misunderstandings and quarrels.

To add to the commotion, the workers at the checkpoint introduced the policy forbidding the littering of the area. They started to persecute the travelers even for the smallest, real or imagined trespasses, and demanded that the high penalties should be paid on the spot or the car would be seized. It created chaos and often a long delay that forced people to travel after dark putting them in more danger. In one instance a group of Kasap men were returning from a retreat in Mount Hagen and at the check-point the workers demanded a K20 penalty from one of them, for littering. The author who was driving the car was really annoyed with his people, whom he just admonished not to drop anything, as this would attract a penalty. Just by chance he asked one of the workers what it was that was dropped from the car and the worker answered without hesitation that it was a bone from a lamb's rib. As it was Friday during Lent there was no chance that any of the people would be eating meat, and it became obvious that the workers tried to abuse their role to get some money. The author was able to argue his way trough.

As if all these difficulties were not sufficient, there were also changes in the Mount Hagen Catholic Diocesan Headquarters. The old system of paternalism and
mission solidarity based on the common European roots had to give way to the localised, self-reliant enterprise. A large shelter, which used to serve as a magazine and storage place for the missionaries, who had to travel longer distances, was no more available, and there was a fee introduced for overnight stay for missionaries and their co-workers. The whole business with acquiring the cargo and its transport to the place of designation became so complicated, time and energy-consuming as well as hazardous that there was no profit in it.

There was always a problem with cash being kept in the Priest’s house. People would constantly ask for dinau, (a loan) for various reasons, and it was hard to refuse the request since they knew that there was always income from the store available. With time there was also a problem with break-ins at the priest’s house to steal money. In one case a young man from Kasap used the opportunity when everyone was attending the Sunday liturgy to smash a window and break into the room and steal money that was not yet placed in the safe.

With increasing fighting in the Kasap area, it was obvious that the store would be the first target in case of an enemy attack as it was located on the border of two tribes’ territory. The enemy was quite open about this and they even composed songs in which they boasted about being able to conquer one day the Monain tribe and seize the store with its goods, and be able to enjoy drinking Coca-Cola and eating Wopa biscuits.

Until now the catechists were paid from the store’s income, but with declining profit there was not enough to cover their wages. Appeals were made to pay catechists from other sources but whilst the stores were still in operation people did not understand
the changing situation. There was a need to terminate the stores to help people to realise
that now it was time for them to take care of their catechists. The closing of the stores
was necessary also for changing the people’s ‘cargo mentality’ created by the store
business, which operated without their involvement and participation.

The decline in cash income due to the end of the gold rush limited the people’s
resources and there was not so much money spent on their every day needs but rather on
addictive substances such as cigarettes and alcohol. The typhoid epidemic stopped
small retailers (usually women) from preparing food from ingredients bought in the
mission store and selling it on the road.

The Closing of Kasap Stores

All the above listed factors contributed to the decision of the Parish Priest to cease the
operation of the mission stores. It was obvious that if the main Kasap store ceased to
exist the other stores in the Parish would die a natural death. There were two main
issues that had to be addressed if the operation of the closing of the stores was not going
to cause a major conflict between the Parish Priest and local Christians. For a start, the
workers in the store had to be convinced that the closing of the store was necessary and
that it would be more profitable to end their work in a peaceful atmosphere rather than
to wait until the whole business collapsed. That would leave them without a job
anyway, and without the possibility of getting the finished package. An amicable
solution with the storekeepers was even more important, taking into consideration that
one of them was also the chairman of the Parish Council and an influential leader
respected by the local Christian community. If he were convinced, he himself would do
the other part of the work, namely convincing other Christians to accept the decision about the closure of the stores.

The task of convincing the storekeepers proved to be easier than expected. It turned out that both of them were already pressured by their wives to return to their villages and settle on their own land, since there was a danger of being alienated from it due to the long absence from the clan’s territory. The arrangements with the finishing package seemed to be very satisfactory for them and the matter of the closing of the store was brought to the public forum. Although in general there was much less opposition than expected, there was one man who totally negated the idea. His name was Juda and he was a leader of the Painalenge sub-clan on whose territory the store was situated. As the *papa bilong graun* (landowner) he was in a position to have the last word on the issue. He was a respected and quiet man, on good terms with Christians and very cooperative with the Parish Priest on all other issues, but on this issue he was unshakable. According to him the store had to be kept in operation because “it is the backbone of the Parish”. While it shows the misconception of the whole issue it also indicated how hard it was to argue with this type of attitude, resulting from the acceptance in good faith the concepts of the past. Any conflict between him and the Parish Priest would cause a major upset or even division in the local community. Public discussion and individual conversations did not change his attitude and there was a danger that the situation would be deadlocked for a long period with a loss to the community.

Unfortunately, it was at this time that the typhoid epidemic was at its peak and Juda fell victim to it. The Parish Priest took him to the hospital but it was too late and
after a few days he died. It was a real shock and a loss for the clan and the Parish but as to the issue of the store closure there was not so much discussion afterwards. The local big-man, who had his own store just next to the mission, visited the Parish Priest and offered to help convince the people. He even suggested that he would take the remaining stock and trade it in his own store and later give the money to the Parish. The store was closed, the storekeepers received their handsome compensation and the rest of the cargo found its place in the big-man’s store. Thus a once important part of the local mission work started to vanish from the Enga scene.

As foreseen it was much easier to terminate the store business in other outstations, after the main store in Kasap, closed. It was mentioned above that the Mulitak store was already suspended for some time and the Local Church leader was only too happy to learn that it was not going to resume its operations at all. It just happened that one of his sons, who had completed higher education and was working as a district manager with the local government, bought a car and built a small store right opposite the Church’s entrance but on his own ground. The store was performing quite well and certainly nobody from this clan was interested in reopening the mission store, as it would be too difficult to deal with such competition.

The store in Kililam never performed too well but it was seen as a help to the small Catholic community, which was living there, exiled from their own territory and living in harsh conditions. Not long after it was renovated and extended in 1990, one of the papa bilong graun (landowner) returned from his work in Bougainville and demanded in strong terms compensation for his land, either in cash or by building a house for him. Since the Parish Priest was acting “too slowly” on the subject, the man
decided to take the matter in his own hands and he seized the store and the goods in it. The next Parish Priest used it as a good excuse for closing this store for good. Within a year the store was burned down while the man was killed in a tribal fight.

The store in Lakae was handed over to the already mentioned catechist-storekeeper John W__, as severance pay for his work and it still serves the community but as a private enterprise. The new catechist was appointed for pastoral work only. The Wakapip store ended its activity when the last catechist-storekeeper was transferred to one of the most remotest station Linjing, where the store was already run for many years by one of the Church leaders, Francis. The store in Linjing had a longer and more dramatic history but it suffices to say that after many ‘ups and downs’ it kept providing goods to this remote area as an independent enterprise of the Linjing outstation.

Considering the vicissitudes we deem it inadvisable that trade stores should be integrally connected with the pastoral ministry, except in the case of piety stores that supply devotional items. Overall, people have become use to running stores and they are most effective when managed as joint ventures and not as private capitalist concerns.

7.4. CONFLICT RESOLUTION: GUTPELA SINDAUN COMMITTEE AND HANDLING THE ESCALATION OF TRIBAL FIGHTS

Church’s Approach to the Problem of Tribal Conflicts

The Church in Papua New Guinea, following the statement “who made me a judge”, made by Jesus when asked to settle the problem of ownership, had always tried to stay away and not to get trapped into the political activity either at the national or tribal level. While accepting and acknowledging the rights and obligations of individual
Christians participating in the political field, the Church as an institution abstained from being involved in political matters. This does not mean that the Church or its members dispensed themselves from applying the norms of Christian ethics to politics as such, to particular political decisions made at the local level, or to political statements or declarations expressed by politicians. The Church has long encouraged its lay members to take active part in the elections, moreover, allowing the use of Church’s venues for political campaign and organising courses and seminars to promote political awareness.

In view of what has already been said above, tribal conflicts and other conflicts arising from them have to be considered as very clear political moves, indicating precise positions taken by the two sides directly involved, as well as assessable moves by other parties deciding to enter into the field of conflict either as supporters or mediators. Of necessity, the Church has to make a stance over such expressions of politics, because violence and potential social breakdown are involved.

It is well known that for traditional Engans there were three main reasons for fights: land, women and pigs, although the stated pretexts do not satisfy as a cause and do not adequately explain why these “items” were considered to be of such a value that it was proper to protect them and if necessary to risk one’s life for them. It would be unreasonable to assume that land or pigs were held by Melanesians in such a high esteem for some kind of mystical, intrinsic value, or that Melanesian men would sacrifice their lives to provide a protective shield for their women just for the sake of woman herself. This is not to say those Melanesian men in general or Engans in

1 The Church opposes involvement of ordained ministers in active politics. In Papua New Guinea few priests, first missionaries and at present local, became elected members of Provincial and National Parliament, but they were suspended from pastoral duties for that period of time.

particular are not capable of heroic deeds in the situation when courage and brevity is required, because the opposite was quite often proved, but only to affirm that the deep rationale for fights lies in the sense of tribal identity and security.¹

Thus the profound question is not about the ostensible reasons for the fight but about the ultimate realm signified by the tribe and its clans, which seem to be endangered when the natural relationship between them and the rightful owner collapsed. These three stated pretexts signify the balance of exchange between the individual and cosmos, between the individual and other people, especially clans with which a person is involved in tee and between the individual and the products of his labor, which normally constitute the material side of exchange activities.

