Kapauku

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Entry tags: Religion, Southeast Asian Religions

The Kapauku inhabit the Central Highlands of what is now Irian Jaya, Indonesia (formerly western New Guinea). This entry focuses around the time of 1955, and gives special attention to the village of Botukebo. At this time, the villagers had contact with the Dutch Administration, which established an outpost on Lake Paniani in 1946. The Administration and Christian missionaries did not have influence over the Kapauku until 1956, which is after the time this entry covers. During the focal time, the Kapauku's religious beliefs centered around a creator deity known as Ugatame, who controls all events in this world. Ugatame is an otiose deity, but created other spirits who play a more active role in the daily lives of the Kapauku. Shamans are religious specialists with political authority, and practice curative magic and communicate with spirits. The religious sphere is not separated from the political, economic, or social spheres; this entry considers the religious group to be coterminous with the society at large.
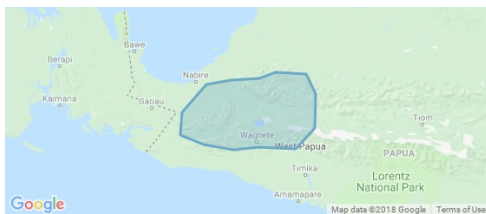
Date Range: 1930 CE - 1955 CE

Region: Central Highlands of Irian Jaya, Indonesia

Region tags: Asia, Southeast Asia, Indonesia

Central Highlands of western New Guinea, now Irian Jaya, Indonesia ca. 1955

Status of Participants:

✓ Religious Specialists   ✓ Non-elite (common people, general populace)

Sources

Print sources for understanding this subject:

—Source 1: Divale, W. 2004. Codebook of Variables for the Standard Cross-Cultural Sample. World Cultures: The Journal of Cross-Cultural and Comparative Research.

—Source 2: Tuden, A. & Marshall, C. (Oct., 1972). Political organization: Cross-cultural codes 4. Ethnology, 11(4), 436-464.

Online sources for understanding this subject:

—Source 1 URL: http://ehrafworldcultures.yale.edu/document?id=oj29-006

—Source 1 Description: Pospisil, L. J. (1978). Kapauku Papuans Of West New Guinea. Case Studies In Cultural Anthropology. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.

—Source 2 URL: http://ehrafworldcultures.yale.edu/document?id=oj29-000

—Source 2 Description: Gratton, N., & Skoggard, I. A. (1998). Culture Summary: Kapauku. New Haven, Conn.: HRAF.

— Source 1 URL: http://ehrafworldcultures.yale.edu/document?id=oj29-001

— Source 1 Description: Pospisil, L. J. (1958). Kapauku Papuans And Their Law. Yale University Publications In Anthropology. New Haven, Conn.: Published for the Dept. Anthropology, Yale University.

— Source 2 URL: http://ehrafworldcultures.yale.edu/document?id=oj29-002

— Source 2 Description: Pospisil, L. J. (1958). Kapauku Papuan Political Structure. Systems Of Political Control And Bureaucracy In Human Societies, 9–22.

— Source 3 URL: http://ehrafworldcultures.yale.edu/document?id=oj29-005

— Source 3 Description: Pospisil, L. J. (1963). Kapauku Papuan Economy. Yale University Publications In Anthropology. New Haven, Conn.: Dept. of Anthropology, Yale University.

Notes: Denoted at Pospisil, 1958a: Pospisil, L. J. (1958). Kapauku Papuans And Their Law. Denoted at Pospisil, 1958b: Pospisil, L. J. (1958). Kapauku Papuan Political Structure.

General Variables

Membership/Group Interactions

Are other religious groups in cultural contact with target religion:

— Yes

Notes: "After my departure in 1955 the Kamu Valley became pacified by the Dutch colonial police, wars were prohibited, and serious legal disputes involving violence (especially manslaughter) were referred to the newly installed administration officer who established his residence at Moanemani, on the western edge of the large Kamu Valley. A Catholic mission school was built in Botukebo, the village of my intensive quantitative research, and an Indonesian catechist and his wife took over the task of instruction. Thus the Kamu people were introduced to state power and Christianity at the same time" (Pospisil, 1978:99).

