# Introduction

The present work is concerned with acculturation in its widest sense, that is, with cultural contact and the cultural change determined by it.[1] Using the example of Pairundu, a village in Southern Highlands Province, Papua New Guinea, in the Kewa language area,[2] I examine how the indigenous people handle Western influences. The data for this research were collected between December 1990 and October 1991 over a total of ten months of stationary fieldwork (Map 1).

I consider it appropriate to view contact between traditional and Western culture in this area primarily from the point of view of the relationship between traditional religion and Christianity.[3] The reasons for this arise equally out of the pre-colonial past and the conditions of cultural contact. For all the heterogeneity of the traditional cultures of Melanesia in general and of Papua New Guinea in particular, religion formed a central aspect (cf. Laubscher 1983: 233) that was interwoven with other aspects by, for example, providing reasons for the economy or social structure (Lawrence and Meggitt 1965a: 12). To that extent, the traditional religion appears as the 'background that provides meaning' (Jebens 1990a: 27) to the traditional culture as a whole. Later, the Western world was represented in many regions initially, and for a long time virtually exclusively, by missionaries, who also directed the building of schools, hospitals and churches (Biskup 1970: 39). Today, a majority of the inhabitants of Papua New Guinea see themselves as Christians, and the preamble to the constitution lays down the goal of handing down to future generations the 'Christian principles' that people claim for themselves today, as well as the 'noble traditions' of their own ancestors.[4] Both the pre-colonial past and the impact of the West upon it therefore suggest that contact between traditional and Western culture should be regarded in the first instance as contact between the traditional religion and Christianity.[5] In the case of Pairundu, from the beginning of missionisation this Christianity was Catholic, then around 1987 some villagers converted to the Church of the Seventh-day Adventists, which is recording increasing numbers of members both in Pairundu and in many other parts of Papua New Guinea.[6] In examining the relationship between the traditional religion and Christianity, I am essentially pursuing two goals. One is to explain how – that is, with what needs and beliefs – the
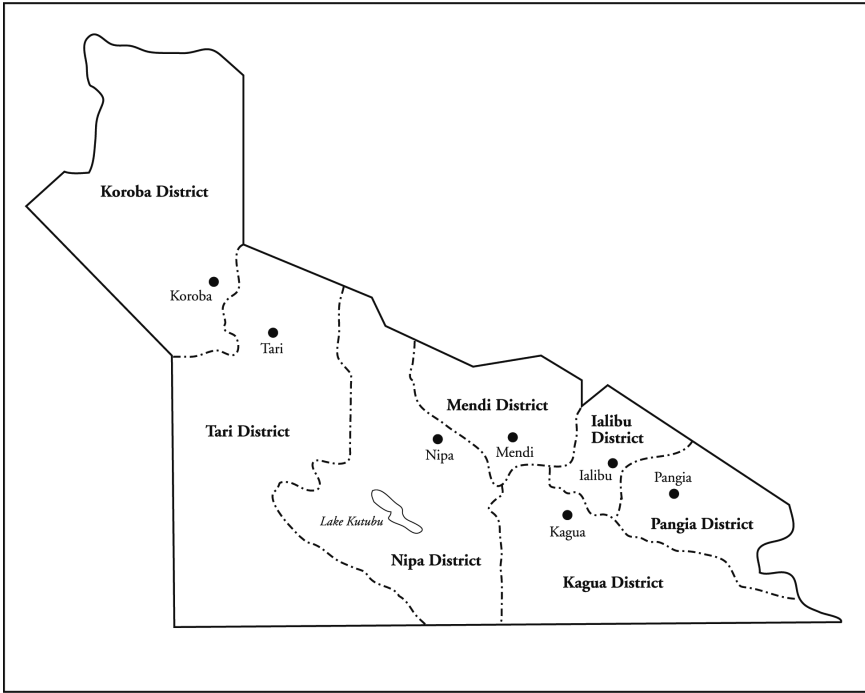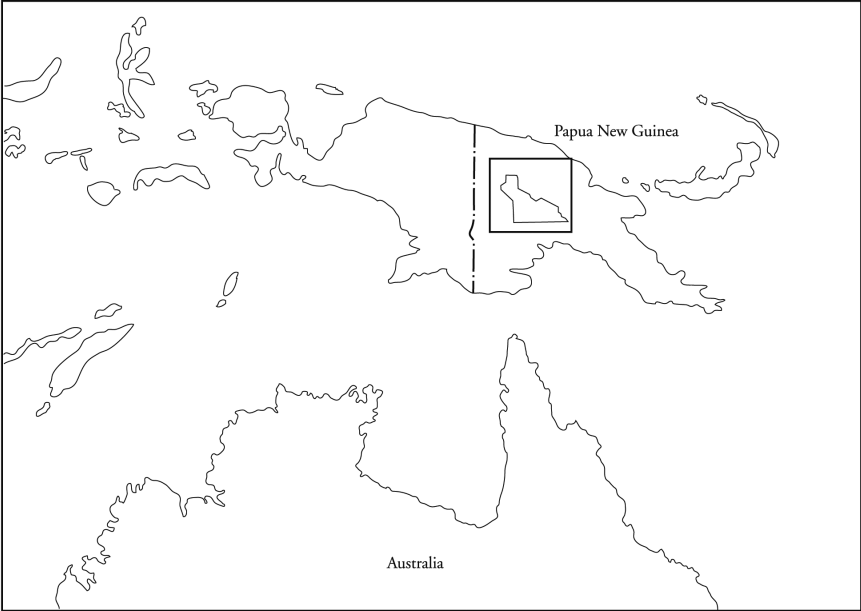
Map 1 Papua New Guinea and the Southern Highlands Province.

villagers adopt the different forms of Christianity, thus providing information on the causes that have led to the 'success' of the Adventists and the rise of the denominational opposition in Pairundu. The other goal is to determine whether, and if so in what form, the traditional religion is still continuing to have an impact today.

