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74

EXPLORATIONS IN THE
ANTHROPOLOGY OF RELIGION

ESSAYS IN HONOUR OF JAN VAN BAAL

edited by

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Ikhtisar (Schoorl: Gerakan penyelamatan di antara orang Muyu)

- 1) Walaupun gerakan-gerakan penyelamatan di antara orang Muyu memperlihatkan aspek religius yang nyata dan menarik, haruslah kita tegaskan bahwa gerakan itu tidak semata-mata berhaluan agama. Tujuannya sebagian besarnya menjadi pemerolehan kesejahteraan materiil. Gerakan yang pertama (lihat 3.1) terutama menyangkut benda-benda tradisional, sedangkan gerakan berikutnya (3.2) terutama menyangkut uang dan barang-barang dari barat. Jika kita berpijak pada pandangan-pandangan orang Muyu – juga setelah hubungan mereka dengan dunia luar sudah menjadi sering – maka dapat dijelaskan mengapa gerakan tersebut mempunyai aspek religius yang begitu mendalam: dalam kebudayaan tradisional kesejahteraan materiil dikaitkan dengan kekuatan-kekuatan “ajaib”. Unsur yang penting dalam praktek keagamaan tradisional justru bertujuan memperoleh kekayaan yang antara lain berbentuk uang kerang (Schoorl 1957: 128).

Karena aspek agamawi yang menonjol dalam gerakan penyelamatan tersebut, kita dapat menafsirkan tujuannya secara agamawi. Akan tetapi, saya kira, kita harus memandang gerakan itu sebagai gerakan yang bertujuan kesejahteraan duniawi, yang dicapai melalui praktek keagamaan sebagai alatnya. Pemilihan alat itu betul-betul sesuai dengan cakupan tradisional dari pandangan-pandangan orang Muyu itu.

Sesungguhnya cakupan pandangan itu berubah akibat hubungan dengan dunia luar, khususnya akibat pendidikan, akan tetapi pandangan-pandangan tradisional masih tetap kuat pengaruhnya. Untuk sementara waktu pandangan baru menyusuli pandangan lama tanpa menggantinya

- 2) Kedua gerakan pertama (3.1) haruslah, saya kira, diartikan sebagai akibat kesenjangan besar antara tekanan yang kuat dalam kebudayaan Muyu pada pemerolehan kekayaan (berbentuk uang kerang) dan kemungkinan yang terbatas untuk memperolehnya. Benda-benda yang dianggap berharga, khususnya “ots” (uang kerang) itu, jarang terdapat (Schoorl 1957: bab II). Jumlah orang yang berhasil memperoleh kekayaan itu relatif kecil. Sangat mungkin terdapat kemiripan dengan keadaan yang ditemukan oleh Merton sehubungan dengan masyarakat Amerika Utara, yaitu kesenjangan yang besar antara tujuan budaya (yaitu keberhasilan) dan cara yang berterima untuk mencapainya.

Dalam masyarakat tertentu suatu frustrasi yang dirasakan banyak orang dapat mengakibatkan berbagai tipe reaksi. Karena sifat gerakannya kita dapat memandangnya sebagai kelakuan yang inovatif. Tujuan-tujuan budaya asli (masih) tetap dinilai positif, akan tetapi dicari jalan baru untuk mewujudkannya. Si penulis ingin menambahkan bahwa sifat dan tujuan gerakan tersebut tidak seharusnya membenarkan kesimpulan bahwa hubungan dengan kebudayaan barat menjadi syarat mutlak untuk timbulnya gerakan itu, sekalipun gerakan itu baru timbul setelah wilayah Muyu dibawahkan pemerintahan kolonial.

Dengan perkataan lain, tidak dapat diargumentasikan bahwa mustahillah gerakan seperti ini timbul juga dalam zaman prahubungan. (Lihat juga Kamma 1972: 278-282).

- 3) Gerakan di antara orang Muyu di Merauke juga disebabkan oleh kesenjangan yang menonjol antara tujuan yang dinilai sangat tinggi dan cara yang dibenarkan untuk memperolehnya. Pergeseran terhadap tujuan tradisional memang terjadi. Akan tetapi tujuan yang baru sangat mirip dengan yang lama. Tujuan baru itu merupakan kekayaan serta pengetahuan barat. Pengetahuan pun dipandang sebagai penyebab kekayaan, namun

pengertian pengetahuan berbeda dengan pengertiannya dalam kebudayaan-kebudayaan barat.

Dari pemerian gerakan itu dan dari latar belakangnya seperti yang diceritakan oleh narasumber, ternyata bahwa terdapat keinginan kuat di Merauke akan kekayaan barat. Seiring dengan itu jelaslah bahwa bagi orang Muyu kemungkinan untuk mendapat bagian dari kekayaan itu sangat terbatas waktu itu. Kekayaan itu tidaklah mereka anggap sebagai sesuatu yang ditimbun dengan tahunan memeras keringat. Dalam kerangka pikiran orang Muyu kekayaan berasal dari wilayah Muyu, sehingga sebenarnya menjadi milik diri mereka.

Selanjutnya, kekayaan itu tak terbatas banyaknya. Hanya karena orang asing itu tidak rela membaginya, orang Muyu tidak mendapat bagian. Ini sesuai dengan pengamatan yang lebih umum sifatnya tentang apa yang dikenal sebagai "cargo cult" in Nugini dan Melanesia (Van Baal 1967: 69-80).

Di sini juga, frustrasi yang dialami banyak orang Muyu menyebabkan orang mencari jalan-jalan baru. Muncullah seorang "nabi" dengan analisis suasana yang cocok dengan kerangka pikiran tradisional dan dengan solusi segala permasalahannya. Alur peristiwa selanjutnya mirip sekali dengan apa yang diketahui dari gerakan sejenis (lihat, antara lain, Goodenough 1963: 293-301).

Dapat dikatakan bahwa gerakan-gerakan ini berarah ke tujuan (budaya) masyarakatnya, baik masyarakat Muyu, maupun masyarakat "barat", seperti yang diwakili di Merauke. Menggunakan perkataan Merton, kita dapat mengatakan bahwa di sini pun terdapat kelakuan inovatif yang bersifat reaksi.

Sekaligus harus dikatakan – dengan menggunakan istilah Balandier misalnya – bahwa di dalam gerakan di Merauke terdapat anasir penentangan aktif terhadap pemerintahan yang berlaku. Nampaklah hal itu dalam angan-angan mengenai tentara mereka sendiri, penguasa mereka sendiri, dan mengenai pengusiran golongan penduduk tertentu. Penyampaiannya cukup hati-hati, tetapi dalam zaman kemakmuran yang mendatang orang Muyulah yang akan memegang posisi kekuasaan. Bukannya mereka mencari kebudayaan dan struktur masyarakat yang lain, melainkan tempat mereka sendiri di dalamnya yang harus berubah. Hal itu masih dapat dilihat sebagai perwujudan pola reaksi yang inovatif, akan tetapi reaksi itu juga mendekati pola pemberontakan yang menghasilkan orde serta "mitos" yang baru

- 4) Bukan hanya pola reaksi yang satu itu yang terdapat di dalam masyarakat yang bersangkutan. "Nabi"-nya pun tidak selalu berhasil meyakinkan semua anggota masyarakat akan benarnya "pesan" mereka. Sebagaimana halnya dengan semua gerakan, selain murid dan pengikut nabinya terdapat juga orang yang skeptis, penentangannya dan pendukung definisi yang lain tentang suasananya dengan solusi yang berbeda pula.

Dalam gerakan di Merauke pemimpin partai politiknya jelas berupaya bekerja sama dengan pemerintah. Digalakkannya konsultasi dengan pemerintah mengenai "jalan baru" ini (makanya dia sangat tersinggung rumahnya digeledah oleh polisi). Menurut keterangan dari bekas murid beberapa macam sekolah lanjutan (upama untuk guru atau tukang kayu) banyak di antara pemuda itu yang bersikap skeptis terhadap gerakan itu. Jelas, bukanlah semua orang Muyu yang terlibat di dalamnya. Pada waktu itu tidak diadakan penyelidikan, baik mengenai jumlah pengikut gerakan itu, maupun mengenai intensitas mereka berpartisipasi.

Juga tidak ada keterangan mengenai pemimpin yang berbeda definisi suasananya dan solusinya atau pesannya. Dapat diasumsikan bahwa di antara orang yang bukan pengikut gerakan itu terdapat pemimpin dengan berbagai-bagai pendapat.