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 1955 CE - 1965 CE

> Is there violent conflict (within sample region):
>
> — Yes
>
> Notes: SCCS Variable 1649, Frequency of Internal Warfare (resolved rating), indicates that internal warfare seems to occur between "every year, but usually only during a particular season", and "almost constantly and at any time of the year" (original rating 4.5, resolved rating 15) (Ember and Ember, 1992; Retrieved from Divale, 2004).

> Is there violent conflict (with groups outside the sample region):
>
> — No
>
> Notes: SCCS Variable 1650, Frequency of External Warfare (resolved rating), indicated that "external warfare seems to be absent or rare" (original rating 1, resolved rating 1) (Ember and Ember, 1992; Retrieved from Divale, 2004).

Does the religion have official political support

Answer 'yes' also in cases where the religious and political spheres are not distinguished from one another, but the religious group's activities are tied up with, and supported by, the functioning of the society at large.

— Yes

Notes: SCCS Variable 1745, Religio-Political Overlap, indicates that "officials at the level of maximal political authority are at the same time religious specialists" (Land, 1998; Retrieved from Divale, 2004).

⤷ Are the head of the polity and the head of the religion the same figure:

— Yes

Notes: SCCS Variable 1745, Religio-Political Overlap, indicates that "officials at the level of maximal political authority are at the same time religious specialists" (Land, 1998; Retrieved from Divale, 2004).

⤷ Are political officials equivalent to religious officials:

— Yes

Notes: SCCS Variable 1745, Religio-Political Overlap, indicates that "officials at the level of maximal political authority are at the same time religious specialists" (Land, 1998; Retrieved from Divale, 2004).

Is there a conception of apostasy in the religious group:

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for a conception of apostasy.

Size and Structure

Number of adherents of religious group within sample region (estimated population, numerical):

— Estimated population, numeric: 60000

Notes: "Kapauku is a name applied by the coastal people of southwestern Netherlands New Guinea to a tribe of about 60,000 Mountain Papuans who inhabit an area in the Central Highlands located between 135°25' and 137° east longitude and 3°25' and 4°10' south latitude" (Pospisil, 1958a:13).

Are there recognized leaders in the religious group:

— Yes

Notes: SCCS Variable 1745, Religio-Political Overlap, indicates that "officials at the level of maximal political authority are at the same time religious specialists" (Land, 1998; Retrieved from Divale, 2004). Additionally, "Magic-religious practitioners are of two classes: shamans (who practice magic for good purposes) and sorcerers (who practice 'black magic')" (Gratton, and Skoggard, 1998).

⤷ Is there a hierarchy among these leaders:

Hierarchy need not be formally institutionalized if it is widely recognized and accepted.

— No

↳ Are leaders believed to possess supernatural powers or qualities:

— No

Notes: "The society recognizes a man as a shaman when he performs several successful cures and tends to have the above mentioned characteristics. A shaman has no supernatural powers himself" (Pospisil, 1958a:24). The "above mentioned characteristics" include a middle-aged man or woman in good health, and usually rich and successful in the realm of economics and politics. A shaman must be a good orator with respectful behavior.

↳ Are leaders considered fallible:

— I don't know

↳ Are close followers or disciples of a religious leader required to obediently and unquestionably accept the leader's pronouncements on all matters:

— I don't know

Scripture

Does the religious group have scriptures:

Scripture is a generic term used to designate revered texts that are considered particularly authoritative and sacred relative to other texts. Strictly speaking, it refers to written texts, but there are also "oral scriptures" (e.g. the Vedas of India).

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence indicating the presence of scripture.

Architecture, Geography

Is monumental religious architecture present:

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence indicating the presence of monumental religious architecture among the Kapauku.

Are there specific sites dedicated to sacred practice or considered sacred:

— Yes

Notes: "One of the mountains, Mt. Deijai to the northeast, stands higher than any of its limestone neighbors. Its steep slopes covered with deep forests, and rocky peaks often enveloped in clouds, are shrouded in mystery. The Kapauku regard it as the Greeks did Olympus; they firmly believe that the mountain is the abode of the treacherous and powerful Madou, an evil water spirit who causes rain and delights in drowning people in the lakes and rivers. Because of this the Mt. Deijai area has been traditionally tabooed, and only the most courageous Kapauku dared to penetrate its forests to hunt for

large game; none of them, to my knowledge, has ever dared to climb its higher reaches or its peak" (Pospisil, 1963:53).