Traditional Conflicts between Koneman and Tupin

Over the next two sections, let us consider some specific traditional tribal conflicts and their contemporary implications. The Koneman clan is a good example of practical implementation of the rule concerning marriage alliances recorded already by Meggitt when he quotes the saying: "we marry those with whom we fight". For many years before contact and right after it there were prolonged fights between the Koneman of the Monain tribe, which was sharing the border on the Lagaip river with the Tupin clans. Tupin protagonists always claimed that in the past it had some territory on the other side of the Lagaip river, presently inhabited by the Monain tribe, particularly the part of the land inhabited by the Koneman clan. The tribal fights turned very nasty at times and claimed many lives on both sides, including women and children, which was very uncommon even in this part of Enga known for its brutality.

¹ Cf. G.W. Trompf, Payback..., op.cit., Chapter One.
After these fights when it was realised that the clans, exhausted and pauperised by wars, were not able to afford satisfactory compensations, they turned to the most available means of securing some peace. Marriages were arranged between various Tupin clans and the Koneman clan. Many women from Tupin married into the Koneman clan and there was a number of Koneman women who went to Tupin tribesmen. Even if the number of Koneman women would be similar to that coming from Tupin to Koneman, however, there was a great difference in the role they were to play in their husband's clan. While the Koneman women were dispersed among the various clans of the Tupin tribe, the Tupin women were concentrated in the territory of one clan only. The latter can easily communicate among themselves; they can co-operate together in various projects especially in agriculture and exchanges and as a group can exercise considerable pressure on their husbands. In the long run this means influence on the politics and economy of the clan, and through it also on the Monain tribe, with their advocacy of the interests of their native tribe Tupin often not being compatible with Monain sentiments, leading to intra-tribal and marital disagreements.

**Tribal Conflicts and Religious Allegiances**

Unexpectedly, the effects of this situation, which has continued into post-contact times, influence also the religious structure of the Monain. Because Tupin people are in general Seventh Day Adventists followers (we discussed previously why) women who are marrying into the Koneman clan bring different denominational beliefs into the territory of the Monain, which is with exception of a few individuals totally Catholic. Although, according to the requirements of the traditional law, the wife is expected to follow her husband's convictions, presently the situation is much more relaxed and there is a lot of freedom given to women, especially in the area of religion. Catholicism
here is caught up between the proclaimed freedom of religion on the one hand and on
the other the danger of losing its own members as an effect of proselytisation by more
aggressive denominations or sects.

The Seventh Day Adventists Church, being known (in the opinion of other
Churches in Enga) for its firm convictions about its privileged access to truth implants
into the minds of its members a strong conviction that opting for another religion may
be equal to risking personal salvation in the next life and withdrawal of the blessing in
the present. No wonder that there are very limited cases of conversions from Seventh
Day Adventists to other denominations; yet the opposite still occurs. It is especially
possible for conversions to occur in such a case as Koneman, where the concentration of
Seventh Day Adventists wives is significant and their fervent religiosity well known.
They attend regularly Seventh Day Adventists services in nearby Koimal where they
find occasion not only to satisfy their spiritual needs but also meet their relatives and
people from their own clans and catch up on news. But what is more significant they are
allowed to take their children with them, and thus indoctrinate them into their religion.

Nominally children belong to their fathers' religion and are mostly baptised as
infants in the Catholic Church; but since mothers are responsible for their upbringing
they easily can attract them to their religion. The fathers, especially from Koneman clan,
often being involved in tribal fights and local conflicts that are at odds with the
Church's teaching, sometimes prefer not to attend Sunday services for long periods of
the year. Small children therefore go with their mothers for the service at Seventh Day
Adventists Church, where they have the occasion to meet their cousins, uncles and aunts
who usually bring them presents. In that way they become very sympathetic and in
many cases attracted to the teaching they hear from their childhood.
The biggest restraint that prevents these children from officially joining the Seventh Day Adventists Church is the official Catholicism of their fathers and the traditional animosity with their mother’s tribe, the latter preventing them from even entering the Tupin territory. Another important factor to note is the instability of these marriages, which in the case of a breakdown have little chance of reconciliation. The children of such break-ups, being members of the Koneman clan, usually stay in their fathers’ territory, especially if they are already older. There is also the prospect of education to consider, the Catholic educational system being much cheaper than the one provided in private Seventh Day Adventists schools. The cost difference forces them to reconsider their religious allegiances and in many cases to return back to the Catholic environment.

Old Conflicts – Modern Technology: the Introduction of Arms and Guns

Let us here consider another point of tribal hostility in the Kasap area. The tribe of Tupin is a traditional enemy of Tekepoin, not only of Monain; in fact Tupin is known as one of the most warlike tribes in the whole district of Lagaip-Porgera in West Enga. The two tribes of Tupin and Tekepoin live on two opposing mountains separated by the river Lagaip. According to the same famous Enga saying ‘we marry those with whom we fight’, there is quite a good number of marriages between the two tribes. These types of marriages are supposed to bring the warring parties and groups into alliances; yet on the other hand family disputes can quickly escalate at a tribal level.

That was exactly the case with a recent war that erupted between Tupin and Tekepoin in 1994. From the misunderstanding between a wife from Tupin and her husband from Tekepoin, a dispute developed into a full tribal fight involving not only traditional weapons but also the most sophisticated imported arms, which claimed the lives of ten people. The quarrel started with the husband accusing his wife of wasting
time playing cards; while she complained that he was not fulfilling his obligations in looking after the house, allegedly spending all his time with other men. After an initial outburst of fighting, the matter was eventually brought before the local village court, which decided that they should pay a small compensation to each other. There were a few men from her tribe who came to witness the hearing. Because the matter was practically solved they decided to spend the night in the house of their in-laws. Unfortunately the follow-up discussion went out of control and one of the husband’s relatives took his bow and injured a Tupin man with an arrow. Another full-scale war erupted once again. As usual the battlefield was on the bridge connecting the two banks of the Lagaip river.

Two warriors from the Tekepain were killed in the battle and on several occasions Tupin men successfully entered Tekepain’s territory destroying their houses, gardens and chopping down trees. It looked like Tekepain would be defeated and would have to ask for a truce and try to solve the problem peacefully. Tupin, knowing that the fight was close to the end, decided that they would make one final expedition into Tekepain’s territory to wipe out the remaining property of the enemy. They were so sure of a successful outcome of this last expedition that they took with them some men without much experience in this type of exercise. But Tekepain’s men were expecting something like this to take place and prepared an ambush. They let Tupin enter their territory and attacked them from behind. Although the force of the ambush did not do any harm to the invaders, it came as such surprise to the inexperienced men who accompanied the party that in their panic they ran straight to the river where three of them drowned.
In consequence, the Tupin were enraged and with a new fury attacked Tekepain and killed three people. It was clear that Tekepain did not have any chance of victory and they retreated from the battlefield and asked for a cease-fire in order to make preparations for compensation. The only person who remained in the warring zone was an old man who felt secure, because he was from the Lakin clan (which belongs to the Monain tribe) and had married a woman from Tekepain. According to the traditional understanding of the fighting rules he had every right to dwell in his place and not be bothered by the quarrelling tribes. But the Tupin was not yet satisfied with their revenge and went on a rampage into Tekepain's territory during the night, killing the old man. With this act of war a new turn of events inevitably occurred: a third tribe got involved.

The old man was the father of a prominent businessman living in Mount Hagen – the capital city of the neighbouring Province. On hearing about his father's death and knowing that there is a checkpoint on the border between the provinces, through which it is impossible to smuggle any guns, ammunition or alcohol, he hired a helicopter to take him and other men to the funeral. When they landed in Kasap it was revealed that they also brought with them a powerful semi-automatic binocular gun with ammunition.

Not wasting any time they set up the gun and after shouting to the Tupins that they had a new weapon with which they would wipe them out from their territory in retaliation for the death of their clansman, they made use of it in such a successful way that on the first shot they killed a young man on the Tupin side. During the night the Tupin tried to cross the river to the Monain territory but were stopped by my Monain warriors. The next day the Tupin was ready to carry on fighting but another shot was fired and one more of their men was killed. Realising they could not withstand the confrontation they suspended further operations. But by no means were they willing to
pay compensation, the suspect being that they would try to find a way to pay back. This would mean that soon new weapons would be introduced into the area, and by now it is evident that they have.

**Gutpela Sindaun Committee**

The problem of escalation in tribal fights and the devastating role of modern arms and guns introduced into these conflicts became so acute that all institutions in Enga society made it a priority to address this challenge. The Wabag Diocese in the Diocesan Plan in 1992 introduced a systematic program called the *Gutpela Sindaun*, coordinated by Fr Doug Young, who was working in the area of conflict resolution. He conducted a series of workshops and training sessions in various Parishes with the aim of establishing local *Gutpela Sindaun* Committees and eventually from their representatives of creating a Diocesan Committee to coordinate the whole programme of conflict resolution. Finally, the Diocesan Committee was created and it was called in Tok Pisin – *Gutpela Sindaun Komiti* (GSK).