Sehubungan dengan tempat dan fungsi gerakan-gerakan sosial-budaya di dalam masyarakat tertentu, senantiasa harus lebih diindahkan kemungkinan adanya alternatif, yang mungkin saja tidak dominan pada saat itu, tetapi yang nantinya peranannya ternyata besar juga.

Kenyataan bahwa gerakan seperti itu sempat menarik banyak pengikut di antara orang Muyu itu erat berkaitan dengan (maha)pentingnya pandangan hidup mereka pada waktu itu. Adanya gerakan ini dapat dijelaskan secara logis, berdasarkan cakupan pandangan itu. Berdasarkan pengetahuan seorang pengamat/antropolog, dapat diramalkan dari awal gerakan itu akan gagal mencapai tujuannya. Maka istilah "akulturasi yang kesasar" ciptaan Van Baal itu (1960: 108-121) dapat diterapkan pada gerakan di Merauke itu.

Dalam hal sebagian besar masyarakat tertentu memperoleh pendidikan (barat) selama waktu yang tidak singkat, pola gerakan sosial-budaya yang lain akan terjadi, seperti gerakan nasional demi kemerdekaan atau gerakan politik demi perubahan (atau pemertahanan) pemerintahan. Baik dari segi tujuannya, maupun dari segi caranya, gerakan macam ini jelas bersifat duniawi. Namun, perbedaan-perbedaan dengan gerakan penyelamatan sesungguhnya tidak sebesar seperti dapat diduga berdasarkan perbandingan sepintas yang kurang mendalam. Perbedaannya terutama berkaitan dengan perubahan pandangan dunia.

Pendefinisian situasi serta "pemberitaan" yang berhubungan dengannya dijabarkan dari cakupan pandangan tersebut. Dalam dunia yang "lebih berkembang" pun gerakan yang kesasar dapat diamati dan dinantikan. Maka dalam dunia itu pun pola gerakan yang sejenis dapat ditemukan.

Samenvatting (Schoorl: Salvation movements among the Muyu Papuas)

1) Hoewel de heilsbewegingen onder de Muyu bevolking duidelijke en opmerkelijke religieuze aspecten vertonen, moeten we toch vaststellen dat de bewegingen niet gericht waren op religieuze doeleinden. Het doel van de bewegingen was in grote mate het bereiken van materiële welvaart. De eerste beweging (zie 3.1) was hoofdzakelijk gericht op traditionele goederen, terwijl de volgende beweging (zie 3.2) voornamelijk was gericht op gouvernementsgeld en moderne goederen. Wanneer wij uitgaan van het Muyu denkkader – ook in de periode van vele contacten met de moderne wereld buiten het Muyu-gebied – kunnen wij verklaren waarom deze bewegingen zulke uitgesproken religieuze aspecten hebben: in de traditionele cultuur was materiële welvaart verbonden met “bovennatuurlijke” invloeden. Een belangrijk deel van de religieuze praktijken was ook gericht op het verwerven van rijkdom in de vorm van onder andere schelpengeld (Schoorl 1957:128). Hoewel wij vanwege die opmerkelijke religieuze aspecten de bewegingen zouden kunnen zien als heilsbewegingen in de zin van gericht op een religieus doel, moeten wij m.i. deze bewegingen zien als gericht op seculiere welvaart, waarbij de religieuze handelingen slecht als middelen moeten worden beschouwd. De keuze van de middelen pasten geheel in het traditionele kader van het Muyu denken.

Dit Muyu denken was wel aan verandering onderhevig door de contactsituatie, vooral door het onderwijs, maar de traditionele ideeën werkten nog sterk door. Nieuwe ideeën werden toegevoegd aan de bestaande, maar vervingen deze (nog) niet.

2) De eerste twee bewegingen (zie 3.1) moeten m.i. worden toegeschreven aan de grote discrepantie tussen de sterke nadruk in de Muyu cultuur op het verwerven van rijkdom (schelpengeld) en de beperkte mogelijkheden om dit ideaal te realiseren. De goederen die de Muyu als van waarde beschouwden, speciaal de *ot*, schelpengeld, zijn schaars (Schoorl 1957: hoofdstuk II) Het aantal personen dat er in slaagden om rijkdom te verwerven was relatief klein. Waarschijnlijk kunnen we een overeenkomstige situatie vinden in wat Merton ontdekten ten aanzien van de Noordamerikaanse samenleving, namelijk een grote discrepantie tussen de cultuur doelen (succes) en de door de samenleving goedgekeurde middelen om die te verwerven.

Wanneer in een samenleving een frustratie door velen wordt gevoeld kan dat leiden tot verschillende typen reacties. Gelet op de aard van de bewegingen kan men ze zien als uitingen van innovatief gedrag. De cultuur doeleinden worden (nog) positief gewaardeerd, maar nieuwe wegen worden gezocht om ze te realiseren. Ik wil hieraan toevoegen dat, hoewel deze bewegingen plaatsvonden in een periode dat de Muyu zich reeds 15 jaar onder (koloniaal) bestuur bevonden, het karakter en het doel van de bewegingen ons niet doen veronderstellen dat het contact met de moderne wereld een noodzakelijke voorwaarde was voor het ontstaan van die bewegingen. In andere woorden, er kunnen geen argumenten worden aangevoerd om te stellen dat deze bewegingen niet konden ontstaan in de pre-contact periode (Zie ook Kamma 1972: 278-282).

3) Het ontstaan van de beweging onder de Muyu in Merauke moet ook worden toegeschreven aan een sterke discrepantie tussen de hoog gewaarde doelen en de beschikbaar goedgekeurde middelen om die te bereiken. Verschuivingen vonden inderdaad plaats ten aanzien van de traditionele doelen, maar de nieuwe doeleinden leken zeer sterk op de traditionele. De nieuwe doeleinden zijn moderne welvaart en kennis. Kennis werd gezien als de oorzaak van die rijkdom, wel heeft de idee van kennis een andere betekenis dan in de westerse culturen.

Uit de beschrijving van de beweging en uit de achtergrond ervan door de informanten genoemd, blijkt dat er een sterk verlangen naar moderne rijkdom was bij de Muyu in

Merauke. Tegelijkertijd waren de beschikbare mogelijkheden om daaraan deel te krijgen voor de Muyu in die tijd duidelijk beperkt. Die rijkdom werd door de Muyu niet gezien als iets dat gedurende vele jaren was opgebouwd door hard te werken. Rijkdom werd verklaard uit het denkkader van de Muyu, waarin wordt geloofd dat rijkdom afkomstig was vanuit het Muyu-gebied zelf en daarom eigenlijk aan de Muyu behoorde.

Bovendien zou deze rijkdom in onbeperkte omvang bestaan. Alleen de onwelwillendheid van de vreemdelingen verhinderde de Muyu daaraan deel te krijgen. Dit stemt overeen met meer algemene waarnemingen van zogenoemde cargo cults in Nieuw-Guinea en Melanesië (Van Baal 1967: 69-80). Ook bij de Muyu leidde de door velen van hen ervaren frustraties tot het zoeken van nieuwe wegen. Er kwam een profeet met "een definitie van de situatie", die sterk paste in het traditionele kader van denken, en met een oplossing voor de gedefinieerde problemen. De ontwikkeling van de beweging past in het bekende beeld van soortgelijke bewegingen (zie, o.a. Goodenough 1963: 293-301) 5).

Men kan stellen dat deze bewegingen gericht zijn op de (cultuur) doeleinden van de samenleving, zowel van de Muyu als van de "moderne" samenleving zoals vertegenwoordigd in Merauke. In Mertons terminologie kan men hier spreken van een reactie-type van het innovatieve karakter.

Tegelijkertijd moet opgemerkt worden dat in de beweging in Merauke er ook elementen waren van een actieve oppositie ten opzichte van het dominante politieke bestel - om bijvoorbeeld in Balandiers termen te spreken. De ideeën over hun eigen soldaten, eigen machthebbers, over de verbanning van bepaalde bevolkingsgroepen, wijzen daarop. In de boodschappen van de profeet wordt wel de nodige voorzichtigheid in acht genomen, maar in de komende tijd van welvaart zijn het de Muyu die posities van macht/gezag zullen innemen. Het betekent niet dat zij een ander structuur en cultuur nastreven - tenminste zoals zij dat zelf begrepen - maar een geheel andere eigen positie in dat geheel. Als zodanig kan het nog steeds gezien worden als een vorm van het innovatieve reactie-typen, maar deze reactie ligt dichtbij het type van rebellie waarbij een nieuwe orde en een nieuwe "mythe" wordt gecreëerd.

