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THE CULT FROM LYEIMI AND THE IPILI

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I

IN his 1973 article "The Sun and the Shakers", M. J. Meggitt gave a fascinating account of a millenarian cult which developed in the Western Highlands of Papua New Guinea in the early 1940's. He focused on the historical and environmental factors leading up to the cult and described the course of events as the cult spread through the district. It is my intention in this essay to complement his ethnographical material and to enlarge on parts of his study, especially with regard to the spread of the cult among the Ipili.¹ Regarding this latter, my comments revolve about two questions. First: *How and why did the movement change when it first spread among the Ipili?* Meggitt noted that when the cult spread to the Ipili, both the doctrine and various of its attendant rituals underwent a number of interesting, but intelligible, changes. He could not tell whether this development simply expressed, in his words, "the logical working out through time of assumptions implicit in the original dogma before the Taro entered the Porgera valley, or whether it came about in response to what I intuitively believe is a greater complexity inherent in Ipili religious belief and ritual" (1973, p. 27). My evidence has led me to adopt his second suggestion, as I hope to show in answering this first question.

¹ In 1973-4 I spent six months among the Enga and nine months among the Ipili speakers of the Porgera and Paiela Valleys. During that time I worked for the Catholic Mission and did research on Ipili religion. The results of my research appear in my thesis *Ipili Religion Past and Present*, which was submitted for a diploma in Anthropology at the University of Sydney. I would like to thank all those who helped me in my work, especially Fr. Tony Somhorst, S.V.D., of Porgera and Professor P. Lawrence of Sydney. Also I wish to thank R. Schreiter and J. Heisig who gave me helpful comments on the first draft of this paper.

My research into the millenarian movement was conducted independently of Meggitt's study. His article was brought to my attention only after I had departed from Papua New Guinea. It is to me remarkable that the data in our independent studies coincide so very closely.

Second: *What is the significance of the whole movement for the Ipili today?* Meggitt says that when he visited the area in 1956 the people were of the opinion that they had been duped and misled and that the cult had been all foolishness. Recent developments, however, present a quite different picture and raise a number of interesting questions which I shall touch on briefly.

The 4,346 Ipili people of the Porgera Valley² live a vigorous day's walk to the west of the Taro Enga of the Lagaip Valley (see Map 1). Another day's walk to the west are the 3,182 people of the Paiela Valley who speak the same Ipili language and are culturally similar and closely related to the Porgera people by trade and marriage relations. The three groups are separated by mountain ranges reaching heights of 3,000 meters (10,000 feet). The land of the Porgera district is formed chiefly of sandstone and shale sediments deeply dissected by tributaries of the Porgera River. South and east of the district are steep limestone cliffs and spectacular sharp-crested mountain ridges rising to 3,660 meters (12,000 feet). The Porgera Valley floor is 2,100 meters (7,000 feet) but drops to 1,200 meters (4,000 feet) at the Porgera-Lagaip junction. The whole area is smothered with volcanic ash which forms humic brown soils on the broad convex ridges between the stream channels, and provide most of the land used for cultivating crops. The remaining area is covered with mixed beech forest with mountain grasslands on the upper slopes.

Rain falls from 250 to 280 days of the year, amounting to about 2,500 mm. There is little daily range of temperature, the mean monthly range being between 23°C and 11°C. Above an altitude of 1,500 meters the weather can be very cold and bleak, and frost may occur, especially in depressions where cold air accumulates.

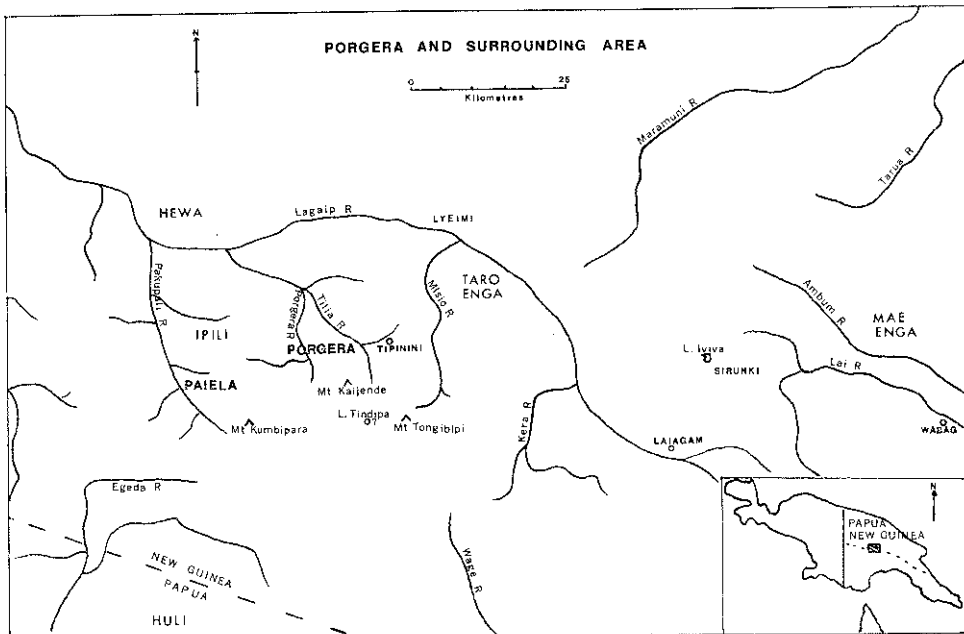
Compared with the Taro Enga in the Lagaip Valley, Ipili land is higher, steeper, poorer, and less densely populated. Though there is no shortage of land, use is limited by the sloping lands, the wet climate, the drainage, the need for fertilizers (especially phosphates) and poor communications. The humic brown clays add further restrictions to food production: a rapid fixation of phosphorus in a form not available to plants, a weak aggregation which would disintegrate under continuous cropping, and extremely poor subsoil in continual danger of heavy erosion.

The Ipili have long been pig-herders, horticulturalists and hunters. (The majority still are, though some young men have been leaving for work on coastal plantations, while some are engaged as entrepreneurs in sluicing and selling gold.) Sweet potato is the staple food, raised under a system of shifting cultivation. Fallow periods vary from about 25 to 5 years depending on the density of population. (The average is 15 persons per square kilometer.) Sweet potato is planted in low mounds 1-½ to 2 meters in diameter. Harvest

² Government census 1974. Records of the Porgera Patrol Post.

takes place 6 to 10 months after planting. (Porgera garden produce is generally of poorer quality than that of Taro Enga. During the time I was present there was a shortage of sweet potato.) Supplementary foods include pandanus fruits, taro, sugarcane, native leaf plants, and game such as opossums, cassowaries and fruit pigeons.

Dwellings are low structures made from split logs, with pandanus leaves lining the walls and covering the roof. This style of construction, especially when a closed porch has been added, gives good insulation from the cold. Unfortunately, because smoke cannot penetrate the roof, it fills the house on its way out through a low doorway at one end. Houses are approximately four metres wide and eight metres long (women's houses are slightly longer).