In the present work, religions are regarded fundamentally as culturally and historically determined enterprises with which the human species seeks to communicate about itself and about its environment, as well as continually to resolve or balance out individual and social conflicts in a collectively binding manner.[7] Collective liability is created by links to the idea of what from a Western point of view constitutes a transcendent sphere.[8] Through handling individual and social conflicts, religions, in multifarious and often intricate forms, incorporate experiences, ideas and even mutually conflicting needs that arise from confronting a changing social reality. It is precisely these experiences, ideas, needs and conflicts – culturally determined and often unconscious or suppressed – that make religions worthy objects of investigation. In particular, the 'how' of the culturally and historically specific relationship between religion and the respective social reality is of interest, that is, an explanation is required of how, in a historical process, the changing religion incorporates, interprets and constitutes social reality and how, on the other hand, it itself influences that reality.[9] In the present work, the incorporation of social reality is examined through the needs and beliefs with which the inhabitants of Pairundu converted first to Catholic and then to Adventist Christianity.[10] The influencing of social reality is pursued by means of an analysis of the denominational opposition, since this opposition makes manifest the social consequences of adopting Christianity. According to the notion of religion and the epistemological interest just delineated, one can only describe and analyse what people formulate as their ideas and what they express either in their day-to-day lives or in their cult practices. Only this can potentially be perceived by anyone without the precondition of any personal belief – only this is thus open to empirical experience (Zinser 1988: 308). By contrast, the question whether particular ideas or cult practices correspond to the will of God or can be seen as authentically Christian presupposes an essential or substantial definition of God or of the sacred, which can only be provided on the basis of belief.[11] Belief, however, is a precondition of theology[12] but not of the anthropology of religion, which is where I place my own research. Thus I am writing not about the nature, impact and will of God, but about people's empirically perceptible representations – as expressed in statements and actions – that are based on, among other things, references to the nature, impact and will of God.

Examining the relationship between the traditional religion and Christianity by using the example of Pairundu requires taking into account anthropological studies that are available both on this theme and on the Kewa, the language group of the villagers. I will, however, deal later with

anthropological research on mission activities in other parts of Papua New Guinea (Chapter 8), concentrating for the present on authors who have published on the Kewa up to now.

Following long stays with the inhabitants of Muli and Usa (Map 2) in the service of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Karl Franklin translated the Bible into Kewa, so that his work has a mainly linguistic orientation.[13] Social organisation, that is, its reconstruction, is the central theme of John LeRoy, supported by fieldwork in Korapere, Yapi and Koyari.[14] More recently, LeRoy has edited and interpreted a collection of myths (1985a, 1985b), the world-view formulated in them, in his opinion, in no way indicating changes to the traditional culture caused by colonisation and missionisation (1985a: xxii, 1985b: 34). On the basis of fieldwork conducted near Sumbura, Lisette Josephides is concerned above all with the relationship between the genders, while, like Franklin and LeRoy, she more or less excludes the influence of the missions.[15] On the basis of several visits to Mararoko, Mary MacDonald, who is to be seen rather as a representative of mission theology than of anthropology, first infers statements about Melanesian cultures in general from individual aspects of the culture of the southern Kewa, before dealing more particularly with the traditional religion in a longer monograph.[16] The impression here, however, is that the data were not collected through participant observation or systematic interviews but from the 188 stories that, ordered chronologically, make up the second part of MacDonald's monograph and were obviously recorded without any particular thematic restrictions or questions.

In the light of existing anthropological sources, the Wiru are of more interest that the Mendi among the neighbours of the Kewa.[17] Following fieldwork in 1980 and 1985, Jeffrey Clark deals with the Wiru's response to colonisation and missionisation, while concentrating on the question of how contact with the Western world is affecting traditional exchange systems.[18] Unfortunately J. Clark does not provide an exact description of the denominations present in his area of investigation.[19] Also to be mentioned in connection with the Wiru is Andrew Strathern (1968, 1982, 1984), who has repeatedly compared their culture with that of the Medlpa, Western Highlands Province, dealing with processes of transformation, but not taking much account of missionisation. In a later article (1991), however, he compares a Pentecostalist denomination with a traditional Medlpa cult to determine complementary functions in both.

Reviewing the existing anthropological research on the Kewa and their neighbours, it becomes obvious that the adoption of Christianity is often either overlooked or only asserted, but only rarely described and analysed systematically. Traditional religion is not dealt with very much either. While Franklin and MacDonald do provide summary descriptions of particular cult practices, L. Josephides and LeRoy only briefly name individual religious phenomena. Accordingly, overall, anthropological work on the Kewa contains hardly any references to the relationship
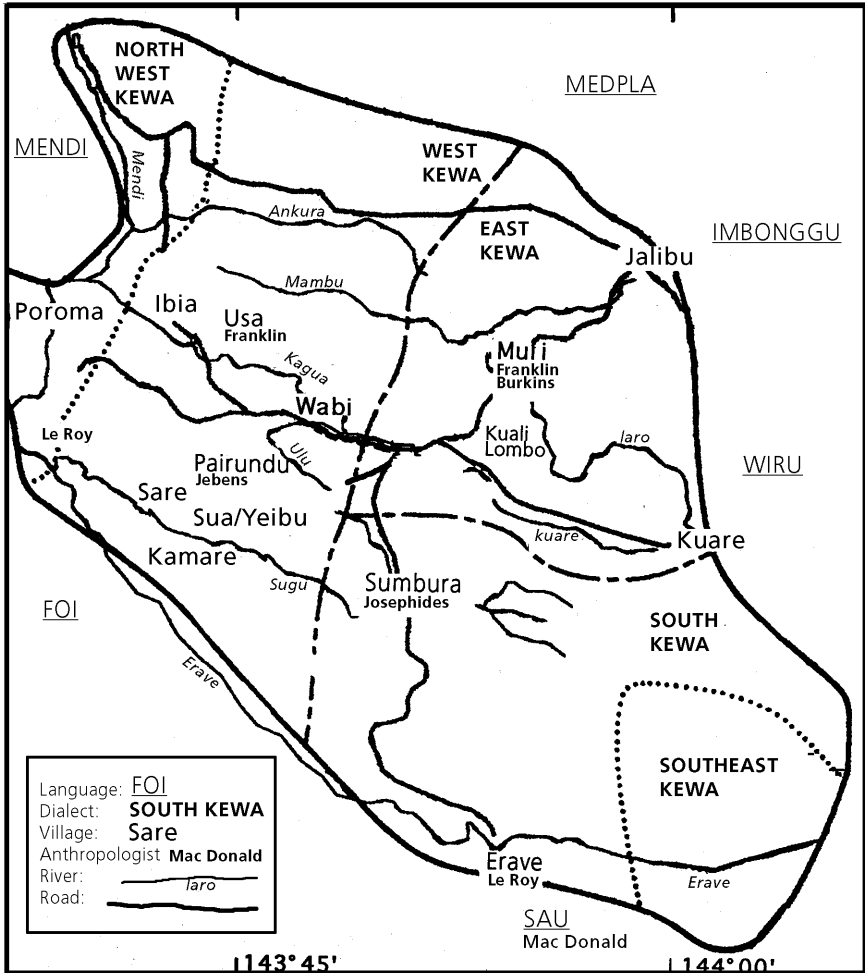
Map 2 Kewa area.