4) Het was niet zo dat er slechts één reactie-type voorkomt in de betrokken samenlevingen. Ook is het niet zo dat de "profeten" succes hebben met hun "boodschap" bij alle leden van hun samenleving. Bij alle bewegingen zijn er naast de discipels en volgelingen van de profeet ook de sceptici, de tegenstanders en de aanhangers van andere definities van de situatie met andere oplossingen. In de beweging in Merauke waren de pogingen van de leider van de politieke partij er duidelijk op gericht om samen te werken met het gouvernement. Hij stimuleerde overleg met het gouvernement over deze "nieuwe weg". (Hij was dan ook beledigd door de huiszoeking bij hem door de politie.) Informatie van oud-leerlingen van de opleidingsscholen in Merauke suggereren dat veel van deze jonge mensen zeer sceptisch waren ten aanzien van deze beweging. Lang niet alle Muyu in Merauke waren erbij betrokken. In die tijd werd er geen onderzoek gedaan naar zowel het aantal aanhangers als de intensiteit van de participatie. Kennis over leiders met andere definities van de situatie en met andere oplossingen zijn er evenmin. Het kan worden aangenomen dat opinieleiders met verschillende visies op de situatie voorkwamen onder de niet-aanhangers.

Vanuit het oogpunt van de plaats en functie van socio-culturele bewegingen in een bepaalde samenleving, is het wenselijk dat in alle gevallen meer aandacht wordt besteed aan de alternatieven die mogelijk niet dominant zijn op dat moment, maar die toch een belangrijke rol spelen of in de toekomst gaan spelen.

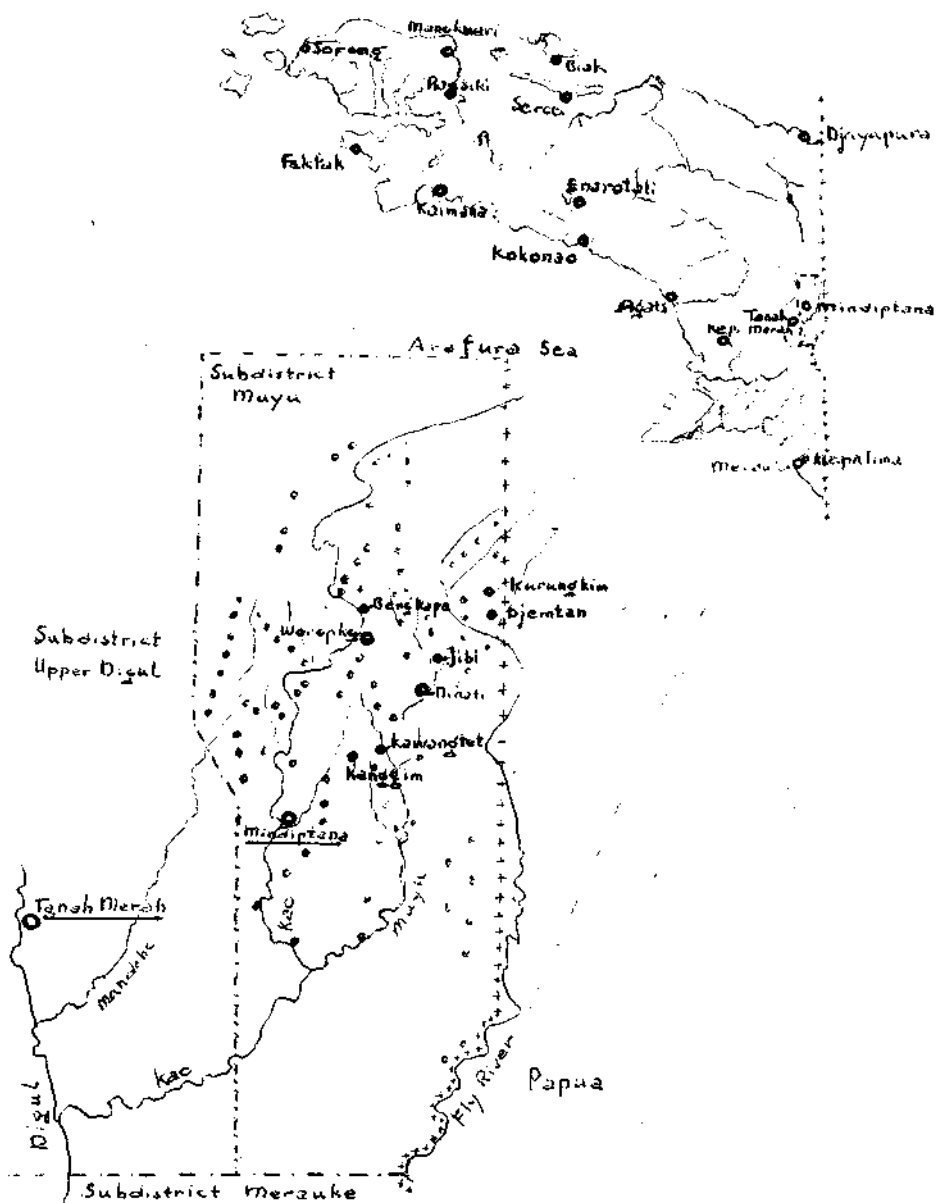
Dat zulke bewegingen een kans hadden om aanhangers te verwerven onder de Muyu bevolking is nauw verbonden met het feit dat de traditionele wereldbeschouwing nog een belangrijke, zo niet dominante rol speelde in die bevolkingsgroep in die tijd. Vanuit dat denkkader kon het ontstaan/bestaan van die beweging logisch verklaard worden. Vanuit de

kennis van de waarnemer/antropoloog kon zij beschreven worden als mislukte poging om haar doeleinden te verwezenlijken. Van Baals term "erring acculturation" (1960: 108-121) kan toegepast worden op deze beweging in Merauke.

In situaties waarbij grote delen van de bevolking formeel onderwijs ontvangen ontstaan andere typen van socio-culturele bewegingen, zoals nationalistische bewegingen gericht op het verkrijgen van onafhankelijkheid of politieke bewegingen gericht op de verandering of de handhaving van het politieke bestel. Zowel in hun doelen als in hun middelen zijn deze soort bewegingen duidelijk seculier. In feite zijn echter de verschillen met de heilsbewegingen minder groot dan een oppervlakkige vergelijking aanvankelijk zou suggereren. Het verschil is primair een functie van veranderende wereldbeschouwingen. De definities van de situatie en de "boodschappen" daarmee verbonden worden geformuleerd vanuit zo'n denkraam, wereldbeschouwing. In de meer "ontwikkelde" wereld kunnen ook "dwalende" bewegingen aangewezen en verwacht worden. In die wereld kunnen ook de daarmee verbonden typen van bewegingen onderscheiden worden.

West New Guinea - Irian Djaya

Pacific Ocean



SALVATION MOVEMENTS AMONG THE MUYU-PAPUAS OF WEST-IRIAN ¹⁾

J. W. Schoorl

1. INTRODUCTION

In my study of the Muyu-Papuas I have deliberately used the term salvation-movement for the movements to be found within this population group. It was not quite possible to call these movements typical religious movements or to identify them with terms which designate sub-types, such as messianistic or prophetic movements. In our analytic outlines, we call the purposes aimed at secular rather than religious. Naturally, it should be expected in this kind of society -- with the still strong interweaving of the separate institutional aspects -- that the means chosen for this are usually called religious by us. But many so-called religious movements are in my opinion comparable to the so-called social movements in more differentiated societies. As a general term, socio-cultural movement may be used. From that point of view, it would also be sensible and desirable to integrate the theories which have often been developed independently of each other.²⁾

The intention of this contribution is to give an example of a theoretical approach to socio-cultural movements, joining in this both the anthropological and sociological literature. Then a summary is given of the movements existing among the Muyu-Papuas in the period of 1950-1955.³⁾ After that some conclusions are drawn.

2. THEORETICAL APPROACH

For the observations about socio-cultural movements it will be advisable in my opinion to investigate if a theoretical approach will be possible within which socio-cultural changes can have their place.