Map 1

The Ipili live in dispersed homesteads in autonomous local groups whose boundaries are usually defined by rivers and streams. The people within these local groups express their relationships in kinship terms, even where no genealogical bond exists. The local group territories are thought of as clan lands and the clans are linked to each other in marriage and exchange relations and by hostility to the same neighbouring units.

Meggitt (1957-58a, p. 37) observes that the Ipili organization of clans is similar to the Enga clan system, except that the Ipili clans are smaller and

less segmented, and that there is a marked lateral spread in effective kin relationships which conceals the patrilineal and patrilocal character of Ipili clans. In my experience, however, the social structure is somewhat more complex. In particular, the freedom of granting land rights, the residential mobility, the large numbers of non-agnates living on clan land, and the fact that an Ipili will often give several names for his clan have made me question to what degree cognatic features effectively enter into the recruitment of descent groups. This is most pronounced in the Paiela Valley.³ Where the individual is concerned, I have found that a cognatic principle best explains the multiple affiliations which determine who must contribute to and who will be recipient in brideprice and death compensations, who is more vulnerable to attack from ancestral ghosts, and who has land rights. Participation in exchange is as important as residence or land ownership. An individual may claim land as a descendant of any ancestor, through male or female links, but will be recognized as part of a descent group only when he becomes a co-contributor in exchange relations.

Traditionally there are no hereditary or formally elected chiefs or headmen. Local groups are guided by men "whose names are big". They achieve this status by economic and military prestige.

Male-female relations in Porgera reflect the anxiety which is characteristic of the whole of the Western and Southern Highlands. From my observations in both the Enga District and Porgera, I consider the Enga women to have a much higher status than their Porgera counterparts. I am not sure how much this is due to the greater extent of Western contact among the Enga in Wabag and Laiagam. In the past there was strict segregation of the sexes and severe punishments were meted out to transgressors. Young men were not permitted to look at women, nor indeed did they want to because they thought this would endanger their well-being. While this fear is lessening a bit, contact with women, outside of ritual circumstances, is still thought to be a source of weakness to men. The segregation of the sexes is obvious in residence patterns. Formerly five or six clansmen would live together for added protection. Now with less warfare men tend to live two or three to a house. The women live apart from the men in their own houses with the children and the pigs.

Polygamy was once the ideal form of marriage, but this is less frequent now since fewer men are killed in fighting and since the missions actively discourage the practice. As Meggitt notes, the Ipili do not have the same sort of courting parties as the Enga, but they do have organized parties called *tawanda*

³ A recent view from the Paiela Valley notes that they have cognatic descent units. ("Field Report" No. 1, 1975, Aletta Biersack, Ph.D. candidate currently engaged in research in the Paiela Valley.)

which fulfill a similar function. Groups of men and women, old and young, crowd into the open-sided shelter built for the occasion. Late at night older women and younger children leave as the songs become more centered on courting. A man will try to sit near his favorite woman so that he can talk when there is a lull in the singing.

Negotiations for brideprice begin at twenty-seven, the standard unit of Ipiili numbering. Negotiating parties then compromise on the number of "somethings" to be exchanged and will argue at length about what the "somethings" will be. What is most important is the number of breeding sows to be given. Once this is settled (usually three to six) then the remainder is made up with less valuable pigs and other gifts. At an Enga distribution of brideprice the girl, with the help of her parents, appears to distribute the pigs to her relatives. In Porgera and especially Paiela, the girl has no say as to who receives pigs. This is usually done by a brother, her father, or her father's or mother's brother and she need not even be present. The girl is more a token of exchange than an agent in the exchange. However, the girl's close relatives might have no say in the marriage, as may happen if the girl takes the initiative and finds some relative to distribute pigs to others who are cognatically related. I witnessed several cases in which a girl was given by her brother against the will of her father and mother.

The Ipiili attribute death from illness to being "eaten" by a ghost, poisoned by an *ipatiti* demon or other *yama* spirit, or in the case of a man, poisoned by a woman. A diagnosis and perhaps also an autopsy, will be made depending on the type of illness. Accidental death is attributed to the whims of the sun, to ancestral spirits or to the mischief of an *ipatiti*. Death may also come by fighting and murder, though peace is now being enforced through government intervention. Normally, when a person dies relatives gather to grieve, some cutting off fingers as a sign of their sorrow. A few days later there is a mourning feast. When a man is killed there is no mourning feast until his death is avenged or fully compensated for. The time after a man is killed is like a time of siege for the killers. People cannot go to gardens far from their houses for fear of being killed. Eventually, if there is no avenging death, hunger forces the killers to offer compensation. Some pork is sent as a sign of truce and arrangements are made for the death compensation so that people can walk about more freely.

Ipiili religion is important in the relationship of men to their environment, to other men and to the realm of ghosts and spirit beings. It helps them cope with both problems of meaning and problems of power, especially power perceived as significantly beneficial or dangerous. The principal rituals are directed at averting death and misfortune. The rituals and the various occasions for them are shown in the table below. The table is largely self-explanatory.

It shows how most of the religious activities are crisis centered, and how the aspects of the world which cause the greatest anxiety are well-being in general and socioeconomic welfare in particular.

TABLE 1

Principal Rituals for various occasions.

Ritual	Recipient	Purpose
<i>Clan rituals, Principal rituals: kepele, one, litu.</i>	Clan ancestors	Ensure general well-being of pigs, crops, etc., and to avert disasters.
<i>Offerings to placate ghosts Principal rituals: kolo, koipa, kaima</i>	Recent dead ancestors	Cure sickness Contact dead relatives
<i>Offerings to placate demons</i>	<i>ipatiti</i> and other demons	Avert sickness, stop misfortune
<i>Bachelor rituals</i>	Mythical <i>kawara</i> woman	Seek assistance for well-being and growth of young men
<i>Wealth magic</i>	(Power centered in rite itself)	Attract more and bigger pigs and other wealth
<i>Sorcery</i>	(Magical rite but sometimes help of spirits is sought)	Injure enemies

The purpose of much of the ritual is to influence spirit beings by means of coercion, bargaining or propitiation, although in some magical techniques the power is attributed to the ritual itself rather than to any spirit being. Most ritual offerings involve the killing of pigs and cooking of pork so that the ghost or spirit-being can eat the smell. Since pigs are the main form of wealth, such offerings are expensive and so not performed without good reason.

The inhabitants of the spirit world of the Ipili, as far as I have been able to discover them, are listed in Table 2. There are four main categories of such beings: ghosts, ancestors, demons and sky people.

TABLE 2
The Ipili spirit world⁴

General	Spirit Beings in General (<i>Yama</i>)			Sky People (<i>taweakali</i>)
	Recent Dead	Remote Dead	<i>Yama</i> Demons Demons: <i>ipatiti</i> <i>yolape</i> <i>matawe</i> <i>itati</i> <i>koip</i>	<i>taweakali</i> as a category of sky people
Particular	Deceased relatives (ghosts)	<i>kepele</i> <i>mundupa</i> <i>pongo nalembe</i> Mythical Heroes (Kimala, Kaunala Tape, etc.)	Female Demons <i>one</i> <i>yutuwana</i> <i>akaini</i> Animal Demons: <i>kopi</i> <i>kaweiya</i> <i>pinu</i> <i>makota</i> Stone Demons: <i>komaipa</i> <i>awalo</i> Other ("in the wind") <i>pataka</i> <i>nenginengi</i>	Nii (sun) Isini Lyala (star) Moon Kawara woman

Recent dead relatives or ghosts (*talepa*) live closer to people than any other spirit beings. They are at best disinterested but are usually malicious and so are greatly feared. A ghost remains in clan territory and becomes one of a homogeneous group of ancestors only after killing one of the living.