> ### Are sacred site oriented to environmental features:
>
> "Environmental features" refers to features in the landscape, mountains, rivers, cardinal directions etc...
>
> — Yes

Are pilgrimages present:

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of pilgrimages.

Beliefs

Burial and Afterlife

Is a spirit-body distinction present:

Answer "no" only if personhood (or consciousness) is extinguished with death of the physical body. Answering yes does not necessarily imply the existence of Cartesian mind/body dualism, merely that some element of personhood (or consciousness) survives the death of the body.

— Yes

Notes: "Man is a combination of spirit and matter and thus he stands between the animal kingdom and that of spirits. He is composed of the material substance, the man-animal, and of the spiritual component, the soul proper. During the day the spiritual substance and the material one coincide, and the mental processes, such as memory and conception, are cooperative efforts of soul and body. On the other hand, dreaming is always an experience of the soul. The soul leaves the body and wanders around having its own faculties of 'spiritual perception and spiritual conception'" (Pospisil, 1958a:19). "The Kapauku believe that there is no underworld, no land of the soul. The soul simply leaves the body and proceeds to the virgin forest where it stays during the day. At night it may return and linger around the houses in the village" (Pospisil, 1958a:20).

> ### Spirit-mind is conceived of as non-material, ontologically distinct from body:
>
> — Yes
>
> Notes: "The soul is a true spirit. The Kapauku are at a loss if asked about its shape and size. They would say, 'It may be like the body in which it dwells. It may be a translucent counterpart of the body. It may change with the growth and aging of the body.' But these statements are made simply to satisfy the interrogator's curiosity. Since the essence and importance of a soul is its spirituality, which is imperceptible, the shape itself may be a deception of the senses" (Pospisil, 1958a:20).

Belief in afterlife:

— Yes

Notes: "The Kapauku believe that there is no underworld, no land of the soul. The soul simply leaves

the body and proceeds to the virgin forest where it stays during the day. At night it may return and linger around the houses in the village" (Pospisil, 1958a:20).

⤷ Is the spatial location of the afterlife specified or described by the religious group:

— Yes

Notes: "The Kapauku believe that there is no underworld, no land of the soul. The soul simply leaves the body and proceeds to the virgin forest where it stays during the day. At night it may return and linger around the houses in the village" (Pospisil, 1958a:20).

⤷ Afterlife in vaguely defined "below" space:

— No

Notes: "The Kapauku believe that there is no underworld, no land of the soul. The soul simply leaves the body and proceeds to the virgin forest where it stays during the day. At night it may return and linger around the houses in the village" (Pospisil, 1958a:20).

Reincarnation in this world:

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of a belief in reincarnation.

Are there special treatments for adherents' corpses:

— Yes

Notes: "It is felt that a man should have a burial proportionate to his importance. Accordingly there are several forms of disposing of the dead. But all apply the principle of the window which induces the soul to become a guardian spirit to the dead man's relatives" (Pospisil, 1958a:20).

⤷ Cremation:

— Yes

Notes: "Relatives bury their dead in graves provided with windows only if they loved them very much and their affection was reciprocated during the life of the deceased. If there is any reason to suspect the departed soul might turn against the mourners, then complete interment, or abandoning of the corpse in the house on a special platform resembling that of the stilt house of the rich man, or cremation takes place" (Pospisil, 1958a:21).

⤷ Mummification:

— Yes

Notes: "Tonowi me owa, 'house for a dead headman' (Fig. 39). A rich and influential man merits a special type of burial in a house built for him, elevated about 1 meter above the ground...The dead is placed inside in a squatting position, often properly prepared for mummification. A pointed pole is driven through the rectum and body into the neck, so that it rests against the base of the skull. Then the body is pierced many times with an arrow in order to drain away the body fluids. The mummification process is accomplished by the heat of the sun and desiccation of the corpse, which is well protected against the rain" (Pospisil, 1963:265).

↳ Interment:

— Yes

Notes: "Interment of a corpse, bound with vines in a squatting position, with the head above the ground is used to dispose of young people, children, or individuals who were considered unimportant during their lives. The head is usually covered over with a dome of branches and soil, and a small window is left in front of the face. A circular fence around this structure keeps out the pigs" (Pospisil, 191958a:20).