There was a number of goals that this committee was expected to achieve. The main one was to reduce the number of fights and conflicts. Other goals can be divided into two categories. During conflicts the GSK was to act as *kainakali* (or mediator) between quarrelling parties; to discourage other clans or individuals from joining in the fight as supporters, to isolate the fighting group especially the troublemaker, and finally to help to agree on terms and the organisation of compensations.

Second, in times of peace GSK would provide training in conflict resolution, develop ways of cooperation with other similar organisations, foster traditional ways of
preserving peaceful relations, utilise Christian means to change traditional animosities into peaceful coexistence. This latter agenda became quite successful through the running of courses in integral human development, family life and leadership, and especially through retreats on the ‘healing of memories’.

In January 1993 the Kasap Parish organised a workshop for Gutpela Sindaun conducted by Fr Young and the newly established Diocesan Gutpela Sindaun Training Team (GSTT), in which about 100 men attended, representing all clans from the area. As a result the Parish Gutpela Sindaun Komiti was established, and Samson from the Monain clan was enlisted as a member of the GSK and the GSTT. Since Samson was very much occupied with his God Triwan Movement he was not able to contribute sufficiently at the Diocesan level, but his role in promoting peace in the Kasap area was significant, as already stated. Other members of the Parish GSK also became members of the God Triwan Movement and cooperated with Samson in his efforts to commit Monain to peaceful coexistence with other tribes.

In the second half of 1993 some of the attendants of the Gutpela Sindaun workshop became members of the Parish Healing Team. The Diocesan Healing Team was already created in 1990, but its role increased greatly when GSK involved the Team in the conflict resolution programme to run the ‘healing of memories’ retreats. For years to come these retreats became the most sought after pastoral ministry in Parishes and Small Christian Communities. The Kasap Healing Team played a vital role in fostering peaceful resolutions of conflicts, promoting a spirit of forgiveness and reconciliation, and inner conversion of those affected by hurts connected to fights and killings. The

1 Samson – the founder of the God Triwan Movement.
effects of these combined efforts to combat the traditional concept of tribal rivalry and payback could be seen in the example from Wakapip.

In June 1994 after a prolonged period of tribal unrest and conflicts the Church leaders of the Wakapip outstation invited the Parish Healing Team to run a retreat. There was clearly a need for this type of spiritual exercise as over a hundred people attended this ‘live-in’ retreat. Unfortunately a small group of youth rather than participate in the retreat, decided to go to a *singsing* celebration in one of the villages in the mountains where some of their relatives lived. The group was ambushed on the road and one of the youth – Jack from the Aii clan, was killed. The next day the news reached the people gathered at the retreat, but although this was such unwelcome news they opted to carry on with the retreat until they would receive more details.

On the same day it just happened that a man from the area where the ambush allegedly took place was journeying through the Wakapip territory when some villagers seized him. He was bound and threatened with death if news about Jack was true. Sadly, it turned out that Jack was killed and in the afternoon his body was brought back to the village. The whole village, including the participants of the retreat, went out to receive the body. Meanwhile, Sakios Waigiol, Jack’s father, who was also taking part in the retreat, went straight to the house where the hostage was kept, cut the ropes, released him and urged him to run away. The released man later reported that Sakios told him that he was able to free him because he was taking part in the retreat that dealt specifically with forgiveness and peace but, nevertheless, he was not sure if he could go through with it if he saw the dead body of his son.1

To appreciate the enormity of this change in attitude, inspired by Christian values in regard to the traditional concept of revenge and payback, let us cite another example from Niunk. About twenty years ago a man from the A___ clan killed a man from the P___ clan. Compensation was paid, but the wife of the victim could not put it behind her and nurtured feelings of revenge, which she passed on to her small son. He learned from his mother the identity of the man who committed the murder, and for many years was preoccupied with thoughts of payback.

The opportunity for payback occurred on one Saturday in September 1989. The man concerned was socialising at the local beer club at the crossroads on the border of both clans. The young man entered the place unnoticed and with one mighty blow of the axe decapitated him. Both clans were taken by surprise by this killing. But it just happened that at this time A___ warriors were fully armed and gathered in their camp, planning an invasion on a nearby clan. In retaliation, the A___ carried out a furious and well-organised attack, while the P___ were completely unprepared for confrontation. The whole of P___ was wiped out, buildings burned, gardens destroyed and four of their people killed, while no one was killed from A___.

This incident and the one before highlighted the need for peace and reconciliation. We can see that the Gutpela Sindaun Komiti was wisely implemented, and we cannot but recommend that its work continue as very much part of the strategy of pastoral ministry – inevitably with a strong lay involvement.\footnote{Lay involvement will be all the more necessary because unfortunately the founder of the Conflict Resolution Programme in the Diocese, Fr D. Young has been elevated to Bishophood in 2000.} One should notice from the above narrative of events that a retreat comes into the story and is factorially significant in forestalling violence. Recall how seclusion plays a cohesive role in the...
Enga social structure (see chapter two); because there was continuity between tradition and Catholicism regarding the usefulness of retreats we can see how the encouragement of seclusive religious practices can help in the healing of the conflict-ridden society.

7.5. REDEFINING THE POSITION OF WOMEN AND YOUTH

At the moment the whole Catholic Church is involved in a movement to redefine and promote the multifarious roles of women in the life of the Christian community.¹ So, it is fitting that this issue should be considered as a crucial part of evangelisation and the implementation of a local pastoral plan. The same applies with youth. Let us look at some pertinent matters at Kasap, taking some key projects in turn.

Women’s Clubs

As the name indicates, Women’s Clubs were established to gather the female members of the community so as to give them an opportunity to act collectively. It was natural that the Parish Priest had always some influence on the local women’s groups in his Parish and that women’s leaders would not act directly against the local big-man, who in turn for his own benefit would seek rather cooperation than confrontation. At the beginning, when during the 1970s there was a significant number of female lay missionaries in Enga, the principle of independence of women’s organisations was maintained quite successfully. In a few cases it was pushed to the extreme, at least according to the local concepts of social codependence, and it caused a counter reaction among the male part of the society.² Even Enga women, especially mothers of young

² For example, in Sikiro the local men were opposed to Sister Rita teaching women how to avoid unwanted pregnancy. Her personal communication.
girls, expressed some concerns about the appropriateness of some of the feminist ideas for the local groups.

In the late 1980s, the number of female mission personnel decreased dramatically and as a result women’s groups had to look for some help or at least for some input from the male Diocesan staff, first expatriate and later local. As a majority of the club members was illiterate they had to ask some young men to read and write for them, to do the bookkeeping, to teach them new songs and conduct some basic educational programs. There was also a need for men’s help in running some of the agricultural projects, where they would provide necessary expertise and labor. With time, the position and influence of women’s groups became so significant that they established themselves as the new force in the leadership structure of the local community.

**Meri Klab in Kasap Parish**

When the author arrived in Kasap there was a special situation in regard to the role of women both in the Local Church and in local politics. The most obvious and impressive was the way the women were organised in the *Meri Klab* (Parish Catholic Women’s Club). In 1989 it had 115 members and in the next three years it reached 355. There were not many restrictions on joining the club, but due to a strict drill in the organisation and many time-consuming tasks required only those with disciplined characters and commitment would consider becoming members. The official admittance of new members occurred publicly once a year during the Parish Assembly on Christmas Eve.¹

¹ In Kasap this event became the annual feast for the Catholic Women’s Club during which groups from various outstations gathered to celebrate their status as women in a colorful display.
There were no cases of anyone being expelled from the club, although in the cases of women becoming second wives they automatically ceased to attend. This also applied to women with a doubtful reputation in the village. Let us cite the example of J’s wife. He was a respected community and Church leader, while Anne was an exemplary wife and a very active member of the Women’s Club. Their only daughter was in Year Four in the Catholic primary school, when suddenly J died of typhoid. As is customary his eldest brother wanted to take the widow as his wife. But he was already married with one son, and with not the best reputation as a husband. In this situation the widow declined to marry, giving as a primary reason the fact that she is a Catholic and a member of the Meri Klab cannot become the second wife. She decided to leave her husband’s village and return to her relatives. (Her daughter left school and went with her mother). She kept attending the Women’s Club, but a couple of years later it was reported that she was more often ‘on the road’ than in the village. She lost all contact with the Church as well as her involvement with the Women’s Club and eventually lost her good reputation.

The Women’s Club exercised an enormous influence on the local scene, taking active part in all areas of life: religion, politics, social issues, education, health and others. The Parish Meri Klab became responsible for caring and providing for the material needs in many of the Parish celebrations such as spiritual retreats, Christmas and Easter gatherings, and other events. They were responsible for preparing food, accommodation for visitors, raising money for transport, fees and gifts.