⁴The line between Remote Dead and Sky people in Table 2 is left open because the correct placement of some beings, such as mythical heroes, is ambiguous.

Ghostly attacks usually result in sickness. When someone becomes sick, members of the person's immediate family try to determine the identity of the ghost responsible by dream interpretation and by trying to determine which ghost is most likely to be angry with the victim. When the responsible ghost has been determined, the kinsmen dedicate a pig to the ghost, kill the pig and cook it at a small open-sided oven-house called a *yamanda* (spirit house). The ghost is presumed to "eat" the smell of the blood and of the cooking pig. The aim of the offering is to avert the ghost's anger and so to stop it from "biting" the victim. If this does not work and a person remains ill, his family will consult a diviner who can use one of the many *aleka* divining techniques to find the cause of the sickness. Other more elaborate rituals to placate ghosts are *kolo* (a ghost-spearing technique), *koipa* (a ceremony where the ritual expert impersonates the ghost and kills a pig) and *kaima* (an offering performed at forest pools inhabited by the assembly of clan ancestors).

The remote dead ancestral spirits are the spirits of ancestors of present men who died before living memory and who cannot be fitted into known genealogies. Usually these ancestral spirits are dead humans, but not necessarily. Many clans claim their first ancestors had animal form. These ancestral spirits are most commonly associated with sacred stones which have a central place in Ipili religious ritual. Unlike ghosts and demon spirits which more commonly cause sickness, the main interest of the ancestral spirits is in socioeconomic affairs such as agriculture and food production, hunting, weather, and the fertility and health of women and pigs. Although ancestral spirits are not necessarily malicious, some of the offerings made to them attempt to satisfy them so that they will "sleep" and be quiet. Because the ancestors are more transcendent and operate on a grander scale than ghosts their rituals relating to them tend to be more complex and involve killing of more pigs. These rituals are thought to be effective much longer than those for ghosts. In the largest ritual, the *kepele*, a number of clans cooperate in building six ritual houses and in providing food and the necessary pigs and opossums. Over the course of a week twenty or thirty pigs are killed and for five days a basketwork figure (*yupini*) is "fed" with pig fat and made to "kiss" with a vulva shaped *kepele* stone, simulating intercourse. After the *yupini* is satisfied, it is put back in the men's house and the ritual stones (*kepele koulini*) are ceremonially buried. This ceremony was performed by a clan and its neighbours about once every generation.

Used in the strict sense, the term *yama* refers to autonomous spirit beings such as tricksters and demons who wantonly cause annoyance and harm. (As Table 2 shows, *yama* may be used in a wider sense to include ghosts and the remote dead.) *Yama* demons come in many forms. I have named sixteen of the better known but there are many more. *Yama* are typically nonhuman and antisocial and have little interest in economic activities. Some such as the

ipatiti occur in large numbers; others are individual spirits which inhabit a particular place or stone in one clan territory. The naming of *yama* as the source of sickness usually depends on the type of sickness (*e.g.*, malaria, boils, arthritis) and whether the sick person remembers having recently seen or heard a *yama*. Once the *yama* is named by divination, appropriate placating measures can be taken if they are available. Because *yama* are nonhuman, they are more difficult to placate than ghosts.

Belief in sky people (*taweakali* — the originating deity-like people who reside in the sky and influence men's fate) is very vague. The Ipili were amused that I should be so interested in them. Most men say that they have heard of *taweakali*, but except for a few spirit beings which are not generally classified as *taweakali*, they know no names and attribute no creative and few regulative powers to them. Meggitt (1965b, p. 131) says that the Enga belief in a founding ancestor who is a sky being strengthens claims to their highly valued land. It may be that the Ipili do not need such a strong belief in sky beings to validate land claims because land is relatively plentiful.

There is a connection in myth between the sky people and present men's first ancestors: the sky people are thought to be men and women who lived on earth until the ancestors of present men arrived, when the sky people went to *tawetoko* (the raised place in the sky). Some went to *tawetoko* directly from the top of a *kaiko* tree or else used the *kaiko* tree as a "bridge" by which to enter a mountain and so reach *tawetoko* from the top of the mountain. This belief does not reconcile easily with a parallel belief that the first ancestors had the form of animals. A further difficulty comes in classifying the beings mentioned in myths and stories: Kimala and his brother-in-law Kaunala Tape, and the Kawara woman, to name a few. These are probably *taweakali* because the myths all finish when they go to *tawetoko*. Perhaps they only become *taweakali* when this happens. In any case, they are also folk heroes and the people prefer to think of them as such rather than as sky people.

Four other autonomous spirit beings are the sun, the moon, Lyala the star, and Isini. The sun and Isini are the most important. The sun is seen as a spiritual being with creative and regulative powers. Some call it *nitawe* and classify it as a powerful sky being. Others think of it more as a deity and call it various names: *nii*, *aluni*, *ewa*, *onewa*. The sun is the ever-watchful one. It looks after everything there is, unlike the ancestral spirits who are limited in their interests. "He (the sun) sees if we steal things." "During a fight he looks after us." "If he wants us to die then we will die." If a man is crossing a dangerous bridge he might mentally commend his safety to the sun. "*Ewa andapio eya*" (the sun is watching you) is a common saying. If a man finds a wild pig while hunting, or discovers a wild pandanus with excellent fruit, he might say, "The sun has sent this to me". When a man

proposes to a girl he says, "If it is the will of the sun that we should be married, then we will be married". The sun is responsible for giving children. Thus, for example, after the fifth day of seclusion during menstruation a woman must offer a short prayer and bite on a *liko* leaf while looking at the sun to ensure fertility.

Isini is a non-human being with long slender arms. It lives in the lower reaches of the Lagaip River at the border between the sky and the earth. Isini has the regulative function of ensuring that the water drains from the ground, lest the rivers overflow thereby drowning everyone. Assisted by two mythical brothers Elapi and Kelapi, Isini allows the water to flow along its arms and down a huge hole. Some think that Isini has a more general regulative function similar to that attributed to the sun. If Isini wished, the whole world would end. It is believed that the whole earth is supported on a large tree and it is Isini which guards this tree. Occasionally a brown pig which belongs to Isini rubs its back against this tree and so causes earthquakes to occur on earth.