↳ Corpse is flexed (legs are bent or body is crouched):

— Yes

Notes: "Interment of a corpse, bound with vines in a squatting position, with the head above the ground is used to dispose of young people, children, or individuals who were considered unimportant during their lives. The head is usually covered over with a dome of branches and soil, and a small window is left in front of the face. A circular fence around this structure keeps out the pigs" (Pospisil, 191958a:20).

↳ Corpse is extended (lying flat on front or back):

— No

↳ Corpse is upright (where body is interred in standing position)::

— No

↳ Corpse is interred some other way:

— Yes [specify]: Tomb/crypt

Notes: "A rich man, on the contrary, is abandoned in a squatting position in a specially constructed house on stilts, the walls of which are made of planks and the roof of bark. The opening of this structure is directed toward the house in which dwells a relative who wants the departed soul as his helper" (Pospisil, 191958a:21).

— Yes [specify]: Tree Houses

Notes: "Those individuals who during their life were respected and loved by their relatives and whose souls are expected to help the household members against evil spirits (manifested by disease) are buried in trees in special house which protect the corpses from the elements" (Pospisil, 1963:264).

Are co-sacrifices present in tomb/burial:

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of co-sacrifices.

Are grave goods present:

— Yes

Notes: "In the afternoon, the 'in-laws' of the dead bound the corpse by its arms and legs to a pole, and

the husbands of the dead man's two sisters carried the cadaver to a cliff overlooking the valley. There the sons built a tree house in which they deposited the body of their father with his net, rain mat, and penis sheath" (Pospisil, 1958a:61).

↳ Personal effects:

— Yes

Notes: "In the afternoon, the 'in-laws' of the dead bound the corpse by its arms and legs to a pole, and the husbands of the dead man's two sisters carried the cadaver to a cliff overlooking the valley. There the sons built a tree house in which they deposited the body of their father with his net, rain mat, and penis sheath" (Pospisil, 1958a:61).

Are formal burials present:

— Yes

Notes: "It is felt that a man should have a burial proportionate to his importance. Accordingly there are several forms of disposing of the dead. But all apply the principle of the window which induces the soul to become a guardian spirit to the dead man's relatives" (Pospisil, 1958a:20).

↳ Other formal burial type:

— Yes [specify]: Interred beneath the ground

Notes: "Interment of a corpse, bound with vines in a squatting position, with the head above the ground is used to dispose of young people, children, or individuals who were considered unimportant during their lives. The head is usually covered over with a dome of branches and soil, and a small window is left in front of the face. A circular fence around this structure keeps out the pigs" (Pospisil, 191958a:20).

— Yes [specify]: Crypt

Notes: "A rich man, on the contrary, is abandoned in a squatting position in a specially constructed house on stilts, the walls of which are made of planks and the roof of bark. The opening of this structure is directed toward the house in which dwells a relative who wants the departed soul as his helper" (Pospisil, 191958a:21).

Specific to this answer:

Status of Participants: ✓ Elite

Supernatural Beings

Are supernatural beings present:

— Yes

Notes: "[The Kapauku's] world, created a long time ago by Ugatame the creator, is composed of five main categories: spirits, men, animals, plants, and inanimate substance" (Pospisil, 1958a:16).

↳ A supreme high god is present:

— Yes

Notes: "Beyond the blue of the sky exists a world similar to ours—the land of Ugatame, the

creator of earth, man, spirits, and of the laws of nature, as well as of all that occurs. 'He created because he wanted to do so.' He is the only being with true free will. All events in nature, all men's actions, disease, death, and accidents are predetermined by him. There is no true chance and there is no true cause. Everything is bound in a sequence of events predetermined by Ugatame" (Pospisil, 1958a:17).

↳ The supreme high god is anthropomorphic:

— No

Notes: "The Kapauku believe that the universe was created by Ugatame, who has predetermined all that occurs or has occurred within it. Ugatame is not, strictly speaking, anthropomorphized, although a creation myth in which disease and mortality were first brought to the AMU Valley depicts Ugatame with the combined characters of a young woman and a tall young man" (Gratton, and Skoggard, 1998).

↳ The supreme high god is a sky deity:

— Yes

Notes: "Beyond the blue of the sky exists a world similar to ours—the land of Ugatame, the creator of earth, man, spirits, and of the laws of nature, as well as of all that occurs" (Pospisil, 1958a:17).