As a starting point for this approach I use Nadel's analytic frame (1957, 75-188) with regard to persons, groups and institutions. There it

is stated that persons and groups create institutions -- patterns of behaviour -- if situations are recognized which match the institutions. This means that situations are judged and the recognized situations ("if-situations") create activities of persons and groups.

This starting point can be worked out to a more structural-functionalistic approach, whereby special note is taken of the connection and the mutual influence of the institutions -- the patterns of behaviour. This approach is also accentuated by Nadel, and it is in the tradition within which Durkheim takes an important place. It is the approach which is called *kata-scopie* by Zijderveld (1973, 188). Starting from the institutional structures and first within this structural frame, as if "looking down" (*kata-scopie*), the interacting persons are given a place. With this view, changes can only be introduced as immanent factors (such as evolution) or outward factors. Given a specific change, the consequences can be determined to a certain degree within the given connection among the institutions. Goodenough's analytic equipment with regard to the forms of possible connections between activities (in the sense of patterns of behaviour) (1963, 322-349) is helpful in this respect. Yet this approach can only indicate a certain aspect with regard to socio-cultural changes in general and to socio-cultural movements in particular. Through such an analysis it can be shown that changes have to take place at certain points in the entire system. But it does not show in what way the changes will be effected. In this connection, it is necessary to apply a complementary approach, namely one in which the accent is more on the actors.

It is the kind of approach indicated in actiontheory (Cohen, 1968, 69-95). In Zijderveld's terms, it is the *anascopie* approach, in which we start from "sensibly acting persons and from there, as if 'looking upward' (*anascopie*) are speaking of institutional structures (1973, 188). This is the scientific tradition of which Weber was an important promoter.

In connection with my starting point it can be said that situations are not always recognizable or always known. Then they are not "if"-situations which create a more or less institutionalized conduct. It is also possible that the situations have changed and the institutionalized conduct is no longer adequate. Finally, a change can occur in the thinking about the situations, in the perception of the situations. All this means that with regard to many situations the pros and cons are being weighed, both with regard to the situations and with regard to the conduct fitting in with that situation. In this connection, MacIver (1964, 269-363) spoke of a "dynamic assessment" of situations, a more

or less conscious process of evaluating and deciding, which is the basis of the acting of persons and groups. And this dynamic assessment is also the beginning of socio-cultural changes. Before expanding on this I would like to mention the well-known Thomas thesis: if people define situations as real, they are real in their consequences, an argument worked out by Merton (1961, 421) in his chapter on the "self-fulfilling prophecy". This means that the given definition of the situation, the interpreted reality, need not agree with the "real" reality. In this connection Goodenough speaks of the "phenomenal world" of a society and the "real world" of the anthropologist studying society and its culture. Although the term real world is not a very good one, yet it can be said that the definition of the situation need not agree with reality. Through his research the anthropologist or sociologist can have a better view of reality.

It can now be said that in situations in which there is a bigger discrepancy between the institutional patterns of conduct and the (changed) thinking about them, there will be a strong impetus to change. In this situation it is very likely that various "prophets" will come to the fore, people who will give a new definition with new solutions -- patterns of conduct will have a new "message". It depends on various factors which prophet will get most support, such as for instance on the circumstances the charismatic qualities of the prophet or the experience with certain suggested solutions, and so on. The suggested solutions may perhaps be divided into types. It is remarkable that sociologists and anthropologists, who most likely work independently of each other, come to corresponding types of reaction to frustrating situations.

In this connection I would like to summarize the typologies of Berry (1951, 403-445) and Leighton (1964, 252-287), of Balandier (1952) and Merton (1961, 131-161). Leighton studied the types of reaction of Japanese Americans who were deported from the West Coast and placed in internment camps during World War II. He distinguished three types of reaction: cooperation, aggression and withdrawal.

Berry added another type -- assimilation -- following his study of the reaction types of the Black population in North America attempting to integrate into white society. In the Japanese Americans case this type was not possible. Balandier saw four types of reaction to the colonial situation: (1) active cooperation, (2) passive cooperation, (3) passive resistance, and (4) active resistance. It is quite evident that these types strongly resemble those of Berry and Leighton. Finally, Merton's typology is more extensive. His theory centers around reactions to the

discrepancy between dominant goals existing in the culture (success in North America) and the institutionalized means of achieving them. This can lead to: (1) conformity; (2) innovation; (3) ritual behaviour; (4) retreatism and (5) rebellion.⁴⁾

The typologies mentioned have only been roughly indicated here. Moreover, various theories need more thinking and integration. The advantage of such typologies is that in established situations of strong frustrations in a society, they draw the attention to various kinds of reactions. It is most likely that various types usually exist simultaneously, but -- as already mentioned previously -- it depends on various factors which type is dominant at a given moment.

3. DESCRIPTION OF SOME SALVATION MOVEMENTS AMONG THE MUYU-PAPUAS

3.1 THE MOVEMENTS IN THE MUYU AREA IN 1950 AND 1952

In the years 1950 and 1952, two salvation movements took place in the Muyu area. These movements show such character and purpose that in my opinion they can be considered as movements which have come into existence outside the influence of western culture. In the progress of these movements, this influence is indeed noticeable and, when the first movement occurred, the government even interfered. Certain elements in these movements were of foreign origin; they played a minor part, however. The major character was native.

The progress of the first movement has partly been described in the sentence of the judge at Tanah Merah. A former policeman at Jibi, who had been the commander of the police force that had acted against the leaders of this movement, could give me further information on it.

The movement originated with a certain Terenem, who lived in the village of Benkapa (a little North of Woropko). One day he was digging turnips in his garden. While digging he suddenly noticed that he had three instead of two hands. He did not believe it and went to dig near another bush. But the same phenomenon occurred there. Coming home he told of his experience, saying that it might anticipate another manifestation. After going to sleep, he dreamt he saw his younger brother, who had died quite a long time ago. He put an *ot* (shell money)* in his right hand. His younger brother said to him that he should put this *ot* with his other *ots*. After that he should look for a snake (*nimbun*) and boil it. The bag in which the *ot* was kept should be rubbed with the fat thus obtained. Then he should wait one month, and then open the bag. The *ot* would then have increased to five. After two months there would be 10 *ots*, etc.,

* In 1953 the value of one *ot* was about equal to f 3 to 5.

"so that you won't have any difficulty in looking for ots". Terenem did as he was told, and the result was just what his younger brother had predicted. At first he only informed his elder brother, Indep, about it.

After he had success, he made it widely known. At a pig festival at Woropko he climbed on the roof of one of the buildings (the normal platform) and told how he had obtained so many ots: "Not by theft, not by murdering for a reward, not by having pig festivals, but by ...".

Those who wanted to obtain ots in this way could be taught by him. At the pig festival the first lessons were given. The lessons consisted (among other things) of dancing the *ámágòp* dance -- moving and trembling the body, even dropping down -- because people were possessed by the spirits of dead people and made whistling sounds, the language of the spirits. These lessons had to be repeated several times. The pupils would then also be visited by spirits and be able to change pebbles into ots.

Each pupil had to give one ot to his teacher for the lesson. In this way Terenem managed to receive a considerable number of ots.

Teaching did not stop with Terenem. People who had already had some lessons set up for teacher in their turn, even if they had not had any results. The movement extended to six villages in the northern Muyu area. But it was stopped by the government, which arrested the leaders.

The second movement came into existence in 1951 and 1952 and passed away without government interference. This movement began with two people, Jeknon and Kawon, from settlements on former Australian territory adjoining the northeastern part of the Muyu area.

They and their followers also know how to produce ots. Fruit called *mòngkáp jòp* or the bark of the *káwát* tree had to be gathered in sago bags in the woods. In the woods a bivouac had to be built and all the fruit put in it. By supernatural power this fruit would change into ots. People who engaged in producing ots were subject to *amop* (taboo) rules. Thus they were not allowed to eat shrimp, a certain kind of kouskous, and the sago from the sagopalm. Near the village of Jeknon a session was held by Jeknon himself in which he was to change the fruits into ots. The people who had handed in their fruit stayed outside the bivouac, which was completely locked up. However, payment had to be made beforehand. Jeknon and his assistants first asked 12 ots, 6 knives, 6 axes and a pig (6 ots). Owing to the interference of the former policeman at Jibi the people got their goods back. Under his direction and threat of force, these goods were reclaimed when the fruit did not change into ots.