Ipili religious belief and ritual is somewhat more complex than that of the Enga as described by Meggitt (1965b, 1973).⁵ There are rituals for placating ghosts and spirits similar to those of the Enga, but there are others besides, like the *one* and *litu* rituals which have come from the Southern Highlands. The principal *kepele* ritual is more involved and lasts longer than the Mae Enga *Yainanda* ceremony. (My informant, the leading Ipili *kepele* expert, would occasionally be summoned to Taro Enga territory to perform the ceremony for them.) Then too, there seems a greater variety of religious objects: stones, figurines, skulls and bones, pools and especially the basketwork *yupini*. The *yama* of the spirit world are individuated and named more than the *pututuli* of the Enga. What is more, the importance of named mythical heroes, regarded as deities is more like the belief of the neighbouring Huli (Glasse, 1965) than that of the Enga. And finally, the Ipili are well known among the Enga for their prowess in sorcery.

II

The Movement from Lyeimi

During the late 1930's and early 1940's, the system of religious belief and activity which I have described seemed to become less effective than it had been previously. A unique combination of circumstances caused the Ipili to waver in their faith in truths once held securely and in rules once presumed to govern the control of their welfare. Principal among them were the coming of Westerners, severe frosts which brought extensive food shortages, and epidemics of disease among themselves and their pigs.

⁵ See also M. Wagner's excellent description of the Enga concept of fear (1970).

The Ipili do not seem to have had any direct contact with Europeans until the Hagen-Sepik patrol of Taylor and Black in 1938 and 1939. Older men told me of their fearful reactions when they first witnessed the arrival of the "redmen". The "redmen" were immediately thought to be *yama* or spirits⁶ and women and children were sent to hide in the forest while some of the men killed pigs as propitiatory offerings. Aircraft were used for reconnaissance in conjunction with the patrol and people told me how fearful they were of these noisy flying objects. Men also told me that several people were shot and killed by the patrol. The visit of the patrol, the weapons and other possessions, and the sight of the aircraft caused great awe among the Ipili. I was told how men passed around the large chips of wood cut by steel axes and wondered at the men who could cut wood with such power. The next visit by a European was by the ex-Administration officer, Joe Searson, who began an alluvial gold-mining operation at Porgera in 1946.

About two years after the visit of the Patrol, the Western Highlands experienced a very cold period when frosts destroyed much of the staple food: the sweet potato crop. Not uncommonly frosts kill sweet potato grown above 2,400 meters (8,000 feet), but on this occasion the frosts destroyed gardens at much lower levels. A drought which followed stunted the growth of the gardens which had survived. (There was a similar meteorological upset in the Western Highlands in 1972. Much of the sweet potato crop was destroyed. Porgera did not suffer as severely from the frosts because there are few pockets of low-lying land for the cold air to gather. Nonetheless, the steepness of the land accentuated the effects of the long spell of dry weather which followed, and as late as 1974 the gardens had still not fully recovered.)

In 1943 the Ipili were only just recovering from the effects of the frost and drought when they were hit by an epidemic of influenza and of dysentery affecting large areas of the population in the Western Highlands. There was also an increase in sickness among their pigs. Meggitt suggests that what they describe as "shortwind" was most likely a form of bacterial pneumonia.

This series of events in the six years between 1938 and 1944 shook the confidence of the Ipili in the accepted procedures for control over their welfare. The performance of their traditional rituals seemed to have lost its efficacy. The disorder led them to doubt their assumptions about the nature of power and the rules which govern its use and control. Conditions were rife for the acceptance of the millenarian movement from Lyeimi.

Meggitt (1973, pp. 20-24) has supplied us with an account of how four brothers arose as prophets at Lyeimi among the Taro Enga. The ghost of their father Ain, appeared to them in dreams and told them how a tree-climbing kangaroo had emerged from a pond in the forest and given his instructions

⁶ See "Hagen-Sepik Patrol 1938-1939". *New Guinea*, 6, Sept./Oct., 1971, pp. 31, 33.

on how to avert the sickness which was everywhere. In response to these dreams the brothers instructed their clansmen:

1. To give up the old rituals used to propitiate the ancestral spirits. The "new and alien" *kepele* ritual was to be abandoned altogether. The traditional *kaima* pool ritual could be resumed later.
2. To turn to the sun for aid in the time of crisis.
3. To make offerings of pigs to the sun from specially constructed platforms.
4. To engage in washing rites of purification.
5. To observe certain prohibitions on food and to take good care of their hunting dogs so that they could get food from the forest.
6. To give up warfare and to put aside fears of female pollution, abandoning the bachelor's purity rituals.

If the group observed these instructions, they were told, the sun would aid them and a state of well-being would be restored. Thus "in its original form Ain's cult seems to have been a specific response to a unique set of problems with no suggestion that the cult should persist after it had solved these problems" (Meggitt, 1973, p. 23).

The message was accepted among their own people and then the four brothers and some of their clansmen visited other Taro Enga centres of settlement. They were received with enthusiasm and their converts hastened to build cult houses and perform the rituals.

The Cult among the Ipili.

Once accepted in Taro Enga country the cult spread into other Enga areas and over the mountains to the Porgera and Paiela Valleys. It is difficult to tell how much their missionary movement was motivated by selfless ideals and how much done out of purely material interests. (The latter is a far more predominant Enga characteristic: the prophets received at least a side of each pig offered to the sun.)

Porgera men told me how nine men (Langane, Lunguna, Taiok, Alek, Pipi, Yumbun, Mendi, Wambili and Koiyu) came to them with a story that a "spirit" who slept in a big lake near the border of heaven and earth had given them a message that the world was about to come to an end. If the people observed certain prohibitions and performed certain rituals, they would not die but be received into the sky (*tawetoko*). The majority of Ipili accepted the cult. The tradition of brideprice was forgotten and the people abandoned their old offerings to the ancestor spirits. They performed only one offering in which black and white pigs were ritually killed and lifted up to *Aluni* (the sun). The pig was then thrown to the ground from the platform and was eaten with *liko* and *emaro* leaves after a side had been given to the men who had done the killing. Other food was prepared differently as well. For example,

sweet potato was not cooked in the embers as usual, but was smoked on top of the fire. Eating of sugarcane, banana, green vegetables and marita fruit was forbidden. Each community slept together in one large house, which they constructed, called *ongi* (time ends, or darkness). There was no fire inside the house.

The people were all very afraid of Langane the leader of the newcomers. He was a big man and carried three spears. Some claimed that they had tried to shoot him but were unable. As proof of his story Langane handled hot coals and touched people with a short spear he was carrying. This made many people go into fits of shaking (men today describe them as being "drunk").⁷ The visitors also showed the Ipili a piece of woven material, a steel axe and wood cut with the axe. In *tawetoko* the Ipili would have axes like this, along with pearl shells and other valuable things. There was also reference to a horse's tail, a comparison of the size of their tails was an indication of the size of the pigs in *tawetoko*.⁸

The morning after the killing, people roasted the kidneys over a fire, poking holes into them with the wing bones of a fruit bat as in *takai* health magic. Then the people cut up the kidneys and ate them. Those who ate them went to the river and ritually washed themselves using *tapiak* leaves as a funnel and all the while repeating verses of songs they had been taught. For example:

Two women, you cannot get the pig bone now,
Forget your beliefs and take on good ways.