between traditional religion and Christianity. This is not the case with sources relating to mission theology.[20] However, as opposed to Franklin, L. Josephides and LeRoy these start out from a basically different approach. Since the Second Vatican Council at the latest, the mission theology of the mainline churches (Catholic, Protestant, Anglican, Methodist) has been striving for inculturation.[21] Starting from the thesis that in general traditional religions are a kind of preliminary stage or a 'preparation for the Gospel',[22] an attempt is made to convey the Christian message in a way that is appropriate for the particular cultural

circumstances, so that 'the contents of Christian belief and Christian forms of life are no longer seen as alien and as coming from the outside' (Bus and Landu 1989: 170). Out of this arises the question of the parallels between traditional cultures and Christianity, since these parallels are supposed to provide information about where the message of missionisation can tie in, about where it encounters the already known and familiar. At the same time, these parallels also provide information concerning what in Christianity can be transferred to the particular cultural conditions and what cannot.[23] Thus in contrast to anthropological works on the Kewa, to some extent mission theology pursues a comparative analysis of traditional cultures and Christianity. However, this is not aimed at detecting the experiences, ideas, needs and conflicts that are incorporated by religion or at understanding the changing relationship between religion and social reality. Instead, it is a matter of recognising or constructing cultural parallels in order to prepare or support the process of inculturation, which is ultimately intended to result in the creation of an original Melanesian theology.[24]

If, however, only certain things are transferable from Christianity to the locally specific circumstances that are encountered, if other things prove to be bound to Western culture, to be relevant only there and thus not to be transferable, then for mission theology a problem arises in differentiating between what is significant only in a culturally specific sense and what cannot be dispensed with in missionisation. This ultimately poses the question of what has to be excluded from any relativisation, that is, the substance of the Christian message, the nature, impact and will of God.[25] This becomes obvious in particular in the case of the Holy Spirit movements – also described as 'revivals' (Barr and Trompf 1983: 49) – in which indigenous people, among them those in Pairundu, have sought to enter into direct contact with the Holy Spirit, accompanied by altered states of consciousness.[26] With the exception of the psychologist Robert Robin, the relevant descriptions and interpretations come overwhelmingly from mission theology, in which, when it comes to assessing Holy Spirit movements, the main point of discussion is whether God makes an appearance in them and therefore whether they count as being authentically Christian or not.[27] Accordingly, mission theologists ultimately attempt to do research on the impact of God, perceptible only through beliefs, rather than – as required by the approach of the anthropology of religion evident in the present work – confining themselves to what the indigenous people express in their statements and actions and what is therefore accessible to empirical experience.

If the relationship between traditional religion and Christianity has, on the one hand, hardly been taken into account in anthropological works on the Kewa and if, on the other hand, it is treated by mission theology from the perspective of a different interest and approach, then it can be hoped that the present investigation may help to fill a gap in research. Moreover, in view of the phenomenon of fundamentalism, which is

gaining in importance in many areas worldwide, it seems appropriate to examine, using a local example, the adoption of a form of Christianity that is transmitted by a fundamentalist group. This should make it possible to improve our understanding of the numerical growth, that is, the 'success' of the Seventh-day Adventists in Pairundu and other parts of Papua New Guinea.

Today, however, anthropological work must also address the question of its relevance not only for the scientific community, but also for those whose hospitality the anthropologist enjoys. The question of the relevance of my research for the inhabitants of Pairundu, who describe themselves quite definitely as Christians, is expressed in the fact that, even without my influence, they have repeatedly talked about and often intensively discussed, their treatment of Christianity and the relationship between the two denominations. Thus I was often asked for information and advice, since to some extent people doubted that they had properly grasped the Christian message.[28] Still more important, however, may be the fact that the denominational opposition in Pairundu has led to a considerable degree of division within the community and partly to bitter conflicts (Chapter 4). Accordingly Catholics often asked me whether Adventists were correct in their criticisms of them and whether there were also Adventists in Germany.

The questions I am addressing here are the product of a longer development. In studying anthropology and *Religionswissenschaft* (the anthropology of religion), I had already become concerned with change in traditional religions and myths as a consequence of socio-economic and political transformation with reference to New Guinea as a whole. Out of this came an analysis of cargo cults as a religious attempt to cope with the experience of colonialism in the north-east of New Guinea (Jebens 1990a, 1993). This research was then deepened and was actualised through a subsequent examination of Holy Spirit movements, in which I concentrated especially on the Highlands of Papua New Guinea (Jebens 1990b). In my fieldwork, I initially wanted to use the example of a particular village to find out whether any relationships could be recognised between socio-economic differences that have been triggered or strengthened by colonisation and the adoption of Christianity. At the same time, this village should still be relatively little exposed to Western modernisation, so that, I hoped, influences coming from the traditional culture in general and the traditional religion in particular could be detected more easily. In the course of a six-week reconnaissance of the area between Mendi, Ialibu, Kagua and Usa (Map 2), however, I soon noticed that socio-economic differences were in general less marked than I had expected from sources on other Highlands provinces (Brown 1982: 543, A. Strathern 1984: 111). Instead, it emerged that the adoption of Christianity has been determined rather by conflicts between the mainline churches on the one hand and the smaller communities of belief that had intruded subsequently on the