↳ The supreme high god is chthonic (of the underworld):

— No

↳ The supreme high god is fused with the monarch (king=high god):

— No

Notes: No monarch is present among the Kapauku.

↳ The monarch is seen as a manifestation or emanation of the high god:

— No

Notes: No monarch is present among the Kapauku.

↳ The supreme high god has knowledge of this world:

— Yes

Notes: "The creator is omniscient, omnipotent, and potentially omnipresent" (Pospisil, 1958a:17).

↳ The supreme god's knowledge is restricted to particular domain of human affairs:

— No

Notes: "The creator is omniscient, omnipotent, and potentially omnipresent" (Pospisil, 1958a:17).

↳ The supreme high god knows what will happen to you, what you will do (future sight):

— Yes

Notes: (Pospisil, 1958a:17).

↳ The supreme high god has deliberate causal efficacy in the world:

— Yes

Notes: "The creator is omniscient, omnipotent, and potentially omnipresent. He never punishes man; how could he when all events are determined by him?" (Pospisil, 1958a:17).

↳ Previously human spirits are present:

— Yes

Notes: Previously human spirits are present, but not active in the daily lives of the Kapauku. Because these spirits are not of great importance, there is limited information available concerning specific characteristics of the spirits. "The Kapauku believe that there is no underworld, no land of the soul. The soul simply leaves the body and proceeds to the virgin forest where it stays during the day. At night it may return and linger around the houses in the village. Its relation to the world of living people is determined by the type of disposal of the body. If a corpse is placed in a tree in a small hut with an opening in front and with the corpse's face directed to the house of the mourners, the soul of the deceased is believed to become a guardian spirit of the relatives who reside in that house and who pray to it" (Pospisil, 1958a:20).

↳ Human spirits can be seen:

— I don't know

↳ Human spirits can be physically felt:

— I don't know

↳ Human spirits exhibit positive emotion:

— Yes

Notes: "The spiritual aspect of man is dual. While the soul constitutes the main part of the spiritual aspect, a man also possesses a shadow. During the life of an individual, 'aija, the shadow,' is passive...Only after death does the shadow become an active spirit called tene. Thus death is not simply a permanent separation of soul and body. It also involves a very delicate process of transfiguration of the spiritual component of man...With the severance of the tie between the two, the malevolent spiritual potentialities of the individual separate themselves from the more positive ones and associate with the departed shadow or tene. Although this departed shadow behaves in the same way as does the soul, it differs in its appearance and nature...While both the tene and the soul can and do help and harm people, the soul is basically good natured. Its negative actions can always be termed 'punishment,' while the tene's are mischievous. The soul and tene both heal. Both help people in distress. But while the soul's help is directed in its action toward the profit of the protégé, the tene's action is

motivated either by its own present or future advantages or by the harm such an action would bring to other people. In sorcery, one usually asks the tene for help. In white magic, one prays to the soul. Generally speaking, people fear the tene but feel at ease with the departed soul. The two spirits are not dependent on each other in their actions. They may act independently in a given situation" (Pospisil, 1958a:22).

↳ Human spirits exhibit negative emotion:

— Yes

Notes: "The spiritual aspect of man is dual. While the soul constitutes the main part of the spiritual aspect, a man also possesses a shadow. During the life of an individual, 'aija, the shadow,' is passive...Only after death does the shadow become an active spirit called tene. Thus death is not simply a permanent separation of soul and body. It also involves a very delicate process of transfiguration of the spiritual component of man...With the severance of the tie between the two, the malevolent spiritual potentialities of the individual separate themselves from the more positive ones and associate with the departed shadow or tene. Although this departed shadow behaves in the same way as does the soul, it differs in its appearance and nature...While both the tene and the soul can and do help and harm people, the soul is basically good natured. Its negative actions can always be termed 'punishment,' while the tene's are mischievous. The soul and tene both heal. Both help people in distress. But while the soul's help is directed in its action toward the profit of the protégé, the tene's action is motivated either by its own present or future advantages or by the harm such an action would bring to other people. In sorcery, one usually asks the tene for help. In white magic, one prays to the soul. Generally speaking, people fear the tene but feel at ease with the departed soul. The two spirits are not dependent on each other in their actions. They may act independently in a given situation" (Pospisil, 1958a:22).