There was also another area in which the role of the Meri Klab became very important. It was officially recognised and acknowledged by the local society that the
women’s group was paramount in fostering peaceful relations.\footnote{A. Rumsey, ‘Women as Peacemakers – a Case from the Bebilyer Valley, Western Highlands, Papua New Guinea’, in: (eds) S. Dinnen and A. Ley, Reflections on Violence in Melanesia, Canberra 2000, pp.139-55.} The following example is a proof of this. In August 1993 a conflict occurred between two Catholic clans on the border between Kasap and Mulitak. For a few days the warriors confronted each other, but it had not escalated to a full tribal fight. Any attempts by the Parish Priest to convince the men to solve the conflict peacefully failed. As this was happening right before the Feast of the Assumption of Mary, which by this time was already designated for special celebrations involving women in the Meri Klab, the Parish Priest threatened to cancel the event unless the fighting stopped. Although the women insisted that the fighting was always a male matter, the prospect of cancelling their important celebration prompted them to exercise such pressure on the men that the day before the feast they decided to resolve the conflict in a peaceful fashion.

It became a conviction that participation in the women’s group not only indicated the willingness to uphold peace but also excluded any actions associated with fighting. These ideals in connection with the condemning of tribal fights by Christian teaching became so influential that they attracted some men who decided to become members of the women’s group. While at first this move was ridiculed as an act of cowardice, with time it was seen as beneficial for the community, as these men could naturally assume the role of kainakali (negotiators) in time of conflict.

Here we can hark back to the paradigms of the New Evangelisation and those recommendations in the Papal statements holding up feminist inspiration under the umbrella of Mariology. One cannot stop short at Women’s Clubs, of course, when
addressing pastoral implementations with regard to women. They have an immense part to play in all features of lay ministry we are discussing. There is a fresh consciousness of their potential and increased role in Church life, which fits in well with a more widely publicised recognition of their important roles in traditional society (as Alome Kyakas and other Enga women have sought to show).¹

Youth Program

The formation of young people is always a priority for any given society and the same applies to the Church. The Diocese of Wabag has developed a very complex pastoral program to cater for the various and diverse needs of the local youth and for their spiritual, intellectual and physical formation and growth. This has been achieved through various means, including a Diocesan program providing education and training, workshops on Personal Human Development, membership in various Christian organisations, possibilities for developing interest groups and for organising sporting and other social events.² As can be seen from the chart presenting the Diocesan structure (Chart 2), the youth program has had a very privileged position among other Diocesan projects, with a well organised Diocesan Youth Office, Diocesan Youth Council, and special Diocesan Youth Centre at Par. The Diocesan Youth Program continues to have priority with the allocation of funds. To supervise the youth program a full-time Diocesan Youth Coordinator was appointed in 1990 from the lay personnel employed by the Diocese.³ To provide the necessary spiritual support and care to youth

¹ For the Mariological material, see: Supra, pp.220-3. More about Enga tradition, see: A. Kyakas and P. Wiessner, From Inside..., op.cit. See also: J. van Baal, Reciprocity and the Position of Women, Amsterdam 1975.
² See for example: Skelim Plan 1989, Typescript, in: AWCD.
³ In the author’s time this function was successfully fulfilled by Mr. Fidelis Sopc.
one of the priests has traditionally been appointed Diocesan Youth Chaplain.¹ The main strength of the youth program in the Diocese rested on the fact that, although coordinated at the Diocesan level, it was very much geared towards the implementation at the local Parish level. Each Parish was supposed to imitate the Diocesan model and have its own Parish Youth Coordinator, assisted by the Parish Youth Council – consisting of the Area Youth Coordinators who were representing various youth groups in the Parish and its outstations. The Youth Coordinator was working in close cooperation with the Parish Priest and was also aided by one of the members of the Parish Council who was acting as liaison person to youth (though also with the right to attend Parish Council Meetings).

As the Parish Priest of Kasap was also the Diocesan Youth Chaplain it was natural to expect that the Diocesan directives concerning the youth program would be first implemented in this Parish. From 1990 until 1996 there were many and various projects introduced and run for the benefit of the local young generation. Let us consider some of these.

The Oasis – A Movement for Youth

The Oasis was a Movement introduced to the Kasap youth by the Parish Priest who himself was actively involved in it in Poland as a youth.² The biggest value of this organisation comes from its very structure, giving as it does the opportunity for young people to excercise leadership roles in relation to younger members, while at the same time receiving formation from their seniors. The structure of the Oasis program consists

¹ The author carried out this task from 1991 to 1996.
² The movement was founded in Poland by Fr F. Blachnicki in the early 1960s and in the 1970s it became the most active Church youth organisation opposing the Communist regime.
of a number of small groups, each of 10 members supervised by leaders (called animators), who in turn, belonged to a senior group with its own animator. Thus the whole organisation has been created in a pyramid format, with the leader at the top called a moderator. This structure allows the efficient transmission of information and for communication with all members at different levels, which is especially important in the village situation (where communication was always one of the major obstacles).

*Oasis* became quite popular among the Kasap youth and in 1991 its network covered each outstation, and by 1992 it had been introduced to some outstations in the Wanepap Parish. The program included a variety of spiritual, educational and recreational activities. Animators met on a weekly basis to pray together and to study Scripture and Church Documents as well as receiving some intellectual input. They passed the acquired knowledge to the members of their respective groups. After the Movement expanded into the Wanepap Parish it became a forum for sharing religious ideas along with sporting and recreational activities. Sambe, the local *kamongo* of the Kapandas outstation, offered land for agricultural projects, which created opportunities for members to work together as well as providing some food for events organised by them. The Movement thrived until about 1996, but clergy changes in both Parishes resulted in a noticeable decline in activities, although our recommendation is that it should be revived with the new clerical staffing at Kasap.

**Youth Projects**

During the time of a better organised youth Movement the young people of the Kasap Parish were also involved in many fundraising projects which enabled them to get funds to meet expenses connected to their intensified activities. The majority of outstations
had their own agricultural project that combined the cultivation of crops, poultry (chicken and ducks), and the newly introduced farming of rabbits. Some youth organised working groups to help local villagers in their vegetable gardens, for which they received a small payment. Other groups helped with cleaning and the upkeep of Church and school compounds, for which they were paid from Parish accounts. Another way funds were raised was by organising video sessions for which people would pay a small amount for entrance. All these funds, as well as any money from other sources (for example from membership fees, small local government grants, etc.), were pooled and spent for the needs of the youth.

The money raised allowed the youth to experience a sense of achievement and self-reliance as well as give them the opportunity to learn money management and accountability. They were able to provide musical instruments, microphones and amplifying equipment for the youth band and sporting equipment. What was even more important, they were able to buy small gifts to give to the Parish staff and the village elders, thus learning to take the first steps in the traditional *tee* exchanges.

In this period of increased activity a good number of young people took part in many events at national, Diocesan and local levels. This gave them access to further education through participation in courses, workshops and training, as well as widening their horizons by travelling to new places and meeting new people. Some highlights of this period may be noted. About 30 youth were enrolled in the Kasap CODE Centre; another ten attended various vocational schools; five entered tertiary education; three of the youth attended the National Bible Course in Madang; another represented the Diocese at the National Youth Rally and pilgrimage to Rabaul to celebrate the
beatification of the local martyr Peter ToRot; another became Youth Coordinator for the whole of the Lagaip Deanery and a member of the Diocesan Youth Committee.

This generation of youth contributed greatly to the process of evangelisation at the local level by being involved in many of the activities pertaining to everyday Parish life. Most impressive was the involvement of the youth in preparing and leading the liturgy. They were responsible for the Scripture readings both in Tok Pisin and the vernacular, for the translation of the liturgical texts from the missal, and for the spontaneous prayers of the faithful. The well-performing Music Band, under the direction of Thomas and Joseph Emek, Lena Kasi, Mina and lately by Masol, greatly enhanced Parish celebrations by involving many of the local youth, both male and female, and by a wide range of English, Tok Pisin, and tokples songs and tunes. The band was in high demand and visited many outstations. The responsibility of organising local prayer meetings and other devotional services was also left in the hands of the youth.

Of course there are always problems in Church Youth Programs, in the Kasap case commonly to do with fighting, group rivalry and inadequate transport and communication. One will always find big-headedness and volatile emotions among young people, however, in accordance with the Pope's vision of New Evangelisation about youth making up the Church of the future, we cannot but recommend that hard work should be put into fostering high quality, ongoing and flexible Parish youth activity.
7.6. ISSUES CONCERNING HEALTH

The Church has always been involved in the care of the sick, disabled and
disadvantaged treating this as an important component of evangelising activities. This
goes back to Biblical foundations, and has been restated in Magisterial documents
urging its importance as the praxis of the Faith. In the Enga case high priority was first
given to the eradication of leprosy and infant mortality, with other medical services
additionally provided (from contact times). What of the Kasap case?

Health Projects and Services

From its inception the Kasap Parish often invited doctors and nurses to organise
workshops, instructions and meetings about hygiene, basic health issues, nutrition, STD
and AIDS, and so on. The participants were usually members of the Women’s Club,
youth and other smaller groups. On an everyday basis the Parish was in contact with the
hospital in Yampu through the wireless, arranging for the medical care of those who
were in need of hospitalisation. Through the radio it was possible also to contact
specialists such as surgeons, dentists and optometrists to arrange for consultations and
treatment. Especially helpful was (and still is) priest and doctor Jan Jaworski, who
tirelessly provided his services to the people from his hospital post in Kundiawa. The
Kasap Parish Council was instrumental in establishing a Catholic Medical Post in the
neighbouring Parish Wanepap, giving Kasap people some possibilities to get medical
help. The Parish was providing and organising transport to hospital especially in
emergencies, for women in labour and as casualties of domestic violence. The Parish
Priest and other mission personnel administered basic medication such as painkillers,

1 Cf. Chl, 38.
flu tablets, treatment for common skin diseases, antiseptics, and dressings for sores and wounds. A great deal of care was directed towards the treatment and control of leprosy cases.