other.[29] In conversations with me, Catholic priests and Lutheran pastors especially condemned the fact that the Adventists were increasingly invading existing Catholic or Lutheran areas in greater numbers than any other denomination in order to 'woo away' church members and were thus causing serious problems. These impressions made it appear reasonable not to insist on my preconceived questions but to take the relationship between different denominations more into consideration. Here the Western observer is at first struck by the contrasts between the Catholics and the Adventists in particular, for the Adventists not only place greater stress on well-looked-after Western clothing and frequent washing of the body, unlike many Catholics they also forego the wearing of beards or traditional body decorations, bark belts and head coverings. After modifying my research interest, Pairundu seemed to be particularly suitable for stationary fieldwork. It offered the opportunity to observe the living together of Catholics and Adventists not only from a close distance, but also within a relatively narrow framework, since Pairundu has fewer inhabitants and a more concentrated settlement pattern than neighbouring villages. Moreover, among the different Highlands provinces of Papua New Guinea, Southern Highlands Province is relatively isolated from Western modernisation, as is Kagua District within it and the Wabi-Sumi area, in which Pairundu is situated, within that.

On my first visit in Pairundu on 20 December 1990, I was accompanied by Yano, who was employed at the Lutheran mission station in Wabi as a caretaker. I said that I wanted to live in a local community for a longer period in order to learn something about present-day village life and the customs of the ancestors as part of my education, 'like a pupil'. I reported truthfully that I had heard the name 'Pairundu' for the first time from Fr Dunstan, a priest who had formerly been responsible for the village. Those present on my second visit on 21 December 1990 – which this time was announced in advance – including Yawa, Wala, Ari and Rekepea, that is, the leading men of Pairundu, all agreed in stating that I should pursue my goals among them and that I could live in a house that the Catholic community had already begun to build a few months earlier, originally for the visits of priests and nuns. After this house (no. 32 in Map 3) had been completed in the last week in December with the help of the Adventists, I moved in on 10 January 1991 and lived there until the end of my fieldwork in October 1991. The land on which the house stood belonged to the Rata Kome sub-clan and the family of Ari.

The villagers gave me food, drinking water and firewood on a daily basis, as and when they could or wished. Before leaving, I made payments for this and for the use of the house that had been agreed upon in the corresponding negotiations and that were distributed further by the leaders of the individual sub-clans. At the same time, I also made presents of pieces of clothing and equipment to good informants and friends. Otherwise, however, apart from the daily sharing of meals or tobacco, I did not especially remunerate anyone apart from Alex, who,
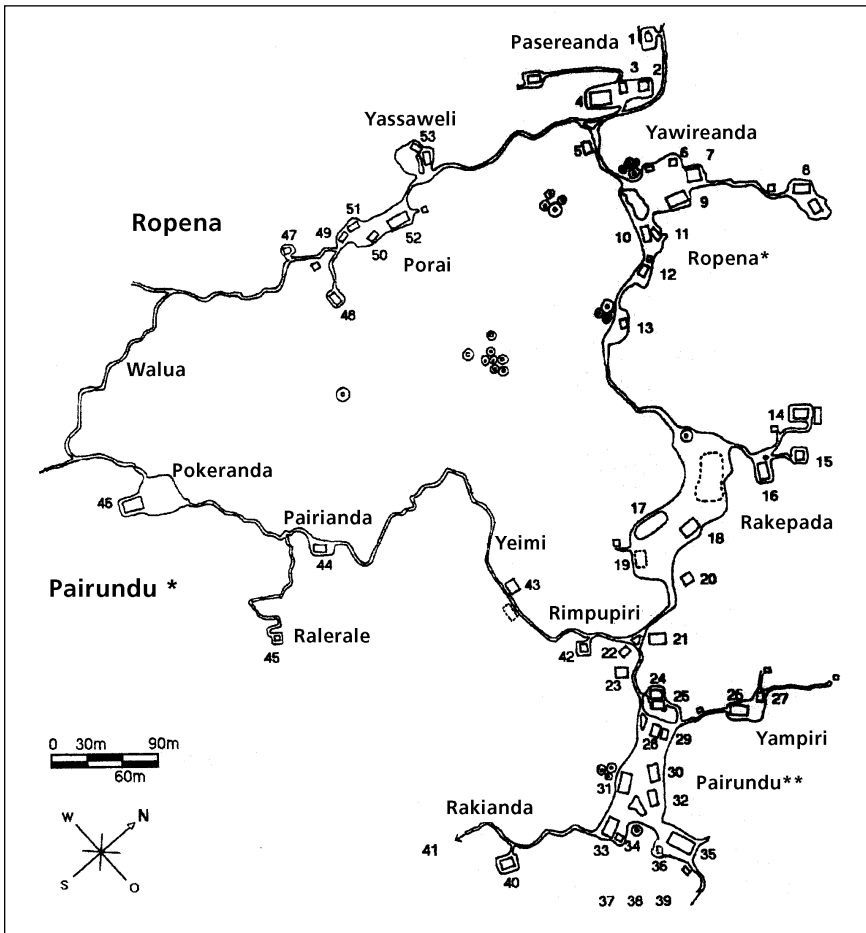
Map 3 Pairundu.

shortly after my moving in, expressed the desire to live with me in order to bring me firewood and water and to cook for me. I agreed and did not have to regret this decision, since my new companion quickly proved to be highly intelligent and a careful translator, who, as a member of the Adventist community, also provided me with pieces of information that were otherwise kept concealed from non-Adventists. At the beginning of my stay in Pairundu, I brought with me a large amount of frozen beef from the provincial capital, to form the basis of a feast for the sake of my making a 'good beginning'. This feast simultaneously gave me an opportunity to introduce myself to a wider public and explain the reasons for my being there. In accordance with the spontaneously expressed agreement with my intentions in general and my staying in Pairundu in particular, the villagers treated me in an entirely friendly and interested fashion.[30] Even those who at first appeared indifferent towards me and

did not visit me on their own initiative generally agreed when I wanted to meet them for conversations or interviews. My access to places accorded with my access to people: I never heard that I could not go to particular parts of the bush or to particular gardens or houses. Conversely, my own house was in principle open to anyone at any time. In the first few weeks of my fieldwork I became friendly not only with Alex, but also particularly with his brother Ripu, Coleman Makoa and Amakoa. Later not only did the initially rather reserved Ata Francis, Rekepea and Alupa become involved, but also Otmar, who lived in Anapote.