↳ Non-human supernatural beings are present:

— Yes

Notes: "Ugatame created not only earth, animals, man, plants, water, and sky, but also spirits which are phenomena with a different existence from our own" (Pospisil, 1958a:18).

↳ These supernatural beings can be seen:

— Yes

Notes: "The 'enija, spirit,' is usually invisible, but it may appear to a man in a dream or during the day in a vision assuming a form traditional in type" (Pospisil, 1958a:18).

↳ Non-human supernatural beings have deliberate causal efficacy in the world:

— Yes

↳ These supernatural beings can punish:

— Yes

Notes: "An evil spirit punishes a violator of a personal taboo which is a prohibition imposed by a shaman upon specific individuals during their lives.

The shaman while curing a man from attack by an evil spirit advises the patient to avoid eating a specific food, or to refrain from behaving in a specific way for a certain period of time or for the rest of his life. By obeying these prohibitions, the patient is supposed to be safe and protected against further molestation by the evil spirit" (Pospisil, 1958a:155).

⤷ These supernatural beings possess hunger:
— I don't know

⤷ These supernatural beings possess/exhibit some other feature:
— Yes [specify]: Explain natural phenomena

Notes: "The Kapauku make use of these spirits to explain natural phenomena. Thus clouds, although clearly recognized as vapor, are believed to be a spirit's special habitat. Rain is said to be caused by the female Abeguwo, a spirit who urinates down on the people. Stars are the lighted ends of cigarettes smoked by the spirits in the blue sky. Thunder is the flatus of a spirit. And earthquakes are caused by a mythical beast Awega, who beats the earth with its tail. The latter is not a true spirit, but in the Kapauku world it occupies a place intermediate between spirits and animals. It has a form and behaves like a huge python and actually is closer to animals in its essence" (Pospisil, 1958a:18).

⤷ Mixed human-divine beings are present:
— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of mixed human-divine beings.

Supernatural Monitoring

Is supernatural monitoring present:

This refers to surveillance by supernatural beings of humans' behaviour and/or thought particularly as it relates to social norms or potential norm violations.

— I don't know

Notes: Among the Kapauku, the high god Ugatame is not viewed as actively monitoring the behavior of humans. Rather Ugatame established cultural taboos that, if broken, would have pre-determined consequences. Additionally, "An evil spirit punishes a violator of a personal taboo which is a prohibition imposed by a shaman upon specific individuals during their lives. The shaman while curing a man from attack by an evil spirit advises the patient to avoid eating a specific food, or to refrain from behaving in a specific way for a certain period of time or for the rest of his life. By obeying these prohibitions, the patient is supposed to be safe and protected against further molestation by the evil spirit" (Pospisil, 1958a:155). It does not appear that these spirits or high god are actively monitoring humans' behavior and/or thought particularly as it related to social norms or potential norm violation. Rather, there is an impersonal cause-and-effect surrounding particular taboos.

Do supernatural beings mete out punishment:

— Yes

Notes: "The following category includes all prohibitions which are provided with a sanction based partially or entirely upon the action of an imaginary agent. There are two types of these agents: the evil spirits and an unreal causal relation between a violation and an event objectively unrelated to the breaking of a taboo" (Pospisil, 1958a:155).

↳ Is the cause or agent of supernatural punishment known:

— Yes

Notes: "The following category includes all prohibitions which are provided with a sanction based partially or entirely upon the action of an imaginary agent. There are two types of these agents: the evil spirits and an unreal causal relation between a violation and an event objectively unrelated to the breaking of a taboo" (Pospisil, 1958a:155).

↳ Done only by high god:

— No

Notes: One type of taboo, if broken, will have consequences determined by the high god Ugatame. However, these consequences were determined long ago, and the corresponding taboos have more of a causal relationship with the punishments. Additionally, evil spirits punish those who break an second type of taboo. (See Pospisil, 1958a:155)

↳ Done by many supernatural beings:

— Yes

Notes: "An evil spirit punishes a violator of a personal taboo which is a prohibition imposed by a shaman upon specific individuals during their lives. The shaman while curing a man from attack by an evil spirit advises the patient to avoid eating a specific food, or to refrain from behaving in a specific way for a certain period of time or for the rest of his life. By obeying these prohibitions, the patient is supposed to be safe and protected against further molestation by the evil spirit" (Pospisil, 1958a:155).