The song refers to the abandoning of the *one* ritual and the change to a new ritual and new form of belief.⁹

After bathing, the people filled bamboo tubes with water, held them up and promised to kill more of their pigs. In doing so, they received a sort of blessing from Langane. The leader then took a spear and thrust it into a *pawa* tree so that water inside the tree ran down the shaft off the end of the spear. This is *taikulia*, water thought to have special powers and formerly used during the young men's initiation. Now the people drank only this water. After killing their pigs and purifying themselves people covered their legs with white mud, lived in the special house, observed the taboos and waited for the imminent end of the world which was to be heralded by a time of darkness.

⁷ Meggitt (1973, p. 22) links the shaking to traditional *taripa pinggi* used by Taro men in divination. The great impression that the shaking made on the Ipili men, however, leads me to think that it was not so common a phenomenon for them.

⁸ Meggitt reports the same phenomenon and says it was a cow's tail. Whichever it was, such evidence made a deep impression.

⁹ The *one* ritual is one of the more important Ipili rituals. It was brought from Koroba in the Tari area by the grandfather of my informant. The ritual, in which *one* stones are wrapped ceremonially in leaves and pig fat, is made to the *wanelapo*, the two mythical women who went to live inside Lake Kaiundika in the Tari area after their menfolk went to the sky (*tawetoko*).

When it was adopted by the Ipili, the movement changed in a number of respects from the way it was expressed among the Taro Enga. Instead of being a temporary measure to solve specific problems, the effect was to be permanent. The earth was to end and the people were to go to live in the sky (*tawetoko*). The shift to concern with the acquisition of material possessions, which had occurred already among the Enga at Tumandana, continued with the Ipili, but the wealth was no longer to be found on earth but in *tawetoko*. Purification is closely associated with wealth magic among the Ipili and so there was a greater emphasis on purification in the cult rituals.

There are several ways that these changes could have come about. Perhaps Langane changed his story when he came to Ipili. This would be hard to determine. Perhaps the Ipili misunderstood part of what Langane told them.¹⁰ The Taro Enga and the Ipili have different languages, but their languages belong to the same sub-family and generally are mutually intelligible so I think that this would be only a minor factor. Perhaps the sickness and the environmental disturbances were more severe among the Ipili. The older Ipili remember the very difficult times and even today they suffer more sickness and have less pigs and poorer gardens than the Enga. Their gardens on steeper land might have been affected differently by the frost and the dry spell, though it is difficult to determine if they suffered a greater relative deprivation than the Taro Enga. Finally, the movement may have changed by virtue of its adaptation to certain elements of the traditional Ipili religious system. I tend to think that this was one of the most significant factors in the change of both doctrine and ritual; and though I cannot show precisely why a change took place, I would like to suggest how many of the changes accord closely with traditional Ipili religious belief and practices.

The idea of bodily assumption up into the sky was new to the Cult but not to the Ipili. Though the Ipili did not regard this as the norm, it was the way that sky people and mythical heroes went from their original abode on earth to the sky. Three of the characters central to Ipili mythology — Kimala, Kaunala Tape and the Kawara woman — all end with an ascent to the sky in each of the several versions of their lives I was able to record. The assumption usually takes place from the top of a mountain. No further details are given; they simply go to *tawetoko*.¹¹ Though mythical characters all go to the sky, men after death were thought to remain as ghosts in the clan land, and later to join the group of ancestors. I can suggest two reasons why in accepting

¹⁰ In the initial instruction at Lyeimi the people were told to abandon the "new and alien" *kepele* rituals altogether, but to resume the traditional *kaima* rituals later. If the prophets brought this same message to the Ipili, they might well have understood that all the main traditional rituals were to be abandoned altogether. For them the *kepele* is not "new and alien" but the central and most powerful of their clan rituals.

¹¹ It is interesting to note that in two versions of the myths, Kimala is said to have gone to *tawetoko* after going to a celebration at Lyeimi, the home of the cult prophets.

the cult they might have come to see themselves as following the example of the mythical heroes. First, there must have been much speculation after the appearance of Europeans whom they took to be sky people returned to the ground. Second, it was a logical consequence of their understanding that the disasters heralded the end of the world. The latter reason requires more explanation.

The belief that the world was about to end resulted from the association of the message with the deity Isini. The prophets came from across the Lagaip River (for the Ipili, the border of the known world). When I asked Ipili men where Lyeimi was they waved to a large expanse of mountainous country "over there". Lyeimi to them represents the large area on the farther bank of the Lagaip River extending almost to the Porgera River. Further down the Lagaip, adjacent to the "Lyeimi", live the little known and much feared Hewa people and also the deity Isini who ensures that the river will continue to drain the land. It did not seem unlikely to the Ipili that the prophets from Lyeimi had received their message from Isini. Several men told me how in fact it was Isini who had warned Langane that he was soon to cease maintaining order and that the world would soon end. It followed that offerings might be made to the sun so that they might not be lost in the coming catastrophe.¹² The regulative functions of the sun and Isini are closely allied. The sun looks after men. Isini looks after the ground. One man told me how before the missions came they used to think of Isini as they do of God today. "If Isini wanted sickness, then sickness came." If Isini wished it, the world would end. If Isini ceased to drain the water, the land would flood and all would be destroyed. With the land flooded life could not continue on earth. The only place they could go was to follow the first beings on earth to the sky which is ruled by the sun.¹³

One theme which runs throughout the rituals of the Cult as practised by the Ipili is that of growth through purification. Little wonder, here again, that many of the details are similar to the practice of the purifying and strengthening procedures of the young men in their bachelor rites (*umaritsia*) — the rites now abandoned, but once an important part of the life of a young man. Through the power of these rituals he became strong enough to withstand the weakening effect of contact with women: his hair grew and his beard thickened; he developed in stature and his skin was firm and his voice deepened.

¹² I am not sure of the logic involved, but I was told that this is why Ipili men were to kill only brown pigs. Isini owns a brown pig which causes earthquakes when it rubs its back on the tree which supports the earth.

¹³ Meggitt (1973, pp. 28-29) refers to *moropae* pythons which would assist people and pigs to the sky. I heard only one reference to this. There is another mythical deity called Edilu (the word means "snake") living down the Lagaip River near Isini. This suggests the possibility of a connection between Edilu and the snake or snakes which were to come from the sky.

After going through the rituals at least five times, the old men could see the results and would pronounce the young man fit for marriage.

Two contradictory themes run through these rituals. On the one hand, females are thought of as weakening, so that the young man went through ritual washings and purifying procedures to free himself of any contamination by them. On the other hand, the *umaritsia* brought him into intimate contact with "blood" of the mythical Kawara woman and this blood gave him strength and helped him grow. The source of the paradox is perhaps to be found in the myths concerning the Kawara woman and how she helps the hero Kaunala Tape mature into manhood.

During the rituals the bachelors live together in a house in the forest. There are ritual washings using pandanus and *tapiak* leaves to funnel the water onto their face and eyes: while this is going on, they repeat songs taught them by the older bachelors. There are strict food prohibitions and sweet potato must be smoked over the fire, not cooked in the embers. There are restrictions on drinking and they can drink only *taikulia* water from the *pawa* tree. There is further ceremonial where bamboo tubes are partially filled with water (the "blood" of the Kawara woman) and are held aloft and then secured in a marshy place by the side of the stream.