In the entire region between Mendi, Ialibu, Kagua and Sumi, I proved to be the only white person living in a house of traditional construction, without a corrugated iron roof, without great spatial distance from the other villagers, eating the same food and not possessing a car. Certainly such whites had been heard of from other regions,[31] but nonetheless an anthropologist pursuing stationary fieldwork represented something new for the inhabitants of Pairundu, for which there was no example in the local tradition. Since all the other known whites were missionaries, colonial officers or overseers on coffee plantations in Western Highlands Province, behaviour towards me initially resembled behaviour towards these people. The villagers first addressed me as 'masta', as was usual on the coffee plantations, until I asked them to call me by my first name instead.[32] Otherwise already on my first visit people connected me with 'the Church', especially since I was accompanied by a Lutheran from Wabi and since I myself mentioned the name of Fr Dunstan.[33] This only seemed to be confirmed when I lived in a house that was originally intended for priests and nuns. I soon heard it being assumed that I had been sent to Pairundu by Fr Dunstan, and in interviews on Christianity, even after several months it was still sometimes said that I already knew the answers and was only concerned to test people's general beliefs. Shortly after the start of my fieldwork in Pairundu, the idea that I was connected to a church was expressed especially clearly in the suggestion that a fence be put round my house and that access to it be restricted, since priests and nuns were known to live by themselves too on fenced-off mission stations guarded by dogs. However, the villagers noticed, with not a little astonishment, that I was especially concerned to avoid creating such a distance and to make as many contacts as possible.

From the start, on various occasions I myself repeatedly spoke out against my being connected with any church. Since I basically appeared to be rather reserved, listening more than talking, in course of time many people realised that indeed I could hardly be a missionary.[34] Still more important for the villagers must have been the fact that I took part in both Catholic and Adventist services, so that I could not belong to either denomination. Accordingly, I basically had no problems in either community in conducting conversations and interviews, nor in attending cult practices. My position, that I would first have to know both

denominations well before I could opt for one of them for myself, seemed plausible and acceptable to both Catholic and Adventist villagers.

In the first period, people tried to convey to me the impression that living together in the village was generally peaceful and without problems. Here, obviously, an ideal of harmony was at work, which, as I could observe later, tended to be propagated vis-à-vis all visitors who were not from Pairundu. Only after some weeks did some people begin to tell me in individual, whispered conversations about conflicts with members of other families, lineages or sub-clans, who, in these contexts, usually appeared in a bad light. In my view, such reports and rumours, which were often formulated as warnings, indicated a reduction in the initial distance towards me and an emerging relationship of trust. A contributory factor here may well have been the impression that I was not going to leave soon, but obviously actually wanted to go on living in Pairundu for a longer time. The fact that, as a rule, I did not depreciate what was told or described to me – something I avoided, so as not to deter people in advance from telling me something – might also have played a role. Warning me against other villagers also represented an attempt to monopolise me, which accompanied the reduction of the initial distance: members of Ari's family described me as a member of their family, members of the Rata Kome described me as a Rata Kome, and the inhabitants of Pairundu described me as a co-villager.[35] This was connected not only with an admonishment not to spend too much time with members of other families, sub-clans or villages, but also with the accusation that I was doing precisely that. With respect to the inhabitants of other villagers in particular, I was advised to be extremely reserved and not even to give my name. The attempt to monopolise me was also expressed in the desire to get me to settle permanently in Pairundu. Before my departure in particular, I was asked to return later, with the offer of other houses and villages as accommodation. In general I attempted to counter this monopolisation not only by spreading my contacts among different families and sub-clans through interviews or accompanying people on walks through the bush, but also by repeatedly referring to the fact that I had not come to Pairundu in order to stay with just one man or group. I could not see any serious denomination-specific differences in the respective behaviour of Catholics and Adventists with regard either to my being connected with a church or to the attempts to monopolise me.

Describing the relationship between myself and the villagers as having been completely without problems would not be a description of reality as it seemed to me, but would correspond to the very ideal of harmony that had occurred to me at the start of my fieldwork. A strain was placed on the mutual relationship for a time by a conflict with Yawa, the leading man of the Auro Kome sub-clan and, as I was told, of the village as a whole too. After we had already often spoken with one another about various topics, he came into my house on 4 March 1991 and said that he

could no longer accept the agreement we had come to earlier, in which the payments I should make at the end of my stay were laid down. If I were not ready to increase these payments many times, I would have to leave Pairundu. He, Yawa, spoke in the name of all the villagers. I indicated that under such circumstances I would indeed leave, simultaneously fearing that my fieldwork would thus come to an early and inglorious end after only a few months. In the days that followed, however, the leaders of other sub-clans, as well as numerous villagers, assured me that Yawa had only voiced his own opinion, which was not shared by anyone else. Altogether this event showed me that, for all the anxieties Yawa had triggered, my presence in Pairundu was welcome to most people, and that, even though he was a leading man, Yawa could not prevail against the majority view.

One restriction on mutual relationships and thus for my fieldwork as a whole, finally, was the fact that, in accordance with the gender antagonism that is typical of the Highlands of Papua New Guinea in general, the women remained very reserved towards me for a long time, not daring, with few exceptions, to come into my house, for example. As a result I was only able to conduct a few interviews with women, and to my regret I must presume that the emic point of view that I am repeatedly trying to describe in the present work is often likely to be a male view.