Before that, many people from Jibi had given goods to make these sessions possible. People from Djemtán and Koeroengkím had come to fetch

the goods; later on they would come and bring the many ots sprung from the fruit. In total, 6 pigs had been given with them. In 1954 this movement had completely stopped. Most likely it could not interest the Muyus for more than one or two years and failed for lack of results. In the meantime it had penetrated into the Muyu area as far as the southwestern part. (In the villages of Jibi and Kawangtet I made an extensive investigation.)

In Kawangtet there were several people who had been taught this art. In this connection the names of twelve men were mentioned.

The pupils each gathered some fruits and put them in bags. These were taken to a bivouac that had been built in the woods. For the teachers, two pigs were killed to the amount of 7 and 10 ots. Before being taught, the people also paid a total of 12 ots. Then they were taught in the bivouac. Other people were not allowed to be present. The lessons were not successful and the teachers departed without refunding the fee.

In Kawangtet people did not exactly know the origin of this movement. People supposed that the initiators could contact spirits and receive ots from them. They were thought to be *angganemkukmen*, people who can see the spirits of dead people.

3.2 THE SALVATION MOVEMENT AMONG THE MUYU POPULATION OF MERAUKE

In 1953 in Klupalima near Merauke, a salvation movement began among the Muyu population. At the end of September, about 20 Muyus presented themselves at the resident of Merauke, with whom they wanted to have a talk. They were prominent Muyus, including the chairman of the Merauke division of the political party of Papuas and the village chief of the Muyu settlement.

They gave the resident a document of thirteen typed pages with an explanation, which was confusing to this functionary. The writing consisted of a number of letters directed to the resident of Merauke as well as a number of statements and announcements, all dated between 6 and 27 September 1953.

It soon appeared to the resident that a salvation movement was involved. The main person was a certain Koeram, who did not say much. According to the resident he did make an exalted impression.

The purpose of the visit was to fully inform the government about all that they had kept secret for some months.

The nature and development of the movement were such that the government at Merauke thought it wise to interfere. The leader, Koeram, was captured and sentenced to nine months imprisonment. It appears from the register sentence (Nr. 115/Cr/1953 of 26 October 1953) that the

thoughts, statements and messages in the writings offered to the resident, were a certain adaptation of Koeram's thoughts. Part was written down in a separate notebook, which had been found during the investigation by the police and added to the register sentence. As the writings had been typed and the chairman of the political Papua association had been present at the presentation, it may be taken that this person and his associates had an important part in the compilation. They had a typewriter at their disposal and knew how to use it. In the description of the movement the differences will become apparent.

A third source of information about this movement are some Muyus who had experienced this movement at close quarters. Among them were a teacher and a carpenter who, as pupils of the mission schools in Merauke, experienced this movement in 1953 and supplied me with further information about it during my stay in August 1954, when they had just arrived from Merauke after having finished their education. I was supplied with further information by a Muyu clerk of the civil service who had lived in Merauke in 1954.

According to the writings presented to the resident, the movement started with Koeram's experience. In April 1953 he was visited by a spirit, called Nelih, who was to show him the way of progress, knowledge and wealth for the population of South New Guinea.

God almighty Himself was to bring the new arrangement required. The Muyus, who participated in this new movement, were to learn in what way they could also come into contact with the spirits of dead people, especially the spirits of dead Americans.

According to the informants Koeram was having a walk in Merauke one night. At midnight he passed the European cemetery. There he found a small purse with New Guinean money. He took the purse to his home in Klapalima. When he arrived, the purse became bigger and bigger until it was about the size of a sack of rice.

This was the prelude to further happenings. When Koeram went to sleep, a spirit of a dead person appeared and entered his body. He felt him creeping up from his feet. Koeram felt the urge to vomit. He opened his mouth and then the spirit started to speak, informing him of the welfare to come -- a material welfare for the Muyus equal to that of the Europeans.

The most important thought expressed in this movement concerned a coming welfare in which all Muyus would share.

The idea of this coming material welfare recurs again and again in various forms. The letter of 6 September mentioned that all nations would have to collect money and send it to Merauke. If possible, each nation

would have to send one barrel of money. Also, in a second letter of the same date, which dealt mainly with the other population groups at Merauke, the resident was asked to inform the other nations to appear at Merauke and collect all cash of all kinds, after which God the Father, the Almighty, would distribute everything. The Dutch government was also asked, if possible, to inform the other nations that they should send money factories. Then God would settle everything and all arrangements of life, including the possession of riches, would be changed according to a new design.

The letter of 14 September again explained the origine of the movement. It said that the spirit received by Koeram would show the way of progress, knowledge and wealth for the population of South New Guinea. It also said that they are but a stupid people who had not received "the knowledge about wealth, etc." The whites would have to care for their fellow men, to guide them and set the example, especially concerning science. They should not keep it to "swallow" and enjoy only for themselves. All should cooperate and share the riches.

In the letter of 19 September, the problem of the poverty was tackled from another angle. In fact it announced an arrangement for fixing the price of all shop goods. The maximum price for any item could be only f 5; then follows a list of goods whose price was fixed at less than f 5. It concerned foodstuffs and commodities such as rice f 0.40 a kg, sugar f 0.15 a kg, kerosine f 0.19 a bottle, washing bowls f 1.13 each, cigarettes f 0.13 a packet, a pair of scissors to cut hair f 0.25, etc. -- 37 articles in total. The prices of all other articles not mentioned should also be reduced.

The letter of 20 September mentioned a new revelation of God whereby the income tax would be done away with; nor could the collection of money for charitable purposes take place.

In the letter of 23 September to the resident, the first thing mentioned on the list of what the new order will bring was a factory and storage place for money. Then followed a list of factories and machines to be obtained: a factory for sun and moon; a factory and a store for weapons; factory and storage for hardware; the same for textiles; machines for shelling and a storage place for rice; a bulldozer and, finally, an aeroplane with hangar.

On 26 September came another list of what had to come, to be sent by the Netherlands and other nations: 1000 weapons, a ship, an aeroplane, cars and again cash and all other goods. Moreover the Dutch government

had to give food, and each month there would be a distribution of money at the office.

Also, in the story told by the informants about the origin of the movement -- Koeram finding the purse of money -- the interest in money, material wealth, is expressed. According to them, the leaders assumed that Koeram already had 10 million guilders. One million of it he had taken to the office of the head of the local government in Merauke, and 9 million was to be taken to the town office of the local government.

This information was confirmed to some extent by the message of 20 June appearing in Koeram's papers addressed to the queen of New Guinea, *Ular Radja* (Indonesian: literally Snake Queen), requesting that the keeper of Koeram's money be given f 9 million to be handed over to two of Koeram's associates. The resident was informed of this in a letter of the same date, which mentioned that all this is connected with the lack of food, drink and clothing.

In Koeram's notebook several statements appear concerning wages. On 1 June it was decided that wages would amount to f 5 a day thenceforth.

On 6 June it was asked that policemen's wages be raised to f 12 a day. It was also stated that they had been with the police for a long time since the opening of the Muyu area (1937) -- and nearly worked themselves to death, but still had low wages which did not buy enough to eat and drink. On the same date and for the same reason it was decided that the soldiers would also earn f 12 a day.

The statements and requests bring us to the supposition that welfare would be greatly enhanced in a totally new society. In the letters it was not expressed completely clearly, but now and again it was hinted at.

The goods to be sent were for the new *kompenie* (the term *kompenie*, from *Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*, was still used as a synonym for the Dutch government) at Klupalima. This new *kompenie* also had new soldiers and new policemen, who would carry the weapons to be sent (letter 26 September). It is also clear that the factories and machines listed in the letter of 23 September were to be used for this new society.

The message Koeram received from God the Almighty on 22 September said that the Dutch government would look after food, drinks and clothing for the new *kompenie*, viz. the inhabitants of Klupalima at Merauke and the people of South New Guinea. The government would also look after the building of a school and church (letters of 22 and 23 September). Koeram himself would see to the provision of teachers (22 September). The teachers would come from America and the children be speaking American

within three months (23 September). In these letters the spirits are actually indicated as teachers.

I was told by my informants that the spirit visiting Koeram had promised that presently there would be a big town in Klapalima with everything "complete": a factory for money, subdistrict-office, a ship, many shops and a car for each. In this new town there would be their own governor, doctors, resident, head of local government, bishop, pilots, navy, teachers and *baba* (Chinese shopkeepers); everything would be there. Koeram was to sit on a high gold chair and look down on his subjects. Each Muyu would then also be *tuun* (gentleman). They need no longer work themselves "almost to death". Food there would be plenty. They would not die any longer. They would die for half an hour it is true, but their own doctors would give the command "rise" and the dead person would live again and be cured.