I am not suggesting that the rites of the Cult are a re-enactment of the *umaritsia*. Clearly they are different, especially with regard to the presence of women. However it seems clear that practices such as the seclusion together, the ritual washings, the manner of cooking food and drinking water were definitely accepted means for purification and growth, capable of being adapted for the purposes of the Cult.

There are several other elements which illustrate this same process of syncretism. Wealth magic (*takia*) is tied closely to the *umaritsia* bachelor rite in the same way that strength and health are closely tied to wealth in Ipili society. Wealth magic is a means by which a man seeks to gain more strength after marriage. A man seeking to "buy" *takia* will seek out a strong rich man, present him with payment of a net bag containing some cowrie shells, a pearl shell and a pig which he has killed, and ask to be taught the *takia* spells. If the wealthy man agrees, he will accept the gift and go into seclusion with the younger man for several days until he has taught him the proper words and actions to be performed. During this time there are prohibitions against certain food and all drink is forbidden. Later, at a distribution of wealth, the young man could then repeat the spell along with other ritual procedures and so receive much wealth. Men told me how they saw the same process working with the cult from Lyeimi. They were to give shells and pork to Langane and in return he would teach them the spells. In this way they would become strong and at a later time receive much greater wealth than they had given

out in payment for the wealth magic. Meggitt (1973, p. 31) reports how the prophets used *takia* magic and *takeme* wealth magic objects during the washing ceremonies in the stream. But the expected gain was not protective power as he suggests, so much as strength and wealth.

The roasting and eating of pig's kidneys follows a similar pattern. The ceremony, as it was described above is the same as that for *takai* health magic. In this magic a spell is intoned while the bone of a fruit bat (also used in the bachelor rites to push bespelled leaves into the hair) is pushed into the kidney to make it firm (and "strong"). Just as the bone makes the kidney "strong", so those who eat the kidney also become strong.

Perhaps the best way to illustrate the connection between the Cult and components of traditional religion is to give an example from a specific location. I have chosen Tipinini, situated in the Porgera Valley at the head of the Tilia River, because it also helps make more sense of the strange things which were to happen at Lake Tindipa.

The Tipinini people who today number 789 persons have a myth about Lemeyan and Lakeyam their first ancestors. The myth is as follows:

A long time ago the ground was flat and there were no trees, only grass. There was no water either and anyone who wanted water had to go to a man called Lemeyan who was the sole person who knew where to obtain it.

Food had been short and a relative living at Lyeimi on the north side of the Lagaip River sent word to Lemeyan that he was about to cut new gardens and that Lemeyan should come and help him. Lemeyan would receive a pig in payment for this.

Lemeyan made ready to go and since he was the only person who knew where to obtain water, he filled all the gourd bottles and bamboo containers he could find and left them at the house of his wife Lakeyam and another friend Ipali. They would have all the water they needed for the month he would be away, so they did not have to worry about going outside their enclosure to find it.

Unfortunately it was a very hot season and the two women used up all the water. [In another account, they had to use all the water to extinguish the blaze when their house caught on fire.] Lemeyan had not returned so they went out to find water. There was no water in Lemeyan's house so they followed a track used by Lemeyan which led towards Mount Kaijende. The track led to a steep cliff with a *waiyo* tree growing beside it. Many old loops of knotted vine (normally used on the feet for scaling trees) lay at the foot of the tree. Obviously this was where Lemeyan used to go.

Lakeyam climbed to the top but could not find a way to go further. The rock was white and crumbly. Then she saw a piece of *aiyoko* tree protruding from the cliff face. She leaned her weight on it and it loosened, and water came streaming out. Water was now set free to make all the rivers. The stream only increased, and from her vantage point at the top of the tree she could see the water submerging everything below and became afraid. However, a small *timbo* beetle settled on her leg and she thought this beetle might be able to take word of the trouble to her husband. She broke off a piece of her grass-fibre skirt and fastened it onto the wing of the *timbo* and told the beetle to go and bring the news to Lemeyan.

At Leyimi, Lemeyan had finished his work and was ready to return with his payment, a brown pig. The beetle landed on Lemeyan's leg and informed him of the trouble. Though it was dark, Lemeyan decided to leave immediately, lit a torch of *daka* leaves, and told his friends that they would have to finish the celebration without him.

With the assistance of his pig, Lemeyan was able to cut a trench (the Tilia River) to drain off some of the water, and returned to his home. What was left of the *daka* he planted beside his house. He tied up the pig below his house and then went to find his wife and her friend.¹⁴

This is an old myth that my informant heard from his senior clansmen, yet there are several striking parallels with the themes of the movement from Lyeimi. There is a shortage of food. Help comes from Lyeimi. A flood threatens to engulf the earth. Lakeyam is saved by being up on a mountain. The "world" is saved by means of a brown pig. In fact the Tipinini people were conscious of the parallels. They thought that Langane was a descendant of the man whom Lemeyan visited and saw a direct connection between the man whom their ancestor Lemeyan visited long before in a time of need, and the sons of this man coming to their assistance with a message in their own time of need.

At Tipinini the cult took the form much as I have already described it, but two additional events are noteworthy, relating to the Lemeyan and Lakeyam myth. First, although all the pigs were lifted up and offered to the sun, one small light brown pig was lifted up even higher and tied on top of a small

¹⁴ Accounts of what happened to the two women, Lakeyam and Ipali differ. They say that Ipali tried to escape the rising water and walked through the bush to Mount Tongabipe where she remained. Some say Lakeyam died in the flood and her spirit now lives in the ground. Others say she went away and disappeared after Lemeyan died. Lemeyan died when he fell out of a *paiye* tree while gathering branches to block the doorway of his house splitting his head on a large rock at the foot of the tree. Until as recently as 1968 offerings of food were made to these two ancestors at Tipinini. The journey of Lemeyan to Tipinini was re-enacted by a man bringing a brown pig to a ceremonial house at night using a *daka* torch to light his way. The pig was killed and offerings of pork were buried beside the stone where Lemeyan is said to have died.

aipolo tree. The owner of each pig cooked his animal and gave payment to the men who had performed the ritual and then everyone held on to the *aipolo* tree and sang the songs which the visitors taught them.

The second addition was the strange happening at Lake Tindipa. Before he went away with Langane the prophet, Wambe, my informant, had a strange meeting with Ipiama his clan sister. Ipiama was a beautiful unmarried girl who had played a leading part in cult activity. Wambe was out early one morning before dawn and came upon Ipiama who was carrying a small piece of black wood in her hand. She held the wood out to show him and said, "I will show you a good new road. When dawn comes I will show you." Wambe looked at the wood and then had a vision of all sorts of articles such as axes, knives, houses with iron roofs and cars and a place that was lush and green. (Obviously at the time Wambe did not know what a car was, but he says he knows what it was he saw, having now seen a car.) "You must follow me and I will show you these things", she said. When Wambe refused to follow her,¹⁵ Ipiama approached a man named Timbapu. She convinced him of the truth of what she had to say and together they convinced many others to follow them.