Permanently living together with the villagers made it possible for me to observe them in their daily lives and during their cult practices, to follow their discussions, to accompany them to trials at court and to visit them while they were at work in their gardens or in their homes. In addition, I was often invited to evening meals and later took part in communal expeditions to other villages for dances or pig-killing festivals.[36] Living together continuously led to informal conversations with differing numbers of participants, initiated sometimes by myself, sometimes by the villagers. The formal conversations can be divided into two groups. On the one hand, I visited all the dwellings of the village in sequence in order to carry out a census, collect genealogies, draw up a plan of the settlement (Map 3) and conduct the only half-standardised interviews of my fieldwork using pre-prepared questionnaires. They included questions about the individual's confession, experience of the world outside the village and district, ownership of land, pigs, objects of value and money, their sources of income and regular expenditure.

The second group of formal conversations consisted of a total of 182 non-standardised interviews with 54 individuals differentiated according to gender, age, sub-clan, confession and social standing. These interviews were less quantitative than qualitative and were open, though nonetheless formal, since they took place at previously arranged times, and I recorded them in whole or in part. Depending on mutual interest, they lasted somewhere between thirty minutes and an hour (with pauses). At first, I conducted mainly narrative interviews (Mayring 1990: 50–53, Lamnek

1993: 70–74) in which informants talked freely about a topic chosen by either themselves or myself. In these cases I exerted no influence over those present and left the degree of detail and course of the account mostly to the knowledge, preferences and imagination of the informants. If the choice of topic was left to me, I asked particularly for people's life histories. Later more structured, problem-focused interviews followed (Mayring 1990: 46–50, Lamnek 1993: 74–78), which remained open in that I still did not exert much influence over the participants but during which I encouraged people to talk about particular areas of the traditional culture in general (pig-killing festivals, warfare) and of the traditional religion in particular (transcendental authorities, magical and cult practices). Within this framework, I also ascertained the emic view of colonisation and missionisation. After some months, when a certain relationship of trust had been created, I began to ask selected villagers about Christianity, that is, about their view of their own and the other denominations. The same people also described the ideas, expectations and anxieties that they linked with the future. Here I sought either to be alone with the actual informant or to keep the number of those present as small as possible. My impression is that the tape recorder was not experienced as disturbing in either the narrative or the problem-focused interviews. Instead, people were pleased to listen to the recording again later, while I sometimes made notes of their ensuing commentaries, including them into the postscripts in which I also documented the basic conditions of the individual interview (place, time, name of those present), as well as my own impressions of the mood, gestures, mimicry and motor activity of the informants.[37] If I did not turn on the tape recorder, people sometimes asked me, with a slightly disappointed undertone, whether I was not finding what they were saying important.

The time available did not permit me to undertake systematic learning of Kewa. By the end of my stay in Pairundu I was only able to master a few words and roughly identify the theme people were talking about in Kewa. However, every serious communication was conducted in the main lingua franca of Papua New Guinea, the Neo-Melanesian Pidgin English, known in the language itself as Tok Pisin, which I had already started to learn in Germany. As a rule, translation from Kewa into Tok Pisin proved necessary in the case of conversations with people older than approximately 35 years, who had only limited competence in Tok Pisin, while younger people mostly spoke it without problems.

In the morning and evening of each day I spent one to two hours at my desk, writing a diary in which I wrote up extensively the notes of observations I had made that day or the previous day.[38] On this occasion I also listened to tape recordings of interviews, informal conversations and cult practices, partly transcribing them and partly summarising them in a combination of German and Tok Pisin.[39] On the whole, my observations and enquiries were not prevented by either sickness or accident, apart from an attack of malaria, which confined me to bed for

a week and an inflammation of the ankle ('tropical ulcer'), which restricted my movements for some two weeks.

The ethnographic data that I collected using the methods described above form the basis of the first part of the present work. In the second part I analyse what has been presented, and in the third part I place the example of Pairundu in its regional and theoretical contexts. The separation of presentation and analysis is intended to make it easier to check my interpretation and, if appropriate, come to different conclusions. Admittedly the separation between presentation and analysis cannot be strictly adhered to, since the order of presentation already presupposes some analysis, while analysis without reference to presentation is not plausible.

Presentation of the ethnographic data, consisting of four chapters, begins and ends with a view of the present. In between, on the basis of the relevant interviews, I describe first the traditional religion (Chapter 2) and then the changes brought about by colonisation and missionisation (Chapter 3). In Chapter 1, I sketch the social and economic conditions of present-day Pairundu against the background of, first, the state organisation of Papua New Guinea, and then Kewa culture. In this context, I am focusing particularly on the differences between the genders, the generations and men of different social standing. Here, however, I exclude religion, since dealing with the various forms of Christianity is central to later parts of my account. Chapter 2 follows with a presentation of various elements of the traditional religion, the question of its present-day influence requiring this to be treated in considerable detail. In Chapter 3, the representation of the past concludes with the history of colonisation and missionisation. In reconstructing this history, I contrast the memories of the older villagers with the reports of colonial officers and missionaries. The descriptions of the socio-economic conditions in present-day Pairundu, the traditional religion and the history of colonisation and missionisation form a prerequisite for Chapter 4, in which – again based on both indigenous statements and my own observations – I consider the two denominations represented in Pairundu. First I sketch the composition and structure of the Catholic and Adventist communities, in order thereafter to focus on the beliefs that are specific to each denomination and that in each case refer to the traditional culture, one's own world-view and one's own community.[40] The cult practices described next might to some extent be seen as forms of putting these beliefs into action. Finally, the fourth chapter ends with a presentation of the social consequences of the opposition between Catholics and Adventists, in which I delineate not only the way in which the adherents of the two denominations mutually see each other, but also some of the conflicts in which the antagonists partly come not only from the different communities, but also different villages.