As medication is not easily accessible in Kasap there was a need to organise means to get supplies from overseas. The Kasap Parish received at no cost a large shipment of medication from the German organisation MEDEOR on the anniversary of this organisation. On the smaller scale but on a more regular basis medication was provided by the Saint Michael Mission Society from Australia and from Poland through friends of the mission and relatives.

To accommodate the medical supplies and provide a place to administer first aid, a room in the old volunteer's house was converted to a basic Medical Aid Post, which was normally supervised by the Parish Priest. At one stage the Aid Post was fortunate to be served by a second priest Bogdan Świerczewski. There was also a separate bush house for those few suffering with leprosy. In time there was a need for larger premises and the Legion of Mary undertook the project of building a *haus sik* (small hospital) made out of bush materials. The place was large enough to accommodate not only sick rooms, but also a storeroom for medication, a waiting area for admissions, and a shelter for patients and carers who came from other villages and needed to stay overnight. These temporary and voluntary arrangements could only partly satisfy the needs of the growing population but it was apparent that there was a need for a permanent arrangement. After many submissions lodged at the local government requesting the appointment of a medical officer finally one was appointed in 1995. As the mission ground was already significantly overcrowded, the new site for
the Medical Aid Post and for the accommodation was selected in a nearby area in Togop. The permanent buildings were erected by the local community and funded by the government.

Our recommendation is that medical work is a crucial part of the Catholic Church's work in Kasap, more especially because of the poor services provided by the Government. Tribal conflict and inadequate transport make it very difficult for many people to reach the general medical services in Wabag and Wapanamanda, where the Provincial hospitals are. It is only fair that the Kasap services be concentrated on the local community and should be one precipitation of lay involvement in Local Church work and therefore the implementation of the Parish pastoral strategy. Remember how Enga tradition possesses its own traditional 'healers' and ways of medication;¹ here the Church's concern for the sick provides continuity with the past, and in any case, where possible, it can seek ways of integrating traditional and Christian modes of healing, while being wary of magical associations that distort reality.²

7.7. COMMITMENT AND COOPERATION

One of the problems isolated by the Diocesan Plan is the evident lack of commitment (and at the end cooperation) with regard to human relations. So often it is difficult to see which way the people are going to move (individual or groups) in various types of affairs – in voting politically, in backing projects, in pulling off compensation procedures, in keeping promises to the Church, and so on. The problem affects any attempts to secure the necessary follow-up of local initiatives that may be initially

² Example of this kind of work has already been very sensitively done by Sisters at Yampu Leprosarium.
agreed upon. A classic case concerns the setting up of non-profit-making projects, such as schooling facilities, on Enga land.

Cooperation stalled over Kasap Educational Projects.

Land used by the Missions is leased from the Government, which paid the owners for the land. But there are growing tensions, since the generation that disposed of the land is dying out and the younger generation wants to reclaim the land or get a new payment.¹

In practice almost all mission stations experience this problem and try to solve it individually, by appeasing the leaders of the clan in whose boundaries the station is situated.²

Tensions arise when there is any new project introduced and requires the use of the land, even if it is in mission boundaries. Problems will be acute if the project involves people from other clans moving onto the station.³ The same applies to the use of mission land for gardening purposes by people other than mission personnel. So it has been possible to use the mission land for producing crops for the Kasap Mission, for catechists, the boys who were in the Vocation Center, but such land has never been allowed to be used by the cook’s family, because as said above, her husband belonged to another clan. Part of the land was allowed to be used as an agricultural project by the youth, but only as long as there were some members from the owners’ clan.

¹ A very interesting assessment of the traditional ‘ownership’ of the land and its implications in the modern reality can be found in: P.M. McCallum, “Repossessing what Past”, Mi-chu-el CSMA, 6(2000), pp. 68-108, especially p.88.
² For example Bishop of Wabag pays school fee for the landowners’ children, who attend high schools.
³ When the author built a house for the cook and her husband, who was from a different clan than that on which the mission station was situated, the son of the former landowner vehemently opposed any idea of them moving to the house. Not long after the author moved from Kasap, the house had to be pulled down and rebuilt on the husband’s clan territory.
A new level of difficulties which is encountered in the present situation became clearly visible, when the need arose in Kasap to acquire a piece of land for new projects, with the extension to the primary school, for example, and the setting up of a new High School. Problems result from the physical composition of the terrain itself, which is generally steep and unstable, and therefore hardly suitable for any complex permanent buildings. Since the area is quite densely populated there is not any excess land to be found and any project requires an acquisition of arable land, which is highly sought after and utilised for the production of food necessary for the survival of humans and their stock. Once the suitable sites get marked it becomes very hard to determine who is the actual landowner, since different men claim ownership and different people have actually used the land for sustenance in days gone by. Due to quite frequent intermarriages between clans inside the Monain tribe, a good number of men have garden plots in their wives' territory, or even live there permanently, without owning the land. Adding to the confusion is the fact that the Monain's territory is also inhabited by a whole clan Tuyop, that does not belong to the Monain tribe, but on the merits of its long-lasting presence had acquired all the privileges of a tribe's member, except for the ownership of the land.

When there was a need to extend the Kasap Primary School, the two plots of land adjoining the present school area were selected. One was owned by the Lakin-Pinalenge subclan, the other by the Koneman clan. The representatives of both clans seemed to be genuinely interested in allowing either of these sites to be used for the development of the school. When more thorough inquiries were made into the matter of ownership, it was revealed that the plot used by the Painalenge people in Kasap actually belonged to the part of a sub-clan that resides in Mount Hagen, with the known business
man Tony Kiuk being *papa bilong graun* – the owner. Since it was difficult to contact him immediately, interest turned to the other offer. The land owned by the Koneman was used for gardening by three families but it was said that they could vacate the plot for the benefit of the community. With further inquiries it turned out that again the *tru papa bilong graun* – the rightful owner, M__, was not living in Kasap but Porgera.

Nevertheless, one Sunday he arrived at Kasap and in a rather forceful manner urged the Parish Priest to purchase the land for the school, because he saw it as something good for the community. When asked how he imagined settling the problem of the present users of the land he explained that he, as a son of a big-man, has the authority to order them to move out, since they were only using the land without owning it. He suggested that they would receive a new plot of land for gardening in another part of the territory. Some of his clan’s leaders supported his stand and it seemed that finally the matter of the land for the school would be settled smoothly and satisfactorily for all concerned.

To the surprise of the Parish Priest, however, by late evening he was visited by one of the settlers of the disputed land, a woman well known to him because she was the mother of the only seminarian in the Parish. She asked not to proceed with the transfer of the land, as this would deny them the use of a good quality garden and force them to go elsewhere. With the present congestion of people on the clan’s territory she was afraid that there would be no available land at all. Taking under consideration that it would have a negative affect on many people, the Parish Priest decided to postpone the project for time being.¹ With the new reform of the educational system, which saw Kasap Primary School upgraded, the matter was abandoned altogether.

¹ As to the attitude of the landowner there are a few issues at stake. First, that being away from the community he was out of touch with the land situation. Second, he saw it as an opportunity to get rid of the settlers, especially that some of them belonged to different clans. Third, he was determined to make a profit even at the expense of his own clan’s people.
7.8. SUMMARISING MISSION INCULTURATION, WITH THE CASE OF
ARRANGED MARRIAGES IN VIEW

Thus far we have dealt with a number of key practical issues to do with inculturation
and mission accommodation. And in choosing this last and very important one – on
arranged marriages – we can summarise our stance on the necessity for any
inculturative implementation to be based on solid empirical fieldwork, good theoretical
reasoning, and attention to missiological principles.

No work of practical implementation that derives from the impulse to evangelise
can do without solid background research and grasp of theologico-missiological
insights. Here we can actually ask, why was this thesis written at all? And the studies
behind it? It is because the spirit of evangelisation, reinvigorated by the paradigms
posed at the very hub of the Catholic Church’s policy-making, calls for the most
intelligent and sensitive approach to inculturated local Christianity. To actualise the
vision of a transformed local world, which is nothing less than a hope for a Komuniti i
pulap long amamas, high quality research has to be done into context and theological
principles. Local culture has to be studied in detail while at the same time one has to be
clear-sighted about what the Faith induces in terms of social transformation. Let us take
and important example.

Arranged Marriages among the West Enga

The question of arranged marriages is a very hoary one because the Catholic Church has
had the tradition since the Middle Ages of questioning the wisdom of this type of
marital union, which by now also goes against global attitudes about healthy gender
relations. This issue is one bringing Enga tradition and Church expectation into likely
tension, yet it is such an important matter for having to do with cementing tribal relations as well as generating the Church's membership. The difficulties at stake require a lot of research and sensitive adaptation. Thus one can immediately see how we can use this topic or problematic as a means to gather up threads being followed and to further summarise our views about the implemented inculturation.