↳ Done through impersonal cause-effect principle:

— Yes

Notes: "The second type, the general taboos, which involve imaginary causal relations between phenomena, are believed to have been determined in the old days by Ugatame. These prohibitions apply to all individuals who are defined in the taboo by group attributes, such as by being a member of a sib or being a married woman. The sanction is conceived as a natural consequence of the violation, a consequence initiated by the will of Ugatame and which has nothing to do with evil spirits" (Pospisil, 1958a:155).

↳ Is the reason for supernatural punishment known:

— Yes

Notes: Individuals are punished for breaking taboos. See Pospisil, 1958a:155.

↳

    ↪   Done to enforce group norms:

    — Yes

        Notes: Individuals are punished for breaking taboos. See Pospisil, 1958a:155.

Do supernatural beings bestow rewards:

— I don't know

    Notes: Ethnographic evidence does not indicate that spirits bestow rewards beyond general protection.

Messianism/Eschatology

Are messianic beliefs present:

— No

    Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of messianic beliefs.

Is an eschatology present:

— No

    Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of an eschatology.

Norms and Moral Realism

Are there centrally important virtues advocated by the religious group:

Virtues here are normatively-desirable, internalized habits, dispositions or behavioral ideals.

— Yes

    ↪   Courage (in battle):

    — Yes

        Notes: "Bravery is also an important virtue but is not a necessary one for achieving the top honors in this society. The Kapauku recognize that courage in battle is hard to acquire when one has a placid personality" (Pospisil, 1958a:57).

    ↪   Generosity / charity:

    — Yes

        Notes: "The society views its ideal man as a most generous individual, who through the distribution of his fortune satisfies the needs of many people. Generosity is the highest cultural value and an attribute necessary for acquiring followers in political and legal life. To be able to function with great generosity one has to be rich. Success in business coupled with the giving away of riches, eloquence, and knowledge of traditions bring one to the top of the social pyramid" (Pospisil, 1958a:57).

> Fidelity / loyalty:

— Yes

Notes: "From the society's point of view, a good woman is one who is industrious, fertile, submissive, and faithful" (Pospisil, 1958a:58).

Practices

Membership Costs and Practices

Does membership in this religious group require celibacy (full sexual abstinence):

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of required celibacy.

Does membership in this religious group require castration:

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of required castration.

Does membership in this religious group require forgone food opportunities (taboos on desired foods):

— Yes

Notes: "A woman in her childbearing age (between the first menstruation and the onset of the menopause) is forbidden to eat apuu, a potato-like fruit of a vine; teto, the red variety of sugar cane; kugou and jigikago, the two varieties of nonripening bananas; wiijaj and pugaago, two species of parrots; and the agou, a marsupial. Violation of this rule would cause the death of the woman's husband, for which she should be punished by death. Should her husband discover the violation, he should beat the culprit" (Pospisil, 1958a:156). "Men are tabooed to eat betu, a small species of crayfish. The violator will get sick and die...An individual is tabooed to burn or eat totemic plants and animals of his own sib, of his mother's sib, and also of the sib of his wife. The violator will become deaf" (ibid, p.157).

Does membership in this religious group require sacrifice of adults:

"Adults" here referring to an emic or indigenous category; if that category is different from the popular Western definition of a human who is 18-years-old or older and who is legally responsible for his/her actions, then please specify that difference in the Comments/Sources: box below.

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of human sacrifice.

Does membership in this religious group require sacrifice of children:

"Children" here referring to an emic or indigenous category; if that category is different from the popular Western definition, please specify that different in the Comments/Sources: box below.

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of human sacrifice.

Does membership in this religious group require self-sacrifice (suicide):

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of human sacrifice.

Does membership in this religious group require physical risk taking:

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of required physical risk taking.

Does membership in this religious group require participation in small-scale rituals (private, household):

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of required participation in small-scale rituals.

Does membership in this religious group require participation in large-scale rituals:

I.e. involving two or more households; includes large-scale "ceremonies" and "festivals."