The analysis, Part Two, of the data presented in the first four chapters is aimed at explaining the relationship between Christianity and the

traditional religion. In Chapter 5, I examine how the villagers see the significance of the changes that have taken place in connection with colonisation and missionisation for themselves and what hopes they have for the future within the socio-economic domain, that is, in the context of 'development'. In Chapter 6, the view changes from the socio-economic to the religious sphere. Here I focus on the question of the needs and beliefs with which the villagers accept, for example, Catholic and Adventist Christianity. This also gives some indications of the causes that have led to the growth of the Adventists and thus to the emergence of the opposition between the denominations. If the adoption of Christianity incorporates, in a religious idiom, the changes in social reality triggered by colonisation and missionisation, then the inter-denominational opposition itself represents a religiously founded influencing of social reality. In Chapter 7, this interaction between religious and social change is shown to provide information about the present-day influence of traditional religion. Thus the analysis of change leads to an analysis of continuity.

Like Part Two, Part Three of the present work consists of three chapters, in which I seek to explain to what extent Pairundu can be seen as representative in its regional and theoretical context, that is, with respect to missionisation and modernisation. Thus in Chapter 8 I discuss the common features of missionisation throughout Papua New Guinea and in Chapter 9 the phenomenon of fundamentalism as a response to modernity. In Chapter 10 I summarise what is general and what is particular about the example of Pairundu, in order finally, and concerning only Pairundu, to conclude with my own assessment of the Church of the Seventh-day Adventists and its future development.

Notes

1. The term 'acculturation' is used here in Rudolph's sense: 'Acculturation is to be understood as the processes and phenomena that occur in a case of cultural change determined by (direct or indirect) culture contact' (1964: 100, all translations H.J.).
2. The term 'Kewa' describes on the one hand the language and on the other hand speakers of it as a more or less homogenous group culturally distinct from their neighbours (*see* Chapter 1.2).
3. Combining emic and etic perspectives, I describe as 'traditional' on the one hand what is not to be traced back to Western influences etically and on the other hand what the indigenous people themselves attribute to their tradition. Here, the word 'traditional' is not intended to suggest a reality that is still untouched by Western influences. Such an attempt at reconstruction would be problematic for several reasons. First, there is the danger of creating connections from the Western point of view and of projecting them on to the indigenous population when they do not play a role for them, not even unconsciously (*see* Chapter 2). Secondly, the statements in which the indigenous people use the word 'traditional' are always influenced by present-day interests (*see* Chapter 7). Finally, pre-colonial culture was already subject to a constant process of change.
4. 'We, the people of Papua New Guinea, pledge ourselves to guard and pass on to those who come after us our noble traditions and the Christian principles that are ours now'

(Blaustein and Flanz 1985: 25). Rath (1989: 8) cites a statistic from 1980, according to which 96.6 percent of the population of Papua New Guinea are Christian – of which 63.8 percent are Protestant and 32.8 percent Catholic – 2.5 percent 'Animist' (this term, which is not placed in quotation marks in the statistics, presumably here refers to the adherents of 'traditional religions') and 9 percent 'other'.

5. Examining the theme of religion is also demanded from time to time by indigenous people themselves. Thus Aruru Matiabe (1987: 18), a Huli from the Southern Highlands of Papua New Guinea, writes: 'If you want to know the heart of a people, to repeat, you must understand their religion first…'. Cf. also Vicedom and Tischner's view, on the inhabitants of the Mount Hagen area in the 1940s: 'If we wish to understand the indigenous people properly and judge their actions, we must always start from the assessment of their religion, for this is the focus around which everything in their lives moves and from which it radiates' (1943–48, volume 2: 298).

6. The Seventh-day Adventists describe themselves in English as 'Seventh-day Adventist Church' (SDA) and in German as 'Freikirche' (Free Church), while using the term 'Gemeinschaft' (community) in official publications (Gemeinschaft der Siebenten-Tags-Adventisten 1990).

7. This definition is based on, and strongly influenced by, Zinser's definition (1984/85).

8. Vivelo (1988: 254) accordingly refers to the fact that 'belief in a supernatural or superhuman component of reality' is cited in many definitions of religion, though the definition of 'supernatural' depends on each culture.

9. Gladigow (1988a: 33), who understands religion as a 'special type of a culturally specific symbolic system or system of interpretation', counts the question of how religions constitute reality among the tasks of religious studies. The components of incorporating and influencing social reality are also contained in the definition of religion drawn up by Lawrence and Meggitt (1965a: 9) with reference to Melanesia: 'The function of religion within the total cosmic order is: first, to explain and validate through myths the origin and existence of the physical world, its economic resources and the means of exploiting them, and the socio-political structure; and, second, to give man the assurance that he can control the cosmic order by performing ritual'.

10. Following Mohr (1993: 436), I see 'conversion' as 'processes of turning towards or away from belief systems… in the strict sense of joining or leaving religious communities'. Conversion to Catholicism at the start of missionisation in Pairundu thus meant turning towards or joining it, while conversion to the Adventists also assumed for many turning away from Catholicism or leaving the Catholic Church. On the other hand, not all the members of the SDA community had previously been baptised as Catholics.

11. According to Gladigow (1988b: 12), such essential or substantial definitions have also formed the basis of definitions of religion for a long time in religious studies.

12. Zinser (1988: 308) refers to the fact that theology 'is based subjectively on belief or revelation and objectively on the social institution of the Church'.

13. See Franklin (1965, 1967, 1971, 1989) as well as Franklin and Franklin (1978).

14. See LeRoy (1975, 1979a, 1979b, 1981)

15. See L. Josephides (1982, 1983, 1985a, 1985b, 1985c). – The influence of the missions is also excluded by Donald Burkins (1984), who carried out fieldwork in Muli. His work is focused on socio-economic processes of transformation and thus need not be taken into account here. Apart from L. Josephides and Burkins, I shall go later into Simon Apea's theses (1985), which were developed with reference to the area of Ialibu (Chapter 8).

16. MacDonald (1991). Her visits to Mararoko were undertaken during her teaching activities at a catechist training centre in Erave (1973–77) and her employment (1980–83) at the Melanesian Institute for Pastoral and Socio-Economic Service in Goroka (Eastern Highlands Province) (MacDonald 1991: 10). For MacDonald's publications prior to her monograph, see MacDonald (1984a, 1984b, 1984c, 1984d, 1985).