Let us examine some data about the individual and social mechanisms involved in arranging marriages and creating new family units between fighting Highlands tribes. This form of marriage, conducted not only in Enga but beyond among highlanders, provides very interesting information about a tribe's social structure and the responsibility of each member to contribute to its welfare. These observations, based largely on the ethnographic details gathered in the Kasap area, were inspired by already cited anthropological findings published by M. J. Meggitt and P. Brown.¹

There are many factors contributing to the success of a West Enga marriage, both for the individuals involved in it and for the 'acephalous' highland societies - and essentially the clan. In the case of marriage between members of two fighting Enga clans this process usually follows the same pattern, that can be presented in the simple flow diagram:

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Conflict I    N/A
Conflict II   Tribal fight Compensations Mali Marriage(s)
Conflict III  N/A in seriatum
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What happens in connection with Conflict II is followed by a series of exchanges and family obligations between the two clans involved until another fight erupts.

Meggitt constructs his theory on the information given to him by Mae Enga Highlanders, we recall, when asked about their partners in marriage, they answered: ‘we marry the people we fight’. This principle is confirmed as valid by other anthropologists among more marginal Enga groupings as well.\(^1\) While Meggitt analysed the whole process of marriage in the Mae tribes, he also collected certain facts suggesting that the kind of diagram presented above might as well represent the pattern for arranging marriages not only among Enga tribes, but across the Highlands of Papua New Guinea more generally.

Highlanders traditionally live in harsh conditions and under great pressure of land shortage (Enga: *yuu daa injingi*). They experience many large and small difficulties in relation to their neighbours. These difficulties often grow to the size of a conflict involving whole tribes. Because of a very insufficient juridical system conflicts are often pushed aside rather than properly solved. When the number of conflicts accumulates, the last step to break the thin strand of peace is to start a tribal fight, which provides the opportunity to get rid of all generated discomfort and anger. A traditional fight involves two ‘owners of the quarrel’ as well as supporters from different clans. This provides a chance to compensate several clans, even from past contests and covering quite a vast area. Tribal fights usually result in the death of a few warriors, ideally in an equal number from both fighting sides. To satisfy the spirits of the dead, who can be very harmful for the living, the quarrelling parties are obliged to make compensation.

The term compensation is used to describe what takes place in a peacemaking ceremony, a series of exchanges (or *yanu pingi*) of pork and pigs between the sides

directly responsible for the killing of the person and the dead man’s paternal and
maternal kin. The number of pigs depends on the status of the dead, on the wealth of the
killing side, and on the genuine commitment to establish peaceful relations by the
groups involved. The number of pigs given by the paternal to maternal kin is usually
one third of that received from the enemy side. When the compensation is
accomplished, and this sometimes takes up to two years, until all parties are satisfied,
everyone involved gathers for a traditional singing and dancing festival or *mali lingi*, to
celebrate the beginning of a new, peaceful era.¹

*A mali lingi* takes place on the ground specially prepared for that occasion
between the two reunited sides. Young girls and boys dress in traditional decorations
and put elaborate paintings on their bodies. They assemble in a line and moving their
feet up and down chant traditional songs. This goes on for almost one month, starting
every day in the late morning and carrying on until late evening. *Mali lingi*, apart from
feasting, has yet another purpose. It consolidates the presently achieved agreement
between the celebrating parties by matching some young people from previously
warring clans. It is a sign and a hope for lasting peace if more than five marriages are
arranged during such a *mali lingi*.

This form of arranged marriages is performed only every few years, as
nowadays fights do not normally occur more often than once in four to five years. Other
forms are: marriages conducted in time of peace which are arranged at a courtship
ceremony or *enda lakuangi*, and marriages following love affairs between individual
girls and boys, if such an affair results in pregnancy.

All marriages are considered to be of equal value, but from the traditional point of view the first form is most noble, because it serves not only individuals but the whole society. This prestige does not contribute much to the personal satisfaction of the parties. The problems and difficulties experienced by them are the same as in other families. But in case of misunderstandings between spouses these couples get more public attention, and also the expectation for reconciliation between them (if there is trouble) is stronger, because the welfare of two entire tribes is involved. Statistically these marriages break up at the same rate as marriages from the second group. Considering that these marriages were conducted under quite great pressure of time and circumstances, it shows high social responsibility by the newly-weds who have to sacrifice their personal feelings and wishes for the public interest.

Paula Brown, who conducted her research in the Chimbu area, came across the same custom of arranging marriages, but she expresses doubt that ties from the above-described group can be successful and lasting. It could be that Chimbu have a different approach to the Enga in relation to their neighbours. People doubt this. It could also be that she was there for an insufficient period of time to get a clear picture of the situation. In case of any divorce there are so many particular problems that a longer time is required to enumerate and classify them properly.

From our experience in dealing directly with marriage and divorce, there is sufficient data to support the ideal that the above marriages, though extraordinary from

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3 Mantovani gives an example of a Chimbu girl who decided to enter into an arranged marriage (although she personally wanted to marry someone else), still expecting it to be successful and last. See: E. Mantovani, *Traditional...*, op.cit., p.5.
the Western point of view, are in any case not taken to be disadvantaged by tribal society or by the individuals directly concerned (i.e., spouses and the members of such arranged families). This is one of those cases (among various) where missionaries and Church workers need to be more discerning and flexible in applying the general norm of the Church. Contexts should be understood well, without Western prejudices; at the same one has to be fully aware of the received wisdom of the Church. In any case we are probably dealing with a transitional situation, since arranged marriages (of various types) will eventually dissipate. Always it is a matter of intelligently balancing context and principles.

CHAPTER EIGHT

TOWARDS GREATER LAY INVOLVEMENT

SOME RECOMMENDATIONS FOR PASTORAL PLANNING
IN THE ENGA CHURCH

We have conducted a thorough analysis of the process of evangelisation in Enga in its wide anthropological, social and cultural context. It is now time to draw some important recommendations from our treatment of it for the future of the Enga Church. The reader should be aware, though, that these recommendations can only be stated with a limited specificity, because so many individual situations apply across the relevant area and have to be dealt with on a day to day basis. The SAIDI program recommends the positing of general principles that can then be flexibly applied to particular conditions.

Need for a Critical Reassessment of the SAIDI Program

We cannot say, however, that the SAIDI program can have a carte blanche application to the Enga situation. It requires continual reassessment, and this is the first broad recommendation, which will be made under a number of pertinent headings.

Financial Accountability

In 1993, the then Bishop’s secretary and financial officer for the Diocese of Wabag, the late Br. Emile, who had previously worked for a long time in the Philippines, criticised
the Enga adaptation of this program as “castrated”, since, as he claimed, it lacked one of
the program’s most important features, namely, “self-reliance” and therefore
accountability.¹ Heavy emphasis was put on the ideological and theoretical aspects, he
alleged, but the financial sphere was overlooked or not paid its due attention. The
burden of dealing with it was left to people from outside, as it used to be in colonial
times. In that sense for Br. Emile it was perpetuating the patronising patterns introduced
in the early stages of evangelisation. Control over funds created an opportunity for some
of the missionaries to exercise an unhealthy and unchristian authority over the Local
Church by threatening the withdrawal of foreign financial support if the local people did
not comply with their vision of the Church. Such attitudes became a major obstacle for
the development of the Local Church and caused a lot of misunderstanding and conflict
in the second phase of evangelisation (see Chapter Five), when financial help from the
West ceased to be that significant, and when a new wave of missionaries arrived from
the countries that were not able to support them materially.² There is a danger that this
may still be a major hindrance to the smooth transition from the missionary structure to
a Local Church served by indigenous clergy.³

¹ Statement made at one of the Diocesan Pastoral meetings in 1992 (author’s personal account). It should
be noted that the statement made by Br. Emile was the first official negative evaluation of the
implementation of this programme in Enga. In indirect response, later, Inez Baranay alleged that
Br. Emile was constantly complaining about everything in the Enga situation anyway! See her book:
_Rascal Rain_, Sydney 1994, pp.22-3, (not to be taken too seriously).
² Financial support from Western countries was great until the late 1970s, but declined with
the development of consumerism in Europe and USA. After 1992, with the opening of the Eastern
European and former Soviet Union countries for re-evangelisation, the most substantial amount of the
Catholic Church’s financial aid now goes to that area.
³ In a discussion conducted by Fr. E. Osiecki the Parish Priest of Wanepap Parish with members of Parish
Council he was informed that one of the reasons why they prefer a missionary than a local priest is that
they will have to provide for him as he does not have connections overseas (personal communication).
Intellectual Elements

There is a lot of stress on education, courses, workshops and training, which makes it a difficult task for the young Diocese to cope without sufficient resources and staff. Although in the first years there was a group of dedicated expatriate lay volunteers, due to deteriorating 'peace and justice' conditions, their number declined sharply in the next few years, and at present there is not even one single volunteer working in the Diocese of Wabag. There were difficulties with obtaining proper learning materials, since the SAIDI was being tested only in the Wabag Diocese, and due to the fact that most of the people in Enga are still illiterate, and there is confusion of languages. The same people who had the basic educational background were forced to attend most of the courses and training.