All bachelors in Klapalima had already made an agreement among themselves that they would no longer bother the "nona" (Indonesian girls) and would not marry Muyu girls, for then the spirits would go. Presently, when the new condition had been effected, they would get beautiful women with beautiful big bodies, namely American and Australian women. They had to wait for them; if they did not keep to these rules of abstinence, they would presently experience disadvantage.

In this welfare state there would not be any difference in treatment among various groups in the population. This idea was also worked out in the desire that groups thought to be bothering them must disappear. In the letter of 6 September we already hear of these things. The Dutch government was asked to arrange the clearing of "dirt" of various kinds, which is the reason that many natives cannot live. They also asked that the Indonesians go back to their own country. The Indo-Europeans especially, have to go and to look for a place of their own. Intermarriage with other groups would be abolished. Only the Dutch government, the *totok* (full-blood) Dutch, would be maintained. They desired complete unity with them.

These strong statements were mitigated later on by provisions that Indonesians and Chinese who wanted to stay could do so, but they would no longer be free to act at their own discretion. All the same, they kept urging that these people depart, so that the Dutch government could promote them. This was repeated in an announcement of 16 September, which gave an enumeration of the various national characters of Indonesians: Javanese, Keiese, Timorese, Boetonese, people of Binonggo, Tarimbarese, Ambonnesse, natives of Macassar, Menadonese and also Chinese.

Under no condition, however, were the Indo-Europeans allowed to stay (20 September 1953).

According to the informants the adherents of the movement had already made a list of Chinese shopkeepers; when the time of welfare had come, these Chinese could go back to their country. The Muyus would then take control of the shops for themselves.

The letters of 14 and 23 September expressed the desire for complete equality and equal treatment. In this new time *tuan(s)* and *njonja(s)* (ladies) would also have to see to their fellow men. Together they should enjoy food and drinks. They should respect each other (14 September). The purpose is to live together in New Guinea, without the one crushing the other and deceiving his neighbour as to the proceeds he has earned with his sweat.

These statements were laced with questions asking if the reader did not think this arrangement right and righteous.

But the coming welfare was not to be limited to Muyu society at Klapalima or the natives of New Guinea.

The letter of 23 September stated that this welfare was to be for all people of the world. Not only the natives of New Guinea were to benefit from this progress, but all people of New Guinea, the foreigners too, would have their share.

The supposition as expressed in the letter to the resident does not agree with that of Koeram himself. The idea of cooperation with the Dutch government is not mentioned in Koeram's diary. On 7 and 9 June there were messages that New Guinea belongs to the New Guineans themselves, and that it would get its own government because the people had already received "knowledge". New Guinea and America would become one and have their own governments. "Formerly it was different from now". The other nations were to be allowed to cooperate in this new order.

On 10 September, the authority over New Guinea was to be handed down to Mariana. At the police investigation, Koeram explained that Queen Juliana would hand down her authority to Mariana, a spirit of a dead person sent from America.

A message of 19 August gave a similar indication. It said that Klapalima had been bequeathed to the leaders of the movement by God Almighty, because they already had the knowledge and know-how. At the police investigation, Koeram stated that what was meant was that Klapalima would be governed by Koeram in the name of the spirits and that the Dutch government would then be powerless in that village.

In the writings presented to the resident, influences of the compilers were clearly noticeable. This also appears from the following.

In the letters of 14 and 23 September, it was also said that there was not yet proof. No article could be produced as evidence. The only proof was the voices of the spirits which manifested themselves in the adherents of the movement (14 September). The spirits also ordered that the government be informed as soon as possible and not to wait too long. Only because of this did the adherents dare to present this information to the government. They were not playing with the government, but seriously seeking evidence that agreed with what had been prophesied (23 September). In the writings of 24 September this is again expressed. There was not yet tangible proof, only signs of the coming welfare. They also stated that on account of the statements received they would continue working as usual; they would persevere and exercise patience under all difficulties (23 September).

Besides the manifestations of the spirits, there were also other signs that foretold the coming welfare. It was said that dead people had already been resurrected by their own Muyu doctors. The informants mentioned a boy from Kanggih who had died. The three doctors had come and, after all spectators had been removed, they had commanded him to rise. Then the dead boy came to life again. The resident of Merauke also mentioned rumours about it in a letter.

According to the informants, the leaders were also said to have the power to make coconut trees walk on command. Non-initiates were not allowed to see it, however.

The informants also said that the pupils of the mission institutes had asked if they might receive something of the money to buy clothes. This would be evidence of the truth of the movement for the pupils. It was not possible, for it was said that soldiers still guarded the money that Koeram had found. What they could do was write letters to the spirits in order to ask them for all kinds of goods. Those in contact with the spirits were to pass these letters on. This was confirmed by another informant, who had also tried it.

Doubting the truth of the movement was not tolerated. All Muyus had to participate. Their names were all noted on a list. Those who did not believe got a red cross after their names. Presently, when the big town had become reality, they would be killed. Their spirits, too, would be subjected to this fate. The boys of the institute were held to have said that they best be killed. At first, the village chief of Klapalima thought it was only deception. However, he was compelled to participate.

When he was later visited by a spirit, he believed in it. Visiting the resident on 28 September 1953, he gave a demonstration of such a manifestation of the spirit. But there were also Muyus in Klapalima who did not believe in the movement and did not participate.

The schoolboys were advised to learn, so that presently they could be of help in the welfare state.

According to the informants, the idea was current that the welfare state could only be effected when the Muyus had learned enough. They even mentioned a period of five years. The money Koeram had received was put away for that time. It was also said that there was already a big town in the cemetery, which they could not yet see. Everyone had to be taught by the leader, Koeram. Teaching went on each night in the homes. They sat together, leaning back with the eyes shut. Then the spirit came creeping into the body, and they started speaking the language of the spirits; a sound coming from the throat of the possessed person was uttered by the spirit. The languages the spirits used were English and Dutch. They were not dead Muyus, but primarily spirits of dead Americans, who came from America to Klapalima to instruct as *guru* (teacher). According to my informant there were about 200 Muyus who received a spirit.

It was further said that there were two kinds of spirits, -- spirits of people who had died contented, but also spirits of people who had died suddenly by arrow or club. If people received the latter kind of spirit, they went mad. This happened to two persons mentioned by the informant. These two people had gone mad in that period and most likely in connection with this salvation movement.

The idea of an invisible town is also expressed in Koeram's writing, together with information about soldiers and policemen who had arrived and left. For example, 15 July 1953: 50 million Australian soldiers had arrived on wednesday afternoon at six o'clock. On 15 other dates, information is given about coming and going of troops. When asked at the police investigation where these soldiers and policemen had gone, Koeram answered that they stayed in a town under the ground.

It appears from the letters to the resident that the Muyus did not quite know what benefit this movement would bring nor, especially, what the attitude of the government would be toward it.

The letter of 23 September opens by stating that the inhabitants of Klapalima want to present this important secret to the government with a sincere heart, a calm and quiet feeling and without hesitation or fear. Later on, the letter states that some of them are afraid

that the government will make an investigation into this apocryphal event. Many others are of the opinion that this is a secret to be kept and a prophecy to be fulfilled. But only the government knows what it is, and knows about ways to educate people how to make all kinds of goods, which can hardly be produced with ordinary human knowledge and skill.

For the inhabitants of Klalalima, it is a miraculous event. They themselves do not know the way. The remarkable thing is that they can see spirits which have been dead for a long time and that they receive all kinds of directions concerning the progress of the natives.

Yet they are of the opinion that this event is a good one, for it brings a total change. They are not superstitious practices performed in the dark. It is not something that has been accepted by a set of stupid, credulous people either. In such a case they would hide it from the government.

But, they say, this is like a secret knowledge, which the government should first know of and then allow to be continued. Then it will not be considered as a mere invention, but something done on the orders of the spirits. They are not playing with the government or telling them nonsense, but sincerely seeking evidence to confirm their experiences in this event. They think that the same progress and public health is concerned as meant in Article 73 of the United Nations Charter.

Also, in the letter of 14 September, they asked the secular and ecclesiastical arm to consider these events further.