The night before they went was one of great excitement. There was indiscriminate sex and they say even the dogs were sexually excited. Ipiama showed the piece of wood to people and many followed her to the bush and grass lands behind Mount Kerepai. That afternoon Ipiama showed the people a brown pig which had a different coat from what they had seen before. She told Timbapu to kill it but he was unable. They all tried and only Ipiama was able to kill it.

One fellow, Tandaki Teyo, decided to come along, but later changed his mind. The others became very angry and beat him and cut him with cane knives and the points of their spears. They tied him to a tree and it took him several days to break free. I have spoken with Teyo who to this day bears the scars of his experience.

The next day the people followed Ipiama across the high grasslands to near the foot of Mount Tongibipe, where they spent the night in three houses. Timbapu and two other men, Etene and Tolio were named as leaders of these houses. Ipiama left to spend the night alone on Mount Tongibipe. She told them that if she lit a fire and called they were to come immediately. Some were becoming tired, especially Tolio. He made a stone axe and threatened to use it on anyone who went to follow Ipiama when she called — all of which made Ipiama very angry.

The next day they formed into two lines and walked to a small lake

¹⁵ Wambe followed Langane instead and visited Laiagam, Kandep and Tari before being jailed by the Administration for his involvement in spreading the movement.

called Tindipa. Accounts vary as to what happened at the lake. Some say that they all wanted to go to *tawetoko*. Ipiama touched the water with a stick and the water parted revealing a "road" inside the water. The people went inside, the water formed back, and they were never seen again.¹⁶ Another account tells how Timbapu and Ipiama held the ends of a long vine and the people held onto this vine, leaning over with their backs to the water while reciting prayers. Then Ipiama let go her end of the rope and the people fell into the water and drowned.

There were three survivors, Ipiama, Timbapu and another man, Tumbiyum. The men returned quickly to tell the others at Tipinini and people came to see a path of trodden grass leading to the lake and to find bodies in the lake. Ipiama was killed at Tipinini. The two men were spared because they were said to be under the power of Ipiama.¹⁷

It is hard to find out how many people died. Quoted figures go to as high as five hundred — which would be a lot to fit into three shelters on a mountain! People at Tipinini have given me the names of eleven men who died: Etene, Tanupi, Yalen, Tolio, Bota, Imbu, Pakani, Opami, Mangape, Kangope and Pawa. Some of these took wives and sisters and children with them, so perhaps fifteen would be a more likely number.¹⁸

My informants, Wambe and Teyo, find the meaning of the lake incident in the power of Lemeyan and Lakeyam. At the time of the pig killing, Langane had asked Wambe to go and cut an *aipolo* tree to raise up the small pig for the people to hold while singing. Wambe knew of such a tree standing beside the rock where Lemeyan is thought to have died. Formerly he would have been too afraid to cut a tree in such a special place but at this time they were supposed to reject all their old ritual practices. So he cut down this tree and brought it back to the group. Both men believe that Lemeyan and Lakeyam were angry at this and it was they who possessed Ipiama and brought about the Lake Tindipa disaster. Shortly afterwards a boy was born with six fingers, an omen attributed to the anger of Lemeyan and Lakeyam.

To the people of Tipinini, therefore, the Cult from Lyeimi did not seem strange, and various parts of the cult were easily fitted into their traditional mythology. Given their belief in the power of Isini and the possibility of a flood covering everything, along with the news that their main rituals were

¹⁶This would not seem so incredible to people familiar with the myth of Kimala and the Kawara Woman. In one version of this myth the water parts for them and they go inside the lake.

¹⁷Tumbium has died since. Timbapu is alive today but had no desire to talk about the incident.

¹⁸I first came across the lake incident while collecting genealogical information at Tipinini. I used to ask how a person had died and on several occasions people replied — "at the Lake". Meggitt (1973, p. 32) says he finds "the whole thing hard to swallow". I find the story strange, but find too much evidence against it not being true, simply to dismiss it.

to be abandoned entirely, it was reasonable for them to resort to the sun for assistance in the light of their belief. Formerly there were no rites of propitiation to the sun, only certain rites of divination. The prophets of Lyeimi brought news of a means by which offerings could be made to the sun. The idea that they should go to the raised place in the sky was new, but there was no alternative if the ground was to be flooded and the means they chose was to accord with the stories of mythical heroes who had preceded them. By going to *tawetoko* they would be in a "good place" with the sun which was the source of "good things", where pigs were as big as the one whose tail had been shown at Wabag and where there was no sickness and death.

It is important not to make too great a distinction between good health in people and pigs, and possessions. Both are intimately related to the concept of "well-being" which is the indigenous expression of salvation for the Ipili. Health, wealth, strength and power are "good" (*epene*). Sickness, loss of possessions, weakness and impotence are "bad" (*koo*). For a man to be *epene* is to have a firm glowing skin, good hair, fighting strength and many possessions, including healthy pigs, wives and children. From a male point of view, that which is *koo* is whatever might have a weakening effect on him, for instance a menstruating woman, sickness, or another warrior who could kill him. Before the arrival of the Cult from Lyeimi, the Ipili were largely in a state of *koo*. Gardens were infertile, pigs were dying and people were sick. Hence the appropriateness of a ritual element during the cult which sought health and strength and growth and all those things which are *epene*, including material possessions. Since growth magic (*umaritsia*), health magic (*takai*) and wealth magic (*takia*) are closely linked, the man who would be *epene* would have both good health and many pigs. Thus they saw the cult not only as a means of restoring health, but also as a source of valuables: of shells, large pigs and steel axes. Despite the adaptations to their own religious system, the form of the cult among the Ipili was not very much different from the form it took among the wider population of the Enga. The Ipili who had very little contact with European manufactured goods, defined *epene* largely in their own terms. The Enga, especially those who had contact with the Australian New Guinea Administrative Unit post at Wabag, saw *epene* more in terms of European valuables.

III

The Lyeimi movement collapsed when the promised events did not take place and when news of Administration opposition came. Soon "all agreed that they had been duped, misled both by the prophet's stories and by their own stupidity" (Meggitt 1973, p. 117). Meggitt says that when he went to Porgera in 1956 the men were still angry and the Lyeimi men were still unwelcome among the Ipili.

As late as 1974 the men did not regard the cult as a failure. All the men I asked claimed that the millenarian message was true. Why the change in attitude? I think there are three main reasons. First, they have access to new forms of wealth and European goods. Second, their pig herds are better than before and there is a relative state of well being. Third, they have been exposed to millenarian Christian preaching about the imminent end of the world and how they must reject old ways, accept baptism and take on faith in Christ, so that they can go to heaven.

The government has maintained a permanent Patrol Post in Porgera since 1961. Before that there were annual patrols from Laiagam and Wabag to ensure the protection of the European gold miners who came to the area in the late 1940's. A permanent Patrol Post was established in the Paiela Valley while I was there in 1974. One of the changes brought by the government most appreciated by the people is the cessation of fighting, enabling them now to move about much more freely and without fear.