There were also other problems in the training connected with over-intellectualisation of the program. They included:
- Many foreign concepts and ideas.¹
- Discrepancy between concepts studied and actual real life situations.
- Too small number of people affected by training and courses.
- Contrary ideologies and teachings by various Christian denominations and even by the different priests in the Diocese.
- Frustrations caused by inability to introduce the new concepts in the local Christian communities due to the strong traditional establishment and conservatism of the local Church leaders and other Church workers.

¹ A study conducted by one of the founders of the SAIDI may be very beneficial in eradicating this problem. See: P.R. Getigan, *Conflicts in a Transcultural Formation Process*, PH.D. Thesis, Manila 1993.
Communication Problems

There are a lot of difficulties in the area of communication in Enga. They can be found at various levels, ones to do with cross-cultural, verbal and non-verbal communication. Theoretically there were a few good means of communication but in practice it was difficult to pass on messages and contact people in the rural areas and often courses needed to be postponed, due to the small number of participants. The Enga Radio, which could be useful with communicating information, was mostly out of action, for various reasons, usually connected with tribal tensions. The newspapers printed in English and outside the local area were not much help for the mostly illiterate people. The most useful means was the two-way mission radio connecting every Parish in the Diocese. But it was restricted to the main station, it had limited airtime, and being battery-operated meant that quite often it was out of action. It was always difficult to inform people living in remote bush areas about Church activities and there has always remained a goodly number of them, in far-off places, as some of the Enga clans are still leading a semi-nomadic lifestyle and systematically move from their gardening area to the bush for harvesting karuka (popular pandanus nuts). All these difficulties have been preventing the spreading and application of Gospel values, although a great deal of work has already been carried out to improve the situation.

There is still a major problem with “physical communication”. Since most of the Diocesan training sessions take place at one centre in the Diocese, people had to travel extensively, often from distant places. They have been exposed to an expensive and unreliable public transport system coupled with a poor road network. They had to overcome the traditional fear of moving beyond the boundaries of one’s clan. There has always been a danger in travelling on account of tribal unrest and more recently because
of rascalism on the roads. A special danger has presented itself for women often the
victims of assault. Even if some of the young women started their training in the
program before marriage, moreover, they usually stopped this process once they started
a family and gave birth to a child because of the necessity to remain in the village to
care for their families.

The Vision Statement

It should be decided on how long the vision is to be compulsory and who is eligible to
revise or change it. There should be a way to evaluate it, to accept it for another term or
make amendments, or even change or terminate it. It surely has to be evaluated and
adjusted in accordance with the rapid changes experienced by the Church community. It
also should be worded in such a way as to move the stress from an anthropocentric
towards a Christocentric character, in order to express the spirit of New Evangelisation.
It should be anchored in the scriptural passage “rejoice in the Lord always” (Phil 4: 4),
rather than advocating a simplistic attitude to “be happy”, almost bordering with the
hedonistic motto carpe diem. As the Diocese has its titular patron “Jesus the Good
Shepherd”, there certainly should be a provision for something of this image in the
vision statement. Pithy epithets of relevance could be formulated, such as “Jesus the
Good Shepherd (or why not the Enga term for Good Herdsman?) the source of
happiness for our Christian community”, or “Christian Community together with Jesus
its Shepherd sharing life and happiness”, or “Jesus the Good Shepherd leading his flock
(community) to true happiness (joy)”. With such verbal formulations, it would be easy
to show explicitly in the drawings representing this “vision” that Jesus is the source of
the community's joy. The good example of such a Christological orientation with attention at the same time to the local culture and its values could already be seen in the Bishop's motto "Jesus Christ Kamongo".

The Coordination of the Implementation of the Plan

Looking at the structure chart one can notice that the DPCC is directly linked to the person of the Bishop. Although the Bishop is the principal agent of evangelisation in the Diocese, it would be unreasonable to expect that he would be personally responsible for the action of one of the institutions while neglecting to fulfil roles in many other similar institutions operating in the Diocese. With the program in place there is a danger that he might compromise his position as leader of the whole Diocesan Church, being preoccupied with one set of its activities, while neglecting the whole. Overworking the program this way it could be seen as giving preferential treatment to only one of many groups active in the Diocese. He would also undermine his authority in case the project failed, a failure inevitably associated with human endeavour.

Skimming through the structure chart of the Wabag Diocese, Sister Blesila, one of the SAIDI directors, noticed immediately that there is a gap between Diocesan Pastoral Coordinating Committee (DPCC) representing SAIDI structure and between the Diocesan hierarchical structure. As mentioned already, only the hierarchical structure has the provision of Canon Law to act independently or to authorise the activity of other bodies. What is needed, therefore, are pastoral coordinators or a chairperson of the DPCC who would have the facilities for acting in the Diocesan forum

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1 This suggestion has already been partly implemented by depicting Jesus as the Good Shepherd on the cover of the booklet containing the plan for 1998-2003. See: Plen Bilong Daiosis Bilong Wabag 1998, AWCD.
2 Personal communication with Sr Blesila Fabricano.
as based on the provisions of Canon Law. It seems that there are two options available for the Wabag Diocese. The first would be to incorporate all Vicars Forane (Deans) into the DPCC without necessarily appointing any of them as the DPCC chairperson. Since they have the necessary faculties under Canon Law, they could spearhead the implementation of the Diocesan Plan of evangelisation in the regions under their jurisdiction. This solution would be very handy at present, since there are only three Vicars Forane in the Diocese, and all of them took an active part in the process of preparing of the plan and are familiar with the principles of the SAIDI program. But as this duty would impose on them an additional load of work, responsibilities and extended travelling, it may adversely affect the progress of evangelisation. One more reservation should be added, namely that while this solution could be advisable in the Diocese with a small number of Deaneries, it would be impractical in the case of larger numbers of Vicars Forane and this may be the case in the Wabag Diocese in the future.

The second solution would be to appoint a coordinator for the implementation of the Diocesan Plan. The natural choice would be in this situation the position of Diocesan Vicar General. In the present situation this solution seems to be very feasible, since the Vicar General holds at the same time the position of Assistant Bishop, and as such has quite a wide field of action guaranteed by Canon Law. If the scenario changed, it would be the job of the DPCC to select a suitable person to the position of its Chair, and ask the Bishop to appoint this person as an additional Vicar General responsible for pastoral activities. There is also a possibility that the Bishop himself would appoint one of the priests to the position of Vicar General, with the sole responsibility of overseeing the Plan and coordinating the process of implementation of the New Evangelisation program.
A few comments about possible, even actual complications arising from this second option should be added. After the initial SAIDI workshop in which the Diocesan Plan was developed in 1983, it was decided that Fr Krol, who at the time was Vicar General, would be responsible for the process of implementing the Plan. At the first meeting of the DPCC he was also elected as its chairperson, so the arrangement seemed to be ideal for the SAIDI program to succeed. The situation became complicated a few years later, however, when his term as General Vicar expired and someone else was appointed to this position. Since Fr Krol reminded the chairperson of the DPCC, it looked superficial to appoint yet another coordinator for the implementation of the Plan. But it became even more complicated when one of the Sisters was elected as the new chairperson of DPCC. The Vicar General was not involved directly in the process of implementing the Plan, and the Sister could not be appointed to that position, because under Canon Law it is reserved for ordained persons. The simplest solution was to again appoint the Vicar General as the coordinator for the implementation of the Plan, but this might have created an impression of not having enough confidence in the abilities of the Sister. So it was accepted that as the chairperson of the DPCC she would report directly to the Bishop, but this arrangement left the DPCC and the Diocesan Plan without any legal structure and power. Aside from the desirability of continually assessing the SAIDI program already in place, the following are recommendations about improving current conditions in the Wabag Diocese.

The Localisation of the Church

Local Vocations and Hierarchy

The main issue facing the Catholic Church in Wabag is the localisation of all the Diocesan structures and offices at all levels. The pressure for localising functions arises
from external and internal factors. The fact is that all other Churches are already virtually completely localised and show that they can manage their administrative and dogmatic affairs quite competently. As is typical of mission history in Papua New Guinea, the Catholics find themselves yet again in a "catch-up situation", but there is potential in the Enga case for making a difference and speeding up the localisation process. Signs of progress lie in the fact that there already is an indigenous Assistant Bishop, and that there is a small number of Enga priests, if localisation is certainly not up to Local Church expectations, the potential is nonetheless there and has to be cultivated.

Greater Lay Involvement in the Wabag Diocese

Be the localisation of the clergy as it may, that will not be of great consequence unless the laity in general increases its involvement in Church life. There is a need for leadership education, especially in the areas of more mature teachings about Christian doctrine and practice, appropriate to the re-evangelisation process (see above); running meetings and handling finances with integrity; commitment to longer term engagement in Church activities.