Although they submitted their experiences to the government's judgement (and the mission), it did not mean that if the government did not believe these experiences, they would stop these practices. They would continue until they either gained advantage or disadvantage (letter 23 September). The answer from the village chief of Klalalima to the bishop at Merauke, who had proposed to celebrate a mass at Klalalima, expressed the same tendency. The proposal was accepted on the condition that, if no results eventuated, they would continue trying themselves. Thus the bishop's proposal was taken in a different way than had been intended, namely, the expulsion of the spirits.

Informing the government of these experiences provoked resistance from some adherents because they considered it a secret. They had indeed been able to keep the movement a secret from April to September. The informants said that non-initiates were not allowed to walk near the houses where the seances were enacted. The spirits would shoot them. Guards had also been set up to warn in case of police patrols.

From Koeram's notebook it also appears that his messages caused a certain unrest and fear among the people. On 18 June, the leaders of the Papua political party are told to write a letter and send it to the government at Merauke: the resident, the head of local government, the head of police, the head of the army, the doctor, the head of the mission

and also to the authorities in Hollandia and the head of the Papua political party at Hollandia.

"For we are seeing that you have fear and we therefore request that you write this letter so that you and your people will be peaceful and satisfied. Presently we and you will be satisfied; we will see to that. White and black people will be happy and cooperate." And, on 14 July, this followed: "We shall live together and have a good life. We are doing nothing wrong. We are making you happy; have no fear. We are signing below, we dead men or spirits."

This movement was not aimed against the Roman Catholic faith. In the document presented to the resident, it was said again and again that these are arrangements of God, the Father, the Almighty. Putting things in this way also served as a kind of justification for those arrangements that were less pleasant for certain groups of the population.

The letter of 6 September began telling the resident that the inhabitants of Klupalima, the Muyus, had been generously bestowed by God. And they seriously assured him that this had not come from themselves but from God. When directing requests to other nations to send money or to expel certain population groups from New Guinea or to lower the prices, it was assured again and again that these were God's orders.

My informants also told me that, according to the leaders of this movement, there was no opposition to the christian religion. The boys of the Roman Catholic institute had asked about it. The reply was that the christian religion was good and true. They went to church as usual. It was God indeed who was behind this movement and made all kinds of promises. The leaders also taught the christian religion. They said that God made the earth the first day and on the second day He made the trees and all goods. Then God wondered who had to look after these goods and then He made the people. There was also an enemy, the big snake. It was the head of the evil spirits (see above). The informants remarked that although Koeram was not a Christian, he taught like a priest.

Of the 203 adherents of this movement, the names of whom were given on a list attached to one of the letters, 152 people were members of the Roman Catholic church.

Yet this representation of things is not quite right. According to Koeram's own, there was a connection between the event in prehistoric times, as expressed in the myth of the sacred pig Kamberap, and this movement. At first it did not speak of God the Almighty, but of *Father Ajuk Ari, Tuhan Allah* (3 June); and, as he also reported to

the police, God had Himself at first called *Ular Radja* (see below). Later on he was no longer allowed to use this name and had to use "Father, the Almighty" or "Lord Ali". The last word may be the same as Ari, from the name *Ajuk Ari*.

In the following pages concerning the origin of the movement, I shall try to identify the connection with the myth mentioned and the use of these names.

We can assume that the influence of the Christian Muyus, who did not want a conflict in faith, effected this change.

The information given by the informants also throws some light on the background of this movement.

The Muyus could not understand where all the goods came from that were unloaded at Merauke every six weeks by the K.P.M. ship (liner of the *Koninklijke Pakketvaart Maatschappij*). Each time large quantities were unloaded. The nature of the goods also provoked various questions. They thought this could not be just the work of people. The Dutch must get the help of God and the spirits. How could such ships otherwise come into existence, and how was it possible for a plane to fly in the sky? Where did the doctor, the resident and the other *tuan* get their knowledge? All these goods must come from a place where the spirits live and the knowledge must come from contact with the spirits.

These thoughts also led to another idea. The goods the Europeans now get from Europe in fact originated from the Muyu, namely from the *ketpon* (sacred place where primeval events occurred), Motkom near Woropko. These goods were carried to Europe via underground roads. There they were altered to a certain extent; they were made visible and, once the mark Motkom/Woropko had been changed into another mark, then sent to Merauke.

My third informant told me that the adherents of the movement thought that it was in agreement with the christian faith, as everything came from God. The priests did not tell everything; they knew secret ways of getting knowledge and money from the spirits.

In Koeram's notebook the entire movement was connected with the event in the primeval age, as mentioned in the myth of Kamberap. The myth used by him deviates in some details from the versions described by me (Schoorl 1957: 96-102). Most likely this is a version that exists in the southern part of the Muyu area. Koeram himself came from a village in this southern part. The myth as told by Koeram is as follows:

"The origin of the world and the people. The first people were Ajukari and Bon. Their son was Woë and his wife Wukop. Their

children were: Kadjuk, Diwinap and Kamberap. Kadjuk married Diwinap. Kamberap treated Kadjuk wrongly and he fled. When he returned he only ate unwashed sagomarrow ..."

Then follows the story of how Kamberap was captured as a pig and was eaten at a pig festival. There was no water at this festival. A well was found which, when used, continued to flow so that the Kao river and all other rivers and seas came into existence. Koeram's story goes on:

"The strong current threw all people on the land here and there and from this many people came into existence. One person only, named Kadim, flew to America. Then Kadjuk followed him to America and he became clever (Indonesian: *pandai*). His father, Woë, then made the sun and it became light everywhere. Then he looked for his son until he found him in America; he made use of him and became clever. So (?) there's the moon in the evening. Sunset means that he puts it out. When the moon sets, he also puts it out. The end. Now he asks his people to return. On 30 May 1953 he asks them to return. The end."

Then follows a paragraph in which it is said that contact has already been made with America. It is said they have already found the tree of knowledge (Indonesian: *pohon Ilmu*). New Guinea and America will become one, cooperate, and have knowledge together. This is repeated in another paragraph, making the remark that till now they had only had the outer ends of the tree of knowledge.

In connection with the request for higher wages and better positions for the policemen, it is said that Kamberap also ran away because of ill treatment and followed the pigs, after which he ate of the marrow of the sago each night. The consequence of this was that he was trapped by his brother-in-law and, owing to Kadjuk's action, the knowledge was taken away.

In Koeram's notebook there is also the paragraph in which all kinds of factories are mentioned. It is said to have been *Bapa Ajuk Ari Tuhan Allah* (Ind.: Father Ajuk Ari the Lord) who signed the statement concerned. Subsequent statements and messages were signed with *Bapamu Ular Radja* (Ind.: Your Father Sanke king). It has already been mentioned in another connection that Koeram stated at the police investigation that God made Himself known at first as *Ular Radja*. Later on, he was not allowed to use this name any longer and had to call Him *Bapa Mahakuasa* (Ind. Father Almighty) or *Tuan Ali* (Ind. Lord Ali). Most likely this *Ali* is the same as *Ari* from the name *Ajuk Ari*. During the hearing with the police, Koeram made the remark that when "God" made Himself known as *Ular Radja*, this was done in his own language, namely the *Anoari* dialect. Thus read the documents bearing on the case. The *Muyus* have no names for dialects. But *anuari* is the name for a very big snake existing in the southern part

of the Muyu area. (This snake can eat pigs and small children.)

Although no conclusions can be made from the foregoing, it is not impossible, I think, that the Muyu name for *Ular Radja* is *Anuari* and that, in view of the similar use of *Ular Radja* and *Bapa Ajuk Ari*, the names *Anuari* and *Ajuk Ari* also express the same mythical figure.

3.3 NOTES ON THE SALVATION MOVEMENTS

Among the Muyus the idea is widespread that when the Kao River came into existence, the ancestors of all non-Muyus were carried from the Muyu area by the water. However, they took everything with them that the Muyus lack and foreigners possess. This idea was again expressed in what Koeram had written down.

One of the most important ideas of this movement was that the enormous riches and knowledge of the whites can be obtained through contact with the spirits. Through this movement, the Muyus would also obtain this knowledge and these riches.

The idea about the connection between having knowledge and contact with the spirits was clearly expressed in a document that the village chief of Klupalima presented to me in March 1954. In it he explained the difference between *bobtek* and *ajek*. Through contact with the spirits, the school of the *bobtek* knowledge and know-how would be obtained that are usually hidden from people. When learning this, dead body liquid had to be drunk, whereby knowledge of all things in the ground, in the water, in the air would be obtained. "money" (ot) was especially mentioned with it.