— No

Notes: "...Kapauku ceremonial life is characterized by simplicity, lack of emphasis upon conformity with a rigid pattern, and a marked stress on secularity and sobriety. Whereas the ceremonial events among many [non-industrialized societies] are concerned mainly with the spheres of religion and the supernatural, among the Kapauku almost all the most important ceremonies are connected with their economy. The main purpose of these is not a manipulation of the supernatural in order to effect some material advantages for the performers, but rather an achievement of the desired economic effects directly, by placing the ceremonial emphasis upon the secular economic transactions themselves. Consequently, an overwhelming number of ceremonies have to be classified as purely economic in their nature" (Pospisil, 1978:64).

Society and Institutions

Levels of Social Complexity

The society to which the religious group belongs is best characterized as (please choose one):

This question refers to the wider society in which the religious group is located.

— A chiefdom

Notes: The Kapauku have one level of jurisdictional hierarchy beyond the local community, which is reflective of a petty chiefdom (Ethnographic Atlas column 33, Murdock, 1967; retrieved from Divale, 2004).

Education

Does the religious group provide formal education to its adherents:

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of formal education among the Kapauku.

Is formal education available to the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group:

— No

Notes: Formal education was available to the Kapauku through a Catholic mission school, but this did not occur until after the time that this entry focuses on. "After my departure in 1955 the Kamu Valley became pacified by the Dutch colonial police, wars were prohibited, and serious legal disputes involving violence (especially manslaughter) were referred to the newly installed administration officer who established his residence at Moanemani, on the western edge of the large Kamu Valley. A Catholic mission school was built in Botukebo, the village of my intensive quantitative research, and an Indonesian catechist and his wife took over the task of instruction" (Pospisil, 1978:99).

Bureaucracy

Do the group's adherents interact with a formal bureaucracy within their group:

— No

Notes: There is no formal bureaucracy within the Kapauku. The Kapauku have one level of jurisdictional hierarchy beyond the local community, which is reflective of a petty chiefdom (Ethnographic Atlas column 33, Murdock, 1967; retrieved from Divale, 2004).

Do the group's adherents interact with other institutional bureaucracies:

— No

Notes: The Kapauku did not interact with other institutional bureaucracies until after the time this entry focuses on.

Public Works

Does the religious group in question provide public food storage:

— No

Notes: SCCS Variable 20, Food Storage, indicates that food is stored in individual households (Murdock and Morrow, 1970; Retrieved from Divale, 2004).

Does the religious group in question provide transportation infrastructure:

— No

Notes: It can be assumed that transportation infrastructure is not present, as routes of land transport are "unimproved trails", according to Murdock and Morrow (1970; Retrieved from Divale, 2004; SCCS Variable 14).

Enforcement

Does the religious group in question provide an institutionalized police force:

— No

Notes: Tuden and Marshall (1972) column 10, Police (note, equivalent to SCCS variable 90, Police) indicates that "police functions are not specialized or institutionalized at any level of political integration, the maintenance of law and order being left exclusively to informal mechanisms of social control, to private retaliation, or to sorcery."

Do the group's adherents interact with an institutionalized police force provided by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

— No

Notes: During the time this entry focuses on, the Kapauku did not interact with an institutionalized police force. "After my departure in 1955 the Kamu Valley became pacified by the Dutch colonial police, wars were prohibited, and serious legal disputes involving violence (especially manslaughter) were referred to the newly installed administration officer who established his residence at Moanemani, on the western edge of the large Kamu Valley" (Pospisil, 1978:99).

Food Production

Does the religious group in question provide food for themselves:

— Yes

Notes: The Kapauku rely on agriculture, with animal husbandry providing a secondary form of subsistence. Hunting and fishing supplement the diet. Source of information from Ethnographic Atlas (Murdock, 1962-1971), retrieved from Divale, 2004; Variables 203-207, 232.

↳ Please characterize the forms/level of food production [choose all that apply]:

—Hunting (including marine animals)

—Fishing

—Pastoralism

—Small-scale agriculture / horticultural gardens or orchards

—Large-scale agriculture (e.g., monocropping, organized irrigation systems)

Notes: The Kapauku rely on agriculture, with animal husbandry providing a secondary form of subsistence. Hunting and fishing supplement the diet. Source of information from Ethnographic Atlas (Murdock, 1962-1971), retrieved from Divale, 2004; Variables 203-207, 232.