Revised Role of Basic Christian Communities

The latest Diocesan Plan calls for a revitalisation of the Basic Christian Communities and their greater involvement in the process of evangelisation.\(^1\) Since the concept of Basic Christian Communities was first applied in Latin America, we have to ask how it applies in the Enga case. The Diocesan Plan does not clarify what these communities amount to in Enga, and there is confusion about them at the grassroots level. Here is

about the time to capitalise on the strengths of the traditional Enga social structure, which has mechanisms for coherence and social solidarity, and – if the distinct Tee procedures are remembered – for peacemaking and conciliation in a volatile local world (see Chapter Two). Understanding local conditions provides a cue for a sensitive applied ecclesiology – in the contemporary understanding as cultivated by the Magisterium (see Chapter Four). We recommend a closer attention to the integration of local fieldwork findings, theological (and in particular ecclesiological) truths, and missiological praxis. In the process building up strong Basic Christian Communities in the Enga Church, with a more mature evangelising zeal, care should be taken to avoid pitfalls in the Latin American experience (politicisation, fragmentation, elitism, etc.).

Social Justice: Fighting, Women, Youth

Over and above preaching against social injustices from the pulpit, and collaborating with the forces of law and order, there should be more liaison mechanisms set up between local leadership (traditional and modern), government agencies, and local branches of the Diocesan committee called Gutpela Sindaun. The local initiatives spreading out from the Catholic background such as God Triwan Movement promoting peace and development should be fostered and encouraged to coordinate their activities with the Diocesan program of evangelisation.

Although gender relations are almost always on the agenda of any major Church’s meeting, they still constitute a burning issue to be solved in the light of Gospel teaching. Violence in the family continues to be a serious problem that needs tackling, not only from the pulpit, but also through setting up appropriate mechanisms which cultivate a spirit of correction that comes from both Church values and the requirement
of administrative authorities. At the same time, local authorities should be convinced that they have more power to discipline wrongdoers – for socialisation reasons.

Youth should be given more space to develop their interests and claims within Enga society. Social conflict is hindering their education so that what happens in terms of peacemaking activity will free them for more positive group life. Church Youth Clubs should be ready to develop more imaginative and practically-oriented programmes to divert energies away from intertribal strife. Young men and women should be given the opportunity to participate more in Parish life (decision-making processes, pastoral activities, participation in Church services, etc.).

Health and Social Care (including Protection of Infants, the Sick and Elderly)
A huge job has already been done in Enga in eradicating traditional diseases (such as yaws, leprosy, malaria and infantile dysentery), this being done through regular patrols and the setting up of aid posts, clinics and hospitals. Unfortunately, due to unsettled times and extreme compensation claims, health conditions in Enga in general and particularly in rural areas have deteriorated, and the impact of introduced diseases (such as influenza, TB, typhoid, and AIDS) has worsened. Funds are insufficient to cope with the present problems, and due to the volatile situation no volunteers or even paid workers are willing to provide their services. The local authorities and Churches should combine in generating a realisation that, if the bad levels of conflict and excessive compensation demands are maintained, there is a risk of a ‘health disaster’ in the region. The important pastoral issue in this regard is to make all Christians conscious that the commandment ‘you shall not kill’ should not only be understood narrowly as a restriction on direct assault on somebody’s life. It is an urgent evangelising task to make
clear that the fifth commandment indicates the positive action of searching and creating new means and conditions that will prevent any unnecessary deaths and protect all endangered life.

Special attention in this context has to be given to infants, the handicapped and the elderly. As far as the Church is concerned a special stress should be put on supporting these highly vulnerable groups. An important pastoral issue particular to Enga conditions is the situation of people injured in tribal fights (usually male), and in domestic disputes (female and children), who in some cases are prevented from receiving proper medical attention for the want of a higher compensation. There are recorded cases of deaths resulting from this unchristian and inhumane attitude.1

Overall, to pick up on earlier observations, both traditional and ecclesial, we recommend further effort to integrate traditional and Christian healing activities within the existing medical services. And, although we could have paid more attention to traditional death rites, certainly to Christian funerals, we recommend more attention be given to sensitive intertwining of local and Christian respect for the recently departed persons. Funerary rituals should be carried out with a greater sense of continuity with the past at the same time opening up of consciousness of transformed lives in this world an in the next.2

1 The author witnessed a case where a young wife, during a domestic quarrel was beaten by her husband with a chain. After the fight she was brought to the presbytery by her father-in-law, to get some painkillers and have her injuries dressed. Afterwards she returned to her native clan, where she reportedly became quite ill, was treated according to the local medical know-how, but was never taken to a doctor. After about two months she died. The common opinion was that her clan prevented her from seeing the doctor in the hope of receiving a higher compensation. It is not to say that they desired her death, but they miscalculated the seriousness of her condition.

2 Recall how meaningful it was for people from the remote Linjing outstation to keep on the old catechist, who performed funeral services very well, although he was not good in other ministries.
Land Ownership and Environmental Issues

The land has always been held in high esteem and it had a religious significance to such an extent that people were prepared to offer their lives for its protection. To be buried outside one's clan's territory was to be condemned to everlasting wandering as a ghost. This sacralisation of land was extended to the environment at large. Although there was no defined concept of nature or environmental rights, people treated even small plants with reverence. When they needed to destroy parts of the natural setting they would do it only to such an extent that was necessary for their survival and would offer special sacrifices and observe prescribed rituals.

Unfortunately, with the impact of the cash economy – and materialistic values going with it – the natural habitat is under threat. The trees are being cut down in large quantities in exchange for cash; rivers are being polluted by mine tailings; animals are being killed in larger numbers because of guns and profit, etc. The land is overburdened: cash cropping prevents its rejuvenation, careless usage produces erosion, and some land is even given over to the drug crop marihuana to satisfy the urban hedonistic markets of Papua New Guinea and neighbouring countries. With the impact of Western ideas of freedom in decision-making by an individual and with adaptation of the free market mechanisms the traditional protective mechanisms governing the use of land and natural resources rapidly disappeared while the modern concepts of the environmental issues are not being as yet apprehended, let alone appreciated by the local people. In view of this, there is an urgent need for re-evangelisation to mean re-sacralisation of the land and nature and the education of people in the area of environmental issues and strategies already developed in other parts of the world.
CONCLUSIONS: COPING WITH CHANGE

In summary, and in the light of the foregoing challenges, the Enga Church needs to gear itself up with a new commitment to fulfil the Mission of God in this part of Papua New Guinea. The Diocesan Plan of Wabag lists the challenges presented by a multitude of changes to which the Church and society has to adjust. The life and ethos of the local people has to progress accordingly in order to create a truly Enga and Christian culture. This development has to encompass not only the visible material reality but it has to take a holistic approach for developing the entire personality in its spiritual, intellectual and material spheres, in other words aiming for total personality integration.

The Parishes should be concerned with how to attract or bring people back to a relationship with Christ and his Church. Modern advertising and marketing techniques could be helpful, as they define their activity as a process of awakening people to needs that they do not realise they have.¹ For the program of New Evangelisation it will mean to awaken people to their spiritual needs and at the same time to provide them with the means and possibilities of fulfilling them. And the Church is surely in a position to provide for these needs. It has a treasure of faith and tradition; it has the Body of Christ and our Christian Community.

Who should be targeted? Especially those who were baptised but did not receive adequate catechetical formation and with time lost their sense of faith. The young generation which became attracted to the advertising and marketing of other products, like material wealth, alcohol, drugs, sex, leisure, and in that way they do not any longer perceive the Gospel as an attractive value. The Church has to improve ‘the advertising

of its product', has to find new innovative ways for the mission of evangelising to be able to attract those people to spiritual, religious and communal values.

In the process of New Evangelisation the evangelisers will have to show the same level of passion, dedication and determination in advertising our religious values, which characterises secular marketing. Christians need to grow in confidence as to how much they have to offer, and how valuable and desirable is this "product" for individual people and for the whole contemporary society. Today's Papua New Guinea society is an amalgam of different cultures, languages, jobs, etc., and people, being by nature communitarian, are longing for some sense of belonging and the security of a group. While some of the intellectual and physical needs could be satisfied in the local clan communities, interest groups, social organisations and even political parties, the spiritual sphere – through active mainline Churches – remains unsatisfied and an arena of unmet needs. This is why it finds its expression in the joining of strange sects, occult groups and a return to many negative aspects of traditional religious practices such as witchcraft, poison and retaliation. Yet, there is such a wonderful product to offer, such as our Catholic, Christian communities.

But it is a requirement of the times for the Catholic Church in Papua New Guinea that such traditional communitarian Christian institution as the Parish is in dire need of readjustment and reform to fulfil the communitarian desires of contemporary people. But even in this state the most important thing is advertising and information. This can not be done as it was traditionally, by the institution of the Church itself or the higher instances of decrees like from Bishops, but it has to be done in the spirit of New Evangelisation. It has to be “a synergistic contagion among Church members wherein
through informal contacts with the unchurched or disconnected, those not currently
involved in community life are invited to become involved”. Christians, the members
of the community have to become personally involved and responsible for the Word,
liturgy and ministries to such an extent that it will create a type of ‘magnetic field’,
attracting others.

New Evangelisation is both about bringing of Christian values into the
traditional culture and fostering age-long values and forms of religious experience and
expression. The author would like to think that it is therefore providential that, while the
New Evangelisation is been propagated through the Church at this time, the healthy
energy it gives to rethink the life of the Church coalesces with all the considerations
being made in Enga about the relationships between traditional and Christian
leadership, and the role of the laity in the future life of the indigenous community. A
healthy inculturation involves preservation of positive values in the local culture and the
incorporation of the more challenging values of the Gospel.

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