There was also the idea of the Muyus that foreigners have at their disposal an unlimited quantity of goods and money. The catechist of the village, Toemoetoe, told me that until just recently he had always thought that money could easily be obtained in the "money factory". He had heard from the priest that it was not so easy and knew now "that the government fixes a certain amount each year." Previously he also thought that there were unlimited quantities of goods in the Netherlands, and he had wondered why the Dutch did not give more goods to the Muyus.

The idea that western money is manufactured in a factory and can therefore be obtained in great quantity was widespread among the Muyus.

4. THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

4.1. Although the salvation movements among the Muyu population show clear and remarkable religious aspects, we must ascertain that the movements were not aimed at a religious goal. The purpose of the movements was to a great extent the gaining of material welfare. The first movement (see 3.1) concerned mainly traditional goods, whereas the next movement (3.2) concerned mainly western money and goods. If we start from the Muyus' range of ideas -- also in the period of many contacts with the world outside the Muyu area -- it can be explained why these movements have such a pronounced religious aspect: in the traditional culture material welfare was connected with "supernatural" influences. An important part of religious practice was also aimed at obtaining wealth in the form of shell money, among others (Schoorl 1957: 128). Although because of the remarkable religious aspects, we could think of salvation movements in the sense of being aimed at a religious goal, we should see these movements, I think, as being aimed at a secular welfare, toward which the religious practices should only be considered as a means. The choice of means fitted entirely into the traditional Muyu range of ideas.

This range of ideas was indeed subject to change owing to the contact situation and, especially, to education, but the traditional ideas were still strongly at work. New ideas were added to the old ones, but they did not (yet) replace them.

4.2. The first two movements (3.1) should, I think, be attributed to the great discrepancy between the strong stress in the Muyu culture on acquiring of wealth (shell money) and the limited possibilities to realize this ideal. The articles the Muyu consider valuable, especially the "ots" (shell money), are scarce (Schoorl 1957: ch. II). The number of persons who have acquired wealth is relatively small. Most likely we can find a situation similar to what Merton discovered in connection with North American society, namely a great discrepancy between the cultural goals (success) and the means approved by society to attain it.

In a certain society, a frustration felt by many can lead to various types of reaction. In view of the nature of the movements, we could see them as innovative behaviour. The cultural purposes are (still) appreciated positively, but new ways are sought to realize them. I wish to add to this that, although these movements occurred in a period when the Muyu area had been under (colonial) administration for 15 years, the nature

and the aim of the movement do not make us suppose that contact with western culture was an essential condition for this movement to come into existence.

In other words, no arguments can be put forward that these movements could not have come into existence in the pre-contact period. (See also Kamma 1972: 278-282).

4.3. The movement among the Muyus at Merauke must also be attributed to a strong discrepancy between the highly valued goals and the available approved means to attain them. Shifts have indeed occurred with regard to traditional goals, but the new purposes greatly resemble the old ones. The new goals are western wealth and knowledge. Knowledge is also seen to be the cause of wealth, though the idea of knowledge has a different meaning than in western cultures.

From the description of the movement and the background mentioned by the informants it appears that there is a strong desire for western wealth in Merauke. At the same time, the available possibilities to actually share in this wealth are clearly limited for the Muyu at this time. This wealth is not considered as something that has been built up for many years and for which one has been worked hard. Wealth is explained from the Muyus' range of thoughts, which it is believed that wealth originates from the Muyu area and, strictly speaking, belongs to the Muyus.

Furthermore, this wealth exists in unlimited quantities. It is only the foreigners' unwillingness that prevents the Muyu from sharing it. This agrees with more general observations of so-called cargo cults in New Guinea and Melanesia (Van Baa1 1967: 69-80). Here, too, the frustration experienced by many Muyus leads to seeking new ways. There is a prophet with a definition of the situation fitting strongly into a traditional range of thoughts and with a solution for the problems defined. The course of the movement fits the well known picture of similar movements (see, among others, Goodenough 1963: 293-301). 5)

It could be said that these movements are aimed at the (cultural) purposes of society, both Muyu and "western" society, as represented in Merauke. In Merton's terms we could speak here too of the reaction-type of innovative behaviour.

At the same time it should be remarked that -- to speak in Balandier's terms, for example -- in the movement at Merauke there are elements of active opposition against the existing polity. The ideas about their own soldiers, own authorities, about the expulsion of certain population groups indicate this. In the messages the necessary caution

is exercised, but in the coming time of welfare it will be the Muyus who hold the positions of authority. It is not so much that they seek another culture and structure -- at least as it is understood by them -- but another own overall position. It can still be seen as a form of the innovative reaction-type, but this reaction is also close to the type of rebellion in which a new order and a new "myth" are created.

4.4. Not only one reaction-type existed in the societies involved. Nor did the "prophets" concerned have success with all members of society with their "message". As with all movements, besides the prophet's disciples and the followers there were also the sceptics, the opponents and the supporters of other definitions of the situation with other solutions. In the movement at Merauke, the efforts of the leader of the political party were clearly aimed at cooperation with the government. He stimulated consultation with the government about this "new way". (He was therefore much offended by the search of his home by the police.) Information from the former pupils of the training colleges suggest that many of these young people were very sceptical concerning this movement. Far from all Muyus in Merauke were involved in it. At that time, no investigation was made into the extent of the movement with regard to both the number of adherents and the intensity of participation. Knowledge about leaders with other definitions of the situation and other solutions or messages is also missing. It may be assumed that opinion leaders with various visions existed among the non-adherents.

From the viewpoint of place and function of socio-cultural movements in a certain society, it is desirable that in all cases more attention be paid to the alternatives which may not be dominant at that time but may play an important role.

That such movements had a chance to gain many adherents among the Muyu population is closely connected with the fact that the traditional world-view still played an important if not dominant role within this population group at that time. From this range of thoughts, the existence of this movement could logically be explained. From the knowledge of the observer/anthropologist, they could be described in advance as failing to attain their purposes. Van Baal's (1960: 108-121) term "erring acculturation" could be applied to the movement in Merauke.

In situations in which large parts of the population receive (western) education for a long time, other types of socio-cultural movements will occur, such as national movements aimed at obtaining independence or political movements aimed at the change (or maintenance) of the government.

Both in purpose and means, this kind of movement is clearly secular. In fact, however, differences with salvation movements are less than a superficial comparison would first suggest. The difference is primarily a function of changed world-views. The definitions of the situation and the "messages" connected with them are formulated from that range of ideas. Also, in the more "developed" world, erring movements can be indicated and expected. In that world, too, corresponding types of movements can be distinguished.

NOTES

1. The investigation among the Muyu Papuas was made in various periods in 1953, 1954 and 1955, owing to the opportunities Dr. Van Baal offered me in this respect. The results of the investigation can be found in Schoorl, 1957.
2. Defining social phenomena has always been a difficult and trying affair, which corresponds to the nature of those phenomena. The definition given here is not intended to be an exact description or limitation, but more an indication of the phenomenon. The following definition of socio-cultural movement has been taken from the Dictionary, 1964: "The term social movement denotes a concerted and continued effort by a social group aimed at reaching a goal (or goals) common to its members. More specifically, the effort is directed at modifying, maintaining, replacing or destroying an existing social institution. The term is also used to denote the group so engaged. This general formulation leaves open the question, e.g. of degrees of organization and continuity or of clarity of purpose -- all of which may vary from one social movement to another or within any social movement in the course of its history".
3. The descriptive part has been taken from Schoorl, 1957: 122-124 and 249-263. The description of the salvation movement in the Muyu area itself in the period 1953-1955 has been left out to shorten this contribution. This movement had been inspired by the movement at Merauke.
4. Merton gives the following outline:

A TYPOLOGY OF MODES OF INDIVIDUAL ADAPTATIONS

Modes of Adaptation	Culture Goals	Institutionalized Means
I Conformity	+	+
II Innovation	+	-
III Ritualism	-	+
IV Retreatism	-	-
V Rebellion	±	±

(+) signifies "acceptance", (-) signifies "rejection", and
 (±) signifies "rejection of prevailing values and substitution of new values" (1961: 140).

5. Following Wallace, Goodenough mentions six major phases or steps which mark the course of a successful revitalization movement, namely:
 - 1) Inspiration, 2) Communication, 3) Organization of Converts,
 - 4) Adaptation to Resistance, 5) Enacting a Program, and 6) Routinization.

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