Gold has been an important source of income. Initially there were the private workings of a few European miners who employed local labour, but in the last eight years mining companies have brought about significant changes. Their machinery was instrumental in the opening of a vehicle road in 1972 connecting with the Highlands Highway. The Mount Isa Mines Company employs sixty to one hundred men and the wages are a new way to wealth and economic security. Wages are only a part of the influx of money. In one month I saw at least \$20,000 distributed to local people; \$10,000 in one week. The breakdown was as follows:

- \$4,500 = Annual land occupation fee for M.I.M. operations.
- \$3,500 = Private gold workers on the claims of Taylor and M.I.M.
- \$1,200 = Fortnight wages to M.I.M. workers.
- \$ 500 = Compensation for pandanus trees destroyed on government and mission projects.
- \$ 200 = Monthly wages for mission workers (mostly sawmill labourers).

The occupation fees, though given to a few leading men, are distributed to about 500 people in the local community, and most of the 2,300 adults in the valley benefit in some way. The money listed above does not include government wages paid to the teachers, policemen, aid-post orderlies and warders at Porgera Patrol Post itself.

With such moneys available, there is less importance placed on garden produce. As a result people buy food in the trade stores. I estimate that each week at least eight plane loads of store goods arrive, including two loads of beer. This represents about 5,000 pounds of foodstuffs and 50 cartons of beer. Recently three local men put their savings together and bought a new

Toyota Landcruiser car for \$4,500 cash. I understand that since my departure in 1974 two other groups have purchased cars as well.

Along with the new wealth has come an improvement in health services and agriculture. The reduction in fighting allows more time and energy for agriculture. Through mission and government efforts, pumpkin, European potatoes, beans, tomatoes, corn, cabbage and onions now supplement traditional foods and the availability of rice and tinned fish in the stores means less pressure on the gardens and more sweet potato available for feeding pigs. Pig herds are larger and more healthy resulting from drugs and the introduction of outside breeds. No one lives more than a few hours walk from an aid post manned by a trained orderly with medical supplies, including penicillin and sulphur drugs which can clear up illness very rapidly. Very serious cases such as broken bones or childbirth complications can be flown out to a District Hospital. A serious illness or accident need no longer mean death or permanent disability.

Since the area was de-restricted in 1962 four Christian denominations have entered seeking adherents: The Apostolic, Roman Catholic, Lutheran and Seventh Day Adventist. Most Ipili claim to be adherents of one of these bodies.¹⁹ Mission bodies exert a considerable influence, though this is truer in the Paiela Valley than in Porgera. In Porgera they maintain a sawmill, some stores and aid-posts, and operate the primary school. At least two of the denominations are preaching that the world is about to end very shortly and that Jesus is coming to save those who are baptized and take them to

¹⁹ By "adherents" I mean those whom R. Feacham (1973) included in the first two categories in the reaction to Christianity of the Raiapu Enga in the Saka Valley: those who enthusiastically accept Christianity and those who want baptism and go to church because they are afraid of missing out on something (in this case, of going to heaven if and when the end comes). Like Raiapu Enga, all Ipili now believe in God and would agree that it is "cargo" (material possessions) that forms the real basis of the white man's strength, and that it is God who is in some way responsible for the supply of cargo. In most cases, however, it is not so much mission teaching as the natural projection of traditional ideas which makes them see God as the ultimate source of the white man's wealth and prosperity. Most people whom I questioned thought that the knowledge of how to make things came originally from God and they hoped that schooling would give this knowledge to their children. The man who was prime owner of the Toyota car said that he hoped the men from Japan would come and show New Guineans how to make such cars so that they could have them after Papua New Guinea gained its Independence in 1975.

Circumstances in Porgera have meant exposure to fundamentalist Christian preaching along with considerable secular influences. White men working for the gold companies have outnumbered white missionaries and it is the companies which have left the greater impression with their aircraft, bulldozers, explosives and the knowledge of how to obtain gold — the "mama bilong mani" (the "mother of money"). Some of the company men have not hesitated to indicate that they neither believe in nor support the work of the churches. (This is not to deny the valuable help some of the white company employees have given to the Catholic Mission.) If they were told that not all white men believe in God (as I did on a number of occasions), I doubt if many Ipili would reply as some Raiapu did to Feacham, "sisiin i foulun mi!" ("The mission has deceived me!")

heaven. This has been like a new millenarian movement.²⁰ Throughout the Enga District there has been a so-called "religious revival". After a fall-off in the numbers seeking baptism, people are coming for instructions in considerable numbers. Though the Catholic Mission does not preach such ideas about the end of the world, the doctrine has become widely accepted among its indigenous members. When I was about to leave for the last time, one of the Catholic Church leaders accused me of going because I wanted to be with my mother and father when the end came. There is a commonly held belief that two Lutheran evangelists from Sirunki went bodily to heaven in 1973. This has many resemblances to the millenarian movement of the 1940's and the people themselves see such a connection.²¹ People will say that the movement before was like the mission coming — they have one message and one "road". When trying to describe the traditional ritual, some used aspects of present Christian ritual to illustrate. They say, "Before, God gave us pigs and food but we did not know this. Now we know. When the men came from Lyeimi we learned these things; now the mission comes and tells us, and we follow".

There are several parallels in the two movements. Both call for the rejection of the old which is "bad" and the acceptance of a "new way", a "good road". Both have a ritual purification ceremony of washing. Both have extraordinary happenings: shaking, or now speaking in tongues. Both present a new figure as the centre of worship: the sun and God. A direct comparison is made between the *taikulia* water and "holy water". There is a sharing of food which distinguishes the faithful. During the Lyeimi movement it was a kidney, today the bread of the eucharist. Adherents are to wait for the imminent end of the world. Some associate the practice of killing pigs at the time of Christian baptism with the killing at the time of the cult. Both have demonstrations of power: handling of coals and the daring act of handling the sacred ancestral stones in the initial power encounter of the Christian catechists. Both have the same basic function of improving general well-being.

There is one big difference today. The promise has been partially fulfilled. Men agree that good times have come and they associate this with the coming of the Europeans and of Christianity.

No doubt the cult made Christianity more immediately intelligible to the Ipili, especially when they recognized it as a fulfillment of the cult. I think this helps explain the massive acceptance of Christianity in Porgera today.

²⁰ This is similar to the view of J. Guiart (1962) who notes that Christianity was originally millennial and that in its Pacific expansion, there has been in most cases an authentic revival of early Christian expectations. In Porgera the emphasis on the kingdom which is coming, the reward for believers and the fiery doom for non-believers presents those who listen with a choice: life or death.

²¹ It seems highly unlikely that the movement of the 1940's had any connection with the Christian religion.

Some of the men who went to work on the coast were shocked when they found that the Southern Highlanders with whom they were working wanted to retain their traditional belief and ritual. Most in Porgera say they want to make it a thing of the past. With the acceptance of the "new way" there has been retrospective validation of the Cult. The experiences of the people predisposed them to accept Christian notions, and their acceptance of the Christian dogma has "proved" to their satisfaction that the Cult did after all work. Now when I ask whether the cult from Lyeimi was true I hear, "Of course it was true. Now we see the skin of the white man. Look at my axe, my bush knife". "Yes, it was true; it has all come with the white man." "Yes, it was true; now the white man has come and we have plenty of pigs and pearl shells and soon Jesus will come and we will go to heaven."

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