17. The term 'Mendi' describes the language otherwise known as 'Angal', its speakers and the capital of Southern Highlands Province. After field trips in the early 1950s, D'Arcy

Ryan (1955, 1959) attempted to describe the Mendi kinship system, which had still not been very much influenced by the changes introduced by colonialism. Research carried out between 1977 and 1983 north of the provincial capital, however, allowed Rena Lederman to present some investigations into social change, though with the focus on the relationship between individual and collective exchange networks in terms of their significance for gender relations (1980, 1981, 1982, 1986a, 1986b).

18. See J. Clark (1982, 1985, 1988, 1989a, 1989b).

19. *See* the extensive critique of J. Clark in Chapter 8.

20. I am aware here that one cannot always distinguish anthropology and mission theology sharply, in the sense that missionaries have also presented investigations that can be seen as anthropological as far as their object, epistemological interest and research approach are concerned. See, among others, Zöllner (1977) and Triebel (1988) and, on the relationship between anthropology and mission theology, as well as between anthropologists and mission theologists, Forman (1978), D. Hughes (1978), Oosterwal (1978), Whiteman (1983), therein Lutzbetak (1983) and Sutlive (1983), and also Quack (1986).

21. On the notion of inculturation, see Quack (1986: 230). The Second Vatican Council was summoned by Pope John XXIII in 1959 and lasted from October 1962 to December 1965 (Arbuckle 1983).

22. MacDonald (1991: 14). This view also prevailed among the diffusionists of P.W. Schmidt's circle.

23. Alongside this, research by mission theology also has the goal of 'distilling out' basic principles that are common to the various cultures of Melanesia, in the hope of ultimately overcoming the cultural particularism typical of New Guinea as a whole.

24. On the attempt to create a Melanesian theology, see John Barr (1983a: 118), Pokawin (1987: 31), Trompf (1987), Bus and Landu (1989: 172), Fugmann (1989: 229) and Narakobi (1989: 45f).

25. See Tuza (1984: viii), Gesch (1985), Renali (1991: 123) and Pickering (1992: 105).

26. John Barr (1983a: 109) defines Holy Spirit movements as 'collective ecstatic experiences in Christian contexts'.

27. See Flannery (1980, 1983/84), John Barr (1983a, 1983b), Barr and Trompf (1983), Schwarz (1984), Ahrens (1986a) and Opeba (1987). Many of the relevant articles give briefer descriptions, in which it is often not clear whether they are based on authors' own observations or indigenous narratives. These texts can be found especially in the journals *Point* and *Catalyst*, published by the Melanesian Institute for Pastoral and Socio-Economic Service in Goroka (Eastern Highlands Province). On the question of whether Holy Spirit Movements may count as being authentically Christian or not, see Lenturut (1983: 211), Teske (1983: 249) and Flannery (1984: 149). Robin travelled through the present-day Southern Highlands Province in the 1970s on behalf of the government in order to collect information on Holy Spirit movements, basing himself among other things on interviews with participants in these movements who had been admitted to the hospital in Tari (Southern Highlands Province) for psychiatric treatment (1980, 1981a, 1981b, 1981c, 1982). In a personal letter (21 January 1989) to me, Robin expressly referred to the fact that he sees himself as a psychologist, not an anthropologist.

28. For many villagers, my competence arose from the fact that, as a white man, I was from the same country from which Christianity had formerly come. Alongside this, my original identification as a missionary, which I shall go into again later, was also of significance.

29. In the areas I travelled through, these groups included the Apostolic Church, the Assemblies of God, the Christian Life Center, the Church of the Nazarene, the Ialibu Gospel Church and the Seventh-day Adventist Church. See also Renali (1991: 71f).

30. The positive attitude towards me was certainly also fed by the generally prevailing attitude towards white people, to which I shall return later (Chapter 5). At the same time, however, people did differ in their individual ability to understand and communicate – as they do anywhere.

31. After I had been staying for some months in Pairundu, visitors from Sumbura and Korapere told me of other whites who had once also lived with the indigenous people. According to the village names mentioned, these were Lisette Josephides and John LeRoy.
32. I am aware of the fact, however, that it was easier to have the word 'masta' replaced by 'Holger' than to learn that a different attitude could be shown towards me than towards plantation overseers or missionaries.
33. Some people took me for an Adventist, others for a Catholic. In addition, in other villages there had been rumours that I was working for Yako Mano, a member of the Provincial Government, that I had been sent by the Russians, or – quite generally – that I was out to cause trouble.
34. This reserve corresponds to my personality as well as to the fact that I basically agree with the anonymous anthropologist whose words are quoted by Jackson: 'In many ways I see anthropology as the art of listening to the other' (1990: 18).
35. This monopolising also gave rise to an idea, which, however, I only learned about some months later, according to which I was in reality the ghost of Wapi, a deceased brother of Ari. This explained why I should want to live in Pairundu of all places and not, for example, in a village located nearer the district or provincial capital. Ata Francis and Robert reported this idea to me during a formal interview with Yana (95.). '95.' refers to the ninety-fifth entry in the list of 'Interviews and informal conversations'. These entries include the name of the informant, date and place of the interview or informal conversation (numbers in brackets refer to Map 3), the names of the people present and a note on how the interview or informal conversation was recorded.
36. Depending on opportunity, I made notes on the spot of my day-to-day observations, as well as those at cult practices. My impression is that this was not experienced as disturbing even at the cult practices, but was received in a rather amused and well-meaning fashion.
37. I also prepared such postscripts in the case of some of the informal conversations, some of which I recorded as well.
38. I wrote the diary on the right-hand side of DIN A4 pages folded lengthways, leaving the left-hand side for the later entry of comments, associations and ideas. Writing down feelings, hopes, anxieties and dreams was done in a different colour from the description of events and observations, where I switched between German and Tok Pisin. Here usage of Tok Pisin allowed important statements to be retained in the original.
39. The transcriptions and summaries, together with the corresponding postscripts, were systematically arranged according to topic and collected together in different notebooks.
40. It is, however, not an aim of the present work to compare the beliefs of the Catholics and Adventists in Pairundu with those of Catholics and Adventists in Europe. Such a comparison might be the topic of a separate investigation.